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Camilla and Tomoe: Female Warriors in Virgil and in Medieval Japan

Revised from a paper given to the Virgil Society on 28 January 2012[*]

This paper examines the character of Camilla in the *Aeneid*. She is a heavily studied subject, but I would like to ask two questions which I believe are still current and pertinent: (1) What are Camilla's models? and (2) What functions might Camilla be fulfilling within the *Aeneid*? She is unknown outside the poem, and it is almost certain that Virgil created her out of many elements. Evidence within the text will be our first port of call, but I believe it will also be useful to bring in observations afforded by a comparative approach, using both female warriors in Homer (and other Greek sources as appropriate) and Tomoe, a female warrior in the *Tale of the Heike* (*Heike* hereafter) from medieval Japan. Most similarities with Greek sources can be attributed to direct influence, but in the case of *Heike*, we can safely rule out any such possibility. Rather, we are more likely to be looking at common ideas in world literature stemming from human universals. This perspective can provide new insight into the function of female warriors in the male-dominated epic world of war.

But why compare Virgil and *Heike*? The primary reason is *Heike*'s similarities to Homer's epics which form the model of the *Aeneid*. As a classicist from Japan, where the continuing influence of *Heike* is felt through school education as well as popular culture,[1] I came naturally

[*] The paper was originally entitled 'Female Warriors in the *Aeneid* and the Japanese *Tale of the Heike*: Camilla, Amazons and Tomoe'.

[1] Its enduring popularity is exemplified by the fact that in 2012, the year in which I gave this talk, NHK (Japan's national broadcasting service) dedicated its flagship weekly drama serial slot to a drama based on it. Also striking is the bibliography of novels, short stories and plays based on *Heike* since the 19th century in Takeda (2007), which lists over 200 items.

to comparing it and Homer. They are similar not only in their status as "national epics",[2] but also in their themes. *Heike*, based on historical events in the 12th century AD, is a tale of military struggles between two groups of warriors, the Heike and the Genji, each with support from within the Imperial household.[3] It charts the rise and fall of one powerful family, which is seen as a paradigm of the variability of human fortune, in similar sentiment to Homeric references to fate and chance.[4] This theme of changing human fortune and fate is certainly something that Virgil imported from Homer, most memorably exemplified in the fall of Troy in book 2 or the tragedy of Dido in book 4. I then believe that it is the duty of Japanese classicists such as myself to point out the remarkable similarities between Tomoe, the female warrior in *Heike*, and Camilla in the *Aeneid,* and to explore their implications.

Camilla and her models

Camilla is mentioned in two books of the *Aeneid*, 7 (803-17) and 11 (498-898). She is first introduced at the end of the catalogue of Italian forces opposing the Trojans in book 7, in the passage that ends the book:

Enter Camilla (*Aen.* 7.803-17)[5]

Hos super advenit Volsca de gente Camilla
agmen agens equitum et florentis aere catervas,
bellatrix, non illa colo calathisve Minervae
femineas adsueta manus, sed proelia virgo
dura pati cursuque pedum praevertere ventos.
Illa vel intactae segetis per summa volaret
gramina nec teneras cursu laesisset aristas,

[2] Strictly speaking *Heike* is not an epic, as it is composed mostly in prose, but I believe that the scale and complexity of the story as well as the rhythm of the text, which renders it performable – and above all its similarities to Homer – amply qualify it to be ranked among great epics of the world. For a detailed explanation of stylistic features of *Heike*, see Tyler (2012) xxiii-xxv.

[3] The text of *Heike* is likely to have been composed in the late 13th to early 14th century. Rather as with Homer, its authorship is obscure, but according to a contemporary account, it was composed in writing, but meant for oral performance by a blind bard, and it is certainly through oral performance by blind bards, accompanied by music played on a type of lute, that *Heike* was preserved, developed and disseminated to the extent that it has acquired its status as the national epic. The text developed into many versions, some suitable for silent reading and others for oral performance, and inspired a number of dramas, which also parallels Homer's influence on Greek tragedy. Cf. McCullough (1988) 7-8; Tyler (2012) xxi-xxiii.

[4] Cf. Yamagata (1993).

[5] Virgil is quoted from Mynors (1969). The translation of *Aeneid* passages is from West (2003), unless otherwise stated.

vel mare per medium fluctu suspensa tumenti
ferret iter celeris nec tingeret aequore plantas.
Illam omnis tectis agrisque effusa iuventus
turbaque miratur matrum et prospectat euntem,
attonitis inhians animis ut regius ostro
velet honos levis umeros, ut fibula crinem
auro internectat, Lyciam ut gerat ipsa pharetram
et pastoralem praefixa cuspide myrtum.

("Last of all came Camilla, the warrior maiden of the Volsci, leading a cavalry squadron flowering in bronze. Not for her girlish hands the distaff and wool-basket of Minerva. She was a maid inured to battle, of a fleetness of foot to race the winds. She could have skimmed the tops of a standing crop without touching them and her passage would not have bruised the delicate ears of grains. She could have run over the ocean, hovered over the swell and never wet her foot in the waves. Young men streamed from house and field and mothers came thronging to gaze at her as she went, lost in wonderment at the royal splendour of the purple veiling the smoothness of her shoulders, her hair weaving round its gold clasp, her Lycian quiver and the shepherd's staff of myrtle wood with the head of a lance").

There are many signs and influences to be read in this passage. At first sight, with *femineas* (806), Camilla's gender appears to be emphasised, but she is no ordinary female. *bellatrix* (805) and *virgo* (806) echo the image of Penthesilea, the Amazon queen, which adorns Dido's temple to Juno in book 1:

The Amazons on Dido's temple (*Aen.* 1.490-93)

Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis
Penthesilea furens mediisque in milibus ardet,
aurea subnectens exsertae cingula mammae
bellatrix, audetque viris concurrere virgo.

("The Amazons were there in their thousands with crescent shields and their leader Penthesilea in the middle of her army, ablaze with passion for war. There, showing her naked breast supported by a band of gold, was the warrior maiden, daring to clash with men in battle").

As Camilla ends the catalogue of allies, here the tour of the picture gallery ends with the Amazons.[6] Saylor points out that, whilst the other leaders come as sets of two or three,

[6] Cf. Williams (1960) 150. This also echoes the fact that Penthesilea joined late in the war, just as Camilla. Cf. Fratantuono (2007) 272.

Camilla "by herself forms a highly evocative pendant to the whole",[7] highlighting her uniqueness and otherness even further.

Camilla's swiftness of foot is exaggerated with the lines (808-11) modelled on Homer's depiction of horses begot by Boreas (*Il.* 20.226-29).[8] Her swift feet also remind us of Achilles or Atalanta, another huntress.[9] Her gold quiver, the gold clasp for her hair and her purple dress echo Dido's outfit for the hunt in *Aen.* 4.138-39:[10]

Cui pharetra ex auro, crines nodantur in aurum,
aurea purpuream subnectit fibula vestem.

("Her quiver was of gold. Gold was the clasp that gathered up her hair and her purple tunic was fastened with a golden brooch").

The people's admiring gaze at Camilla reminds us of that for Telemachus (*Od.* 2.12-13)[11] and also of that for Arete, the Phaeacian queen (*Od.* 7.69-75), whom her family and people look up to, which in turn reminds us of Dido among her people at the time of Aeneas' arrival in Carthage, giving laws to men just as Arete does (*Aen.* 1.502-08). The quiver also points to Diana's patronage of Camilla, and her chastity - again a point of comparison with Dido before she met Aeneas.

Dido's huntress image, which connects her to Camilla, is also associated with that of Venus, who appears to Aeneas earlier in book 1:

Venus as *venatrix* (*Aen.* 1.314-20)

Cui mater media sese tulit obvia silva
virginis os habitumque gerens et virginis arma
Spartanae, vel qualis equos Threissa fatigat
Harpalyce volucremque fuga praevertitur Hebrum.
Namque umeris de more habilem suspenderat arcum

[7] Saylor (1974) 250. Or, as Williams (1961) 149 puts it, "the final haunting lines which describe the warrior-queen Camilla act as a sort of pendant, bringing the book to a close on a note of strange beauty".

[8] It may also be noted that the description occurs within Aeneas' speech to Achilles, in which he declares his lineage, a point likely to have been appreciated by some of Virgil's educated audience. Although Aeneas is not to appear in Camilla's story, his "voice" is quoted by the poet here.

[9] For complex connections between Camilla and Atalanta, see Alessio (1993) 123, who points out their upbringing in the wild as well as their attraction to gold: Camilla is distracted at the sight of Chloreus' gold finery and Atalanta at the sight of golden apples. Cf. also Fratantuono (2005a).

[10] For the connection between Camilla and Dido and the significance of their clothing, see Fratantuono (2006) esp. 32-40.

[11] Cf. Eichhoff (1825) 64.

venatrix dederatque comam diffundere ventis,
nuda genu nodoque sinus collecta fluentis.

("As he walked through the middle of the wood, his mother came to meet him looking like a Spartan girl out hunting, wearing the dress of a Spartan girl and carrying her weapons, or like the Thracian Harpalyce, as she wearies horses with her running and outstrips the swift current of the river Hebrus. She had a light bow hanging from her shoulders in hunting style, her hair was unbound and streaming in the wind and her flowing dress was caught up above the knee").

Venus looks like Harpalyce, a huntress princess, anticipating Dido's appearance before meeting Aeneas. Here, the image of Venus as huntress links to Dido as huntress, which links to the Dido-Artemis simile, and then to the Camilla-Artemis connection. Moreover, as Austin has pointed out,[12] for the readership who knows Harpalyce's story of motherless upbringing in the wild, she also anticipates the story of Camilla's upbringing as a child of the wild dedicated to Artemis (*Aen*. 11.539-84).

There is then a complex of images closely woven together, of Camilla, Dido, Penthesilea and Artemis, all queens in their own domains.[13] In book 7, as with Dido's first appearance (*Aen*. 1.496-503),[14] the focus is on Camilla's Diana-like beauty and purity rather than her valour. For her quality as warrior we have to turn to book 11.

Camilla as "Amazon" (*Aen*. 11.648-63)

At medias inter caedes exsultat Amazon
unum exserta latus pugnae, pharetrata Camilla,
et nunc lenta manu spargens hastilia denset,
nunc validam dextra rapit indefessa bipennem;
aureus ex umero sonat arcus et arma Dianae.
Illa etiam, si quando in tergum pulsa recessit,
spicula converso fugientia derigit arcu.
At circum lectae comites, Larinaque virgo

[12] Austin (1971) on *Aen*. 1.317. See also Alessio (1993) 122.
[13] As was pointed out by a member of the audience at my talk, there is another prominent queen to reckon with in the poem, Cleopatra. She was also renowned for her beauty and charm, led her people into war and was a queen from Africa. All this seems to indicate that she is Dido's model above all, but does relate to the image of Camilla as a warrior queen (more on this below), if not as a virgin huntress. See Carney (1988), who finds more points of comparison between Dido and Camilla than with other *reginae*.
[14] The simile, which emphasises Dido's Diana-like beauty, is modelled on *Od*. 6.101-09, where Nausicaa is compared to Artemis among her attendants.

Tullaque et aeratam quatiens Tarpeia securim,
Italides, quas ipsa decus sibi dia Camilla
delegit pacisque bonas bellique ministras:
quales Threiciae cum flumina Thermodontis
pulsant et pictis bellantur Amazones armis,
seu circum Hippolyten seu cum se Martia curru
Penthesilea refert, magnoque ululante tumultu
feminea exsultant lunatis agmina peltis.

("There in the middle of all this bloodshed, exulting in it, was the Amazon Camilla with the quiver on her shoulder, and one side bared for battle. Sometimes the pliant spears came thick from her hand; sometimes, unwearied, she caught up her mighty double axe, and the golden bow and arrows of Diana rang on her shoulder. Whenever she was forced to retreat, she turned her bow and aimed her arrows while still in flight. The girls she had chosen as her companions were all about her, Larina, Tulla, and Tarpeia brandishing her bronze axe, all of them daughters of Italy, chosen by the servant of the gods Camilla to do her honour by their beauty and to be her own trusted attendants in peace and war. They were like the Amazons of Thrace whose horses' hooves drum on the frozen waters of the river Thermodon when they fight round Hippolyte in their brightly coloured armour, or when Penthesilea, daughter of Mars, rides home in her chariot and her army of women with their crescent shields exult in a great howling tumult").

Camilla is depicted very explicitly as an Amazon figure here, complete with a bared breast, the bow and arrows, and Amazonesque companions. The comparison with Penthesilea harks back to *Aen*. 1.490-93 (quoted above) and to the Greek epic tradition, originally developed in and mostly lost with the *Aethiopis*, now known only through Proclus' summary, and through its version in *The Fall of Troy* by Quintus Smyrnaeus.[15] In book 1, the scene with Penthesilea seamlessly leads to the meeting of Aeneas and Dido, who appears like the divine archer Diana (*Aen*. 1.496-503). The mention here of Penthesilea, killed by Achilles (and indeed that of Hippolyte, accidentally killed by her sister Penthesilea during a hunt) bodes rather ominously for Camilla. On one hand, the comparison and connection respectively of Diana with Dido and Camilla give them the glamour of the divine archer, but on the other their association with Penthesilea foreshadows their tragic ends.

[15] As discussed in Huxley's Virgil Society address given in February 1960 entitled 'VIRGO BELLATRIX', the summary of which is reproduced in Huxley (2011).

Camilla, however, is not just exceptional as an archer, but in hand to hand combat, too. Even in retreat Camilla does not stop firing her arrows, and the way she fights with her axe is even more impressive:

Camilla *vs* Orsilochus (*Aen*. 11.694-98)

Orsilochum fugiens magnumque agitata per orbem
eludit gyro interior sequiturque sequentem;
tum validam perque arma viro perque ossa securim
altior exsurgens oranti et multa precanti
congeminat; vulnus calido rigat ora cerebro.

("She fled from Orsilochus, but after he had driven her in a great circle, she cut inside the arc and began to pursue her pursuer. Then, rising above him, she struck again and again with her mighty axe, hacking through his armour and his bones as he begged and pleaded with her and the axe-blows spilt the hot brains down his face").

The contrast between the ruthless Camilla who "exults" in bloody fighting, and the pathetic Orsilochus begging for his life, is made all the more striking by the reversal of usual expectations for male-female power balance. This could easily be the most brutal killing in the whole poem, and it is executed by a female warrior.

A little later, she is like Achilles in her speed both in running and in dispatching her enemy. Angered by her opponent's deliberately provocative insult, Camilla replies in anger, first in words and then in action.

Camilla *vs* Aunus' son (*Aen*. 11.715-24)

'Vane Ligus frustraque animis elate superbis,
nequiquam patrias temptasti lubricus artis,
nec fraus te incolumem fallaci perferet Auno'.
Haec fatur virgo, et pernicibus ignea plantis
transit equum cursu frenisque adversa prehensis
congreditur poenasque inimico ex sanguine sumit:
quam facile accipiter saxo sacer ales ab alto
consequitur pennis sublimem in nube columbam
comprensamque tenet pedibusque eviscerat uncis;
tum cruor et vulsae labuntur ab aethere plumae.

("'You Ligurian fool!' she cried. 'You are the one who has been carried away by the empty winds of pride! You have taken to the slippery arts of your ancestors, but little good will

they do you. Trickery will not bring you safe back home to your treacherous father Aunus'. These were her words, and on nimble feet she ran as swift as fire in front of the horse and stood full in its path. Then, seizing the reins, she exacted punishment from her enemy in blood, as easily as the sacred falcon flies from his crag to pursue a dove high in the clouds, catches it, holds it and rips out its entrails with hooked claws while blood and torn feathers float down from the sky").

She is very much in the mould of a male warrior, capable of hurling insults like any of them.[16] The falcon simile also clearly connects Camilla to Achilles who chases Hector like a falcon chasing a dove (*Il.* 22.138-42).[17]

In the tragic side of her role, however, Camilla can be seen as a Patroclus figure, most conspicuously in the poet's apostrophe to her at *Aen.* 11.664-65:

> *Quem telo primum, quem postremum, aspera virgo,*
> *deicis? Aut quot humi morientia corpora fundis?*

("Whom first did your spear bring down from his horse? Whom last, fierce warrior maiden? How many bodies of dying men did you strew on the ground?")

This recalls Homer's apostrophe to Patroclus at *Il.* 16.692-93:[18]

> ἔνθα τίνα πρῶτον, τίνα δ᾽ ὕστατον ἐξενάριξας,
> Πατρόκλεις, ὅτε δή σε θεοὶ θάνατόνδ᾽ ἐκάλεσσαν ;

("Then who was it you slaughtered first, who was the last one,
Patroklos, as the gods called you to your death?")

However, while Homer clearly signals Patroclus' fate in the second line, Virgil does not do exactly the same in the equivalent passage. He does hint at Camilla's end by saying "whom last?", but then immediately returns our attention to her successes.

To this extent, the lines could compare her as much to Hector as to Patroclus, as the words of *Il.* 16.692 are also used by Homer to address Hector while he is still granted

[16] Cf. the list of taunts and challenges in the *Aeneid* in Highet (1972) 318-19 and Achilles' insult to Hector at *Il.* 22.331-36.

[17] However, there is an important difference between the similes: the hawk in Camilla's simile succeeds in killing the dove, whereas the one in Achilles' never catches its prey. In this tableau, Camilla outperforms even Achilles. Cf. Gransden (1991) on 11.721-24.

[18] Eichhoff (1825) 309; Fratantuono (2009a) *ad* 11.664-65. Cf. Horsfall (2003) on 11.664, who points out that this line is not exclusive to Patroclus, and Brill (1972) 65, who adds *Il.* 8.273 (for the first half of the line) and 11.299. The Greek text of the *Iliad* in this article is that of West (2000), and the translation is quoted from Lattimore (1951).

success by Zeus.[19] Seen in this way, Virgil is echoing Homer's addresses to both Hector and Patroclus, doomed heroes on both sides. This aptly fits Camilla's position as enemy of Troy and hero of Italy, which is soon to be merged with Troy. This reminds us of the fact that the line that describes her death, shared with Turnus (*vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras*, "and his / her life left him / her with a groan, fleeing in anger down to the shades", *Aen*. 11.831 = 12.952) is modelled on the lines shared by Patroclus and Hector in their deaths (*Il.* 16.856-57 = 22.362-63).[20]

In terms of her role within the plot, too, Camilla can be seen as a Patroclus, in so far as Turnus can be seen as an Achilles to oppose Aeneas, the Trojan champion.[21] It is Camilla's death and his grief for it that causes Turnus to abandon the potentially more successful plan of ambush and choose a direct challenge to Aeneas which leads to his death.[22] On the other hand, if we see Turnus as a Hector figure, as the champion of the losing side who is weaker than his opponent, Camilla can be cast as a Sarpedon, whose death stirs Hector and other Trojans for revenge (*Il.* 16.548-53). Camilla's dying speech to Acca (*Aen*. 11.823-26) also echoes Sarpedon's to Glaucus (*Il.* 16.492-501).[23]

There is another female warrior to consider within Greek epic tradition – Athena/Minerva as warrior-goddess, whose domestic implements Camilla has rejected (*Aen*. 7.805-06), but whose nature is perhaps the most like her own. Recall Athena and Ares in the *Iliad*:

Ares and Athena as war gods on Achilles' shield (*Il.* 18.516-19)

οἳ δ᾽ ἴσαν· ἦρχε δ᾽ ἄρά σφιν Ἄρης καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη,
ἄμφω χρυσείω, χρύσεια δὲ εἵματα ἕσθην,
καλὼ καὶ μεγάλω σὺν τεύχεσιν, ὥς τε θεώ περ,
ἀμφὶς ἀριζήλω· λαοὶ δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ὀλίζονες ἦσαν.

("And Ares led them, and Pallas Athene.
These were gold, both, and golden raiment upon them, and they were
beautiful and huge in their armour, being divinities,
and conspicuous from afar, but the people around them were smaller").

[19] *Il.* 5.703 and 11.299.
[20] Cf. Ross (2007) 52; Knauer (1990) 395-96, n.1.
[21] As *alius … Achilles* of *Aen.* 6.89 signals. Cf. Austin (1977) *ad loc*; Williams (1985) on 6.88-90.
[22] Cf. Fratantuono (2005b) 35. See also Fratantuono (2009b) 399-400 for the Turnus-Camilla and Achilles-Patroclus parallel.
[23] Cf. Eichhoff (1825) 319. The divine rescue of the body (by Zeus and by Artemis respectively) is also common to Sarpedon (*Il.* 16.667-83) and Camilla (*Aen.* 11.593-94).

Athena beats Ares in combat (*Il.* 21.400-09)

ὣς εἰπὼν οὔτησε κατ᾽ αἰγίδα θυσανόεσσαν
σμερδαλέην, ἣν οὐδὲ Διὸς δάμνησι κεραυνός·
τῇ μιν Ἄρης οὔτησε μιαιφόνος ἔγχεϊ μακρῷ.
ἣ δ᾽ ἀναχασσαμένη λίθον εἵλετο χειρὶ παχείῃ
κείμενον ἐν πεδίῳ, μέλανα τρηχύν τε μέγαν τε,
τόν ῥ᾽ ἄνδρες πρότεροι θέσαν ἔμμεναι οὖρον ἀρούρης·
τῷ βάλε θοῦρον Ἄρηα κατ᾽ αὐχένα, λῦσε δὲ γυῖα.
ἑπτὰ δ᾽ ἐπέσχε πέλεθρα πεσών, ἐκόνισε δὲ χαίτας,
τεύχεα δ᾽ ἀμφαράβησε. γέλασσε δὲ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη,
καί οἱ ἐπευχομένη ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα.

("He spoke, stabbed against the ghastly aegis with fluttering
straps, which gives way not even before the bolt of Zeus' lightning.
There blood-dripping Ares made his stab with the long spear,
but Athene giving back caught up in her heavy hand a stone
that lay in the plain, black and rugged and huge, one which men
of a former time had set there as boundary mark of the cornfield.
With this she hit furious Ares in the neck, and unstrung him.
He spread over seven acres in his fall, and his hair dragged
in the dust, and his armour clashed. But Pallas Athene laughing
stood above him and spoke to him in the winged words of triumph").

Here is a perfect prototype of a warrior maiden, more than a match for her male counterpart. The scene on the shield of Achilles is rather like Turnus and Camilla standing shoulder to shoulder as allies, yet Camilla's action is more impressive than Turnus', at least in the context of *Aen.* 11. She is certainly stronger than the male opponents whom she meets, just as Athena is, and can only be brought down by stealth. The way the goddess applies her brute force as well as hurling insults at her opponent just after the quoted passage (410-14) is also very much echoed in Camilla's behaviour in her *aristeia*. In my view, Athena is most definitely one of the prototypes of Camilla. Greco-Roman audiences had already been accustomed to the image of a mighty warrior maiden in Athena, and must have enjoyed the reversal of the normal gender power balance in the context of epic poetry, though admittedly the goddesses had a totally different status to mortal women both in literature and real life.

Thus Camilla can be seen as a synthesis of many predecessors, beautiful maidens, huntresses, warriors male and female, virgin goddesses, queens (Arete, Dido, Penthesilea)

and princesses (Nausicaa, Harpalyce, Hippolyte). All these images are superimposed, like layers of watercolour paints, from which Camilla's portrait emerges. From those images we have also gleaned some aspects of her role in the story, such as her function as "Patroclus" or "Sarpedon", to stir Turnus into action, and her position as "the other", brought up on the margin of civilisation as an Amazon-like figure. Her otherness is enhanced by her status as the one consecrated to Artemis, enjoying her divine patronage, while she also has some qualities of Athena, the virgin goddess of war.

Before we explore further aspects of Camilla's role in the *Aeneid*, I would now like to observe some characteristics of her Japanese counterpart, Tomoe.

Tomoe and Camilla

Tomoe can be called Japan's Camilla, a beautiful female warrior. She appears in only one section of *Heike*, which depicts the last moments of her master, Kiso no Yoshinaka, a Genji warrior who grew up in exile in Shinano, a mountainous, rural area, far from Kyoko, the capital city and political and cultural centre of Japan at the time. Kiso succeeds in ousting the Heike from the capital, but - not least because of his rustic manners[24] - he falls foul of the Imperial establishment and the leader of his own clan, and is now in exile himself, being hunted down by the Genji's superior forces. Although in some other versions of the tale Tomoe is explicitly described as his mistress,[25] in *Heike* there is no hint of their sexual relationship, which makes her look all the more like Camilla. Here is how she is introduced:

Enter Tomoe (chapter 9, section 4, "The Death of Kiso")[26]

Kiso no Yoshinaka had brought with him from Shinano two female attendants, Tomoe and Yamabuki. Yamabuki had fallen ill and stayed in the capital. Of the two, Tomoe was especially beautiful, with white skin, long hair, and charming features. She was also a remarkably strong archer, and as a swordswoman she was a warrior worth a thousand, ready to confront a demon or god, mounted or on foot. She handled unbroken horses with superb skill; she rode unscathed down perilous descents. Whenever a battle was imminent, Yoshinaka sent her out as his first captain, equipped with strong armor, and oversized sword, and a mighty bow; and she performed more deeds of valor than any of his other warriors. Thus she was now one of the seven who remained after all the others had fled or perished.

[24] Kiso's naïve and rustic manners are cruelly mocked in chapter 8, section 6, 'Nekoma'.
[25] *E.g. Gempei Seisuiki* (book 35). Cf. Mizuhara (1990) 306.
[26] Quotations from *Heike* in this article are from McCullough (1988).

First we are given Tomoe's rural background, by her association with Yoshinaka who grew up in Shinano.[27] The mention of another woman, who is likely to be another female warrior,[28] reduces her uniqueness to a certain extent (in much the same way as with Camilla's companions and the Amazons), but the tale gets rid of the other one quickly and concentrates on her superiority. What we notice first of all is her typically feminine beauty – "white skin, long hair and charming features" – which makes her warrior qualities even more striking. This is quite similar to the way Camilla is introduced as a beautiful woman who attracts the attention not only of young men, but also of mothers who fancy her as their daughter-in-law (*Aen*. 7.812-17; 11.581-82).

Tomoe is a woman not only stronger than any male warrior, but ready even to confront divine forces ("a demon or god"),[29] reminding us of Diomedes challenging Ares in the *Iliad* (5.846-67) or Camilla outstripping winds (*Aen*. 7.807) and keeping company with Diana and her immortal attendants (11.582-86). Tomoe's oversized sword reminds us of Achilles' oversized spear that no one else could wield (*Il*. 16.140-42) and her mighty bow reminds us of that of Odysseus that no one else could string (*Od*. 21.409-10). But Tomoe is not only superior in strength and in valour to male comrades; she is also trusted to be a commander second only to her master. She has now survived the ultimate test of valour as well as loyalty (when others either "fled or perished"), to be among the final seven. Here again we see parallels with Camilla, who volunteers to lead her squadron to meet the Trojan cavalry and bear the brunt of the battle (*Aen*. 11.502-07), demonstrating her confidence and superior courage, and the loyalty and patriotism poignantly shown in her dying words (11.825-27).[30] In short, what Tomoe and Camilla have in common is the combination of superior female beauty and exaggerated male virtues, which make both their enemies and male comrades look rather feeble by comparison.[31]

Like Camilla's tale, however, Tomoe's has an unexpected ending due to her gender. Later in the same episode, when Yoshinaka's company is reduced to just five, among whom still remains Tomoe, he tells her to leave:

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[27] According to *Gempei Seisuiki* (book 35), her mother was his wet nurse.

[28] That indeed is the case in *Gempei Seisuiki* (book 35) which names Aoi and Tomoe as two female generals under Yoshinaka, the former of whom is said to have been killed in a specific battle.

[29] This expression is unique to Tomoe within *Heike*.

[30] Cf Otis (1964) 364, who describes Camilla in defeat as "utterly self-forgetful, concerned only for Turnus and the war". See also Viparelli (2008) 21-22.

[31] Hardwick (1990) 16-17 identifies the "stock role" of the Amazons as that of "worthy opponents" worth defeating. This applies equally to Camilla and Tomoe.

'Quickly, now', Lord Kiso said to Tomoe. 'You are a woman, so be off with you; go wherever you please. I intend to die in battle, or to kill myself if I am wounded. It would be unseemly to let people say: Lord Kiso kept a woman with him during his last battle'.

Reluctant to flee, Tomoe rode with the others until she could resist no longer. Then she pulled up. 'Ah! If only I could find a worthy foe! I would fight a last battle for His Lordship to watch', she thought.

As she sat there, thirty riders came into view, led by Onda no Hachiro Moroshige, a man renowned in Musashi Province for his great strength. Tomoe galloped into their midst, rode up alongside Moroshige, seized him in a powerful grip, pulled him down against the pommel of her saddle, held him motionless, twisted off his head, and threw it away. Afterward, she discarded armor and helmet and fled toward the eastern provinces.

Here is further demonstration of Tomoe's qualities, her devotion to her master and her extraordinary strength. She is confident and proud, and has a strong desire to show her worth to her master even when she is told to leave. Her love and concern for her master is like that of any male followers,[32] at least within this episode, in much the same way as Camilla's attitude to Turnus, whatever undercurrent of attraction there might have been (11.507).[33]

Having proven her valour, Tomoe clearly resents Yoshinaka's order to leave. He surely knew that she was "worth a thousand" male warriors, since he after all used to send her out as the commander of her own squadron. His motive for dismissing her has been a subject of academic debate.[34] Is he concerned about compromising his reputation, as he says, if he has a woman beside him in his last hour? There is no doubt some element of that, but surely he has some concern for her life, too, and wishes her to survive? If she survives, then there is also an advantage in that she can tell his tale to others and pray for his salvation after death (which is important in Buddhist belief).

Camilla also suffers a degree of humiliation at the hand of the poet himself, who appears to attribute her passion for Chloreus' gold to her gender (*femineo praedae et spoliorum ardebat amore*, "burning with all a woman's passion for spoil and plunder", *Aen*. 11.782). This is also a curious episode, which has exercised readers' minds as to the significance of "feminine" desire in this context resulting in Camilla's downfall. However,

[32] Indeed, her brother, Imai no Shiro Kanehira, is the one to remain with their master till the end, who kills himself after Yoshinaka's death.
[33] Cf. Fratantuono (2009a) on 11.508.
[34] Cf. Brown (1998) 188-91.

the blind desire for booty is not unique to Camilla nor uniquely feminine at all. As has been pointed out, it echoes the episodes with spoils which prove fatal to Euryalus (*Aen*. 9.359-66, 457)[35] and Turnus (*Aen*. 10.496-505).[36] If we are to interpret Camilla's desire for the golden booty within the larger scheme of the poem, it is rather a trait of young male warriors.[37] It is above all the mode of her death that draws our attention back to her gender, by which we are forced to be a voyeuristic audience witnessing as Arruns' spear lodges beneath her bared nipple and "drinks" her "virgin blood" (*papillam* / … *virgineumque* … *bibit* … *cruorem*, *Aen*. 11.803-04), making the killing look like sexual violence.[38]

The clearest difference between Camilla and Tomoe is that Tomoe bows out triumphantly, with a man's head as her trophy, forever remaining Yoshinaka's invincible general. This is how Camilla's story also could have ended, had she not been distracted by golden booty. Still Tomoe cannot stay in Yoshinaka's world, just as Camilla cannot be part of the new regime under Aeneas. Just as there is no "dangerous anomaly"[39] allowed in the new Rome, there will be no female warrior in the new regime under Yoritomo, the leader of the Genji. The conclusions of both their episodes seem to say that they were women after all, and they each remain the "other" to their comrades.

This temporarily shifts our attention from these characters as literary creations to historical reality. We tend to think that we have to suspend our belief in order to enjoy the extraordinary exploits of female warriors in stories. Virtually no reader would believe that Camilla existed as a real historical person,[40] which was certainly my assumption in searching for the multiple "models" of which she is a composite. However, her similarities to Tomoe and the fact that Tomoe is part of the essentially historical narrative, most episodes of which can be verified through other contemporary sources, give us pause. Tomoe is likely to have been a real figure, though her portrayal in *Heike* is of course not entirely realistic.[41]

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[35] Cf. Horsfall (2003) on 11.782; Fratantuono (2009a) on 11.782.

[36] Cf. Harrison (1991) on 10.501-05, who compares Turnus' behaviour with that of Hector at *Il.* 17.194, who dons Achilles' armour stripped from Patroclus, with Zeus' comment at 17.201-06. We may contrast this and Euryalus' behaviour to the mature reaction of Odysseus to his success in the night raid, dedicating the booty to Athena (*Il.* 10.460-68).

[37] Cf. Morello (2008) 54-55.

[38] Cf. Fratantuono (2009a) on 11.804. Fowler (1987) 196 points out the "perversity of her becoming a wife (defloration) and mother (suckling) only at the moment of death" in this scene.

[39] According to Viparelli (2008) 19, this is how Cleopatra and Camilla look to their enemies.

[40] Horsfall (2000) on *Aen.* 7.803-17.

[41] Although, given the multiplicity of legends built up around the figure of Tomoe, Brown (1998) 185 concedes that "it is impossible to say precisely where the historical reality ends and the literary construct begins", he still takes it for granted that she was a historical figure.

Even if Camilla was not a historical figure, Virgil would have tried to make her character as credible as Aeneas and the myth of the foundation of Rome by the Trojans. Moreover we do have a historical "warrior queen" within the framework of the *Aeneid*, namely Cleopatra. Although her portrait is negative in this poem, the noble and courageous manner in which she took her own life inspired posterity to admire her.[42] In addition, the Amazons were believed to be a real tribe of women, though their tales, like those of Tomoe, are of half-historical and half-legendary nature. By evoking the Amazon queen's image in Camilla, Virgil may have been trying to enhance her historical credibility.[43] Even her name, which derives from an ancient ritual term and echoes a Roman cognomen, is likely to have been designed to evoke an air of authenticity. All this is important in creating a convincing and authentic representative of the Volscians, who were renowned for their sturdy, warlike nature,[44] and of Italian peoples (*o decus Italiae virgo*, "o maiden, glory of Italy" [my translation], 11.508), for whose freedom and survival within the new regime of Rome Camilla dies.

Heike also mentions Empress Jingu (chapter 5, section 1, "The Transfer of the Capital"), a semi-legendary "warrior queen", who led her forces to victory on a foreign expedition during which her husband, Emperor Chuai, died, though it is unlikely that she was involved in physical combat.[45] Tomoe is clearly a warrior in her own right with her own history, but the image of this fighting queen as precedent will have made her story even more credible.

The fact of real female warriors or warrior queens is likely to be one of the reasons why we have the tales of female warriors in Greece, Rome, Japan and all over the world, though some of their superhuman feats are clearly a product of fantasy.[46]

Conclusion

Camilla's similarities to Tomoe, the Japanese female warrior from the *Tale of the Heike*, could add more dimensions to our understanding of her character. Like Camilla, Tomoe is the "other" to the rest of the world, not only because of her gender, but also

[42] Cf. Plutarch, *Anton.* 85-86, which reports that even Octavian was impressed.
[43] We can also compare the historically well-known athleticism of Spartan girls, which *Aen*. 1.315-16 refers to.
[44] Cf. Saunders (1930) 87-94.
[45] In particular as she was heavily pregnant at the time of the expedition and gave birth to a boy on her return home.
[46] As Constantinides (1981) 3 suggests of the perpetuation of the Amazon legends.

because of her upbringing as a warrior in a remote area. As with Camilla, her beauty makes all the more striking her military prowess and physical strength, that exceed the male norm and even approach the divine. Their characters each succeed in creating a high point in the story, particularly through the contrast between their excellence and the inadequacy of their male peers, Yoshinaka and Turnus, who have to address their failings after the women are gone. Their superior virtues are not only physical, but include moral qualities such as loyalty and courage. In other words, they need to exceed their male peer in every respect in order to find their place in the male-dominated world of heroes. Considering that Tomoe was most probably a real person and the reader is expected to accept her as historical figure, there must have been an exceptional individual behind her character. Although Camilla is almost certainly a fictional character invented by Virgil, we must remember that he tried to create a credible foundation myth of Rome, and we are expected to read something more than a mere fiction in her figure. We should remember that there was a real fighting queen figure in Cleopatra within the scope of the poem, whose courage and other qualities normally associated with men were admired by posterity. Virgil also evokes the historical image of athletic Spartan girls as well as the quasi-historical figures of the Amazons. We have a credible and respectable female warrior in Camilla out of the complex of images.

Despite all this neither Camilla nor Tomoe can play an active role in the new order that is to come after the conflict – they have to go. Being a woman, Tomoe was not allowed to die with her master, but had to give up her role as warrior and survive. Camilla's death is strangely induced by her "feminine" desire for the golden booty, framed with a rape-like image which underlines her femininity. Both women remain an anomaly in a male-dominated world, intensely brilliant for a short while before they have to be eliminated due to their gender, like a supernova which shines brighter than any other star just for a brief period of time.

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Translations of Nisus and Euryalus by Dryden and Byron

Revised from a paper given to the Virgil Society on 24 April 2010

In this paper I propose to offer a comparison between two versions of Virgil's Nisus and Euryalus episode. The first, by Dryden, was included in *Sylvae: or, the Second Part of Miscellany Poems* in 1685 under the title 'The entire episode of Nisus and Euryalus, translated from the Fifth and Ninth Books of Virgil's *Aeneid*'.[1] The second, by Byron, was included in his juvenile miscellany of 1807 entitled *Hours of Idleness*.[2] Byron confines himself to the night adventure. Dryden is arguably still Virgil's greatest translator. A version by a poet of Byron's standing, though little known, must be of considerable interest to Virgilians. I will dwell first on Dryden.

Dryden's version of this episode was not his first Virgil translation; he had previously translated two of the Eclogues.[3] But this was his first foray into translation of Virgilian epic, and the version has pride of place at the beginning of the miscellany in which he also included translations from Lucretius, Theocritus and Horace. He has two other extracts from the *Aeneid*, the entire episode of Mezentius and Lausus and the speech of Venus to Vulcan. There is a version of the episode of Camilla by another hand, together with other translations of Horace, Catullus, Tibullus, and Ovid by various poets.

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[1] Quotations in this paper are from P. Hammond (ed), *The Poems of John Dryden*, vol. 2, 2002, Harlow, 258-86. This volume in the Longman Annotated Poets series is the most useful edition of the *Sylvae*, containing as it does below the text on the same page the revised version that Dryden made for his complete edition of the translation published in 1697. Juxtaposition of the two texts shows many small stylistic changes, but no substantial change in conception of the episode in the later version. This volume also includes the preface (234-57). Texts are partially modernised in this edition. For consistency other early texts in this paper are also presented in modernised form.

[2] G. Gordon, Lord Byron, *Hours of Idleness, A Series of Poems Original and Translated,* 1807, London, 64-77. Various modern reprints are available.

[3] *The Poems of John Dryden* (n.1 above) 203-13.

There is every reason to believe that Dryden's choice of the Nisus and Euryalus episode was partly prompted by a personal and literary friendship. In December 1683, his fellow poet John Oldham, Dryden's junior by 22 years, died at the young age of 30. In his celebrated elegy "To the Memory of Mr Oldham", which was included in a memorial issue of Oldham's poems in 1684,[4] Dryden figured himself as Nisus to Oldham's Euryalus, in what is probably the most famous literary allusion to the Virgilian pair in English:

Farewell, too little and too lately known,
Whom I began to think and call my own;
For sure our souls were near allied, and thine
Cast in the same poetic mould with mine.
One common note on either lyre did strike,
And knaves and fools we both abhorred alike.
To the same goal did both our studies drive;
The last set out the soonest did arrive.
Thus Nisus fell upon the slippery place,
While his young friend performed and won the race.
O early ripe! to thy abundant store
What could advancing age have added more?
It might (what Nature never gives the young)
Have taught the numbers of thy native tongue.
But satire needs not those, and wit will shine
Through the harsh cadence of a rugged line.
A noble error, and but seldom made,
When poets are by too much force betrayed.
Thy generous fruits, though gathered ere their prime,
Still showed a quickness; and maturing time
But mellows what we write to the dull sweets of rhyme.
Once more, hail and farewell! farewell, thou young,
But ah too short, Marcellus of our tongue!
Thy brows with ivy and with laurels bound;
But fate and gloomy night encompass thee around.

[4] *Remains of Mr Oldham in Verse and Prose,* London.

Dryden here alludes to the footrace in *Aen.* 5. Given the emphasis on satire, the race in which both poets were involved is often understood to be the composition of heroic satire on national themes, since Oldham published his *Satyrs upon the Jesuits* in 1680, a year before Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*. But, particularly in view of the general Virgilian cast of the poem, Paul Hammond suggests that Dryden might also have had in mind Oldham's translations, for example, his *Horace's Art of Poetry; Imitated in English* published in 1681, three years before Dryden himself became seriously interested in translation.[5] Both the elegy and the Nisus and Euryalus episode were composed, almost certainly in that order, in 1684, which was also the year that saw the publication of Roscommon's *Essay on Translated Verse*, whose principles Dryden declares he was endeavouring to put into practice in his *Sylvae* translations.[6]

This may in part be a gracious compliment to a noble lord, but there is evidence that the Earl had proposed the institution of an informal academy to promote native enrichment and refinement of the language through the translation of the classics.[7] It is not entirely fanciful to see this aspiration in the choice of the epigraph from Virgil that heads the *Sylvae* preface: *Non deficit alter / aureus*; *et simili frondescit virga metallo.* (6.143-44). The primary reference must be to the Second Miscellany following on from the First, but the new growth of golden fruits can also be the translated poems, of the same mettle as those they replace, which constitute the vast body of the 494 pages of text.

In addition to this larger motive and any occasional interest prompted by the death of his friend, Dryden in the opening of his preface tells readers that in the case of Lucretius and Virgil he "fixed upon parts of them which had most affected me in the reading".[8] The episode was evidently a personal favourite, perhaps remembered from his schooling at Westminster.

At the time of writing, the last year of the reign of Charles II, Dryden, as poet laureate, was at the height of his powers and favour. The preface advertises an enthusiasm for what he had experienced as "the hot fits"[9] of poetic translation, which had given the poet an unexpected satisfaction beyond his ordinary productions. In the lengthy exposition that follows, Dryden discusses the whole business of translation and then comments specifically on all the poets he had translated. In following Roscommon, he declares:[10]

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[5] *The Poems of John Dryden* (n.1 above), 228.
[6] *ibid.* 237.
[7] G. Clingham, 'Roscommon's "Academy", Chetwood's "Life of Roscommon" and Dryden's Translation Project', *Restoration* 26 (2001), 15-26.
[8] *The Poems of John Dryden* (n.1 above) 237.
[9] *ibid.*236.
[10] *ibid.*237.

> "Yet withal, I must acknowledge , that I have exceeded my Commission; for I have both added and omitted, and even sometimes very boldly made such expositions of my authors, as no Dutch commentator will forgive me. Perhaps, in such particular passages, I have thought that I discovered some beauty yet undiscovered by those pedants, which none but a poet could have found. Where I have taken away some of their expressions, and cut them shorter, it may possibly be on this consideration, that what was beautiful in the Greek or the Latin would not appear so shining in the English: And where I have enlarged them, I desire the false critics would not always think that those thoughts are wholly mine, but that either they are secretly in the poet, or may be fairly deduced from him: or at least, if both those considerations should fail, that my own is of a piece with his, and that if he were now living, and an Englishman, they are such, as he would probably have written".

So he does not see his role as translator to be that of *fidus interpres*. Moving on in his preface to characterise the distinguishing character of each of the authors he translated, he starts with Virgil, giving him pride of place in the volume. He gives a fine appreciation of Virgil's style as the classical standard, and then goes on to reflect on its difficulty for the translator:[11]

> "I looked on Virgil, as a succinct and grave majestic writer; one who weighed not only every thought, but every word and syllable; who was still aiming to crowd his sense into as narrow a compass as possibly he could; for which reason he is so very figurative, that he requires, (I may almost say) a grammar apart to construe him. His verse is every where sounding the very thing in your ears whose sense it bears: Yet the numbers are perpetually varied, to increase the delight of the Reader; so that the same sounds are never repeated twice together … He is everywhere above the conceits of epigrammatic wit, and gross hyperboles: He maintains majesty in the midst of plainness; he shines, but glares not; and is stately without ambition, which is the vice of Lucan … I drew my definition of poetical wit from my particular consideration of him … but I must confess to my shame, that I have not been able to translate any part of him so well, as to make him appear wholly like himself. For where the original is so close, no version can reach it in the same compass … To make him copious is to alter his character; and to translate him line for line is impossible; because the Latin is naturally a more succinct language than the Italian, Spanish, French or even than the English … Virgil is much the closest of any Roman Poet, and the Latin hexameter has more feet than the English heroic".

The difficulty is threefold. First and most obviously, it is a matter of the difference between languages, Latin being highly inflected. Secondly, it is a particular feature of Virgil's density of style that Dryden points to in his preface: "Virgil studying brevity, and having the command of his own language, could bring those words into a narrow compass, which

[11] *ibid.* 241-43.

a translator cannot render without circumlocutions".[12] In his later dedication to the whole translation in 1697, he well described "the sober retrenchments of his sense, which always leaves something to gratify our Imagination".[13] And thirdly, it is the difficulty presented by his choice of verse form, the English heroic or rhyming couplet.

The English heroic for Dryden and most of his age and the next, despite the recent success of *Paradise Lost*, remained the rhyming couplet. (Interesting in this connection is the choice of the heroic couplet by Byron and Wordsworth[14] in the Romantic period). In his *Discourse on the Original and Progress of Satire*, Dryden spelt out an obvious difference between the classical hexameter line and the individual pentameter line of the heroic couplet: "The English verse, which we call heroic, consists of no more than ten syllables; the Latin hexameter sometimes rises to seventeen".[15] Virgil may use a periodic style, but many of his lines are self-contained, and as such often hold more than can be represented in a single pentameter line. Conversely, since the English heroic couplet is generally self-contained (enjambement between lines is allowed but not between couplets), there will be a tendency to fill out the couplet, in expansion of the Latin. In a weak poet this will result in "line-fillers"; in a strong one in the imaginative embellishment of the sense.

As it is deployed by Dryden and Pope, the heroic couplet itself is a clarifying medium with its own expressive and emphatic dynamic.

> *Waller was smooth; but Dryden taught to join*
> *The varying verse, the full-resounding Line,*
> *The long majestic march, and energy divine.*
>
> *(*Pope*, The First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace, Imitated,* 267-69*).*[16]

Dryden was the first great exponent of the heroic couplet, which he made a vehicle for what Pope calls here his "energy divine", and indeed those who appreciate Dryden frequently commend his muscular energy. Virgil's stately style has been regarded as the defining expression of Roman gravity and power; the "ocean roll of rhythm" that sounded

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[12] *ibid.* 243-44.
[13] W. Frost & V. A. Dearing (eds), *The Works of Virgil in English, 1697,* 1987, Berkeley CA, 326 (vol. 5 of E. N. Hooker & H. T. Swedenberg (eds), *The Works of John Dryden,* 1956-2000).
[14] Wordsworth's Virgil translations are available in B. E. Graver (ed), *Translations of Chaucer and Virgil by William Wordsworth*, 1998, Ithaca NY.
[15] A. B. Chambers & W. Frost (eds), *The Works of John Dryden: Poems 1693-1696*, Berkeley CA, 88 (vol. 4 of Hooker & Swedenberg, n.13 above).
[16] J. Butt (ed), *Imitations of Horace*, 1939, London 274 (vol. 4 in J. Butt (gen. ed), *The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope*, 1939-67).

forever of imperial Rome, in Tennyson's tribute.[17] There is overlap but not correspondence in the styles of these two strong poets.[18]

Contemplating the difficulty he identified, Dryden made a virtue out of necessity. His method was consciously to fill out Virgil's meaning, deliberately to make the implicit explicit.

> *He only proves he understands a text,*
> *Whose exposition leaves it unperplexed.*
>
> (Earl of Roscommon, *An Essay on Translated Verse*).[19]

We can link this to the attitude to language in the era of the Enlightenment:

> *But true expression, like th' unchanging sun*
> *Clears and improves whate'er it shines upon;*
> *It gilds all objects, but it alters none.*
>
> (Pope, *An Essay on Criticism,* 315-17).[20]

Translation for Dryden, like poetry and translation for Pope, is a kind of enlightening process. The unperplexing that Roscommon demands is partly an aesthetic desideratum, but also a philological or even a philosophical one. This was not an age which saw any great virtue in difficulty, ambiguity or the undecidable. One of Dryden's great strengths as a translator is the clarity with which he renders his originals. Few object when he irons out the obscurities and strained expressions of Persius (probably because Persius has few readers anyway, or few readers with any stake in his poems). But Virgil matters more and his readers, still numerous, care greatly. What, some have asked, if ambiguity and ambivalence are basic to Virgilian artistry?[21] Be that as it may, as he probes the density of the Latin text and opens it up and draws it out, Dryden's judgements tends to be firmer, his rhetoric more highly charged and his pictures fuller than Virgil's own. Similarly Dr

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[17] 'To Virgil', 16-17 in C. Ricks (ed), *The Poems of Tennyson,* vol. 3, 1987, Harlow, 99-100.
[18] For discussion of possible affinities between the classical hexameter and the English heroic couplet, see R. Sowerby, *The Augustan Art of Poetry: Augustan Translation of the Classics,* 2006, Oxford, 141.
[19] Wentworth Dillon, Earl of Roscommon, *An Essay on Translat*ed Verse, in J. E. Spingarn (ed), Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century, 1957, Oxford, vol. 2, 297-309 (303).
[20] E. Audra & A. Williams (eds), *Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism*, 1961, London, 217 (vol. 4 of *The Twickenham Edition*, n. 16 above).
[21] Dryden has been accused of erasing ambiguity in pursuit of strong Augustan readings. See R. F. Thomas, *Virgil and the Augustan Reception,* 2001, Cambridge. For a defence of Dryden, see R. Sowerby, 'The Augustan *Aeneis*: Virgil Enlightened?', *Translation & Literature* 11 (2002), 237-69.

Johnson remarked of Pope's Homer that as translator he "colours the images and points the sentiments".[22]

An example of the colouring of the images picked fairly at random from the version is the following description by Nisus of the route he envisages taking through terrain occupied by their enemy.

> *For, hunting in the vale, we both have seen*
> ***The rising turrets**, with the stream between,*
> ***And know its winding course, with ev'ry ford**.*
>
> (207-09)

The expressions in bold are glosses and additions that in their cumulative effect make the translation concretely visualised with additional particularities. Virgil simply has *urbem* (244) and *amnis* (245).

This habit of colouring of the images has got Dryden into trouble, particularly in relation to battle scenes and fighting, where it has zled to the charge that he revels in gratuitous violence. A brief example from this episode might be the killing of Rhemus amidst his retinue of men and horses:

> *Full on his neck he aims the fatal sword:*
> *The **gasping** head flies off; a purple flood*
> *Flows from the trunk, **that wallows in the blood**,*
> *Which, **by the spurning heels dispers'd around**,*
> *The bed besprinkles and bedews the ground.*
>
> (330-04)

The highlighted phrases are small expansions that intensify the physicality of this moment of violent death. The intensification is visual but almost audible in the additional "gasping". When the trunk "wallows" as it veers from side to side and the heels are "spurning", as the nervous system reacts to the sudden blow, there is added movement of a repulsive kind. The primary effect of these two words is to add physical realism, but both also have contrasting figurative suggestions, which, if they register at all, must add another layer, or at least, a dislocating undercurrent. There is indeed a sense in which the translator is revelling in the potentialities of the text as he responds to its imagery, or wallowing in blood, to use an expression derived from this passage, but the additions are not gratuitous. They spring from an imaginative engagement with the horrible physical reality suggested by Virgil's text.

[22] R. Lonsdale (ed), *Samuel Johnson: Lives of the Poets*, 2006, Oxford, vol. 4, 74.

As to pointing the sentiments, this is apparent in the rhetoric and argument of any speech:

> *O let not me the* ***widow's*** *tears renew!*
> ***Nor let a mother's curse my name pursue****:*
> ***Thy pious parent****, who, for love to thee,*
> *Left the* ***fair*** *coast of* ***fruitful*** *Sicily,*
> ***Her age committing to the seas and wind****,*
> *When ev'ry* ***weary*** *matron stay'd behind.*
>
> (165-69)

> *neu matri miserae tanti sim causa doloris*
> *quae te sola, puer, multis e matribus ausa*
> *persequitur, magni nec moenia curat Acestae.*[23]
>
> (9.216-18)

Three lines in Virgil have become six in the translation. In this rhetorical heightening, Euryalus' mother becomes an aged widow who might curse Nisus. The emphatic pathos here may serve as an example to counter a second major charge against Dryden's version: that it is lacking in pathos. It is certainly true that in celebrated moments such as *lacrimae rerum* (1.466)**,** the reader consulting Dryden will be disappointed. But the version of 1685 and the full translation as a whole are full of feeling. A notable example might be the lament of Euryalus' mother composed for the completed version of 1697 (not included in the *Sylvae* version, which concludes with the apostrophe at 9.446-49).

In a third example, the additional detail both colours the image and points the rhetoric. When Euryalus asks Ascanius to look after his mother in the event of his death, in the Latin he tells him that *inque salutatam linquo* ("I leave without saying farewell", 288).[24] In the translation there is a considerable filling out for pathetic effect:

> *neither parting kiss,*
> *Nor pious blessing taken, her I leave,*
> *And in this only act of all my life deceive.*
>
> (268-70)

Three words in the Latin have been expanded to two and a half lines in the English.

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[23] A very useful edition of Virgil's text is P. R. Hardie, *Virgil: Aeneid Book IX*, 1994, Cambridge.
[24] Where there are prose translations of the Latin they are by the author.

In the light of these three examples, Dryden's own account of his translation in his preface will seem surprising: "I own that, endeavouring to turn his *Nisus and Euryalus* as close as I was able, I have performed that episode too literally".

If we look at the detail of Dryden's version in the wider context of his interpretation of the episode as a whole, an obvious starting point must be his version of the famous question asked by Nisus at the beginning of the episode.

Dine hunc ardorem mentibus addunt,
Euryale, an sua cuique deus sit dira cupido?
(9.184-85)

Or do the gods this warlike warmth inspire
Or makes each man a God of his desire?
(117-18)

What we miss here is any rendering of the word *dira*: "dread desire". The phrase is glossed in the prose *interpretatio* which accompanied the text in the Delphin edition of Ruaeus (Charles de la Rue),[25] used by Dryden, as "sua cupido ardens", meliorating the effect of *dira*. The phrase also occurs when Aeneas gazes at the souls of the dead in the underworld and asks *quae lucis miseris tam dira cupido*? ("Why have these wretches such a dread desire of the light?" 6.721), where it is glosse d by de la Rue as "quodnam est miseris tam insanum vitae desiderium", ("why do these wretches have such a mad longing for life?"), translated by Dryden in 1697 as:

O father, can it be, that ***souls sublime***
Return, to visit our terrestrial clime;
And that the generous mind, released by death,
Can covet lazy limbs and mortal breath*?*
(6.974-77)

Apart from the fact that the economy is quite gone, the tone is moderated with the omission of both *dira* and *miseris***.** In the Latin, this is the sort of moment that gave rise to Arnold's evocation of "an ineffable melancholy"[26] pervading the poem, or more famously to the line "Thou majestic in thy sadness at the doubtful doom of humankind" in Tennyson's

[25] *P. Virgilii Maronis Opera interpretatione et notis illustravit Carolus Ruaeus … ad usum serenissimi Delphini*, 1675, Paris, reprinted many times thereafter. The paraphrase is printed in the margin and notes are appended below the text.
[26] M. Arnold, 'On the Modern Element in Literature', in R. H Super (ed), *The Complete Prose Works of Matthew Arnold. Vol 1: On the classical tradition,* 1973, Ann Arbor MI, 35.

tribute.[27] In the Nisus episode here, the omission of *dira* eliminates a possible complicating subtext. If we go on to consider the rest of this speech, we can see that Dryden has quite re-ordered its emphasis:

> *Or do the gods this warlike warmth inspire*
> *Or makes each man a god of his desire?*
> *A noble ardour boils within my breast,*
> *Eager of action, enemy of rest:*
> *This urges me to fight, or undertake*
> *Some deed that may my fame immortal make.*
>
> (117-22)

The last two couplets here translate two lines of Virgil.

> *aut pugnam aut aliquid iamdudum invadere magnum*
> *mens agitat mihi, nec placida contenta quiete est.*
>
> (9.186-87)

("Long has my heart been astir to dare battle or some great deed, and it is not content with peaceful quiet").

Dryden ends with immortal fame; Virgil with restlessness. Dryden may have been looking towards the ending, and to the apostrophe in which Virgil immortalises the pair, with which he ends the translation. Looking at the narrative as a whole, it is easy to suppose that Virgil, too, in his framing of Nisus' introductory speech here is looking to the end when Nisus finally finds rest, for there is surely an echoing link with *placidaque ibi demum morte quievit* ("and there at length in the peace of death found rest", 445) as he dies on the body of Euryalus. But Dryden's translation of the final line strikes a different note, emphasising the satisfaction of revenge.

> *Then quietly on his dear breast he fell*
> *Content in death to be revenged so well.*
>
> (483-84)

This puts a positive interpretation on the ending and typifies something about the translation of the episode as a whole and perhaps more largely about Dryden's Virgil. If readers, interpreters and translators can be divided roughly (and perhaps a little crudely) into two camps, the optimists and pessimists, then it is certainly the case the Dryden (and later Byron who follows him) inclines towards the optimistic camp.

[27] *'To Virgil' (n.17 above)*, 13-14.

What is the deed that gives Nisus his immortal fame? Clearly the self-sacrifice he makes in exacting revenge for the death of his friend. Dryden's own description of the episode in his headnote is quite straightforward.

> "The Trojans in it are reduced to great extremities, which gives the poet the occasion of continuing this admirable episode, wherein he describes the friendship, the generosity, the adventures, and the death of Nisus and Euryalus".

Friendship and generosity in the context of adventure and a tragic outcome are what Dryden honours and celebrates in his rendering of the episode. When Nisus slips in the footrace,

> *Nor mindless then Euryalus of thee,*
> *Nor of the sacred bonds of amity,*
> *He strove th'immediate rival to oppose.*
>
> (61-63)

The "sacred bonds of amity" translates *non ille oblitus amorum* (5.334) and is one of many emphatic renderings of the bond between the two men in the narrative of both the footrace and the night attack. Virgil's word here is *amor*, which becomes friendship in the translation, but Dryden is not bashful elsewhere in using the word "love" and calling Nisus the "lover" of Euryalus on more than one occasion (455, 482). And the warm glow of friendship infiltrates the reactions of Ascanius to Euryalus in Dryden's version; the Longman editor[28] brings out the parallels, highlighted in bold here, with the elegy to Oldham:

> *But thou, whose years are more to mine* ***allied*** *-*
> *No fate my vow'd affection shall divide*
> *From thee, O wondrous youth! be ever* ***mine****;*
> *Take full possession; all my* ***soul*** *is* ***thine****.*
> *One faith, one fame, one fate, shall both attend;*
> *My life's companion, and my bosom friend:*
> *My peace shall be committed to thy care,*
> *And to thy conduct my concerns in war.*
>
> (249-56)

That it is this relationship of loving friendship that he warmed to in the episode is confirmed in Dryden's rendering of the apostrophe with which he concludes:

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[28] *The Works of John Dryden* (n.1 above), 273.

O happy pair, for if my verse can give
Eternity, your fame shall ever live.

(485-86)

O happy friends! for, if my verse can give
Immortal life, your fame shall ever live.

(9.597-98)

His rendering of *Fortunati ambo*! in the apostrophe first as "O happy pair" in 1685 and then as "O happy friends" in 1697 makes explicit the bond of friendship that is to give Nisus and Euryalus their immortal fame by courtesy of the poet. In the episode of Mezentius and Lausus also included in *Sylvae*, Dryden is even more open-hearted in his apostrophe to Lausus, honouring his display of selfless piety in seeking to save his father:

And here, O wondrous youth, 'tis here I must
To thy immortal memory be just,
And sing an act so noble and so new
Posterity shall scarce believe it true.

(10.54-57)

This remained unchanged in 1697.

The tone and temper suggested by these two apostrophes probably puts Dryden against modern trends in Virgilian studies. G. J Fitzgerald's article entitled 'Nisus and Euryalus: A Paradigm of Futile Behaviour and the Tragedy of Youth'[29] is rather obviously in the pessimistic camp. In a more recent substantial article, Sergio Casali puts Fitzgerald in the pessimistic camp, and quotes two "Augustan" readings of the poem, "countering Fitzgerald", which highlight courage and military glory. He then argues that the contradiction between optimists and pessimists in the reception of this episode reflects a contradiction actually contained in the text itself and created "by the intertextual nexus which the *Aeneid* establishes with Homer, Lucretius and other literary texts".[30] Both these articles contain much of interest, but what they have in common is a strange neglect of friendship, of which there is scarcely a mention. In fact, a reader of the articles who had no knowledge of the original (admittedly a highly improbable eventuality) would never guess that Nisus and Euryalus were any closer than Odysseus and Diomedes in the *Iliad*. For Dryden, however, in the elegy to Oldham as in the translation itself, friendship (and

[29] in J. R. C. Martyn (ed), *Cicero and Virgil. Studies in honour of H. Hunt*, 1972, Amsterdam, 114-37.
[30] S. Casali, 'Nisus and Euryalus: Exploiting the Contradictions in Virgil's Doloneia', *HSPh* 102 (2004), 319-54 (321).

not actually military glory) is the chief subject for poetic celebration. His translation is an antidote or corrective to interpretations of the episode that overemphasise subversive subtextual hints and ironies; a subtext will modify a text but does not necessarily obliterate the apparent surface meaning.

In the phrase "the sacred bonds of amity" is expressed the chief idealism of the narrative for the translator. At the same time, if he is explicit about the positive aspects of their story, he is equally explicit about the excesses of the pair in their imprudent and unnecessary slaughter of the sleeping Rutulians.

Now, where Messapus quarter'd, they arrive.
The fires were fainting there, and just alive;
The warrior-horses, tied in order, fed.
Nisus ***the discipline observ'd****, and said:*
'Our eagerness of blood may both betray;
Behold the doubtful glimmerings of the day,
Foe to these nocturnal ***thefts****. No more, my friend;*
Here let our ***glutted execution*** *end.*
A lane thro' slaughter'd bodies we have made'.
The bold Euryalus, tho' loth, obey'd.
Rich arms and arras which they scattered find
And plate, a precious load they leave behind.
Yet, ***fond of gaudy spoils****,* ***the boy*** *would stay*
To make the proud caparisons his prey,
Which on the steed of conquer'd Rhamnes lay.
Nor did his eyes less longingly behold
The girdle studied o'er with nails of gold.

(356-72)

As Euryalus presses on, Nisus recognises that they were being carried away by an excessive desire for slaughter (*sensit enim nimia caede atque cupidine ferri*, 353). This is clearly marked in Dryden by the highlighted contrast between the discipline that Nisus observes and the "glutted execution" he now acknowledges. In his recognition here, his word *cupidine* recalls the *dira cupido* that had prompted his question at the outset of the episode, and is well represented by Dryden in the boyish desire of Euryalus for spoils, which Dryden's Nisus calls "thefts". There is a moral perspective here upon the slaughter; this aspect of the night adventure is not heroic. It would be wrong to say that Dryden is wholeheartedly or

unconsciously celebrating the military prowess of the protagonists in this night attack. In the final analysis what drives the narrative is the bond of friendship openly translated as love in Dryden's version.

Too late alas, he speaks:
The sword, which unrelenting fury guides,
Driven with full force, had pierced his tender sides.
Down fell the beauteous youth: the gaping wound
Gushed out a purple stream, and stained the ground.
His nodding neck reclines on his white breast,
Like a fair flower in furrowed fields oppressed,
By the keen share, or poppy on the plain,
Whose heavy head is overcharged with rain.
Disdain, despair, and deadly vengeance vowed,
Drove Nisus headlong on the hostile crowd;
Volscens he seeks; on him alone he bends:
Borne back and pushed by his surrounding friends,
He still pressed on, and kept him still in sight;
Then whirled aloft his sword with all his might:
Th' unerring steel flew, and winged with death,
Entered his gaping mouth, and stopped his breath.
Dying, he slew; and, staggering on the plain,
Sought for the body of his lover slain;
Then quietly on his dear breast he fell,
Content, in death, to be revenged so well.
O happy pair! For, if my verse can give
Eternity, your fame shall ever live,
Fixed as the Capitol's foundation lies,
And spread, where'er the Roman eagle flies!

(464-88)

Virgil's *exanimum ... amicum* (444) becomes "the body of his lover slain" as Dryden seeks to do justice to the unspoken emotion that drives Nisus and justifies the celebration of the pair in the apostrophe.

In his version, which he called a paraphrase, Byron confined himself to book 9, and finished, like Dryden in 1685, with the apostrophe. Byron was only 19 at the time,

and the version is certainly imbued with the heady exuberance of youth and a certain swashbuckling glamour. The opening couplet sets the tone:

Nisus the guardian of the portal stood,
Eager to gild his arms with hostile blood.

There is an undisguised thirst for blood at the outset. Nisus' opening question is slightly less questioning than in Virgil or Dryden:

What god, exclaimed the first, instils this fire?
Or in itself a God, what great desire?
My labouring soul, with anxious thoughts oppressed
Abhors this station of inglorious rest;
The love of fame with this can ill accord,
Be't mine to seek for glory with my sword.
(19-24)

Euryalus full-heartedly responds to this call to blood, fame and glory. When Nisus tries to deflect him:

In vain you damp the ardour of my soul,
Replied Euryalus, it scorns control.
(79-80)

Euryalus and the young translator are at one here and throughout. How controlled Dryden seems by contrast. In fact, it would be possible to do an old-fashioned classical and romantic comparison, Dryden representing classical restraint, while Byron is all romantic excess. Emotions are very much to the fore. Here, for example are the patriotic feelings of the old Trojan Alethes, who is quite overcome by the gallantry he sees before him:

Mature in years, for sober wisdom famed,
Moved by the speech, Alethes here exclaimed,
'Ye parent gods! who rule the fate of Troy.
Still dwells the Dardan spirit in the boy;
When minds like these in striplings thus ye raise
Yours is the godlike act, be yours the praise;
In gallant youth, my fainting hopes revive,
And Ilion's wonted glories still survive'.
Then in his warm embrace the boys he pressed
And, quivering, strained them to his aged breast;

With tears the burning cheek of each bedewed,
And, sobbing, thus his first discourse renewed …
(119-30)

There is little in what follows to offer any alternative perspective on this. The episode as rendered by Byron primarily celebrates glory through the sword. The moral element that comes through in Dryden is more or less absent. It is significant that when recognition comes that the carnage has to stop, it is somewhat muted, and the carnage is then associated primarily with Euryalus :

Brave Nisus here arrests his comrade's arm;
Too flushed with carnage, and with conquest warm.
(279-80)

The pair are unlucky; victims simply of chance or fate rather than also of their own excess. Dryden's rendering, surely representing the original, does not play down this excess. Byron's version is decidedly less nuanced.

Nevertheless though he turns up the heat, and is often overheated, Byron writes with assurance throughout. In a letter of 1808, he told his correspondent that the version was "the best in point of versification I have ever written".[31] Besides its great energy, his version also has delicate touches, as when he responds to the famous simile at the end of the episode, with its sweet sounds and gentle cadences, and adds an additional line that causes the reader to linger over its beauty. Here is the final section in Byron's version, beginning with the death of Euryalus:

He pray'd in vain; the dark ***assassin's*** *sword*
Pierced the fair side, the snowy bosom gored
Lowly to earth inclines his plume-clad crest,
And ***sanguine torrents*** *mantle o'er his breast:*
As some young rose, whose blossom scents the air,
Languid in death, expires beneath the share;
Or crimson poppy, sinking with the shower,
Declining gently, falls a fading flower;
Thus, sweetly drooping, bends his lovely head,
And lingering beauty hovers round the dead.

[31] *Byron's Letters and Journals. 1798-1810: In My Hot Youth,* 1973, Harvard, 118 (vol. 1 of L. A. Marchand (ed), *Byron's Letters and Journals,* 1973-82).

But fiery Nisus ***stems the battle's tide****,*
Revenge his leader, and despair his guide*;*
Volscens he seeks amidst the gathering host,
Volscens must soon appease his comrade's ghost;
Steel, flashing, ***pours on steel****,* ***foe crowds on foe****;*
Rage nerves his arm, fate gleams in every blow*;*
In vain beneath ***unnumber'd wounds*** *he bleeds*
Nor wounds, nor death, distracted Nisus heeds;
In viewless circles wheel'd*, his falchion flies,*
Nor quits the hero's grasp till Volscens dies;
Deep in his throat its end the weapon found,
The ***tyrant's*** *soul fled groaning through the wound.*
Thus Nisus all his fond affection proved –
Dying, revenged the fate of him he loved;
Then on his bosom sought his ***wonted*** *place*
And death was heavenly in his friend's embrace*!*

Celestial *pair! if aught; my verse can claim*
Wafted on Time's broad pinion, yours is fame!
Ages on ages *shall your fate admire,*
No future day shall see your names expire,
While stands the Capitol, immortal dome!
And ***vanquished millions*** *hail their empress, Rome!*

(375- 406)

The words and phrases highlighted in bold are the obvious hyperboles in this passage. Dryden in his characterisation of Virgil's style remarks that he is above gross hyperboles. In the light of Ogilby's version and many other wretched offerings from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it would be impertinent to call Byron's hyperboles gross. But there is an obvious inflation throughout. He makes Volscens an assassin and a tyrant. Euryalus's blood flows in "sanguine torrents". Dryden had introduced abstracts to express the immediate emotion of Nisus after the death of his friend:

Disdain, despair, and deadly vengeance vowed
Drove Nisus headlong on the hostile crowd

(473-74)

Byron follows him and goes one further in personifying revenge, despair, rage and fate. Paradoxically the personification detracts from the immediacy of the physical action. When it comes to the action itself, Byron's Nisus, unlike Virgil's or Dryden's, receives "unnumbered wounds", an infelicitous heightening. Similarly infelicitous is the hyperbole when Nisus' sword is whirled about so quickly that the eye cannot comprehend the "viewless circles" it is said to make. Nisus dies in Dryden "content in death to be revenged so well". In Byron, as he finds his wonted place on Euryalus's bosom (he has been there before, evidently) his death is heavenly in his friend's embrace. The final line with its vanquished millions hailing their empress leaves us with an inflated image of complacent Roman power that does not seem to be ironic. So, if on examination Dryden's method in colouring the images and pointing the sentiments puts him in danger of seeming to outdo his original, comparison with Byron might serve as a corrective that invites us to appreciate his control and restraint.

To conclude with a verdict in Dryden's favour, here is the judgement of Walter Scott in his edition of Dryden's works, published in 1808. Given this date, it is unlikely that Scott had read Byron's version when he wrote his summing up of Dryden's poetic achievement, perhaps some time before the date of publication. Though he came to be a great admirer of Byron's poetry, it is equally unlikely that a reading of Byron's Nisus and Euryalus would have caused him to modify his verdict on Dryden as a translator of Virgil.

> He who sits down to Dryden's translation of Virgil, with the original text spread before him, will be at no loss to point out many passages that are faulty, many indifferently understood, many imperfectly translated, some in which dignity is lost, others in which bombast is substituted in its stead. But the unabated vigour and spirit of the version more than overbalances these and other deficiencies. A sedulous scholar might often approach more nearly to the dead letter of Virgil, and give an exact, distinct, sober-minded idea of the meaning and scope of particular passages. Trapp, Pitt, and others have done so. But the essential spirit of poetry is so volatile, that it escapes during such an operation, like the life of the poor criminal, whom the ancient anatomist is said to have dissected alive, in order to ascertain the seat of the soul. The carcase indeed is presented to the English reader, but the animating vigour is no more. It is in this art, of communicating the ancient poet's ideas with force and energy equal to his own, that Dryden has so completely exceeded all who have gone before, and all who have succeeded him.[32]

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[32] W. Scott (ed), *The Works of John Dryden*, in 18 vols, 1808, London, vol. 1, 515-16.

Dido: Concepts of a Literary Figure from Virgil to Purcell

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The story of Dido, queen of Carthage, was already known to early Greek historiographers.[1] And it is possible (though cannot be proved beyond doubt) that an encounter between Dido and Aeneas featured as part of a flashback on Rome's early history within Naevius' epic narrative of the First Punic War in his *Bellum Poenicum* in the third century BC.[2] The love relationship between Dido and Aeneas was certainly familiar to late-Republican scholars.[3] But it was Virgil who, in the Augustan period, developed and embellished the story, giving it its canonical shape; he turned it into a dramatic love affair as well as a central element of Rome's history and national consciousness. Although it is perhaps the tragic love story that sticks in most people's minds, there is also a political aspect in Virgil, when Dido, shortly before her death, utters a curse that asks her countrymen to "persecute with hate his stock and all the race to come", wishing that "no love or treaty

[1] See Timaius, *FGrH* 566 F 82; on the figure of Dido see also Serv. ad Virg. *Aen.* 1.340; 1.343.
[2] Dido was mentioned in Naevius (Naev. *Bell. Poen.* frg. 17 *FPL*^{4} = Serv. auct. ad Virg. *Aen.* 4.9: *cuius filiae fuerint Anna et Dido, Naevius dicit*). And it is often inferred, mainly on the basis of a key fragment (Naev. *Bell. Poen.* frg. 20 *FPL*^{4}) as well as of assumptions about the development of the story, that there was an encounter between her and Aeneas in Naevius' epic; but the interpretation is uncertain and controversial. See *e.g.* Horsfall (1973–74) esp. 10–12; Luck (1983) esp. 270–71, supporting an encounter of Dido and Aeneas in Naevius; Parroni (1987) esp. 715, somewhat more sceptical; for bibliography see Suerbaum (1980, 275–77).
[3] See Varro, *apud* Serv. ad Virg. *Aen.* 4.682; Ateius *apud* Charisium, p. 162.6–9 Barwick.

unite the nations", and hopes for an avenger "to harass the Trojan settlers with fire and sword – today, hereafter, whenever strength be ours" (*Aen.* 4.621–29).[4]

Later poets returning to the figure of Dido and her story (often separated from the overall Virgilian context) have taken up both these aspects, while transferring form and content to new contexts and purposes. This paper looks at the modifications of key motifs by means of significant examples of later depictions of Dido in different periods, literary genres and settings, and discusses how essential elements of the Virgilian basis have been developed and adapted to new frameworks, which range from Roman antiquity, almost contemporary with Virgil, to early modern times.

Against the background of Virgil's depiction, this overview will start with a look at the way in which Dido was approached in the first major presentation of her after Virgil, in another Augustan work, Ovid's *Heroides*, and then go on to consider Dido's role in Silius Italicus' Flavian epic *Punica*. It will then move on to treatments in the Middle Ages and the early modern period: the examples considered are the epic narrative *Eneas* by the medieval German poet Heinrich von Veldeke, Christopher Marlowe's drama *The Tragedie of Dido, Queene of Carthage*, written in the sixteenth century, and the opera *Dido and Aeneas*, set to music by Henry Purcell in the late seventeenth century. Thus a range of genres and periods will be covered. The survey of paradigmatic examples will end with conclusions on the development and influence of the figure of Virgil's Dido over the centuries.[5]

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Although Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is an "epic" very different from Virgil's *Aeneid*, one might still expect Dido to play a major role in its final books, which narrate the

[4] *Haec precor, hanc vocem extremam cum sanguine fundo. / Tum vos, o Tyrii, stirpem et genus omne futurum / exercete odiis, cinerique haec mittite nostro / munera. Nullus amor populis nec foedera sunto. / Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor / qui face Dardanios ferroque sequare colonos, / nunc, olim, quocumque dabunt se tempore vires. / Litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas / imprecor, arma armis: pugnent ipsique nepotesque.* ("This is my prayer; this last utterance I pour out with my blood. Then do you, Tyrians, pursue with hate his whole stock and the race to come, and to my dust offer this tribute! Let no love or treaty unite the nations! Arise from my ashes, unknown avenger, to harass the Trojan settlers with fire and sword – today, hereafter, whenever strength be ours! May coast with coast conflict, I pray, and sea with sea, arms with arms; war may they have, themselves and their children's children!" Trans. here and in all quotes from *Aen.* is from Rushton Fairclough & Goold, 1999).

[5] For an extensive list of the numerous adaptations of the Dido story in literature and music (with notes and bibliography) see Kailuweit (2005), including the works discussed here; for bibliography see also Binder, Lindken & Molke (2000). For a discussion of examples from antiquity and the Middle Ages see Hamm (2008). For the reception of Dido in English-language literature see Molke (2000).

early History of Rome and have been called "Ovid's *Aeneid*" by scholars.[6] However, Ovid, using a well-known technique of his, avoids telling what Virgil had already narrated, and replaces Virgil's tales by other stories. Accordingly, he manages to squeeze the story of Dido into four lines in *Metamorphoses* 14: he simply mentions that Aeneas gets shipwrecked in Carthage, Dido falls in love, cannot bear the separation and kills herself on the pyre; she is called the "Sidonian" in this context, and her name does not appear once in the *Metamorphoses* (14.77–81).[7] Ovid also mentions Dido briefly in the *Fasti*, where he gives a detailed narrative of the fate of her sister Anna, on the occasion of the festival of Anna Perenna on 15th March (*Fast.* 3.523–656; see below). This story focuses on Anna, and the poet refers only to Dido's death and the inscription on her tomb, in which Aeneas is identified as the cause for her suicide (545–50).[8]

However, Ovid has not missed the opportunity to present a full portrayal of Dido; yet he sketches her in a manner very different from Virgil, by featuring her in another literary genre. Ovid has Dido write a letter to Aeneas as part of his collection of *Heroides* (*Her.* 7).[9] This means that the story of Aeneas is no longer told with *pius Aeneas* as the protagonist, but from the perspective of the abandoned Dido. Ovid presupposes knowledge of the basics of the story and of its major previous literary treatment, playing with a new and unusual perspective. Thus Dido's letter develops and modifies the love relationship as presented in Virgil's *Aeneid* 4.

Dido's letter is set after Aeneas has decided to leave Carthage. It shows her state of mind as she considers the moral implications of Aeneas' behaviour and of her own conduct. She urges him to delay departure, but eventually proclaims her resolve to

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[6] See *e.g.* Myers (2009) *passim*.

[7] *Libycas vento referuntur ad oras. / Excipit Aenean illic animoque domoque / non bene discidium Phrygii latura mariti / Sidonis, inque pyra sacri sub imagine facta / incubuit ferro deceptaque decipit omnes.* ("The wind bore them to the Libyan coast. There the Sidonian queen received Aeneas hospitably in heart and home, doomed ill to endure her Phrygian lord's departure. On a pyre, built under pretence of sacred rites, she fell upon his sword; and so, herself disappointed, she disappointed all". trans. Miller & Goold, 1984). On those lines see *e.g.* Myers (2009) 69–71 (with further references).

[8] *Arserat Aeneae Dido miserabilis igne, / arserat exstructis in sua fata rogis, / compositusque cinis, tumulique in marmore carmen / hoc breve, quod moriens ipsa reliquit, erat: / 'Praebuit Aeneas et causam mortis et ensem: / ipsa sua Dido concidit usa manu.* ("Poor Dido had burned with the fire of love for Aeneas; she had burned, too, on a pyre built for her doom. Her ashes were collected, and on the marble of her tomb was this short stanza, which she herself dying had left: 'Aeneas caused her death and lent the blade: Dido by her own hand in dust was laid'". trans. Frazer & Goold, 1989).

[9] For a comparison of the treatments in Virgil and Ovid see *e.g.* Jacobson (1974) 76–93 (though with a markedly evaluative approach).

take her own life by his sword. By giving Dido a voice in a long letter (almost 200 lines), Ovid combines, as it were, her speeches in Virgil's *Aeneid* into one continuous utterance in terms of form; and by using the device of a letter he does away with the need for her sister Anna as an intermediary to convey messages.

In terms of content, Ovid's Dido acknowledges that Aeneas is on a mission and cites divine orders as the reason for his decisions; she also mentions her own experiences with founding a city. She offers Aeneas power and safety in a new country if he remains with her in Carthage, and she points out that he is travelling not to his home country, but to an unknown place whose location he does not know and where he might only arrive in old age, as the gods are moving him across the sea. By highlighting the apparent irrationality of Aeneas' mission and the human suffering that it causes, Ovid has Dido question the central importance, purpose and uniqueness of Aeneas' task to found a new Troy. With the urgency of Aeneas' mission downplayed and a focus on his behaviour as a lover, Dido appears as a disappointed elegiac heroine, abandoned by her lover.

As regards details, key elements of Dido's speeches in Virgil's *Aeneid* are repeated, but typically with a twist. For instance, whereas Virgil's Dido claims that she could bear the separation more easily "if before your flight a child of yours had been born to me, if in my hall a baby Aeneas were playing, whose face, in spite of all, would bring back yours" (*Aen.* 4.327–30),[10] Ovid's Dido criticizes Aeneas, since his departure not only causes Dido's death, but possibly also that of their unborn child (133–38).[11] In Virgil's *Aeneid* the union in the cave during the tempest is described in an authorial comment by the poet as "the first day of death, the first of calamity", while Dido herself seems pleased with the "marriage" as she calls it (*Aen.* 4.169–72).[12] Ovid's Dido is made to allude to Virgil's account when she says that this

[10] *Saltem si qua mihi de te suscepta fuisset / ante fugem suboles, si quis mihi parvulus aula / luderet Aeneas, qui te tamen ore referret, / non equidem omnino capta ac deserta viderer.*

[11] *Forsitan et gravidam Didon, scelerate, relinquas / parsque tui lateat corpore clausa meo. / Accedet fatis matris miserabilis infans / et nondum nati funeris auctor eris. / Cumque parente sua frater morietur Iuli, / poenaque connexos auferet una duos.* ("Perhaps, too, it is Dido soon to be mother, O evil-doer, whom you abandon now, and a part of your being lies hidden in myself. To the fate of the mother will be added that of the wretched babe, and you will be the cause of doom to your yet unborn child; with his own mother will Iulus' brother die, and one fate will bear us both away together". Trans. here and in all quotes from Ov. *Her.* is from Showerman & Goold, 1977).

[12] *Ille dies primus leti primusque malorum / causa fuit; neque enim specie famave movetur / nec iam furtivum Dido meditatur amorem: / coniugium vocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam.*

"dreadful day was my ruin" and thinks that in fact it was "the Eumenides sounding the signal for my doom" (89–94).[13]

After she has expressed her resolve to die, Ovid's Dido ends her letter as follows (193–96): "Nor when I have been consumed upon the pyre, shall my inscription read: 'Elissa, wife of Sychaeus'; let this brief epitaph be read on the marble of my tomb: 'From Aeneas came the cause of her death, and from him the blade; from the hand of Dido herself came the stroke by which she fell'".[14] The event has not happened yet, but it is obvious what will follow, and Dido herself, aware of her fate, interprets its causes and consequences in advance. With her final words, Ovid has Dido indicate how she wants to be perceived after her suicide. The intended inscription on her tombstone (the same as in the *Fasti*), which focuses solely on Aeneas as the cause of her death, has her appear as an innocent victim, while Virgil's depiction is not quite so straightforward. Ovid's presentation remains on a personal level, and there is hardly any hint of a historic dimension or of a more general aspect of the relations between peoples.

Ovid singles out Dido by the literary form he has chosen, thereby, he can present the story from the female point of view, outlined by a self-conscious and metaliterary heroine, and focus on the love affair.

* * *

The story of Dido is treated rather differently in Silius Italicus' *Punica*, the seventeen-book epic from the Flavian period on the Second Punic War. Silius narrates the history of this war more or less chronologically, but he has a number of longer and shorter aetiological insertions that explain the war's genesis and outcome by means of flashbacks and flashforwards. Hence he comes back again and again to the Trojan War and its aftermath, particularly Aeneas' encounter with Dido, as the ultimate cause for the present war.

Silius starts off by giving hints about the causes of the war at the very beginning of his poem. It is well known that through the phrasing of the first couple of lines he makes

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[13] *His tamen officiis utinam contenta fuissem / nec mea concubitus fama sepulta foret! / Illa dies nocuit, qua nos declive sub antrum / caeruleus subitis compulit imber aquis. / Audieram vocem, nymphas ululasse putavi: / Eumenides fati signa dedere meis.* ("Yet would I had been content with these kindnesses, and that the story of our union were buried! That dreadful day was my ruin, when sudden downpour of rain from the deep-blue heaven drove us to shelter in the lofty grot. I had heard a voice; I though it a cry of the nymphs – 'twas the Eumenides sounding the signal for my doom!")

[14] *Nec consumpta rogis inscribar 'Elissa Sychaei', / hoc tantum in tumuli marmore carmen erit: / 'Praebuit Aeneas et causam mortis et ensem. / ipsa sua Dido concidit usa manu'.*

an implicit generic and metaliterary statement : *ordior arma, quibus caelo se gloria tollit / Aeneadum patiturque ferox Oenotria iura / Carthago* ("Here I begin the war by which the fame of the Aeneadae was raised to heaven and proud Carthage submitted to the rule of Italy", 1.1–3. trans. Duff, 1934). In those lines Silius simultaneously defines himself as a successor of Virgil and sets himself apart from him: in opening the epic with *ordior arma* and calling the Romans *Aeneadae,* the poet alludes to the first line of Virgil's *Aeneid* (*arma virumque cano*), while he distinguishes himself by changing the position and role of *arma* and omitting the focus on *vir*.

In the introductory section that follows immediately after the proem (1.21–139), Silius elaborates further on the background to the present war, motivating it on three levels: historical (Hannibal), "mythical" (Dido) and divine (Juno). In this way, the poet confirms beyond the proem that he has selected a historical topic for this epic and is aware of the historical agents, but also shows himself eager to connect his main subject to Rome's early history and thereby to explain the war's genesis. The mythical figure of Dido is thus directly linked to the Second Punic War.

Out of later additions to the complex of explanations of the causes of the Second Punic War, the longest and the most telling scene is the episode of Anna Perenna at the beginning of book 8 (25–241),[15] *i.e.* shortly before the narration of the battle of Cannae, which is set in the middle of the epic. When Hannibal in Italy is troubled by problems at home and successes of the Roman general Fabius (8.1–24), Juno intervenes by engaging Anna to cheer up Hannibal and make him march into battle (25–38). According to Silius, Anna is both Dido's sister and a tutelary nymph of the Italic river Numicius. Hence Juno tries to induce Anna to carry out her orders by pointing out that Hannibal is a blood relation of hers, descended from the same ancestor as Dido and Anna herself (8.30–31).

Elsewhere, this identification of two individuals called Anna is attested only in Ovid's *Fasti* (3.523–656). The identification causes difficulties, clearly voiced in Anna's reply: she feels obliged to comply with Juno's request, and begs that she may retain the favour of her ancient native country and carry out the orders of her sister, although the deity of Anna is among those honoured in Latium (8.40–43). This remarkable reaction on Anna's part provokes an authorial comment from the poet, who claims that far back in history lies the answer to the question of why Dido's sister is worshipped in the country of Aeneas' descendants; he will therefore recall this legend from the past (44–49).

[15] For a more detailed discussion of this scene and further references, see Manuwald (2010).

The authorial intervention and explicit introduction of a "historical" excursus suggest that the explanation is important to the poet. Silius apparently chose this particular set-up so as to be able to include the story of Anna and thus to clarify the character of the relationship between Romans and Carthaginians. So this tale could function as a convenient element for Silius in his "historical" strategy. But it also allowed him to enter into an intertextual relationship with Ovid on top of that with Virgil.

The love affair between Dido and Aeneas has already been alluded to in Silius' description of Hannibal's shield (2.395–456): it could be included among the decorations, since the decoration of this shield is concerned with the past and not with the future, in contrast to Aeneas' shield in Virgil's *Aeneid* (8.625–731). Hannibal's shield features a brief panorama of the main events in Carthage featured in *Aen.* 1 and 4: it shows the building of Carthage, Aeneas' arrival in Carthage, the secret pact of the lovers during the hunt, the departure of Aeneas' fleet and Dido's death on the pyre watched by Aeneas from the sea, as he leaves to his destiny. Upon her death Dido, like her predecessor in Virgil, charges a later generation of Carthaginians to take revenge by war, as the poet says when describing the representations (406–25). Although the union of the lovers is called a "pact" (416: *foedera*), in Silius Aeneas is not presented as being guilty of breaking it, rather as following the fates. All the same, Dido is shown feeling betrayed and therefore, according to the description of the pictures on the shield, entrusting revenge to future generations of her countrymen. Within the description, this scene is immediately followed by the young Hannibal vowing to fight against the Aeneadae (2.426–28). Hence Carthaginian resentment going back to Aeneas' departure from Carthage is suggested as the cause of the present war. In this respect, it would seem natural for Anna to follow Juno and support Hannibal against the Romans.

The reason why this is not a straightforward decision for Anna is explained by the excursus in book 8. As the initial stages of Dido's encounter with Aeneas have been called to mind in connection with the shield, the narrative immediately starts with the aftermath, by means of a brief reference to Dido killing herself with Aeneas' sword on the fatal pyre (50–53), and then turns to Anna's fate: when Iarbas, a suitor rejected by Dido, had usurped the throne, Anna left the country and was hospitably received by Battus in Cyrene (54–60). She stayed with him for two years and then had to move on again for fear of Pygmalion, who had murdered her sister's former husband Sychaeus (61–64).

Anna took to the sea and was eventually shipwrecked upon the coast of Laurentum (65–68). At first she was in great fear, yet she had her fears dispelled when she was courteously and hospitably received by Aeneas and his son Iulus (69–75). In contrast to Ovid's account (*Fast.* 3.603–06), here it is not Aeneas and Achates, but Aeneas and his son Iulus who meet Anna. This serves to increase the encounter's emotional impact, and turn it into a confrontation between families and peoples, since Iulus symbolises the continuation of Aeneas' family and leadership.

In response to Aeneas' enquiries about Dido's death (76–78), Anna narrates how Dido reacted to his departure and how she died (79–103, 114–59). When told about Dido's distress at his departure, Aeneas confirms with a solemn oath that he left Carthage and the marriage in sorrow and with a longing look, and only because of the threats and intervention of Mercury, who set him on board with his own hand (104–13). Clearly, the poet picks up on the motivation for the departure given by Virgil (*Aen.* 4.219–78) and emphasises it. All responsibility is conferred to the god, and therefore Aeneas' departure, which caused Dido's death, is attributed to an entity other than Aeneas.

Interestingly, the incident as a whole is narrated as a personal tragedy: there is no mention of Aeneas' destiny, just of the god's intervention. And Dido's last words on the pyre as reported here do not contain a curse; instead she is concerned with the impact of her life, her journey to the underworld and a possible reunion with her first husband. With reference to the Virgilian Dido's interpretation of their relationship (*Aen.* 4.171–72), the union between Dido and Aeneas is consistently defined as a marriage: Aeneas talks of *thalamus* (109), and Dido is reported to have called herself *Aeneae coniunx, Veneris nurus* ("the wife of Aeneas, the daughter-in-law of Venus", 143, trans. Duff, 1934).

This definition makes their separation and the ensuing wars all the more serious, since they thereby turn into a kind of fraternal conflict. However, the aspects of revenge and of the emergence of future wars are completely omitted, which leads to a contradiction with the description of Dido's death on Hannibal's shield. Yet the narrator accounts for the shift of focus: the story is now told by Dido's sister Anna while seeking asylum from Aeneas and hence using an appropriately non-aggressive style (80).

After Aeneas has heard Anna's story, he is touched and entertains kindly feelings towards her; for her part, she has put away her concerns and no longer seems a stranger (160–64). So it looks as if there could be a reconciliation between the two parties. But during the night her sister Dido appears to Anna and tells her that there can never

be lasting peace between Romans and Carthaginians, that Anna should beware of the snares of Aeneas' wife Lavinia and go to the nymphs in the river, so that her deity may be forever honoured in Italy (164–84).

In Ovid's version Lavinia is indeed plotting against Anna out of jealousy (*Fast.* 3.633–38). But in Silius Lavinia has not even been mentioned up to this point; she only appears (in a later book) in the underworld, among the women important for Rome's history (13.806–10). The poet rather exploits the detail of Lavinia's jealousy insinuated by Dido to give the latter's intervention a more personal dimension and to indicate her deep disappointment with Aeneas. This complex set-up indicates that there existed the possibility of reconciliation between the survivors, but that its realisation was prevented by Dido's fear and distrust of the Trojans on the basis of her previous experiences.

Yet in Dido's speech there is again no mention of revenge or of an order to fight the Romans. It is rather an instruction to Anna to care for her own safety because of the danger caused by Aeneas' men. Therefore there is no contradiction with Dido's persona as presented in the immediately preceding narrative of her death. Although Silius' Dido differs from Ovid's (*Fasti* 3.639–42) in recalling the ancient resentment, she does not spur Anna on to take revenge. Instead Dido is concerned for Anna's welfare, in line with her belief that there will never be lasting peace between the two peoples. Dido's advice to Anna is given in neutral, geographical terms, so that there is no direct mention of the consequence that in future Anna will be honoured by enemies of the Carthaginians.

Anna's terrified reaction to this dream closes the Dido inset and marks the shift back to the action concerning Anna herself. Anna follows Dido's orders. In the morning Aeneas' men notice that she has vanished, and they realise eventually that she has become a river nymph. She was seen among the Naiads and addressed the Trojans with friendly speech. Ever since, the poet says, she has had a regular festival and has been worshipped as divine throughout Italy (185–201). That the Trojans / Romans thus honour a deity who is Carthaginian in origin does not seem unnatural in view of the preceding narrative, since Anna and Aeneas were about to be reconciled with each other.

When Silius has brought the entire excursus to an end with this aetiological explanation (200–01), he returns, without further authorial intervention or explicit transition, to the narrative present and describes how Anna is obedient to Juno and admonishes Hannibal (202–41). In her speech to Hannibal (210–25), he has Anna allude to her ambiguous nature, that had already surfaced in her initial conversation with Juno (30–31, 41–43): although Anna is honoured in Italy as an immortal goddess,

she traces her descent back to the same ancestor as Hannibal (220–21). Consequently, Hannibal accepts Anna as an indigenous goddess (227–28, 239).

Thus Juno's intervention has the expected result: Hannibal is encouraged by Anna's appearance, voices his veneration and promises, in the event of a successful battle, to place an image of her in a marble temple on the acropolis of Carthage, together with an image of Dido (226–31). If Hannibal were to do this, it would be a clear visualisation of the fact that Anna is a figure worshipped by both peoples. This demonstrates that the two nations could have things in common, while it is also made clear that Hannibal immediately exploits the goddess for his own purposes.

Although, at Juno's instigation, Anna supports Hannibal in this scene, it is indicated that her potential impact transgresses national boundaries and that due to her "dual citizenship" she might be able to mediate between different nations. This is particularly akin to Anna's characterisation in both Virgil and Ovid (and to her primary function in Silius), where she is asked to negotiate between individuals. But preceding events, epitomised in Dido's reaction to Aeneas' departure, loom large and prevent more positive developments: owing to the resentment instilled in Dido's descendants and the continuing powerful influence of the revengeful goddess Juno, reconciliation does not come to pass, which demonstrates the force of the traditional conflict. Hence, just before the battle of Cannae, the Anna Perenna episode illustrates that in the given circumstances there is no way around deadly battles between Romans and Carthaginians, since the recollection of Aeneas' treatment of Dido continues to make the Carthaginians oppose the Romans.

Tellingly, Silius chose to go back into the past and to include in his historical epic events from the early, "mythical" history of Rome and their divine motivation. Even though Virgil already connects the story of the Trojan War and its aftermath with the course of Roman history in the *Aeneid*, the immediate connection between the Trojan stories and the Second Punic War in Silius seems noteworthy. Indeed, he refers the origin of this war back to the divinely instigated events at the time of the Trojan War, which removes any guilt for the Romans as descendants of Aeneas. For although Aeneas' behaviour towards Dido is presented as the ultimate cause of the Carthaginians' relentless hatred against the Romans, he is freed from personal guilt for the situation he happened to be in. The causal connection between the two wars is further highlighted by a continuous emphasis on the fact that the Romans are actually Trojans and that Rome is "another", a "new Troy".

By taking up elements from preceding literary works Silius Italicus sketches a portrait of the causes of the Second Punic War that combines literary traditions and places new emphases, which can be understood as being immediately relevant to the writer's present. For on the one hand the poet presents a predetermined continuous process since the Trojan War, and on the other hand he points to human initiatives that could potentially lead to different developments. Against the background of confirmed hegemony of Rome, this opens up a perspective for Rome's future, oscillating between being tested and suffering as ordained by Jupiter and a potential for reconciliation and peace on the basis of human activities. Silius has thus given the Dido story a new function and interpretation. The portrait of a betrayed lover becomes less prominent, while what is highlighted is the ultimate cause for a relationship between two peoples in history. At the same time Dido's personal story is made to open up a potential for reconciliation, exemplified by the enhanced role of her sister Anna.

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The topic of the Trojan War remained a popular theme in late-antique and medieval literature. In those periods information about it was not only gained from classical literary treatments, along with their extensive commentary tradition, but also from widely disseminated Latin versions of the alleged eyewitness accounts of the late-antique prose writers Dictys Cretensis and Dares Phrygius. Stories connected with the Trojan War were then presented in a number of medieval epics and romances, some of which focused on the episode of Dido and Aeneas, such as the French *Roman d'Eneas* in the middle of the 12th century and the German *Eneas* by Heinrich von Veldeke in the late 12th century. While the German poet used the French version as a primary source and also had access to other descriptions of the Trojan War, it is obvious that he was also directly influenced by Virgil, who was a school author at the time and would be familiar to well-educated literary people, as well as by Ovid.[16]

Veldeke takes care to present his poem, a narrative of about 13,500 lines, as based on authoritative sources: he refers to "the famous Vergil" in the introduction (18.11/41), and he uses phrases such as "Vergil tells us", "the books reliably tell us", "so the poem

[16] On Veldeke see *e.g.* Classen (2006), with further references. For the Middle High German text and a translation into modern German see Fromm (1992); for an English translation see Fisher (1992; his translation is here used throughout). On the numbering see Fisher (1992) v–vi: "I have used the system of consecutive verse numbering for Veldeke's text, rather than numbering by manuscript page and verse as in the edition of the work by Ettmüller. In the Translation, however, I have included both systems at the head of each page, for easier orientation". For the same reason both sets of numbers are given here.

tells us" or "we are told" for authority on other occasions (cf. 21.25/165; 21.37/177; 23.33/253; 34.24/686).[17] At the same time he obviously feels free to modify his sources and also highlight his procedure, for example when he shortens the description of Carthage and says: "Much of what the good Vergil says of it in his books we can pass over, and reduce the story considerably, where it is proper to do so" (26.17–21/357–61).[18]

In Veldeke, Aeneas is still the Trojan refugee who is received in friendly fashion by Dido, queen of Carthage. The developing love relationship, however, is described and assessed in a way different from Virgil. While pagan gods retain a role and function in the plot, they become less important, and the portrayal of the phenomenon of love affecting individuals is heavily influenced by its concept and presentation in Ovid's poetry. For instance, when Aeneas arrives at Dido's court, it is still Venus and Cupid who cause Dido to fall passionately in love with Aeneas (35.37–36.5/739–47). Yet after the welcome banquet and Aeneas' tale of Troy, Veldeke considerably extends the description of Dido's reaction to this first meeting and narrates in detail how she spends the ensuing night, in particular how she is tormented by love, characterised like a disease, as in Ovid's love poetry. Dido is determined to gain Aeneas' affection, but, as the narrator says, Aeneas "had set his heart and his resolve on the fact that he would not stay there, whatever the price, nor turn his back on the glory he had been sent to win in the land of Italy" (57.36–58.2/1622–28).

However, when Dido and Aeneas are forced to spend time together during the tempest that occurs during the hunt, "he begged her to yield to him what she herself desired" (63.18–20/1846–48), and, despite her protests, "he did with her what he wanted, and gallantly received her favour" (63.25–27/1853–55). Afterwards Dido is both happy about her love being requited and disappointed because "she had given in to him so readily, and upon so little entreaty" (64.14–16/1882–84). By having Dido reflect on the event, the narrative indicates the problematic nature of the relationship.

At any rate these developments allow Dido to go public: "When the news spread that Lady Dido had taken the step of having Eneas as her lover, she

[17] See also: "Mighty Carthage was beset with a hundred towers; if anyone is surprised at this and wishes to make enquiries, let him consult the books which are called the *Æneid*, and he may be fully satisfied as to the truth as it is written in them" (26.32–40/376–82).

[18] On forms of adaptation of Virgil's *Aeneid* in the Middle Ages, influenced also by Ovid and later texts, see Kern (1996).

became his bride officially and held a great celebration. It was announced far and wide throughout the country, for she wanted thereby to gloss over, as she rightly should, the shame of what she had done in the forest. Now she became open and unconcerned, and did his bidding in public and private" (64.38–65.12/1906–18). Dido initiates all activities to legitimise the relationship, which is described according to the conventions of the time, although this endeavour is doomed to be unsuccessful.

When the gods order Aeneas to leave, Dido is distressed just as her literary predecessors. Soon afterwards, as she is about to take her own life, she is characterised as being completely out of her mind:

> "She said bitterly, 'Alas, Lord Eneas, how mighty I was when I first met you and saw you in this country. I must pay dearly for it. I will not speak ill of you, for you are without blame, you were fond enough of me, but I loved you beyond measure. Now you have left me to grieve in my house. Your mother Venus and brother Cupid have left me very unhappy; they took away my heart, so that all my senses cannot avail me. Alas, cruel Love, how you have overwhelmed me! I cannot put in words the feelings I have. Alas for honour and wealth, happiness and wisdom, power and influence – of all this I had my share. It is a terrible fate that it should end this way for me, to my misfortune and to my great loss. I have been cruelly overburdened. My distress is so fierce that I cannot walk or stand, lie or sit. I am dying of heat and yet am tortured with cold. I know not what is the cause of it. I am ravaged with poison, and do not want to go on living this way'. Then mighty Dido continued in pitiful tone, 'How sorry is my plight! Alas that it should ever turn out thus, that I should ever be so aflame within. Alas for this love, it is monstrous, burning me so cruelly with its fire. I will be spoken of in wonderment ever more. I must pierce the heart that has deceived me. Why did I not kill myself at the beginning, when I first began to suffer, and so stupidly took the stranger who had not come here on my account? If I had slain myself earlier I would not need to lament for myself, nor would any of my friends, the cost to myself would not have included the shame. But now my humiliation is spread far and wide, and the great cost must become public knowledge, for I do not want to stay alive'. When she had finished speaking, she stabbed herself through the heart. Although she was a wise woman she had completely lost her reason. To have thus chosen death was a mark of madness, it was false love which drove her to it. With the stab she sprang and fell into the flames". (76.11–78.7/2355–433)

This long quotation illustrates the destructive effects of love on a woman like Dido, who is otherwise "wise" and powerful. This forms the main focus of the narrative: Dido is unable to resist the forces of love and to overcome having been abandoned. Subsequently, it is said that "the Devil had urged the lady to kill herself" (80.28–29/2534–35). This remark indicates criticism of Dido's suicide, but not necessarily of her love and the consequences. In the underworld

Aeneas finds Dido among "those who had died of love" (99.29/3295), and the narrator introduces her as "the mighty Lady Dido, who had killed herself so wretchedly for love of him" (99.31–33/3297–99), which again highlights how she is overcome by the powers of love and is unable to react rationally and as expected.

By contrast, Lavinia's love for Aeneas develops in a more positive fashion. Even though it is again Venus and Cupid who make a noble woman fall in love and suffer from this condition, this love affair ultimately leads to a proper marriage with the appropriate procedure duly observed. It is emphasised at various points that care is taken that both parties are ready and prepared, there is mutual consent and they proceed according to convention. This is connected to an ideal of mutual courtly love, which follows social and literary models other than those of Virgil's *Aeneid*.[19] Thus the theme of love is developed throughout the work; against this background the love between Dido and Aeneas becomes a paradigmatic example of an unbalanced love relationship with Aeneas not really emotionally engaged.

Overall Veldeke has kept the basic structure and the main elements of Virgil's narrative, but adapted the narrative style and modified the emphases given to the various adventures of the protagonists. In line with such modifications, the tale of Dido and Aeneas, which covers roughly the first fifth of the work (since the Aeneas story is narrated in chronological sequence), is presented as an instance of a particular type of love and its consequences; this is set against a significantly enlarged love affair between Aeneas and Lavinia, which, due to the different circumstances, has a more positive outcome. While the aspect of Aeneas fulfilling a role in Roman history is toned down, in both cases the love relationships between members of ruling families still have a political dimension.[20]

* * *

Even though Veldeke's presentation of the story is different from Virgil's *Aeneid*, it is, like Virgil's poem, a long narrative in verse that covers the entire story of Aeneas. In the early modern period, it was the dramatic potential of the tale of Dido and Aeneas, inherent in the plot and indicated by the structure of *Aen.* 4, that became significant.

[19] On the different ways in which Aeneas' relationship to the two women is portrayed in Veldeke and his sources see also Mecklenburg (2001) 178–85; Mühlherr (2007).

[20] On the tension between love and the position of ruler and the implications for the characters' "guilt" see Kartschoke (1983).

However, like the narrating of the story as a letter written by Dido (as in Ovid), its transformation into a drama in which Dido takes centre stage reduces the importance of Aeneas as the destined founder of a "second Troy" and puts more emphasis on Dido and her love relationship.

A famous one among the sixteenth-century dramas on Dido is the piece *Dido, Queen of Carthage*. It was Christopher Marlowe's (1564–93) first tragedy, printed in 1594, which he is thought to have written when he was still a student at Cambridge, although there are possible contributions by Thomas Nashe (1567–1601). Marlowe's knowledge of classical literature is obvious from the fact that he translated Ovid's *Amores* and the first book of Lucan's *Pharsalia*. His debt to Virgil is demonstrated within the play itself by the facts that he has inserted key lines in the original Latin at particularly important or emotional points, and that he does not seem to have consulted any published translations of Virgil available at the time. Besides, Marlowe was familiar with Ovid's Dido in the *Heroides*, medieval versions of the Dido story such as Lydgate's *Troy Book* (1412–20) and perhaps previous dramatisations.[21]

Although Marlowe focuses on the relationship between the sexes, his story still has a broader framework, since the play starts with a divine scene in which Jupiter sets out the future of Rome, as Virgil's Jupiter does in *Aen.* 1. Marlowe has Jupiter confirm to Venus that Aeneas will reach Italy and lay the foundations for a new city that will make Troy eternal, but this outlook on the future is not directly connected with Dido's role and fate. The fortune of Rome only comes into focus again when Dido dies with the Virgilian curse (*Aen.* 4.628–29) on her lips in the final scene (V.1). Significantly, this curse is among the few key lines that are given in the Latin original. In the English speech leading up to it Dido wishes that Aeneas' men, even after reaching Italy, will still be troubled, and that a conqueror will rise from her ashes "that may revenge this treason to a Queene, / By plowing up his Countries with the Sword" (V.1, 307–08).[22] This must be a direct reference to Hannibal and the Punic Wars. Thus there is a clear link between the two events, just as in Silius Italicus, while of course the story of Hannibal is not part of Marlowe's drama and Hannibal is not even mentioned by name.

[21] For a discussion of the play's background and sources (with further references) see Vivien & Tydeman (1994) 17–24, for its relationship to Virgil and Ovid see, most recently, Buckley (2011). For contemporary versions of the major source texts see Vivien & Tydeman (1994) 25–66. On the possible contemporary relevance of the piece see Purkiss (1998); on the presentation of Dido see also Mecklenburg (2001) 184–89.

[22] For the text see Bowers (1981).

Marlowe refers the start of the love relationship between Dido and Aeneas back to an intervention by Venus after Aeneas has already been hospitably received by Dido and has told the story of the fall of Troy. Venus orders Cupid (as Ascanius) to make Dido fall in love, as in Virgil's *Aen.* 1. Her motivation, however, is that she wants Dido to get the ships of the shipwrecked Aeneas repaired and feed his men. The purpose, moreover, contains a surprising alternative: "and he [*i.e.* Aeneas] at last depart to *Italy* / Or else in *Carthage* make his kingly throne" (II.1, 330–31). This notion becomes relevant for the continuation of the plot, since Venus manages to prevent Juno from killing Ascanius (and thus destroying the hope of a new Troy) with the expectation of keeping Aeneas in Carthage through love for Dido (III.2).

Throughout, Ascanius plays an important role. Already at his first encounter with Dido he spontaneously says in a childlike way: "Madame, you shall be my mother" (II.1, 96). Aeneas on the other hand seems rather indecisive; he even allows himself to be persuaded by Dido initially to ignore the divine command to move on, plans to build a "statelier *Troy*" called *Anchisæon* in Dido's country (V.1, 1–23), and then, after having been admonished by Jupiter's messenger Mercury for a second time, tries to depart without seeing her. When he finally talks to Dido, it is he who leaves during the conversation. In this conversation the key ideas are again given as famous verses of the original Latin. Dido says: "*Si bene quid de te merui, fuit aut tibi quidquam / Dulce meum, miserere domus labentis: et istam / Oro, si quis adhuc precibus locus, exue mentem* [*Aen.* 4.317–19]". And Aeneas answers: "*Desine meque tuis incendere teque querelis, / Italiam non sponte sequor* [*Aen*. 4.360–61]" (V.1, 136–140).[23]

Besides, Marlowe complicates the story by introducing additional, mainly entertaining scenes, in the typical fashion of Elizabethan plays. The divine scene at the opening of the play has a lighter tone as it shows Jupiter with Ganymed (I.1), and later on the poet has Dido's aged nurse, like her mistress, struck by Cupid (IV.5). Iarbas acquires greater importance as a jealous rival of Aeneas, being involved in a number of scenes. His frustration with Aeneas and his attempts to get rid of him result in his suicide; and as Marlowe represents Dido's sister Anna as in love with Iarbas, she kills herself too. So the play ends with three on-stage deaths and not just the one of Dido herself (V.1).

[23] "If ever I deserved well of you, or if anything of mine has been sweet in they sight, pity a falling house, and if yet there be any room for prayers, put away, I pray, this purpose".– "Cease to inflame yourself and me with your complaints. It is not by my wish that I make for Italy!"

Thus in Marlowe the historical dimension, by which the story of Dido is linked to the fate of Rome, is kept, but by the introduction of further emotional elements, dramatic effects and entertaining additions, the love affair between Dido and Aeneas loses some of its significance as a unique and important event. At the same time Marlowe obviously was able to assume that a substantial part of his audience would be familiar with Virgil and recognize his drama's complex relationship to the Latin model.

* * *

An opportunity to exploit the dramatic potential of the subject matter further by means of music was offered by the developing genre of opera. A large number of musical dramas on this story were composed from the 17th to the 19th centuries.[24] One of the best known today is perhaps *Dido and Aeneas*. The music to this opera was provided by Henry Purcell (1659–95); the libretto was written by Nahum Tate (1652–1715), who had previously composed a play with a similar plot, entitled *Brutus of Alba: or, The Enchanted Lovers* (1678). *Dido and Aeneas* was first performed in the early 1680s: there are records of a performance in 1689, which, however, does not seem to have been the first one.[25]

This opera (in a prologue and three acts, with a playing time of about one hour) opens with a divine prologue asserting the power of love and a celebration of spring welcoming Venus. The first act shows Dido, who is already burning with love for the shipwrecked Aeneas, but hesitates to reveal it, although her confidant Belinda encourages her and Aeneas asks for her love. The second act introduces decisive developments: it is not the gods, but a sorceress and enchantresses who meet in a cave and come up with a plan to cause misfortune to Dido (without any obvious reason) by first causing a storm during the hunt and then encouraging Aeneas to move on. They proceed to provoke a tempest that forces Dido and Aeneas and their retinue to break off the hunt in the woods. Dido and her people return to the city, while the spirit of the sorceress in the likeness of the divine messenger Mercury reminds Aeneas of his task. He obeys and decides to leave immediately, although he feels ill at ease, since the queen had just given over her heart to him and they had enjoyed a night together. In the third act, the

[24] E.g. Busenello / Cavalli, *Didone* (1641); Tate / Purcell, *Dido and Aeneas* (1689); Hinsch / Graupner, *Dido, Königin von Carthago* (1707); Metastasio / Sarro, *Didone abbandonata* (1724); Metastasio / Vinci, *Didone abbandonata* (1726); Marmontel / Piccinni, *Didon* (1783); Hoare (after Metastasio) / Storace, *Dido, Queen of Carthage* (1792); Kellgren / Kraus, *Aeneas i Cartago* (1799); Berlioz, *Les Troyens (à Carthage)* (1863). On some of these works see Koch (1990).

[25] For the text as well as notes on the play's date and background see Cholij (2000); text also included in Paulsen (2000).

sorceress rejoices at the success of the plan, while Aeneas takes leave from the distraught Dido. In this final encounter, Dido is deeply hurt because in her eyes Aeneas had shown himself to be disloyal and not trustworthy. Therefore she sends him away as he is about to revise his decision, because she has lost faith in him. The opera closes with Dido about to die after having been abandoned by Aeneas.

This version contains most of the key elements that are known from Virgil's narrative, although the plot has been condensed significantly: all characters not strictly necessary for the story have been eliminated, speeches have been reduced and important facts are presented elliptically or given a new function. In form the tale has been turned into a kind of tragedy, where human beings are exposed to destructive forces working on them, and a psychological love story, where a noble lady devotes herself to love and is then abandoned and therefore feels shunned and dishonoured. Besides, the presentation has been adapted: the high amount of dance and choral songs is in line with the taste of the time.

But there may be more to it. It has been suggested that the piece could have political undertones. Some critics have connected it with the Glorious Revolution in 1688 and the coronation of Prince William and Princess Mary on 11 April 1689, and some have thought that the libretto makes use of a symbolic reading popular during the English-Dutch War in 1672, according to which Carthage represents Amsterdam and Rome Britain. Then the story could be applied to the present time and be read as a warning to William not to neglect his kingdom and his wife. Others again have said that the reduction and changes to the story (causing some ambiguities) are the result of efforts to obscure parallels between the English monarch and queen Dido that could have negative implications. Connections to James II have also been suggested.[26]

At any rate, although it seems that in the history of reception the love element of the story (highlighted in the prologue to this version) has become more dominant, it is still a love affair between the leaders of two peoples with the associated political dimension, and this makes it possible to connect the mythical story with contemporary monarchs.

* * *

At the end of this brief look at depictions of the figure of Dido from Virgil's epic to opera in seventeenth-century England, the reappearance of this character in

[26] For a discussion of possible political allegories see Price (1984) 229–34; for a critical review of such interpretations see Harris (1987) 17–20; for overviews of debated issues and the relationship to Virgil see Koch (1990) 33–38; Burden (1998); Paulsen (2000) 263–65.

such diverse contexts shows the powerful impression of Virgil's *Aeneid*, as well as its lasting relevance and potential for adaptation. In later versions, the two aspects inherent in Virgil's tale, Dido's unhappy love affair and her curse as the "historical" basis for the conflict between Rome and Carthage, are taken up, with one of them typically more dominant in the various versions, while both issues are adapted to the intentions and contemporary circumstances of the respective poets. So the story of Dido may be turned into a description of the plights of an elegiac lover, into a medieval paradigm of the destructive forces of vehement love, or into a more modern psychological and also magical story where a sorceress replaces the ancient gods. The political aspect can serve for a consideration of the difficult relationship between two countries represented by Carthage and Rome.

Even without going into all the details of the complex meanings of each version discussed here, it is obvious that Virgil's narrative of Aeneas and Dido in the *Aeneid* has provided a rich and fruitful basis for a long line of multi-faceted enjoyable stories and important works of literature.

To illustrate the wide variety of possible intertextual relationships and interpretations originating from Virgil's *Aeneid*, this discussion concludes with a piece by the Elizabethan poet Thomas Campion (1567–1620), which he defines as 'A Ballad' (part of *The Ayres that were svng and played at Brougham Castle in Westmerland, in the Kings Entertainment*, printed 1618). Here the poet manages to tell the entire story of Dido and Aeneas in three stanzas of ten short lines each and to infer from it a "moral" for contemporary men:[27]

Dido was the *Carthage* Queene
And lou'd the *Troian* Knight
That wandring many coasts had seene
And many a dreadfull fight:
As they on hunting road, a shower
Drave them in a louing hower
Downe to a darksome caue
Where *Æneas* with his charmes
Lockt Queene *Dido* in his armes
And had what he could haue.

[27] For the text see Vivian (1909) 231–32.

Dido Hymens Rites forgot,
Her loue was wing'd with haste,
Her honour shee considered not
But in her breast him plac't.
And when her loue was new begunne
Ioue sent downe his winged Sonne
To fright *Æneas* sleepe;
Bad him by the breake of day
From Queene *Dido* steale away:
Which made her waile and weepe.

Dido wept, but what of this?
The Gods would haue it so:
Æneas nothing did amisse,
For hee was forc't to goe.
Learne, Lordings, then, no faith to keepe
With your Loues, but let them weepe:
'Tis folly to be true:
Let this Story serue your turne,
And let twenty *Didoes* burne
So you get daily new.

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Ausonius and Virgil's Nether Regions

Revised from a paper given to the Virgil Society on 5 March 2011[*]

This contribution opens with a warning via the so-called *Parecbasis* of Ausonius' *Cento Nuptialis.* The original poem apparently dates to c. AD 374, when Gratian, the son of the emperor Valentinian I, got married.[1] Some years later, Ausonius sent a copy of the poem to his friend Paulus, now with some prose sections, such as the *parecbasis*, woven in. So far, after a lengthy prose preface and a dignified address to the emperors Valentinian and Gratian (1-11), the *Cento* has been in the form of a sort of descriptive commentary on the wedding celebrations, including the festive meal (12-32), the arrival of the bride (33-45), of the groom (46-56), the presentation of gifts (57-66), the departure of the couple towards their bedroom (67-79) and their first words of intimacy there (80-100). At this point, the voice of Ausonius interrupts in prose:

> *Hactenus castis auribus audiendum mysterium nuptiale ambitu loquendi et circuitione velavi. Verum quoniam et Fescenninos amat celebritas nuptialis verborumque petulantiam notus vetere instituto ludus admittit, cetera quoque cubiculi et lectuli operta prodentur ab eodem auctore collecta, ut bis erubescamus, qui et Virgilium faciamus impudentem. Vos, si placet, hic iam legendi modum ponite: cetera curiosis relinquite.*

("So far I have veiled the mystery of marriage which is to be heard by chaste ears in a circuitous and roundabout way of speaking. But since wedding celebrations love Fescennine verses and a game well known in ancient custom allows a wantonness in words, the remaining secrets of the bedroom and the bed will be be gathered and offered by the

[*] With many thanks to the audience at the Virgil Society for the invitation to speak and for the warm reception; and likewise to the Classical Society at Liverpool University, where I also delivered the paper; and particular thanks too to Daniel Hadas, who improved the written version in form and content.

[1] The work is transmitted via manuscript Z; for text and commentary, see Green (1991).

same author, so that I blush twice when I also make Virgil shameless. If you like, put an end to your reading here and now; leave the remainder to the curious").[2]

My discussion will focus on the so-called *Imminutio* section of Ausonius' *Cento Nuptialis* (101-31), which features adult content, sex and violence, graphically rendered. I shall consider details of the *Imminutio* section not so much within the context of the poem as within the context of Virgilian cento writing in general, which enjoyed a reasonable amount of popularity in Late Antiquity.[3] But let me insist again on the offensive nature of this material, this time in the words of Roger Green: "It is one of the most detailed descriptions of sexual intercourse in Latin literature, and also one of the most violent".[4]

In his own defence Ausonius claims his subject matter – a nuptial cento - was dictated to him by Valentinian on the occasion of Gratian's wedding. Allegedly, the emperor had composed such a cento himself, and wanted to see if he could do better than Ausonius (already a well-known literary figure). Under orders if not duress, Ausonius could neither refuse, nor egregiously outdo the emperor, so was in a bit of a bind. The prose preface does not record who won this contest, so we can only guess.[5]

Ausonius' prose preface contains the only ancient definition of a "cento" ("patchwork"):[6] the centonist takes units from a poem or author (for example one or two complete lines, or parts of lines) and stitches them together with others from the same origin to create a new narrative. Ausonius explains in detail the point at which units of less than a complete line can be joined - essentially a choice is available, just as there is a choice for the location of a hexameter line's caesura. To reproduce two originally consecutive lines in a cento is condemned by Ausonius as *ineptum* ("inept"), and three on the trot as *merae nugae* ("utter nonsense"). He specifies no restrictions or ideals for a cento's subject matter, but requires that the result be fluent and new. The "rules" for centonic composition as defined by Ausonius are, then, perfectly clear on the technical matters of metre and of sequence and number of hypotexts (*i.e.* original units) in the new work. These can stand as useful criteria in analysis of surviving centos

[2] Translations are my own. Latin texts of the secular centos are usefully gathered in McGill (2005) 119-52.
[3] Ehrling (2011) determinedly relates appreciation of the Imminutio section to the rest of the poem.
[4] Green (1991) 519.
[5] We should note that if we take Ausonius at his word and accept that he wrote his cento under orders, it is still not clear that he was under orders to write a sexually explicit cento.
[6] Pollmann (2004) 79-83; McGill (2005) 2-30; Ehrling (2011) 30-31.

Late Antiquity has left us twelve secular Virgilian centos and four Christian.[7] They date from c. AD 200 to c. 534, and cover a range of subject-matter, including Biblical narrative, mythological narrative, "epithalamia" (wedding poems), and the mundane. They vary in length, from eleven lines on bread-making (the *De Panificio*) to nearly seven hundred lines of Old and New Testament narrative (*Cento Probae*). They also vary in tone. In principle, of course, subjects such as bread-making, dicing (the *De Alea*) and sex could receive serious treatment, but they can also be treated light-heartedly, and Ausonius insists on his own humour in his prose preface, referring to his *Cento* as *frivolum opusculum* ("a frivolous little work"), *ioculari … materia* ("with jocular subject") and *ludicrum* ("a game"). On the other hand, mythological and Christian narratives in particular might be less suitable for light-hearted treatment, and in this respect it is well to note *Cento Probae*, the most famous Christian Latin cento of Late Antiquity (probably dating to the 360s), in whose preface Proba is not remotely frivolous or playful, but completely earnest when she promises to speak of the Christian truth in the works of Virgil.[8]

In sum, in form and date, the body of surviving centos offers a relatively compact and manageable episode in Virgilian reception;[9] but in its content, tone and ideologies, it also accommodates an extraordinary range. Because, by its extravagance, it is at the very outer limits of that range, Ausonius' *Imminutio* section offers an interesting case for consideration of details and generalities of the cento as a small part of the Virgilian tradition.

But before I turn to that passage, I would like to consider as my first example of Virgilian centonic verse the anonymous *De Panificio*, as a control against which to set Ausonius' work. In the following presentation of the poem as it survives, vertical lines indicate the "joins" in Virgilian units; references on the right hand side indicate book and line numbers from the *Aeneid* and *Georgics* (*G*).

Ipse manu patiens |*inmensa volumina versat* |	(7.490|5.408)
adtollitque globos. |*Sonuerunt omnia plausu.* |	(3.574|5.506)
Tunc Cererem corruptam undis |*emittit ab alto.* |	(1.177|1.297)
Septem ingens gyros, septena volumina traxit |	(5.85)

[7] McGill (2005) discusses the secular poems; Ehrling (2011) 24-37 very helpfully surveys the surviving field and its major modern editions, to which Sineri (2011) can now be added.
[8] *Virgilium cecinisse loquar pia munera Christi* ("I shall say that Virgil sang the pious duties of Christ", 23).
[9] So too in provenance/s, transmission traditions etc. See McGill (2005) xix-xxi, 57; Ehrling (2011) 24-25.

lubrica convolvens |*et torrida semper ab igni.* |	(2.474|*G.*1.234)
At rubicunda Ceres |*oleo perfusa nitescit,*|	(*G.*1.297|5.135)
scintillae absistunt. |*Opere omnis semita fervet.* |	(12.102|4.407)
Fervet opus redoletque. |*Volat vapor ater ad auras.* |	(*G.*4.169|7.466)
Instant ardentes |*veribusque trementia figunt,* |	(1.423|1.212)
conclamant rapiuntque focis |*onerantque canistris.* |	(5.660|8.180)
Undique conveniunt |*pueri innuptaeque puellae.* |	(5.293/9.720| *G.*4.476/6.307)

("Working by hand he turns the huge folds and lifts up dollops. Everything resounded with the kneading. Then he lets fall from above wet and salted flour; huge, he drew out seven rings, seven loads, turning them over when oiled and constantly warmed by the fire. And the corn, soaked in oil, shone ruddy, the sparks go away. The whole way is busy with work. The work is busy and gives off a smell, black smoke rises to the breeze. They crowd in passionately and fix the trembling [bread] on spits, they shout out and seize it from the fireplace and load up their baskets. Boys and unmarried girls gather all around").

If we first consider the poem according to Ausonian criteria: we can easily identify a new narrative; the poem is metrically competent; there are no instances of consecutive lines reproduced as such. If we move beyond the Ausonian criteria we can find even more to commend here - the deployment of certain Virgilian units in a markedly new sense, in particular ll. 2 and 4. But there are also some awkwardnesses here: *ingens* (4) is not appropriate; there are a few minor inflections or other changes to Virgil's text which make the new narrative work better (*manum*, 1; *convolvit*, 5), and one which is perhaps the result of a faulty textual transmission (*tum*, 3).[10] To be carping perhaps, in ll. 2 and 7 in particular, there is no syntactical or even compelling narrative connection between the words before and after the caesurae, so the verses remain fragmented; the repetitions *opere … fervet / fervet opus* might not appeal to everyone, and the asyndeton (l. 7) is even less likely to have admirers; the final line is weak primarily because it has nothing to do with breadmaking.

But admiration for the author's imaginative redeployment of Virgilian subjects to a new context at ll. 2 and 4 prompts wider consideration of what constitutes centonic success: at various points, especially in the *Aeneid*, Virgil devotes lines to the preparation and consumption of food. Some of the hypotexts in the *De Panificio* are from such sections

[10] McGill (2005) 190, n.25 on the general preference for *tunc* over *tum* in the codex Salmasianus.

(*e.g. Aen.* 1.177; 7.466; 1.212; 8.180). The new poem's l. 3 even begins with a Virgilian hypotext about making bread. There is novelty in the new poem, where *corruptam* is used to describe the addition of salt rather than sea-damage (although *corruptam* is then perhaps unconvincing and vulnerable to criticism), but the objection can be raised that, technical competence aside, the inclusion in a composition of a Virgilian cento about breadmaking of a half line which in its original, Virgilian hypo-context, refers to breadmaking, lacks transformative ingenuity. This anonymous poet's achievement is limited.

An analysis which puts a premium on the centonist's transformative ingenuity can usefully be extended to other examples of the genre. The longest secular Virgilian cento we have from Antiquity is the *Medea*, attributed to Hosidius Geta, and dating to the late second / early third century.[11] The narrative follows the Medea myth which had so interested Greek and Roman tragedians: the heroine's murder of her own children in revenge for her treatment by their father Jason. For its occasional metrical errors, obscurity and incoherence, the *Medea* is generally considered of suspect quality, although for the very *scale* of his project (461 lines, against the *De Panificio*'s 11), perhaps Geta deserves some credit.[12] Unusually, this cento is in the form of a drama script – that is, with lines attributed to different *dramatis personae.* The Virgilian book Geta draws on most heavily is *Aen.* 4. This fact is not without critical value, as it suggests that in the late second / early third century, that book of Virgil lent itself to understanding in formal tragic terms, a position still orthodox amongst most readers of the *Aeneid* today.[13] But in terms of transformative ingenuity, Geta is vulnerable: how much of an achievement is it to write a narrative about the tragedy of a princess which draws very heavily on an original narrative about the tragic fall of a queen? Still, perhaps the tragedies of Dido and Medea are sufficiently different to demand a transformative process which exculpates Geta – surely more so than is the case with the *De Panificio.* In different ways, then, Geta's *Medea* cento and the *Cento Probae* can claim to, or can be understood to, tell an essential truth about the works of Virgil; they can be exegetical or interpretive of Virgil's texts at the same time as being transformative.

This critical approach will be brought into play as we turn now to the notorious passage from Ausonius' *Cento nuptialis.*[14]

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[11] Text in Lamacchia (1981); discussion in McGill (2005) 31-52.

[12] On technical grounds, McGill says of the Medea: "This is hardly an impeccable piece of cento composition", (2005) 31.

[13] E.g. Moles (1987); Horsfall (1995) 123-24.

[14] As above, vertical lines indicate the "joins" in Virgilian units; references on the right hand side indicate book and line numbers from the Aeneid, Georgics (G) and Eclogues (E).

Postquam congressi |sola sub nocte per umbram | (11.631|6.268)
et mentem Venus ipsa dedit, |nova proelia temptant. | (*G.*3.267|3.240)
Tollit se arrectum: |conantem plurima frustra | (10.892|9.398)
occupat os faciemque, |pedem pede fervidus urget, | (10.699|12.748)

perfidus alta petens: |ramum, qui veste latebat, | (7.362|6.406)
sanguineis ebuli bacis minioque rubentem | (*E.*10.27)
nudato capite |et pedibus per mutua nexis, | (12.312|7.66)
monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum, | (3.658)
eripit a femine et trepidanti fervidus instat. | (10.788)

Est in secessu, |tenuis quo semita ducit, | (1.159|11.524)
ignea rima micans: |exhalat opaca mephitim. | (8.392|7.84)
Nulli fas casto sceleratum insistere limen. | (6.563)
Hic specus horrendum: talis sese halitus atris (7.568|6.240-1)
faucibus effundens |naris contingit odore. | (7.480)

Huc iuvenis nota fertur regione viarum | (11.530)
et super incumbens |nodis et cortice crudo (5.858|9.743-44)
intorquet summis adnixus viribus hastam. |
Haesit virgineumque alte bibit acta cruorem. | (11.804)
Insonuere cavae gemitumque dedere cavernae. | (2.53)

Illa manu moriens telum trahit, ossa sed inter | (11.816)
altius ad vivum persedit |vulnere mucro. | (*G.*3.442|11.817)
Ter sese attollens cubitoque adnixa levavit, (4.690-01)
ter revoluta toro est. |Manet imperterritus ille; | (10.770)
nec mora nec requies: |clavumque affixus et haerens (*G.*3.110|5.852-53)

nusquam amittebat oculosque sub astra tenebat. |
Itque reditque viam totiens |uteroque recusso | (6.122|2.52)
transadigit costas |et pectine pulsat eburno. | (12.276|6.647)
Iamque fere spatio extremo fessique sub ipsam (5.327-28)
finem adventabant: |tum creber anhelitus artus (5.199-200)

aridaque ora quatit, sudor fluit undique rivis, |
labitur exsanguis, |destillat ab inguine virus. | (11.818|*G.*3.281)

("After they came together through the shadow in the lonely night and Venus herself gave inspiration, they tried new battles. He lifted himself erect, and mastered her mouth and face as in vain she tried everything, in a frenzy he pushed foot against foot, faithless one seeking the deep; from his inner thigh he seized the bough which lay hidden beneath his cloak, flushed with the blood-red elder berries and vermilion, its head uncovered, its feet mutually joined, a horrendous monstrosity, ugly, huge, missing an eye, and in a frenzy he pressed against fearful her.

"There is an inlet, where a small path leads, a fiery flashing crack, darkly exhaling poison. It is wrong for anyone chaste to cross the wicked threshold. Here there is a horrendous cave; such vapour pours out from the black jaws, and captures nostrils with its scent. Here the young man was carried by a route he knew well, and lying above, straining with all his strength, he twisted in his spear, with its knots and rough bark; it clung and driven in drank deeply the virginal blood. The hollow caves sounded out and gave a groan. Dying she pulled at the weapon with her hand, but the blade at the wound at her core between her bones sits deeper into the quick. Raising herself three times she rested supported on her elbow; three times she was rolled back on the bed. He remained, unafraid; there was no delay, no rest; holding his rudder without moving, at no point did he let go, and kept his eyes beneath the stars. He went over and over the route so often, striking against the belly, he thrust through the ribs and pounded with his ivory plectrum. And now, nearly at the final stage, exhausted they approached the end itself; then, frequent panting shook their limbs and dry mouths, sweat poured everywhere in streams, she slipped faint with blood loss, the secretion dripped from the groin").

Roger Green notes that the change in l.122 from *Aen.* 4.690's *adnexa*, to *innixa* "makes no difference to the meaning and may have been inadvertent".[15] Virgil's *iam pectine* (*Aen.* 6.647) changes to *et pectine* (127). Otherwise, there are no inflections from the Virgilian originals. There are no consecutive runs of more than one and a half original lines.[16] The passage is metrically competent.[17] Despite its densely metaphorical nature (to be discussed below) and the licence taken with genital physiology, the narrative is generally clear, although there has been some disagreement about what is going on at 104: Adams assumes *irrumatio*, which Green rejects.[18] Ausonius moves from description of the penis, to description of the vagina, to penetration despite resistance, coital motion, and

[15] Green (1991) 524.
[16] *N.b.* Ausonius' insistence on this in his preface's account of what a cento is; see above.
[17] Ausonius' preface contains detailed prescriptions about metrical divisions within verses.
[18] *irrumatio* is oral rape. Adams (1981); Green (1991) 519. Because this action anticipates the action of 105-31, I think Adams must be wrong, and I assume instead the groom is trying to impose (unwelcome) kisses on the mouth and face of the bride.

ejaculation. We may object to the subject matter, especially in the light of its designation as "playful" (see above), but the passage is technically accomplished.

And to consider the transformative quality of the passage: where the author of the *De Panificio* turned to excerpts of Virgilian narrative about food and bread preparation, and for his *Medea*, Hosidius Geta to Virgilian tragic *parole*, where might one turn in the Virgilian corpus for material for explicit erotic narrative? Heterosexual sex in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is not uncommon (between mortals, between gods, and in the case of Odysseus, a mixture) although the narratives are never graphic. By contrast, there is not much such narrative in Virgil's *Aeneid*, despite there being various relationships, including marriages, we can assume would have had a sexual dimension. Two notable exceptions are the Aeneas-Dido episode in the cave in *Aen.* 4 (160-171, allusively told) and the Venus-Vulcan exchange in *Aen.* 8 (387-406, more explicit).[19] Of the 49 Virgilian hypotexts in the 30 lines of the *Imminutio* passage, two come from *Aen.* 4 (122-23) and one comes from book 8 (111); none is from the original sex scenes. Moreover, this distribution of Virgilian hypotexts is not representative of the *Cento Nuptialis* in general, as *Aen.* 4 and 8 contribute respectively 12 and 19 hypotexts to the poem's 128 lines. Similarly, *Aen.* 1 is the most prolific source book for the cento as a whole (with 33 hypotexts), but only one features in the *Imminutio* passage (110). Therefore, with the same frequency as book 8, *Aen.* 1 is in joint last place in the competition amongst books of the *Aeneid* for citation in the *Imminutio* section. By contrast, *Aen.* 5 (7 out of a total of 21), 6 (7 of 16), 7 (5 of 9) and 11 (7 of 16) provide more hypotexts for the *Imminutio* than they do for any other sections of the poem.[20] In sum, these figures for Virgilian source (by book) against Ausonian location (by section) reveal the centonist's inconsistent practice across the 131 lines of his poem, In particular, in the *Imminutio* section, there is an uncharacteristically heavy use of *Aen.* (5), 6, 7 and 11, and an uncharacteristically light use of books 1, 4 and 8. These distributions invite analysis.

There are no descriptions of male or female genitalia in Virgil, of course, and the Virgilian narratives of sex are not used, so it seems a challenge Ausonius set himself in the *Imminutio* section was to transform: the *Imminutio* scene is more transformative than the preceding

[19] *N.b.* the miraculous account of the impregnation of mares by the wind at Ge. 3.270-83. In the verse section before the *Imminutio*, the hypotext for line 83 is *Aeneid* 4.166; and that for 85-86 is 8.388-89. I suggest the effect is twofold: both to heighten the erotic charge of the moment, and to accentuate the absence of further evocation of those Virgilian scenes in the *Imminutio* section. This latter effect is repeated in the work's closing prose section, where Ausonius cites the Vulcan-Venus episode.

[20] These counts are taken from the identifications of hypotexts given in Green (1991), and count successive lines as 2, *e.g.* 122-23 = Aen. 4.690-91.

sections of the poem, and also than the other centos considered above, the *De Panificio* and the *Medea.* This transformation combines a huge difference between the source and new narratives with an insistent density of metaphor. The considerable transformative ingenuity reveals and / or appeals to a particular psychological or cultural attitude towards Virgil's text.

Whether or not *irrumatio* is narrated at 103-04, the vaginal sex is surely a domestic rape scene (see 120, 122).[21] In such a violent context, the metaphors for the groom's penis are frequently, though not exclusively, military:[22] *hasta* (117), *mucro* (121) and *telum* (120). At some other times, when the penis itself is not denoted in an explicit metaphor, its activity is derived from Virgilian hypotexts which are themselves martial: for example, *tollit se arrectum* (103) is Mezentius' horse rearing up in combat; *eripit a femine* (109) is Aeneas drawing his sword to attack Mezentius; *transadigit costas* (127) is used of the death by spear of one of the nine sons of Gylippus. Similarly, it was the spear of Laocoon that was hurled into the wooden horse, the consequences of which are redeployed by Ausonius at 119 and 126. The first two words of the passage are taken from a battle scene, and the attack by the Harpies is also used to set the scene in a violent way at 102. The bride's resistance at 103 recasts the narrative about the overpowering of Euryalus; the disputed opening to 104 derives from Mezentius, mid-*aristeia*, killing Latagus with a rock in the face, and the close to 104 derives from the account of Aeneas chasing Turnus. The death-scene of Camilla, in battle, is reprised at 118, 120, 121 and 131.[23] It is not accurate, of course, to say that the battles are confined to the second-half of the *Aeneid*, but not without reason is it referred to as the *Iliadic Aeneid*. Given then that the figures I presented above for the distribution of Virgilian hypotexts across the cento suggested some conscious and unusual selection, we can see that one of the effects of the transformative process from Virgilian hypotext to Ausonian cento is to make sex violent, both directly by metaphor and indirectly by intertextual association.[24]

The victim of the violence is the bride, but there is a distinctive pattern to the transformation of Virgilian hypotexts which apply to her. We have seen how the penis is generally signified by objects, usually weapons.[25] Ausonius' chosen field for female physiology is rather different. We start with *est in secessu* (110), an example of a common Virgilian means of signalling a change in narrative direction, but here of course, the place is the focus of the dramatic and narrative attention, so that its co-option by Ausonius as

[21] *N.b.* too the bride's words at 94-98, dismissed by the groom.
[22] Ehrling (2011) 164-65.
[23] Ehrling (2011) 167.
[24] Burkert (1981) 59; Fowler (1987) 186.
[25] Cf. *clavus* (124) and *ramus* (105).

a transitional device in plot-narrative is wry. *tenuis quo semita ducit* (110) is taken from the landscape where Turnus goes to ambush Aeneas, as is *huc iuvenis nota fertur regione viarum* (115). *ignea rima micans* (111) is interesting, not just for its representation of female physiology, but because the phrase comes from the lightning simile used by Virgil of the sexual desire for Venus felt by Vulcan in *Aen.* 8 – a clear indication of Ausonius' determination *not* to use Virgil's lines 8.405-06. *ignea rima micans* of the vagina is all the more grotesque for the natural beauty of the original Virgilian simile, a dramatic meteorological event. The noxious gases, cavernous chamber and darkness insistently used to characterise the vagina in 111-14 (and 119) continue this presentation of female sexual anatomy as place.

Demonization by males of female sexual anatomy as unclean, threatening, and mysterious is not peculiar to Roman society, but a commonplace of gender relations in many cultures, including modern western society.[26] Ausonius colludes in this by excerpting and redeploying Virgilian phrases from the sinister topographies of Turnus' ambush and the Wooden Horse, and various places associated with the Underworld: *exhalat opaca mephitim* (111) is taken from the Oracle of Faunus, a liminal place where the living can come into contact with the dead; *nulli fas casto sceleratum insistere limen* (112) describes the threshold of Hell's punishment chamber; *hic specus horrendum* (113) is the Underworld home of Allecto, and the scent at 114 is taken from the narrative of her distraction of the Trojan hunting dogs. Meantime, *talis sese halitus atris / faucibus effundens* (113-4) is at Avernus, the entry cave to the Underworld.

The gendered landscape has proved an interesting critical position in scholarship of Latin poetry, but here we see Ausonius' extreme cento taking the figure to extravagant lengths – by association with the Virgilian hypocontexts, female sexual anatomy is otherworldy, underworldly, unattractive, and threatening to male order, and, as is the case with book 11, discussed below, the fact that *Aen.* 6 and 7 feature more heavily in the *Imminutio* section than elsewhere in the cento suggests this was a conscious choice by Ausonius.

The *sine qua non* for appreciation of a cento is the ability to recognise, however vaguely, that behind the new text lies an earlier one – for without that recognition, the whole enterprise falls flat. For its insistency, the most prominent hypotext in the *Imminutio* section is that of *Aen.* 11 where Arruns kills Camilla: Virgil's lines 804, 817 and 818 find new life in Ausonius' 118, 121 and 131. In his famous discussion of eroticised violence, Don Fowler argued that, although much of the *Imminutio* adopts as sexual metaphor words and ideas which were not originally (*i.e.* in the hypotext) metaphorical (see above), the

[26] Dworkin (1987) 198-229; Ehrling (2011) 167.

death of Camilla needed no such transformation. Much of Fowler's argument depended upon a chain of texts, from Homer to Catullus, in which the theme of the violent death of virgins developed, to then be explored more fully in the *Aeneid.* In the case of Camilla, Fowler emphasised the pathos evoked by Virgil's reminder of her virginal state at her death, *haesit* ***virgineum****que alte bibit acta* ***cruorem*** and asserted "I believe the sexual overtones are already present in the *Aeneid*".[27] This is more likely to be true for a reader like Fowler – or Ausonius (?) – in command of the chain of texts. I would argue that for any reader for whom these overtones were not *already present* in Virgil, Ausonius' redeployment of the lines *makes them present.* The interplay between hypotext and hypertext will not be the same for one reader as for another (one variable will be the individual's capacity to recall the original; another her response to the original, as to the hypertext). But as was argued above in the case of the *Medea* cento*,* in principle, traffic in interpretation of the relationship between hypotext and hypertext can work in both directions. Just as a reader of Hosidius Geta's *Medea* may be left more sensitised to a tragic element in *Aen.* 4, so too a reader of the *Imminutio* section may return to the hypotexts of the *Aeneid* with a new critical eye. That is, without being prescriptive about the response it cultivates, the insistence in the *Imminutio* section on (male-wrought) acts of violence as the hypotexts for male sexual activity, and on liminal and threatening places as the hypotexts for female sexual anatomy, can encourage an interpretive function for each text in respect of the other.

In the construction of his narrative and his choice of hypotexts, Ausonius demonstrates identifiable preferences. These preferences are both revealing of Ausonius' experience of Virgil and accordingly influential on Ausonius' readers' subsequent experience of Virgil. This latter phenomenon could no doubt be trivial or serious, according to individual psychology and critical preference: McGill notes that some readers of Ausonius might have found the cento "good, dirty fun"[28] - such a reader might sniggeringly find *Aen.* 6 forever trivialised thereafter, when the epic hero brandishes his *ramus* on his journey to the Underworld. But on revisiting the *Aeneid*, different readers, ones horrified by the cento's concentrated account of domestic violence, might forever find that horror cleaving to them still when they re-read *Aen.* 6 and its revelation of Aeneas' imperial mission.

In very different ways, the centonists Proba and Ausonius might have acknowledged the cento's capacity to effect a change in appreciation of the source text. Proba's claim that "Virgil had sung the pious duties of Christ" (*Virgilium cecinisse loquar pia munera Christi*,

[27] Fowler (1987) 196.
[28] McGill (2005) 104. See also Ehrling (2011): "the result … is *comic*" (166); "the humorous side of the cento is striking" (179).

23) depended upon the source text's later resequencing for its Christianity to be realised, but nonetheless the poetic programme could be premised upon belief in a particular immanence in Virgil, brought out by the cento: a reader who shares that belief will return to Virgil's text with fresh eyes. Meanwhile, in his prose preface, Ausonius says *piget equidem Virgiliani carminis dignitatem tam ioculari dehonestasse materia* ("It is disgusting to have disfigured/dishonoured the dignity of Virgilian poetry with such jocular material"). This notion of "disfigurement" might be thought only to apply while reading the cento. But equally, as in the case of Proba, it might apply to any rereading of Virgil thereafter. Ausonius makes light of it (*frivolum opusculum*; *ioculari … materia*; *ludicrum*), but in its potential hermeneutic implications, his cento's practice is no less serious than Proba's. This point comes more sharply into focus in the final words of the work's closing prose section, which has tended to receive much less critical attention than the prose preface. In the preface, Ausonius adopts a posture that is both defensive and modest: defensive, in that he claims to have written the cento under orders (*iussum erat*, "it had been commanded"), and modest, in that he downplays the work's merit (*nullius pretii opusculum*, "a minor work of no value"). At the end of the cento, something remains of his original tone, but a more purposeful line can be detected too:

Et si quid in nostro ioco aliquorum hominum severitas vestita condemnat, de Virgilio arcessitum sciat. Igitur cui hic ludus noster non placet, ne legerit, aut cum legerit obliviscatur, aut non oblitus ignoscat. Etenim fabula de nuptiis est: et velit nolit, aliter haec sacra non constant.

("If some men's clothed severity condemns anything in my joke, let them know it has been summoned from Virgil. And so, if this game is displeasing to someone, he shouldn't read it; or when he has read it, he should forget it; or if he can't forget it, he should forgive it. For this is a / the story of a wedding, and whether he likes it or not, these rites do not take place in any other way").[29]

The close echoes the preface's protestation of lighthearted playfulness (*ioco … ludus*), but at the same time the final phrase insists on the truth of the work's fundamental premise. There is potentially something very serious about this joke, be it about sexual relations and gender, or textual relations and genre.

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[29] *N.b.* Ausonius assumes his reader is male – *oblitus*.

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Dido and Lucretia

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In his unfinished epic the *Africa*, Petrarch stages a north African banquet at which the Numidian king Syphax entertains Laelius, the bosom-friend of Scipio. In this rewriting of the Virgilian banquet of Dido, an unnamed bard sings of the history of Libya, and tells of the foundation and building of Carthage by queen Dido (3.418-29). Petrarch, here and elsewhere, adopts the version of the chaste Dido, in which the Carthaginian queen commits suicide to escape marriage with a neighbouring king: *veteris non immemor illa mariti, / morte pudicitiam redimit. Sic urbis origo / oppetiit regina ferox* ("not forgetful of her former husband, she redeemed her chastity through death. So died the spirited queen, the founder of her city", 422-24).[1] The bard follows this up with an indignant reflection on the damage that would be done to Dido's name if someone overconfident in his own wit were to traduce the queen by writing of an illicit love affair – *quod credere non est* ("which is not to be believed", 425). Petrarch archly alludes to the alternative version, penned by a poet who will not be born until over a century later than the events narrated in the *Africa*: *veteris non immemor illa mariti* reminds us of a fidelity that in the *Aeneid* is overcome by a resurgence of what Dido felt for her former husband, *agnosco veteris vestigia flammae* ("I recognise the traces of the old flame", *Aen.* 4.23).[2] Petrarch's Dido remains constant because she remains *ferox*, whereas in the *Aeneid* Mercury, acting on the orders of Jupiter, has made the Carthaginians put aside their *ferocia corda*, in order to receive the Trojans hospitably (1.302-04).

Laelius answers the song of Libyan history with an account of Roman history, which reaches a first climax at the end of book 3 with a nearly one-hundred-line account of

[1] On the tradition of the chaste Dido see Pease (1935) 16-17; Lord (1969); Desmond (1994) 24-29; Kallendorf (1989) ch. 3, 'Boccaccio's two Didos'. All translations are the author's own, or adapted from those of the Loeb Classical Library, or, for the Aeneid, the translation of D. West.

[2] Cf. also *Aen.* 4.457-58 (*de marmore templum / coniugis antiqui*). For *immemor* cf. *Aen.* 4.194 (*regnorum immemores turpique cupidine captos*).

the rape of Lucretia (3.684-767), followed by a brief narrative of the expulsion of the Tarquins, Brutus' execution of his sons, and his death in battle (768-802). At the beginning of the next book, before Laelius continues with his account of Scipio, Syphax comments on the uniquely great nature of Roman destiny, but also notes the similarity between the stories of Lucretia and (the chaste) Dido, *sentio praeterea quid femina vestra pudica / morte velit: ne cunta sibi iam candida Dido / arroget* ("moreover I understand what your woman aimed at by her chaste death – that fair Dido should not now claim all the praise for herself").

In pairing Dido and Lucretia as *exempla* of chaste women who chose suicide over disgrace, Syphax – and Petrarch – follow a tradition that goes back to the Church Fathers, notably in Tertullian's and Jerome's repeated urgings to women to observe virginity or not to marry for a second time.[3]

The neat separation of the chaste and the unchaste Didos and the alignment of the chaste Dido (alone) with Lucretia are subject to complication.[4] I take an example from Petrarch's' narrative of the death of Lucretia and its consequences. Brutus swears by the gods and by the blood of Lucretia that he will persecute the house of the Tarquins with undying hatred:

> *quod flammis ferroque genus sobolemque domumque*
> *regis et invisum caput ac diadema superbum*
> *nunc, posthac, semper, michi dum lux ista manebit,*
> *persequar eternis odiis*

("'[I swear] that with fire and sword I will persecute in undying hatred the race, offspring and house of the king, his hated life and his proud crown, now, hereafter, always, while life remains to me").

(3.744-77)

Petrarch clearly has in mind the version of Brutus' oath given at Livy 1.59.1:

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[3] Lord (1969); see Allen (1968) 58-59 for Lucretia and Dido both appearing in a list of virtuous women in Eustace Deschamps. The Fathers' recommendation not to (re)marry has the authority of St Paul, 1 Cor. 7.8.

[4] See Klecker (2003) for further examples of allusion to Virgil's Dido story in Petrarch's Lucretia narrative: with *Afr.* 3.684-85 (*Regius infami iuvenis precordia flamma / succensus vulnusque trahens male sanus acerbum*) cf. *Aen.* 4.101 (*Ardet amans Dido traxitque per ossa furorem*), 4.2 (*vulnus alit venis et caeco carpitur igni*); with *Afr.* 3.697 (*quin obis?*) cf. *Aen.* 4.547 (*quin morere*); with *Afr.* 3.737 (*tremuitque domus sub murmure tanto*) cf. *Aen.* 4.668 (*tecta fremunt*).

> *Vosque, di, testes facio me L. Tarquinium Superbum cum scelerata coniuge et omni liberorum stirpe ferro igni quacumque dehinc vi possim exsecuturum, nec illos nec alium quemquam regnare Romae passurum.*

("I call you gods to witness that I will pursue Lucius Tarquin the Proud together with his wicked wife and his whole race of children, with sword, fire, and with whatever other means I can, and that I will not allow them or anyone else to reign in Rome").

But the words of the Petrarchan Brutus also echo the Virgilian, unchaste, Dido's dying curse against the Trojans. Compare *Aen.* 4.622-63 and 625-27 (I underline words and phrases that find a parallel in Petrarch but not in Livy):

> *Tum vos, o Tyrii, stirpem et genus omne futurum*
> *exercete odiis …*
> *exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor*
> *qui face Dardanios ferroque sequare colonos,*
> *nunc, olim, quocumque dabunt se tempore vires*

("Then, o Carthaginians, pursue with hatred the whole line of his descendants in time to come … may you arise, some avenger arise from my bones, to hunt the settlers of the race of Dardanus with torch and sword, now and in the future, whenever our strength allows it").[5]

There is a deeper connection here, in that the oaths, or curses, of both Brutus and the unchaste Dido are foundational *aitia* for major events in Roman and Carthaginian history. Brutus' vengeance founds the Roman Republic, while Dido's curse will be the cause of the Punic Wars, and so the cause of the destruction of Carthage. Petrarch explicitly associates the deaths of both Dido and Lucretia with foundational moments for their respective cities. As we have seen, Petrarch's African bard provides a kind of epitaph to his brief narrative of Dido (3.423-44): *sic urbis origo / oppetiit regina ferox*. She has founded the "new city" (420: *ex re nomen ei est*, "its name comes from the event", alluding to the supposed etymology of Carthage) and now she dies. Laelius comments on the events triggered by the death of Lucretia, *regnorum hic finis. Post hec meliora sequuntur / tempora, et hinc nostri libertas incipit evi* ("that was the end of kingship. After that followed better times, and from that date begun the freedom we enjoy now", 3.773-74). The death of Lucretia leads directly to the birth of the Roman Republic. I suggest below a reason why the chaste Dido's death may also be in the interest of the city that she has just founded.

[5] It is possible that Virgil himself alludes to the Livian curse of Brutus in the curse of Dido.

In this paper I explore further the links between Lucretia and the *unchaste* Dido, the Dido of *Aeneid* 1 and 4. I look at the links between stories of rape and the foundation, refoundation, and the sacking, or unfoundation, of cities, and the role of *fama* in these stories. I will spend some time drawing out the connections between these themes in the Virgilian narrative. I further suggest as a strong, and perhaps unprovable, hypothesis that Virgil's shaping of his version of Dido, whatever its relationship to the Dido of Naevius, makes of her an anti-Lucretia within the histories of both Carthage and Rome. Support for this position comes from the fact that the Virgilian Dido can also be seen as a negative image of another woman whose rape is foundational for Rome, Ilia (or Rhea Silvia), the mother of Romulus and Remus. At the end of the paper I will look at a variety of texts, classical and later, in which the "contamination" of the unchaste or Virgilian Dido and Lucretia is manifested in a variety of ways.

My attention was drawn to the connections between Dido and Lucretia when I was working on a book on the history of *fama*, *Rumour and Renown*.[6] I reflected on the fact that *fama* and *pudor* are at the centre of the stories of both women. A woman's *pudicitia*, "sexual virtue" (in Rebecca Langlands's translation of a word that has no exact English equivalent)[7] is indissolubly linked to her *pudor*, "sense of shame" and to her *fama*, "reputation, good name". Virgil's Dido, fiercely loyal to her dead husband, at first prays to be struck down by a thunderbolt before she violates her *pudor* (*Aen.* 4.25-27), until her sister Anna finds words with which to undo her *pudor* (4.55). The union with Aeneas in the cave is the point at which Dido ceases to think of her *fama*: *neque enim specie famave movetur* ("she is not moved by how people see her or what they say about her", 4.170). But when she realises that Aeneas is intent on leaving Carthage, she is brought to a full awareness of her loss of *pudor* and *fama*: *te propter eundem / exstinctus pudor et, qua sola sidera adibam, / fama prior* ("it is also because of you that I have lost my sense of shame and the good name I once had, my only hope of reaching the stars", 4.321-23). (Incidentally, these lines could also be read metapoetically as a comment on what Virgil's story of Dido and Aeneas has done to the earlier version, or "tradition" (*fama* in that sense), in which Dido's conduct was unswervingly dictated by her sense of *pudor*).

Livy's Lucretia, on the other hand, kills herself in order to prove that, although her body has been violated, her mind is innocent, and so that her continued life should not be an *exemplum* to other *impudicae* to continue in life, *nec ulla deinde impudica Lucretiae*

[6] Hardie (2012).
[7] Langlands (2006).

exemplo vivet ("No unchaste woman hereafter will continue to live by Lucretia's example", 1.58.10). Henceforth her own *fama* will be unassailable as an example of matronly virtue. By her death she takes back into her own hands control over the *muliebris certaminis laus* ("praise awarded in a contest between women", 1.57.9) that was, unbeknownst to her, her prize in the contest between their wives that was entered upon by the husbands at the dinner-table of Sextus Tarquinius. The phrase *muliebris certaminis laus* suggests a female version of the *certamen gloriae* ("contest for glory") in which upper-class Roman males compete in order to maximize their reputation and fame. In Ovid's version of the story in *Fasti* 2, *fama* is the weapon with which Tarquin finally wins the day against Lucretia:

> *'Falsus adulterii testis adulter ero:*
> *interimam famulum, cum quo deprensa fereris',*
> *Succubuit famae victa puella metu.*

("'I the adulterer will be a false witness to your adultery: I will kill a servant, with whom it will be said that you were caught in the act'. Overcome by fear of infamy the girl succumbed").

(2.808-10)

The emphasis on *fama*, fame, shame, honour, is even more pronounced in some of the later accounts of Lucretia, nowhere more so than in Shakespeare's long narrative poem, *The Rape of Lucrece*, to which I will come at the end of this paper.

As has often been noted, rape is closely associated with Roman foundations in a number of stories:[8] Mars' rape of Rhea Silvia, generating the founder of Rome, Romulus; the Rape of the Sabine women, necessary so that there is a next generation of Romans after the foundation; and the Rape of Lucretia, the occasion for the foundation of the republic. Rape by a god is a standard way of providing a family or state with a semi-divine and heroic founder, and gods are not to be held to account for their sexual adventures. The Rape of the Sabine women becomes acceptable when the rape victims turn into wives. In general, however, in the patriarchal society of Rome the preservation of female *pudor* and *fama* is essential for the stability of familial and social order, and so a prerequisite for the propagation of active, masculine, *fama* through the exploits of the founders and leaders of the city. In the case of Lucretia, Sextus Tarquinius is no god, and his rape victim can never become his wife. The private assault by the tyrant's son on the body and reputation of Lucretia is a metonym for the tyrant's assault on the political and moral structures of the city as a whole - the confusion of public and private being a defining feature of the ancient

[8] See Joshel (2000); Joplin (1990); Jed (1989).

image of the tyrant.[9] Only by directing violence against her own body can Lucretia put her own *pudor* and *fama* beyond question. Paradoxically the violation and penetration of her own body with steel has the effect of making her whole again in death. The consequence of her death is then an act of male vengeance against the tyrants that makes whole the body politic, through the foundation of the Roman republic. To look at it from a different angle, the bad leader, the tyrant, destroys "his" city, or his regime, through his successful "sacking" of the body of the woman, which proves to be in fact a self-directed blow against his own male rule and *fama*.

Petrarch opens his narrative of the Rape of Lucretia with reference to the *infamia* that Sextus Tarquin incurs through his inability to control his desire: *regius infami iuvenis precordia flamma / succensus* ("the royal youth, his entrails ablaze with an infamous flame", *Africa* 3.684-85). The language alludes to the fire of Dido's love (see n.4 above), which will lead to her loss of *fama*. With that loss of *fama* comes Dido's failure to maintain the masculine role of leader of her people and ruler of her city, a role which was thrust on her when she fled from Tyre: *dux femina facti*, as Venus strikingly puts it at *Aen.* 1.364 - *dux* is a word usually applied to men. Meanwhile, Lucretia's assertion of her *fama* through her suicide bespeaks a more than womanly resolution. Valerius Maximus introduces her as a *dux*,[10] and as having a man's soul in a woman's body: *Dux Romanae pudicitiae Lucretia, cuius virilis animus maligno errore Fortunae muliebre corpus sortitus est* ("Lucretia, chief example of Roman chastity, whose manly spirit by Fortune's malignant error was allotted a woman's body", 6.1.1). The woman Lucretia's famous action is the *sine qua non* for the business of the men, the famous expulsion of the tyrant and foundation of the Roman republic.

Dido, through her loyalty to her dead husband Sychaeus, wickedly murdered by his brother Pygmalion, the king of Tyre, achieves the foundation of the new city of Carthage. In the version of the chaste Dido, her suicide in order to maintain her loyalty to her first husband and to avoid an unwelcome union with an African prince could be seen as a successful assertion of the independence of her newly founded city, and guarantee against its absorption into another kingdom. Dido's chastity, like that of Lucretia, is essential for the well-being, and very existence, of her city. But in Virgil's version, through the synchronization of the stories of Aeneas and Dido, the foundation and future success or failure of Carthage is bound up with the future foundation and history of another city,

[9] On the interplay of private and public in the rape of Lucretia see Feldherr (1998) 194-203.
[10] See Langlands (2006) 143, with n.48 on *dux* applied to women.

Rome. Dido's union with Aeneas is a threat not just to the independence of a community ruled by the Trojan exile, but to the very possibility of the foundation of the city of Rome by Aeneas' descendants. The death of Dido, some kind of restitution in her eyes for her loss of *fama* and *pudor*, leads not to the refoundation of her own city, but is the final annihilation of a relationship that could have stood in the way of the foundation of Rome. In her suicide she performs a "wedding-as-funeral", which can lead to no new generation.[11]

In her book on *Death in Ancient Rome*, Catharine Edwards points to the "deeply significant" parallels between the deaths of Dido and Lucretia, who both commit suicide as a redemption from sexual *culpa*, and in order to avenge a sexual transgression:

> "At the same time, the deaths of both Lucretia and Dido can be read as sacrifices necessary to the foundation and proper development of Rome. The death of Lucretia is … a key moment in the foundation of the Roman republic. Her death is avenged by Brutus – who puts her dead body on display to rouse the feelings of his fellow-citizens against the unjust rule of the Tarquins. The death of Dido, on the other hand, can be seen as a necessity for the foundation of the proto-Roman state which is Aeneas' destiny". "These three suicides [Dido, Lucretia, Cleopatra] mark three key moments in Roman – or proto-Roman – history [i.e. foundations of proto-Roman community, of Roman republic, of Augustan principate]".[12]

I go beyond Edwards firstly in seeing a more far-reaching set of analogies between Lucretia and Dido, and secondly in emphasizing the theme of city-sacking, the unfoundation of a city, as well as city-founding.

I turn now to look in more detail at the equivalence between female body and city. As we have seen, Sextus Tarquin's assault on the body of Lucretia is a figurative assault on the city of Rome.[13] Livy uses military imagery of the rape: *Quo terrore cum vicisset obstinatam pudicitiam velut vi victrix libido, profectusque inde Tarquinius ferox expugnato decore muliebri esset …* ("when his lust, as if victorious in its force, had conquered her stubborn chastity by frightening her in this way, and when Tarquin had departed thence after fiercely storming her female beauty …" 1.58.5). He has "stormed" Lucretia's chastity. But the tables will be turned, and it will be the Rome of the Tarquins that will be stormed to allow the emergence of a better, free, Rome: *Brutum iam inde ad expugnandum regnum vocantem sequuntur ducem* ("after that they followed Brutus as their leader as he called on them to storm the kingship", 1.59.2).

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[11] Wedding-as-funeral: *arma viri thalamo quae fixa reliquit / impius exuviasque omnis lectumque iugalem, / quo perii, super imponas* (4.495-97). See Nelis (2001) 169-72; Moorton (1990).
[12] Edwards (2007) 184, 186-87.
[13] See *e.g.* Donaldson (1982) 9: "Lucretia is … the figure of violated Rome".

In Ovid's version Tarquin the Proud is introduced as a kind of anti-Aeneas, a *vir* who uses *arma* to unjust ends, a city-sacker not a city-founder:

Ultima Tarquinius Romanae gentis habebat
regna, vir iniustus, fortis ad arma tamen.
Ceperat hic alias, alias everterat urbes.

("Tarquin held the last kingship of the Roman race, an unjust man, but brave in war. He had captured some cities, destroyed others").[14]

(*Fast.* 2.687-89)

His youngest son, Sextus, has proved himself his father's son by deceitfully winning the confidence of the city of Gabii in order to bring about its capture, in a manner that alludes to the deceptive Sinon's persuasion of the Trojans to bring the Wooden Horse into their city in *Aen.* 2.[15] Sextus eggs himself on to the rape of Lucretia by reminding himself of his successful capture of Gabii, *cepimus audendo Gabios quoque* ("by daring we captured Gabii as well", 783). The analogy between city-sacking and rape may go further. In Ovid's account of how Tarquin cut down the tallest flowers as a secret message to his son to kill the leading men of Gabii, the poppies which occur in all other versions of the story are replaced by lilies. It has been suggested that lilies connote purity and innocence, and they are sometimes associated with characters before they are raped: the innocent leaders of Gabii foreshadow the innocent Lucretia - both are the victims of trickery on the part of the Tarquin family.[16]

The identification of the body of Dido with the body of her city is central to the Virgilian plot. In a repetition of the imagistic equation of the death of Priam with the sack of the city of Troy in *Aen.* 2, the death of Dido in *Aen.* 4 figuratively entails the destruction of Carthage, in the simile that compares the lamentation at her death to the lamentation that would break out at the sack of Tyre or Carthage (669-71). As is well known, this

[14] Contrast *Aen.* 1.544-45 (*Rex erat Aeneas nobis, quo iustior alter / nec pietate fuit, nec bello maior et armis*): Ovid takes over the king(ship), the contrast between war and peace, the reference to (in) justice, and further alludes to *arma virumque*. With *Romanae gentis* cf. *Aen.* 1.33 (*tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem*).

[15] Sextus and Sinon: with *Fast.* 2.693-94 (*'Occidite … inermem! / Hoc cupiant fratres Tarquiniusque pater'*) cf. *Aen.* 2.103-04 (*'Iamdudum sumite poenas / hoc Ithacus velit et magno mercentur Atridae'*); with *Fast.* 2.699 (*flent quoque* [people of Gabii in response to Tarquin's story]) cf. *Aen.* 2.145 (*his lacrimis vitam damus et miserescimus ultro*). See Robinson (2011) on *Fasti* 2.689-710. Phillipides (1983) 113 sees a parallel already in Livy's narrative between the father Tarquin's siege of Ardea, driven by *superbia* and the need for money, and the son Sextus' seizing of Lucretia, driven by sexual desire.

[16] Felton (1998) 49-50.

simile is modeled on the simile in *Iliad* 22, (410-11) comparing the lamentation at the death of Hector to the lamentation that would break out at the destruction of Troy – and which will break out in the not so distant future when Troy is destroyed as an inevitable consequence of the death of Troy's champion, Hector. The sack of Carthage in the distant future will be the effect of Dido's dying curse, calling for eternal enmity between Rome and Carthage and summoning up the avenger Hannibal. The vengeance taken by Brutus for the death of Lucretia results in the foundation of the Roman republic; the vengeance called down against Rome by the dying Dido will result in the destruction of her own city.

Dido's sister Anna also unwittingly prophesies the destruction of Carthage in the exaggeration of grief (4.682-83), that equates Dido's death with the death of her people and her city, *exstinxti te meque, soror, populumque patresque / Sidonios urbemque tuam* ("you have destroyed yourself and myself, sister, and your people, the senators from Sidon, and your city"). Dido's death is necessary for the eventual foundation of Rome, and it is also the ultimate cause of the destruction of Carthage. The foundation of Rome is the consequence of the sack of Troy. Carthage will be destroyed in a repetition of the sack of Troy: that is one implication of the reuse of the simile from the death of Hector in *Iliad* 22. The story of the destruction of his city that Aeneas tells at the dinner-table of Dido, and which fuels her sympathy and love for the stranger, is also the story of what will happen to Dido's new city, literally in the distant future, and figuratively and proleptically in the near future at the moment of her death.

Aeneas himself has been seen as a Trojan Horse within the walls of Carthage, or a Sinon, a seeming friend who brings destruction. Aeneas is the (unwitting) agent of Venus' use of trickery in order to attack the "citadel" of the *fama* and the body of Dido: *quocirca capere ante dolis et cingere flamma / reginam meditor* ("for this reason, I am planning to capture the queen by trickery in advance and surround her with fire", *Aen.* 1.673-74).[17] There is a cruel irony in the foisting of the role of city-sacker on to the city-founder Aeneas, but it is a cruelty that is kindness from the point of view of the future city of Rome. The *fama* that really matters in this story is the *famamque et fata nepotum* (*Aen.* 8.731), the glorious future history of Rome as represented on the Shield of Aeneas and revealed in the Parade of Heroes, not the *fama* and *pudor* of queen Dido. Perhaps that is one reason why Virgil is so savage towards the *fama* of Dido in his poem.

That the sack of Troy should be both the starting point of a narrative trajectory towards the foundation of Rome and the buffers towards which the history of Carthage

[17] On the city-sacking imagery here and in book 4 see Lyne (1987) 18-20.

is heading is just one example of the mirroring that links the stories of Aeneas and Dido, of Rome and Carthage, a relationship that begins with a direct twinning of the stories of the Trojan and Tyrian exiles, and which is then inverted in a negative mirroring. Dido starts out as an *alter Aeneas*, having lost her spouse and being forced to take on the role of leading a band of her fellow-countrymen into exile in order to found a new city. When she meets the real Aeneas, she flips from her impersonation of the male role of leader of a city into the role of Lucretia, a role that she had already played in the other version of her story, but now as an anti-Lucretia whose death brings no new foundation for her own city, but clears the way for the foundation of another city, and sets in train a series of events that will lead to the destruction of her own.

The idea that Dido can be read as an "anti-Lucretia" may find support in the observation that Lucretia is not the only foundational rape victim in Roman history whose experience Dido repeats in a negative mode. At *Aeneid* 4.465-68 Dido has nightmares:

> *Agit ipse furentem*
> *in somnis ferus Aeneas, semperque relinqui*
> *sola sibi, semper longam incomitata videtur*
> *ire viam et Tyrios deserta quaerere terra.*

("In her dreams fierce Aeneas drove her in her fury and she always seemed to be left alone, always to be travelling on a long road with no companions, and to search for her Tyrians in an empty land").

Dido's dream has long been compared to the dream of Ilia, the mother of Romulus and Remus, as related by Ennius, *Annales* 34-50 Skutsch. It is likely that in this narrative Ilia's awakening and telling of her dream to her sister followed Mars' rape of her while she slept. She dreamed that a beautiful man carried her off (*raptare*) through unfamiliar river banks. Then she wandered alone (*sola … errare*) looking in vain for her sister, with no path to guide her steps. Finally she heard her father Aeneas telling her that after she had experienced troubles, her fortunes would be restored from the river (alluding to her marriage to the river god and the rescue of the twins from the river). Likewise, Dido in her dream is pursued by a threatening Aeneas; she is alone and travelling on a long road without companions, searching for her Tyrians in a deserted landscape. In an important article, Nita Krevans has drawn out the implications of Virgil's allusions to the Ennian dream.[18] Ilia has been violated sexually by Mars, the mother of the founder of Rome.

[18] Krevans (1993) 266-71, summing up at 270: "The pointed allusion to Ennius recalls the role of city-founder granted (indirectly) to Ilia and denied (ultimately) to Dido … Her union with Aeneas

Her nightmare, with tragic models, portends a prosperous ending. Dido has in a sense been violated sexually by Aeneas. Her nightmare portends only disaster. Ilia's dream may be a "pregnancy dream", like Rhea's very different dream at *Fasti* 3.27-38; Dido's dream is either not a pregnancy dream (and her wish that she had conceived a *parvulus Aeneas*, *Aen.* 4.327-30, is indeed unfulfilled), or, if it is, the child will not live to be born. Dido's dream portends no line of kings, no dynasty, no new founding of a city, as the "seduction dream" sometimes does.[19] Krevans points out that Dido's nightmare is an exception to the typical dream in the *Aeneid*, which takes the form of a divine or supernatural intervention to guide the dreamer towards the goal of a new city.[20] Thus it is in marked contrast to Dido's dream of Sychaeus at 1.353-60, instructing her to flee, and revealing to her the buried treasure to take with her (*auxilium viae*), a dream closely parallel to Aeneas' dream of Hector on the night of the sack of Troy (*Aen.* 2.268-97), telling him to flee in search of a new city for the gods of Troy. Dido's dreams are already changing their focus right at the beginning of *Aen* 4: *Anna soror, quae me suspensam insomnia terrent! / Quis novus hic nostris successit sedibus hospes!* (" Anna my sister, what fearful dreams hold me in terrified suspense! What a man is this who has just come as a stranger into our house!", 9-10). Here she may refer to dreams of Sychaeus, warning her, or to seduction-dreams about Aeneas, like that of Medea about Jason in Apollonius Rhodius (*Argon.* 3.616-32), itself a possible source for the Ennian dream of Ilia.[21] Aeneas appears in the dreams of both Ilia and Dido: in Ennius the voice of Aeneas, Ilia's father, reassures her that after troubles her fortunes will rise again from the river, in the form of her sons, his grandsons. One might compare the role of Anchises in *Aen,* 6, revealing to his son, Aeneas, the future fortunes of their joint descendants, the Romans, in another dream-like experience. In the dream of Dido Aeneas appears as her fierce persecutor, driving her on in the *furor* that will lead to her death. This Aeneas does not speak, but, as Krevans shrewdly notes, the motif of the voice of the unseen relative is displaced onto the passage immediately preceding Dido's dream, where a list of evil omens includes the voice of her dead husband Sychaeus calling to her from the shrine that she has erected in his memory in her palace.[22] Rather than consoling her with thoughts of a glorious future, this relative is calling her back to the past. We will see Dido for one last time in book 6, in the Fields of Mourning, restored to her former husband and stonily unresponsive to Aeneas as the

has made her an exile from the city she herself established". On Dido's dream see also Schiesaro (2008) 194-206; Khan (1996); Oliensis (2001) 48-51.

[19] Krevans (1993) 264.

[20] *ibid.* 268-69.

[21] *ibid.* 261, referring to Skutsch (1985) 194.

[22] Krevans (1993) 267-68.

latter journeys through the Underworld in the company of the Sibyl to a vision of the future citizens of Rome.

From being a partner with Aeneas in suffering and refoundation, Dido takes on the part of another of the female victims whose experience is foundational for the course of Roman history. But for her the dream of Ilia is replayed in entirely negative mode, promising no way forward to a prosperous future, but offering instead only the possibility of a return to the past.

The shadow of Lucretia is one of the sources for the complexity of our responses to Virgil's Dido. Although she undergoes a fall to which Lucretia, at least in the standard image of her, is immune, in the manner of her death Dido restores something of her pride, her *fama*, her *pudicitia* even. Dido is a virtuous woman, devoted to her husband, who is forced into a sexual liaison with another man, and who, to preserve her self-respect and out of an inability to live with the shame of her fall from probity, commits suicide with a sharp blade. One might even ask whether the model of Lucretia is responsible for what is often seen as an unusual aspect of Dido's psychology, her single-minded dedication of her chastity to her dead husband. This goes beyond the Roman ideal of the *univira*, the woman who has known only one husband in her lifetime; that ideal did not include the expectation that a widow should never remarry. But it is a way of creating in the character of Dido an absolute dedication to an inviolable *pudor* equivalent to that of Lucretia in her relationship with her living husband.

The relative innocence and guilt of Dido and Aeneas have been endlessly debated. In comparison Lucretia appears as a forbidding, perhaps unsympathetic, paragon of unsullied virtue. But in the later tradition there are criticisms of Lucretia, from two lines of attack: firstly the possibility that she may have given in to sexual pleasure while being raped, and, secondly, if she did not, the charge that she was too much in love with her own good reputation and *fama*.[23] There thus has been a debate about the culpability or otherwise of Lucretia, as there is an ongoing debate about the relative culpability of Dido and Aeneas.

On the first issue, that of sexual pleasure, there is of course no doubt that, in the Virgilian version, Dido did want to have sex with Aeneas. Arguably another defect of Virgil's Dido is an excessive fixation on her *fama*, a fault that she shares with the Sophoclean Ajax, to whom there are a number of allusions in *Aen.* 4 and 6. There is perhaps a hint of criticism along these lines in the phrasing of Ovid's account of Lucretia's final yielding to Sextus at *Fasti* 2.810, *succubuit famae victa puella metu* ("overcome by fear of infamy the girl succumbed"). Here, as Matthew Robinson points out in his commentary (*ad.hoc*), until we

[23] Donaldson (1982) ch. 2, 'The questioning of the myth'; see also Allen (1968) on Lucretia's excessive love of glory.

reach the end of the pentameter we might take *famae* as dative with *succubuit*, rather than genitive with *metu*: "she surrendered to (her concern for) her reputation". *succumbo* plus the dative is the phrase used by Dido when she confesses her attraction to Aeneas at *Aen.* 4.19: *huic uni forsan potui succumbere culpae* ("this is the one fault to which I could possibly succumb"). Is Lucretia's *fama* her *culpa*, her Achilles' heel? *succumbo* can also be used of a woman lying down for sex under a man: is Lucretia too much in love with her *fama*?

Both of these lines of criticism of Dido – that she succumbed to sexual desire, and that she was too attached to her *fama* - are ruthlessly developed by Augustine as counsel for the prosecution against Lucretia in the *City of God*, 1.19. Augustine sets up a *controversia* to be judged before the laws and judges of Rome, *Adultera haec an casta iudicanda est?* ("Is she to be adjudged an adulteress or a chaste woman?") If she killed herself when she was innocent, she is guilty of *homicidium*; but there is also the possibility that *quamvis iuveni violenter irruenti etiam sua libidine illecta consensit* ("although the young man rushed violently against her, she also gave her consent, led on by by her own lust"), in which case she is guilty of *adulterium*. If there was no adultery, then:

> *Non est ea pudicitiae caritas, sed pudoris infirmitas. Puduit enim eam turpitudinis alienae in se commissae, etiamsi non secum, et Romana mulier, laudis avida nimium, verita est ne putaretur, quod violenter est passa cum viveret, libenter passa si viveret.*

("It is not love of chastity, but the weakness arising from her sense of shame. For she was ashamed of a filthy act committed by another person against herself, even if not with her consent, and the Roman woman, too desirous of praise, feared lest that which she had suffered by force when she was alive, she should be thought to have suffered willingly if she continued to live").

By contrast *feminae Christianae* who have suffered the like do not kill themselves: *Habent quippe intus gloriam castitatis, testimonium conscientiae. Habent autem coram oculis Dei sui.* ("They possess within themselves the glory of their chastity, to which their conscience is witness. They possess it in the eye of their God").

Coluccio Salutati (1331-1406), the humanist and Chancellor of Florence, wrote a *declamatio* on the question of whether Lucretia should kill herself (*Declamatio Lucretie*). In a first speech her father and husband put the arguments against, and in a second speech Lucretia puts the arguments for.[24] She starts with the indelible *infamia* that she will suffer if she lives. Later she confesses that she could not avoid feeling some pleasure in the rape:

[24] Klecker (2003) 432, n.19, citing from Follak (2002). There is also a transcription and translation of the text in Jed (1989).

> *Nec ab illo compressu mentem adeo revocare [potui] quin subierint male obedientium membrorum illecebre, quin agnoverim vestigia maritalis flammae. Illa, illa tristis et ingrata licet, qualiscumque tamen voluptas ferro ulciscenda est.*

("I could not keep my thoughts off that embrace so entirely that I did not feel the temptations of my disobedient limbs, that I did not recognise the traces of my passion for my husband. That pleasure, sorrowful and unwelcome though it was, whatever I call it, must nevertheless be avenged by the sword").

In self-recrimination she asserts that *nichil muliere mobilius* ("nothing is more fickle than woman").[25] Salutati's Lucretia is alluding to famous passages in Virgil's story of Dido: with *agnoverim vestigia maritalis flammae* compare *Aen.* 4.23, *agnosco veteris vestigia flammae* ("I recognise the traces of the old flame"), and with *nichil muliere mobilius* compare Mercury's warning to Aeneas at *Aen.* 4.569-70, *varium et mutabile semper / femina* ("woman is always a fickle and changeable thing").[26]

In the rest of this paper, I will look at a number of other texts (and images) in which the stories of Lucretia and Dido are allusively intertwined in such a way as to offer a comment on the affinity between the two tales. I start with Ovid's elegiac adaptation of the Livian narrative of the rape of Lucretia in *Fasti* 2. I have already suggested that Tarquin the Proud is introduced at the beginning of this narrative as a negative version of Aeneas. The description of Sextus Tarquin's infatuation with Lucretia echoes Virgil's Dido story at various points, but the hopeless passion is now on the side of the male seducer, not the woman, immune to his attempts at erotic persuasion:

> *Carpitur attonitos absentis imagine sensus*
> *ille; recordanti plura magisque placent.*
> *Sic sedit, sic culta fuit, sic stamina nevit,*
> *iniectae collo sic iacuere comae,*
> *hos habuit voltus, haec illi verba fuerunt,*
> *hic color, haec facies, hic decor oris erat …*
> *… quamvis aberat placitae praesentia formae,*
> *quem dederat praesens forma, manebat amor.*

[25] See Klecker (2003) 432.

[26] John Lydgate presents two versions of Lucrece in *The Fall of Princes*: (1) that she enjoyed being raped (II, 1282-84); (2) that she was completely innocent (III, 932 – 1148). See Schmitz (1990) 77-78.

("The picture of the absent girl preys on his stunned senses, and in memory he finds more, and more intense, charms. This was how she sat, this was how she was dressed, this was how she spun, this was the way that her hair fell on her neck, these were the looks on her face, these were her words, this was her complexion, this her appearance, this the charm of her face … although the presence of her winning beauty was absent, the love provoked by the presence of her beauty stayed with him").[27]

(*Fast.* 2.769-74, 777)

Sextus closely replicates the experience of the infatuated Dido. Compare the following passages from *Aen*. 4:

Multa viri virtus animo multusque recursat
gentis honos. Haerent infixi pectore vultus
verbaque.

("Again and again there rushed into her mind thoughts of the great valour of the man and the great glories of his line. His features and words stuck fixed in her heart").

(3-4)

Quem sese ore ferens, quam forti pectore et armis!
Credo equidem, nec vana fides, genus esse deorum
… Quibus ille
iactatus fatis! Quae bella exhausta canebat!

("What a look on his face, what courage in his heart, and what a warrior! I do believe, and my confidence is not unfounded, that he is of the race of gods … How he has been tossed by the fates! To hear him sing of the wars that he has experienced!")

(11-14)

Illum absens absentem auditque videtque,
aut gremio Ascanium genitoris imagine capta
detinet.

("She would hear him and see him when he was not there in her presence, or she would hold Ascanius on her lap, captivated by the likeness of his father").

(83-85)

Sextus is also cast in the role of Sinon in *Aen.* 2,[28] and Ovid may thereby comment on the dark links between Sinon at Troy and Aeneas in Carthage to which I alluded above.

[27] On this dense passage of erotic absent presences and the Virgilian intertexts see Hardie (2002) 12-13.
[28] Robinson (2011) on *Fasti* 2.698-710, 700.

There are a number of parallels between Ovid's Lucretia narrative and the narrative of the rape and silencing of Philomela at *Metamorphoses* 6.424-74.[29] The silent presence of Philomela in the story of Lucretia is signaled in the calendrical detail that immediately follows the conclusion of Brutus' expulsion of the Tarquins: *Fallimur, an veris praenuntia venit hirundo?* ("Am I mistaken, or has spring's harbinger the swallow appeared?" 2.853-56). The swallow is then identified as Procne, and Tereus appears in the next line. The unnamed Philomela, Procne's sister, is present by association.[30] The typically Ovidian *fallimur, an ... ?* could be taken to imply "am I deceived, or has the story just narrated by allusion brought Philomela, Procne and Tereus into the poem?" Notoriously, there is confusion in the several versions of the myth as to which birds Philomela and Procne changed into, the swallow and the nightingale, or the other way round. Recollection of the interchangeability of the names of Philomela and Procne in the tradition might prompt a suspicion on the part of Ovid's reader that in some details of the preceding narrative Lucretia is Philomela by another name.

Ellen Oliensis analyses the parallels between Ovid's narrative of Tereus and Philomela in *Metamorphoses* 6 and the story of Lucretia, focussing on the theme of the birth of *libertas* ("freedom") and, for the violated woman, more particularly the birth of "freedom of speech".[31] Throughout the episode there is also a cluster of allusions to the story of Dido and Aeneas.[32] The Thracian tyrant Tereus has been sent to Athens by his wife Procne in order to bring back Procne's sister Philomela for a visit. When Tereus first sees her, Philomela is compared to a Naiad or Dryad in a simile that combines reference to the simile comparing Dido, on her first appearance, to Diana amidst her nymphs (*Aen.* 1.496-503) with reference to Venus' appearance in the disguise of a maiden huntress in the middle of a wood earlier in *Aen.* 1 (314-20). The violent flaring of lust in the watching Tereus brings out into the open what I believe is concealed in the Virgilian narrative of Dido's first entry, the erotic effect on the watching Aeneas of this vision of glamorous female beauty. There is, in Virgil's simile comparing Dido to Diana, a "unilateral

[29] Robinson 2011 on *Fasti* 2.761-78, 769-74, 793-94, 797-98, 799-80, 813-14, 819 *pudibunda*, 824 *non oculos*. See also Newlands (1995) 162-67.

[30] Philomela, Procne, and Tereus have already made a fleeting appearance at *Fasti* 2.629-30, some fifty lines before the Lucretia narrative.

[31] Oliensis (2009) 77-88, 'The mother's tongue: Ovid's Philomela and the birth of *libertas*'; 82-83 on Philomela, Lucretia and *libertas*. On the themes of freedom and freedom of speech in Ovid's Lucretia episode see also Feeney (1992) 10-11.

[32] I tease out the allusions to Dido and Aeneas in fuller detail in Hardie (2002) 259-72, 'Tereus and Philomela'.

correspondence"[33] between Latona's maternal joy in watching her daughter Diana in the simile, and Aeneas' joy, of a non-parental kind, in watching *forma pulcherrima Dido* ("Dido most beautiful in appearance"). Similarly, Ovid's Tereus conceals his own erotic desire to carry off Philomela back to Thrace, by urging Procne's sisterly desire to see Philomela again. A little later, when he sees Philomela embracing her father, he wishes that he were Pandion, thus confusing paternal with sexual love, as the Virgilian simile hints at a slide from maternal love into sexual attraction. The uncontrollable violence of Tereus' desire also mirrors the passion which undoes Dido's determination to remain loyal to her first husband, and which makes Dido commit what might be described as virtual adultery, and it also mirrors the erotic frenzy of Sextus Tarquin in *Fasti* 2, itself picking up elements of Virgil's description of Dido's *furor*, as we have seen. But Ovid's Tereus also reveals what is repressed in the *Aeneid*, the possibility that Aeneas too is not in control of his feelings in the presence of Dido. Likewise the passing hint of an incestuous desire in Tereus' wish that he could take the place of Pandion embracing his daughter mirrors the dark hints of allusive incest in the story of Dido and Aeneas.[34] Ovid's reader has been alerted to the intertext of the doomed "wedding" of Dido and Aeneas right at the beginning, in the description of the "anti-wedding" of Tereus and Procne, when the place of the usual divinities who preside over weddings, Juno, Hymenaeus, Gratia, was usurped by the Furies (Eumenides). (*non*) *pronuba Iuno* at the end of *Met.* 6.428 is present also at the end of *Aeneid* 4.166, presiding over the wedding that is no wedding of Dido and Aeneas, with its parodic impersonation of the witnesses to a Roman wedding.[35] Ovid's "anti-wedding, set in Athens, signals that we are entering the world of Attic tragedy … but the Virgilian allusions also flag a recurrent engagement with the epic 'tragedy' of Dido".[36]

Tereus and Procne are already paired in a version of the ill-fated marriage of Aeneas and Dido. Philomela then enters as another Dido figure, and it is her presence that will spell doom for them as a wedded couple. This is because of Philomela's rape by Tereus, which repeats Sextus Tarquin's violation by rape of the marriage of Collatinus and Lucretia. Thereafter the plot diverges from both Dido and Lucretia, in that vengeance is exacted by the wronged women themselves on the menfolk of their family, and the only

[33] To use the terminology of West (1969).
[34] See Hardie (2006), where I argue that brother-sister incest is alluded to in the pairing of the Diana and Apollo similes in *Aen.* 1 and 4, and in the model of Ptolemaic brother-sister marriages, via Catullus 66.
[35] With *Met.* 6.432 (*incubuit bubo thalamique in culmine sedit*) cf. *Aen.* 4.462 (*solaque culminibus ferali carmine bubo*), and also 4.186 (*luce sedet custos aut summi culmine tecti*).
[36] Hardie (2002) 260.

death is that of the representative of the next generation, Itys – the imposition of the tragic Medea model (allusively an alternative ending to the Dido and Aeneas story in *Aen.* 4, one that is avoided by the flight of Aeneas from Carthage).[37] There is no escape into a future, not even as far as Dido's escape through death into a vengeance that will only be realized centuries in the future. Ellen Oliensis observes "In Livy's history, the birth of the Republic is a triumph of abstraction, enabled by the movement from inside to outside and the replacement of actual by symbolic motherhood. Ovid's tragedy ends by reversing this movement, netting the figurative within its literal fulfilment: a real child".[38] That inability to escape is also the failure to move from the sphere of the female to the sphere of the male, because of Philomela's insistence on staying in life and exacting vengeance herself. Unlike the stories of Dido and Lucretia, this revenge tragedy is condemned to the circularity of unending revenge, figured in the unending hostility between the birds into which the protagonists of the story are metamorphosed.[39]

The ease with which the stories of Dido and Lucretia cross-fertilize is seen in post-antique retellings of the story of Lucretia. A number of these are pointed out by Elisabeth Klecker (2003). We have already seen Petrarch's "contamination" of his Lucretia narrative with material from the Virgilian version of Dido, and also glanced at Coluccio Salutati's *Declamatio Lucretie*, in which Lucretia reveals her anxiety that she may be no less immune to erotic temptation than Virgil's Dido. Klecker also refers to Enea Silvio Piccolomini's best-selling novella *Historia de duobus amantibus*, Eurialus and Lucretia, in which the beautiful, and married, Sienese Lucretia thinks for a moment of going one better than the original Lucretia: *'Decretum est', ait Lucretia, 'mori. Admissum scelus Collatini uxor gladio vindicavit. Ego honestius praeveniam morte committendum*. ("'I am determined to die', said Lucretia. 'Collatinus' wife avenged the crime committed against her with a sword. I will be more honourable, and forestall the future crime with my death'") – before the plot turns to a partial repetition of the storyline of *Aen.* 4.[40] *Fama* is a central motif: Eurialus writes to his beloved *nomen habes tum pulcerrime tum pudicissime mulieris* ("you have the reputation of both a very beautiful and a very chaste woman"), and gives a hyperbolic account of

[37] See above all Schiesaro (2008).
[38] Oliensis (2009) 87.
[39] See also Joplin (1984) 45 (on the metamorphosis of Tereus, Philomela and Procne in *Met.* 6): "In such stasis, both order and conflict are preserved, but there is no hope of change". Rosati (2009) comments on *Met.* 6.671-73, *ille … rostrum*: 'l'immagine finale dell'inseguimento fissa, come in emblema ... la condizione perenne di ostilità tra Tere-upupa e i due uccelli in cui le sorelle fuggitive si sono trasformate.'
[40] Klecker (2003) 432-33; see also Leube (1969) 165-72. For a modern edition of the *Historia* see Doglio and Firpo (1973).

her fame: *nec apud Italos solum tua fama clauditur, sed et Teutones et Pannonnii et Bohemi et omnes septentrionis populi tuum nomen agnoscunt* ("your fame is not restricted to Italy alone, but the Germans and Hungarians and Bohemians and all the peoples of the north recognise your name"). At the beginning Lucretia's chief concern is for her *fama*.

Klecker's chief exhibit is the drama *Lucretia* by the Silesian writer Samuel Iunius (b. 1567), performed and published in Strassburg in 1599.[41] The *Lucretia* is opportunistic in its use of earlier texts, including Latin translations of Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulis* (by Erasmus), and of Sophocles' *Ajax*. The Sophoclean Ajax lends itself as readily as a vehicle for Lucretia's determination to escape shame through death as it had for the Virgilian Dido's refusal to outlive the loss of her *fama* and *pudor*: the allusions to Sophocles' *Ajax* in *Aen.* 4 are well known.[42] Thus Lucretia asserts her determination to die before violating *iura verecundiae* in a close adaptation (C2v) of Dido's prayer to be swallowed up by the earth or struck down by a thunderbolt at *Aen.* 4.24-27. She dies with the *ipsissima verba* of the dying Dido, *sic, sic iuvat / ire sub umbras* ("this, this is how it pleases me to go down to the shades", G1v = *Aen.* 4.660). The chorus of Roman women in Iunius' *Lucretia* call for an avenger of Lucretia with the words of the dying Dido: *exorere nostra tandem stirpe quispiam* ("Arise, someone from our race", C1v): cf. *Aen.* 4.625: *exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor* ("May you arise, some avenger from my bones"). As in Ovid's Lucretia narrative in *Fasti* 2, the language of Dido's love-sickness is displaced on to Sextus: *Ah enecor, quoties imago animum haec subit; / usque adeo inhaerent fixi vultus pectore* ("ah, it kills me whenever her image comes to my mind; so firmly fixed are her looks in my breast", D2v. Cf. *Aen.* 4.3-4: *Multa viri virtus animo multusque recursat / gentis honos; haerent infixi pectore vultus*. "Again and again there rushed into her mind thoughts of the great valour of the man and the high glory of his line"); *postquam amor meis inhaesit ossibus / totasque medullas est populans crudeliter* ("since love has fixed itself in my bones, and consumes my marrow in its cruel ravages", D7v. Cf. *Aen.* 4.66: *est mollis flamma medullas*. "a soft flame eats her marrow").

The merging into one another of Dido and Lucretia is also seen in the visual arts. A well-known engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi after a design by Raphael shows Lucretia on the point of stabbing herself (Fig. 1). Virtually the same figure is found in an engraving of

[41] *M. Samuelis Iunii Suebusinatis Silesii Lucretia tragoedia nova ex veterum tum Graecorum tum Latinorum historiographorum monumentis ita concinnata ut maxime memorabilia scituque digniora Romanorum facinora ab ipsa urbis fundatione ad reges usque expulsos in theatro exhibeat,* Strasbourg, 1599.

[42] See esp. Tatum (1984) 446-51 on the parallel between Ajax' identification with his τιμή and Dido's despair at her loss of *pudor* and *fama*.

Dido, identified as such by the presence of the pyre to one side (Fig. 2). There is uncertainty as to whether this is also after a composition by Raphael.[43]

The death of Virgil's Dido triggers a sequence of events that will end in a repetition of the sack of Troy with the destruction of Carthage in 146 BC. Dido's sympathy for the sufferings of the Trojans ironically fuels her love for Aeneas, the innocent victim of the Greek destruction of his city who will end up bringing about the death of Dido, and hence the eventual sack of her city, as surely as the sack of Troy was made possible by the Greek Sinon's tricking his way into the confidence and friendship of the Trojans. In *Fasti* 2 Sextus Tarquin plays the part of Virgil's Sinon when he tricks himself into the confidence of the citizens of Gabii, and it is through pretence and trickery that he makes his way into the presence of Lucretia and then rapes her. The Renaissance commentator Paulus Marsus, in his commentary on *Fasti* 2, noted the parallel of Sextus at Gabii with Sinon in *Aen.* 2 and it has been suggested that it was Marsus' commentary that prompted Shakespeare to introduce a lengthy comparison of Sinon to the rapist Sextus in *The Rape of Lucrece* (1594).[44] (Although one might ask if Shakespeare was not capable of making the connection directly from his reading of Virgil and Ovid). This comes as the climax of an ecphrasis of a painting of the siege of Troy at which Lucrece gazes while waiting for her husband to return home at the summons of a messenger sent by her (1366-1568). For Lucrece the painting is a "means to mourn some newer way" (1365), and in it she finds multiple points of contact with her own situation and emotions, in an extreme example of what might be called a two-way ecphrastic identification. Cf. 1498: "She lends them words, and she their looks does borrow". This is not the first time that she has reached for legendary analogies for her own experience; earlier she has called on Philomel, the nightingale, to join her in a two-part harmony on their shared woes: "For burden-wise I'll hum on Tarquin still, / While thou on Tereus descants better skill" (1133-34).[45]

The Shakespearean ecphrasis of the siege of Troy takes us back to the beginning of Aeneas' visit to Carthage in *Aen.* 1 and the scenes of the Trojan War that he views in

[43] Emison (1991) argues that the *Dido* is probably an imitative variant on the *Lucretia*; Thomas (1969) adduces evidence that the *Dido* was believed to be by Raphael in the sixteenth century. See also Montagu (1998) 147 n.40 on the Raphael design(s); 139-40 on Guercino's group picture of the death of Dido possibly influenced by the depiction of the death of Lucretia.

[44] Bate (1993) 79-80, drawing on Baldwin (1950) 145, picked up by Burrow (2002) 48-49.

[45] See Bate (1993) 75-77, suggesting also that Lucrece's final attempt to name her rapist replicates the "stifled, half-inarticulate cry" of Philomel's 'tereu, tereu'". This is the poem's last example of the theme of silence and speech, central to the Ovidian narratives of both Lucretia and Philomela.

the Temple of Juno, scenes with multiple resonances not just of Aeneas' own experience in the past, but of the future histories of Carthage and Rome.[46] In the painting viewed by Lucrece "the power of Greece" is drawn before Priam's Troy, "For Helen's rape the city to destroy" (1369). Jonathan Bate notes: "The rape of Helen led to the fall of Troy; the rape of Lucrece leads to the rise of the Roman republic".[47] Ironically Lucrece cannot know that her own rape will have an epoch-making consequence for her own city of Rome. In her impassioned lending of a voice to the silent figure of Hecuba in the painting,[48] as she "shapes her sorrow to the beldam's woes" (1458), she rails against "the strumpet [Helen] that began this stir" (1471), but Lucrece devotes many more lines to attacking the lust of Paris, infusing her words with her own anger against the rapist Tarquin. "Had doting Priam checked his son's desire / Troy had been bright with fame, and not with fire" (1490-91). Her own fame and shame are an obsession of this Lucrece throughout the poem.[49] But it is in Sinon that she finds a more exact correlative to Tarquin (1499-1568). Sinon is the deceiver "Whose words like wild-fire burnt the shining glory / Of rich-built Ilium" (1523-24). The skill of the artist is revealed in a figure who appears so guileless and truthful that it is only from her own experience that Lucrece can believe "that so much guile … can lurk in such a look" (1534-35). Developing the analogy between the Trojan experience and her own she concludes (1546-47) "as Priam him did cherish / So did I Tarquin; so my Troy did perish". Colin Burrow notes that the ecphrasis "brings to a climax the images of siege and battery which have run through the poem so far",[50] the equation of the body of the woman with the walled city that informs both Ovid's narrative of Lucretia and Virgil's narrative of Dido.[51]

The ecphrasis of a painting of the Trojan War alludes to the scenes in the Temple of Juno in *Aen.* 1. The story of Sinon is taken from *Aen.* 2. In terms of the Virgilian models Lucrece is both Aeneas, responding emotionally to the images of the war that he experienced at first hand, and Dido, responding emotionally to the pathos-laden narrative of the stranger whose experiences at points so closely overlap with her own. Shakespeare's

[46] See above all Barchiesi (1999).
[47] Bate (1993) 81.
[48] Lucrece gives Hecuba the freedom to speak that the painter, for all his skill, cannot give her: "And therefore Lucrece swears he did her wrong, / To give her so much grief, and not a tongue. / 'Poor instrument,' quoth she, 'without a sound, / I'll tune my woes with my lamenting tongue'" (1462-65). Shakespeare responds to the theme of speech and silence in Ovid's Lucretia and Philomela.
[49] See Dubrow (1986) 404-07 on the moral and emotional consequences of too deep an interest in fame.
[50] Burrow (2002) on 1366-1568.
[51] *ibid.*

combination of the Virgilian ecphrasis with the narrative of Aeneas reflects the parallelism within the *Aeneid* of these two inset representations of Troy, one visual and one verbal. Aeneas and Dido both identify strongly with what they respectively see and hear, both are aware of some of the significance for themselves of what they see or hear, but not all of it, and the same might be said of Lucrece and her response to the painting of Troy.

It does not seem to me that Shakespeare draws more directly on the Virgilian Dido in his portrayal of Lucrece. Like *Venus and Adonis*, published the year before in 1593, *The Rape of Lucrece* is a more Ovidian than Virgilian production, arising out of the fashion in 1590s English poetry for Ovidian epyllia. Still, the *Aeneid is* emphatically present in the feature of an ecphrasis of scenes from the Trojan War and in the story of Sinon. The use of the Trojan War as a type or analogue for other stories, whether of a public or private nature, is central to Virgil's own narrative strategy in the *Aeneid* as a whole, and not least in his development of the Dido story in *Aen.* 1 and 4. The allusive mapping of the outlines of one narrative on to another, the fitting of the history of one legendary or mythological character on to the history of another, are a major resource for the creation of meaning in the *Aeneid*, and it is a skill in which Ovid rivals Virgil: Lucretia in *Fasti* 2 and Philomela in *Metamorphoses* 6 are good, but by no means unusual, examples of this. The force of her emotions gives Shakespeare's Lucrece the power to see her own story written or painted in the stories of others, Philomela, Helen and Paris, Hecuba, Sinon. That power, particularly in the context of the Trojan-Roman cycle of stories, is in part a Virgilian power, one of whose manifestations I have argued to be the extensive network of correspondences and significant contrasts that link Virgil's Dido to Lucretia.[52]

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[52] For another late sixteenth-century example of the combination of the models of Dido and Lucretia see Syrithe Pugh's argument (2005, 89-97) that the suicide of Amavia in Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* II. I, and the reaction to it of Guyon, the Knight of Temperance, allude to the Virgilian, Livian and Ovidian narratives of Dido and Lucretia.

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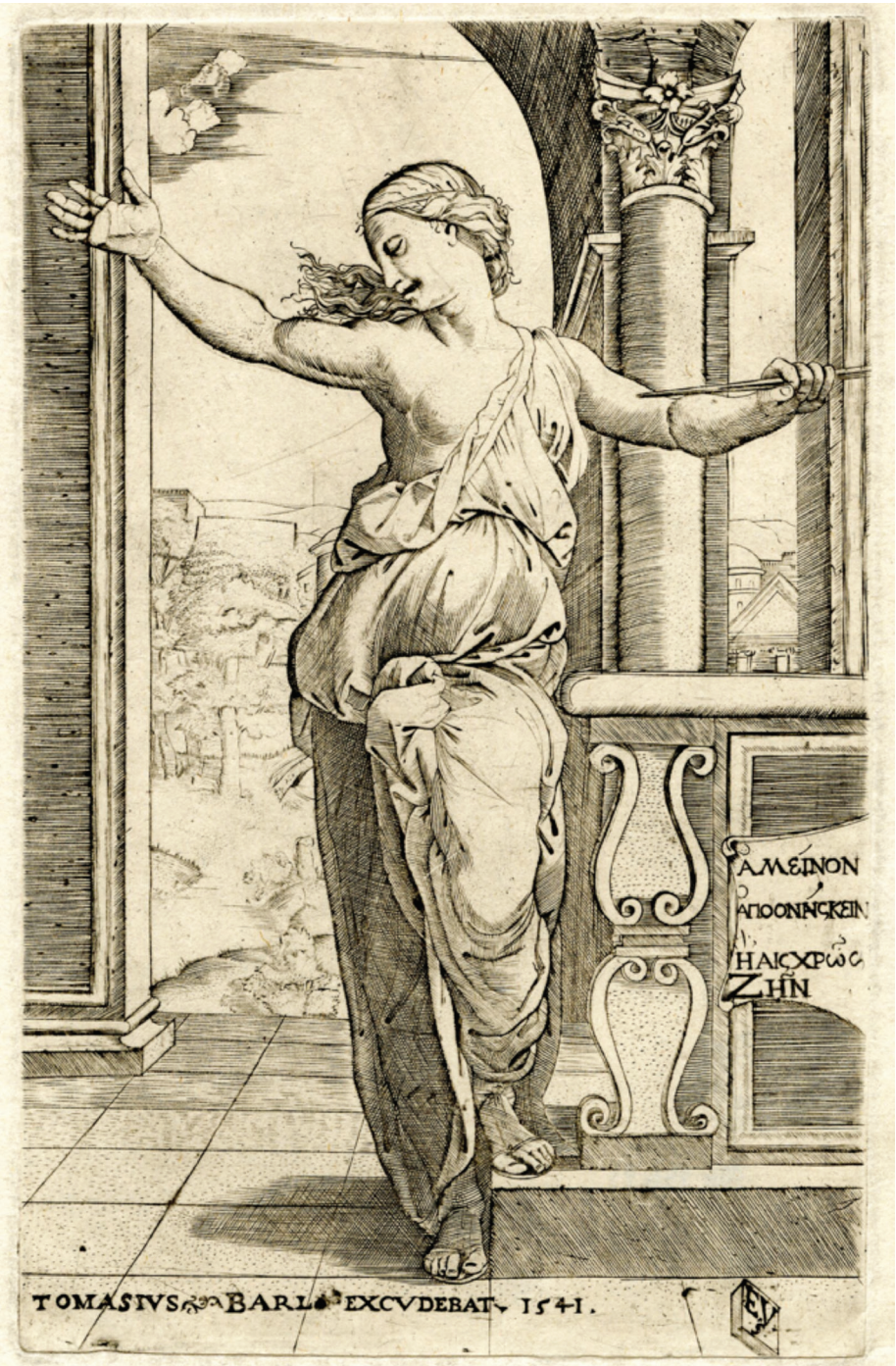

Figure 1. Lucretia's suicide. Engraving by Tommaso Barlacchi after a print by Marcantonio Raimondi, after a drawing by Raphael. *Courtesy of the British Museum*

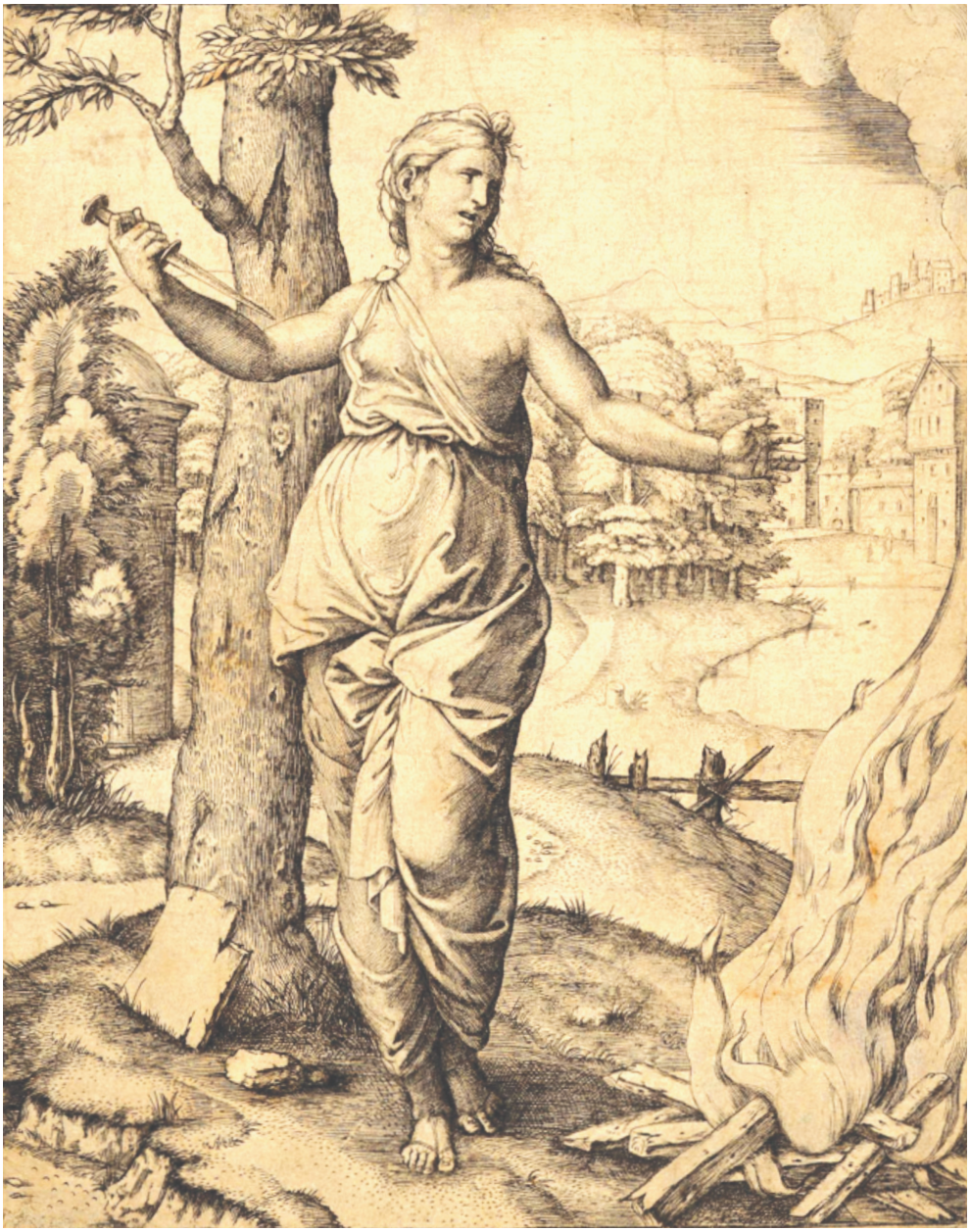

Figure 2. Dido's suicide. Engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi.
Courtesy of the British Museum.

Alternatives To Aeneas: Meditations on Leadership and Military Discipline In Virgil, Aeneid 9*

With Aeneas away at Pallanteum recruiting allies for the war in Italy, *Aeneid* 9 stands alone in the epic as the only book in which Aeneas does not feature personally at all. A situation such as this demands new figures of leadership, however temporary, and the book offers the spotlight to a range of other heroes, on both sides, as they take control at the beginnings of a pivotal military engagement.

The absence of Aeneas and the challenges in leadership created by this absence are major themes in book 9. Indeed, the action of book 9 is a direct consequence of Aeneas' absence, as Juno instructs Iris to descend to earth to exhort Turnus to take advantage of the new opportunity (6-13):[1]

Turne, quod optanti divum promittere nemo
auderet, volvenda dies en attulit ultro.
Aeneas urbe et sociis et classe relicta
sceptra Palatini sedemque petit Evandri.
Nec satis: extremas Corythi penetravit ad urbes
Lydorumque manum et collectos armat agrestis.

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[1] The text of *Aeneid* 9 is taken from Hardie (1994). All translations are my own.

Quid dubitas? Nunc tempus equos, nunc poscere currus.
Rumpe moras omnis et turbata arripe castra.

("Turnus, that which none of the gods were daring to promise to a wishful petitioner, look! time as it rolls along has brought this to you of its own accord. Aeneas has abandoned his city, his allies and his fleet and is making for the kingdom and palace of Palatine Evander. Nor is this enough: he has entered into the farthest cities of Corythus and he is arming a band of Lydians and country folk amassed together. Why are you hesitating? Now is the right moment to demand horses, now the right moment to demand chariots. Break off all delays and snatch the camp now that it has been thrown into confusion").

To be sure, part of Iris' argument is that delay on Turnus' part may result in his facing additional forces at a later stage. But the emphasis falls on the complete absence of the leader (8), and the disarray into which the camp has now been thrown as a result (13).[2] For Iris, in line with frequent statements of ancient thinkers, absence of the central leader figure creates a void in orderly conduct. The rest of the book will assess the merits of this assumption on Iris' part, and ultimately show it to be correct.

Although previous scholarship has drawn attention to the absence of Aeneas, and military leadership and discipline, as important themes in book 9, there has not yet been a full and exclusive discussion of these themes as they develop gradually within the book.[3] The current paper offers a reading of book 9 strictly through the lens of the author's negotiations on military leadership and discipline. I find there to be a range of good and bad practice on display, including the emerging maturity of Ascanius, as Virgil deftly chronicles the swiftly changing fortunes that can occur in warfare on the basis of individual action and decision-making.

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[2] With regards to the phrase *turbata arripe castra*, I take *turbata* to be a statement of perceived fact, rather than a reference to a future activity (*i.e.* "throw the camp into disarray and capture it").

[3] Important earlier research on specific questions of leadership and military discipline raised by book 9 include: Di Cesare (1974) 157-71, in whose study of military failure I find much to commend (although I was not able to get hold of his 1972 piece in *Rivista di Studi Classici* on the subject); Saylor (1990), who offers a brief discussion of Virgil's complex assessment of the merits of group versus individual action, focused around the lexical choices *globus* and *glomero*; Nisbet (1978-80), who looks briefly at the ways in which critical changes in fortune in book 9 mirror recognised good and bad tactics in Roman military history. Putnam (1965) 48-63 discusses psychological flaws across a range of commander figures in book 9. Hardie's (1994) commentary is an indispensible scholarly aid to any study of book 9. Wiltshire (1999) takes the theme of Aeneas' absence in a completely different direction from this paper.

The Memory of Aeneas and the Passion of the Individual

Before leaving for Pallanteum, Aeneas had left instructions to his men as to how they should act in his absence in the event of any adversity. When the Latin army appear on the horizon, led by an invigorated Turnus, the Trojans look out from their camp and keep to Aeneas' orders (38-46):

Ingenti clamore per omnis
condunt se Teucri portas et moenia complent.
Namque ita discedens praeceperat optimus armis
Aeneas: si qua interea fortuna fuisset,
neu struere auderent aciem neu credere campo;
castra modo et tutos servarent aggere muros.
Ergo etsi conferre manum pudor iraque monstrat,
obiciunt portas tamen et praecepta facessunt,
armatique cavis exspectant turribus hostem.

("With a great clamour the Trojans hide themselves away through all the gates and man the walls. For this is what Aeneas, best of warriors, had commanded as he left them: if any adverse circumstance should have arisen in his absence, they should not dare to draw up a battle-line nor put their faith in the plain; instead they should protect the camp and the walls rendered safe by means of a rampart. Therefore, although shame and anger are urging them to engage in hand-to-hand combat, nevertheless they close the gates and carry out their orders, waiting in full armour within their hollow towers for the enemy").

At the outset, Virgil is keen to emphasise both the guiding influence of the now absent Aeneas - his orgers not to venture outside the camp under any circumstances[4] - and the way in which the Trojans' observance of these instructions overrides their own personal feelings. The Trojans' subjugation of emotions might be deemed particularly praiseworthy by the reader, seeing as their current strategy runs counter to both the

[4] It will become clear from my argument as a whole that I take a strong reading of *credere campo* (9.42) and do not see it simply as a reiteration of the sentiment in *struere auderent aciem* (for which see Hardie, 1994, 78). Indeed, the gates of the camp emerge as an important spatial and symbolic marker point between successful and tragic activity for the Trojans. Turnus himself recognises this when he refers to the Trojans' outer defences as a "thin dividing lines between life and death" (*leti discrimina parva*, 143). Numanus Remulus will later articulate a similar sentiment when he mocks the Trojans for "stretching out their walls in front of death" (*morti praetendere muros*, 599).

(traditional) Homeric heroic impulse for face-to-face combat and the (recently disclosed) Roman impulse for imposing one's will on foreign aggressors.[5]

Virgil straightaway points out the extent of the mental challenge facing the Trojans in adhering to Aeneas' instructions. First, we are presented with the reaction of the enemy, who naturally interpret the Trojans' lack of aggression as an act of cowardice and unmanliness (55-57):

> *Teucrum mirantur inertia corda,*
> *non aequo dare se campo, non obvia ferre*
> *arma viros, sed castra fovere.*

("They are amazed by the idle spirits of the Trojans: that they are not giving themselves to equal combat on the plain, that they are not bearing arms to meet them, as men, but are instead keeping the camp warm").

The insinuation in *castra fovere* (57) that the Trojans are behaving in an unmanly fashion – the most natural association is with a mother bird brooding over her nest (see Lewis & Short *ad loc.*) – carries forward into the intriguing simile that Virgil develops in the lines that follow (59-66):

> *Ac veluti pleno lupus insidiatus ovili*
> *cum fremit ad caulas ventos perpessus et imbris*
> *nocte super media. Tuti sub matribus agni*
> *balatum exercent, ille asper et improbus ira*
> *saevit in absentis. Collecta fatigat edendi*
> *ex longo rabies et siccae sanguine fauces:*
> *haud aliter Rutulo muros et castra tuenti*
> *ignescunt irae, duris dolor ossibus ardet.*

("And just as when a wolf, lying in ambush near the full sheep-fold, howls at the fence during the middle of the night, patiently enduring the winds and the rains. Safe under their mothers the lambs engage in bleating, while he, rough-sounding and unruly in his anger, vents his rage against elusive prey. His mad lust for eating, increasing over a long period, tires him out, and his jaws are dry of blood: just so does the Rutulian's anger flare up as he keeps watch over the camp and the walls, and a pain burns in his hard bones").

[5] The proactive military agenda of the Roman mission is most famously captured in Anchises' words to Aeneas in the Underworld (6.847-54), esp. 6.851-53: *tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento … debellare superbos.*

While attention is most naturally directed towards the unflattering picture of Turnus as an irrational beast controlled by burning emotions, we should not overlook the equally unflattering imagery used for the Trojans. The lambs' bleating from a protected location creates a pathetic contrast to the enemy's loud and aggressive gestures, and the fact that they take refuge *sub matribus* (61), a specific detail absent from the two Greek epic similes on which the present simile is modelled,[6] only downgrades further the status of the Trojans to that of unmanly/effeminate or infantile individuals. Indeed, this is a simile from which neither party emerges unscathed. Significant here is that the sentiment is not now focalised through the enemy but comes directly from the epic narrator: both enemy and epic narrator alike implicitly acknowledge the psychological challenge that heroes face in pursuing the current course of action. So far, however, the Trojans fare well: they are not devoid of a proper heroic reaction to their predicament – they feel the shame that it entails (9.44) – but, crucially at this stage, they do not act upon these impulses against the better judgment of their leader.

After the miraculous interlude of the transformation of Aeneas' ships (77-122), an episode which itself manages to lend divine authority to Aeneas' instruction to his men not to venture outside the camp (114-15), we return to the on-going military preparations in Italy. In the face of Italian activity right outside their camp, the Trojans continue, at this point, to carry out Aeneas' instructions (168-75):

> *Haec super e vallo prospectant Troes et armis*
> *alta tenent; necnon trepidi formidine portas*
> *explorant pontisque et propugnacula iungunt,*
> *tela gerunt. Instat Mnestheus acerque Serestus,*
> *quos pater Aeneas, si quando adversa vocarent,*
> *rectores iuvenum et rerum dedit esse magistros.*
> *Omnis per muros legio sortita periclum*
> *excubat exercetque vices, quod cuique tuendum est.*

("On this scene the Trojans look out from atop their rampart and hold the high points with arms; moreover, anxious in their fear, they check out the gates and join ramparts with bridges, and they are bearing their weapons. Urging on the work are Mnestheus and keen Serestus, whom father Aeneas appointed to be the leaders of the young men and chiefs of affairs if adversity should call for it at any point. Along all the walls the army, dividing the peril, keeps watch and conducts shift work, each man with respect to his allotted guard-duty").

[6] *Od.* 6.130-34 and Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 1.1243-47, with Hardie (1994) 83-84.

This noble picture of military attentiveness and discipline, under the guidance of officially appointed surrogate leaders, invites strong comparison with the enemy's nocturnal activities as described in the preceding lines (159-67):

> *Interea vigilum excubiis obsidere portas*
> *cura datur Messapo et moenia cingere flammis.*
> *Bis septem Rutuli muros qui milite servent*
> *delecti, ast illos centeni quemque sequuntur*
> *purpurei cristis iuvenes auroque corusci.*
> *Discurrunt variantque vices, fusique per herbam*
> *indulgent vino et vertunt crateras aënos.*
> *Conlucent ignes, noctem custodia ducit*
> *insomnem ludo.*

("In the meantime, the responsibility was given to Messapus to besiege the gates with a garrison of watchmen and to surround the walls with fires. Fourteen Rutulians were chosen to watch the walls with a band of soldiers, but a hundred young men followed each one of them, adorned with purple crests and shimmering gold. They rush around in different directions and diversify their shift duties and, stretched out on the grass, they indulge in wine and upturn bronze wine bowls. The fires shine brightly and the guard draws out the sleepless night in gaming").

We are presented at first with a scenario not dissimilar to that of the Trojan camp – instructions from a leader to guard the walls – but in this case Messapus' leadership is evidently weak, as his men lack proper discipline. The note of discordance latent in *dis*currunt (164) is picked up in 164-65 with specific detail about the soldiers' wine-drinking and relaxation on the grass, a scene which recalls more readily the atmosphere of a festival.[7] Moreover, the soldiers engage in gaming (*ludo*, 167) which, combined with indulgence in wine and expensive dress (*purpurei cristis … auroque corusci*, 163), creates in the Roman mind a stock picture of foreign extravagance, laxity and immorality. Virgil could not have made the contrast any more acute, as disorder (*discurrunt*, 164) meets unity (*omnis per muros legio sortita periclum*, 174), due caution (*trepidi formidine*, 174) meets overconfident revelry (164-65), and, most importantly at a time of high military

[7] Moreover, as my translation attempts to capture, there is potentially an important distinction to be made between *exercetque vices* (175) and *variantque vices* (164): *exerceo* foregrounds business and industry, whereas *vario* emphasises alteration and diversification, raising the possibility, in light of the surrounding context, that the Rutulians are deviating from those roles allotted to them by their commanding officer.

alert, one side holds weapons while the other holds drinking bowls and the paraphernalia of leisure.[8] This contrast in military discipline will help to explain the early fortunes of each side when enemies finally face each other a little later.

So far so good for the Trojans … but the private nocturnal discussion that follows between companions Nisus and Euryalus marks a significant turning point.[9] Nisus' proposition to head a clandestine expedition to get word to Aeneas is not in itself an unsound tactic: the Trojan leaders have already been contemplating such an enterprise (226-28), and Nisus makes a fair case for his own involvement in light of his apparent knowledge of the terrain through hunting (243-45). But in the context of the emerging motifs of book 9, this is a worrying development. First of all, it is hard not to see this as the first Trojan tactical move to go against the instructions at 40-43, where Aeneas had warned his men against leaving the camp under *any* adverse circumstance.[10] Perhaps more worrying than the proposition itself, however, is the *motivation* that lies behind it on the parts of Nisus and Euryalus. Nisus' opening words to Euryalus are most revealing (184-87):

> *Nisus ait: 'Dine hunc ardorem mentibus addunt,*
> *Euryale, an sua cuique deus fit dira cupido?*
> *Aut pugnam aut aliquid iamdudum invadere magnum*
> *mens agitat mihi, nec placida contenta quiete est'.*

("Nisus says: 'Do the gods add this burning passion to our minds, Euryalus, or does his own wild desire become to each man a god? For a long time now my mind has been spurring me on towards a fight, or to make some great attack,[11] nor is it content with gentle calmness'").

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[8] I do not agree with Hardie (1994) 105 that the literal meaning of *tela gerunt* (171) – "they bear weapons" – is "intolerably weak". In the face of enemy laxity, the military normality that pertains to the Trojan side is all the more pointed for its being expressed via a simple (and emphatically delayed) phrase.

[9] As will become evident, I find myself largely in agreement with classic treatments of the episode by Heinze (1903) 216-19 = (1993) 169-70 and Duckworth (1967) 130-40.

[10] The discussion between Nisus and the Trojan chieftains takes place *castrorum et campi medio* (230), a curious phrase which commentators typically explain as a designated space that was left open within the camp. As Hardie (1994) 116 points out, however, the more natural rendering is "midway between the camp and the battle-field". Are we to envisage the discussion as taking place somewhere outside the defences of the camp but not on the battle-field proper? If we think of the camp as a symbolic marker between wise and unwise activity (see n.4 above), it is interesting to note that the Trojans' wavering between Aeneas' instructions and their own enterprise takes place in a liminal space between the safety of the camp and the danger of the plain.

[11] In a sentiment that already contains *pugnam*, Duckworth (1967) 131 n.16 is surely correct not to play down the hostile connotations behind *invadere* here.

During a private conversation with Euryalus, Nisus leaves us in no doubt that his underlying motivation is personal and emotional, a burning passion to break away from their current inactivity and embark upon the sort of aggressive endeavour that might bring him renown (cf. also 194-95). In effect, Nisus is the first Trojan to give voice to the tension between Aeneas' instructions and the more natural heroic impulses of the Homeric and indeed Roman warrior. His companion, Euryalus, appears to be equally susceptible to the allurement of glory (*magno laudum percussus amore*, 197), and Virgil regularly highlights the hastiness and burning feelings that are driving them forwards in their endeavour.[12] When he addresses the Trojan chieftains for approval (234-45), Nisus does well to hide his true motivation and keep the focus on the opportunity that has opened up and the strategic benefits of his proposal: no direct mention is made here of his inner passion, and any uncertainty about the terrain which he may have entertained in private is masked by bravado in his public address.[13] That said, at one important stage in the speech, Nisus' true intentions reveal themselves (240-43):

> *si fortuna permittis uti*
> *quaesitum Aenean et moenia Pallantea,*
> *mox hic cum spoliis ingenti caede peracta*
> *adfore cernetis.*

("If you permit us to take advantage of this opportunity, to seek Aeneas and the walls of Pallanteum, in due course you will see us all back here before you laden with spoils and having carried out mighty slaughter").

These lines are problematic for the fact that Nisus does not specify in 242-43 precisely who will be seen back at camp. I follow Lennox (1977, 337-39) in understanding Nisus, Euryalus and Aeneas as intended subjects here, in that Nisus is looking forward to the triumphant return of all three of them once he has successfully reached Pallanteum, a scenario which might naturally involve cutting a swathe through the enemy in order to return to the Trojan camp. This reading at least maintains Nisus' focus on the mission to hand. But it is not without its problems. Discussion of spoils and slaughter is an unnecessary intrusion into an otherwise strategically motivated and altruistic proposal,

[12] For Nisus' burning passion, cf. *ardorem* (184), *ardentem* (198). For their speed of action, cf. *acceleremus* (221), *confestim alacres* (231).

[13] In private with Euryalus: *tumulo videor reperire sub illo / posse viam ad muros et moenia Pallantea* ("I seem to be able to find beneath that mound a path to the walls and fortifications of Pallanteum", 195-96); in public to the Trojan chieftains, *vidimus obscuris primam sub vallibus urbem / venatu adsiduo et totum cognovimus amnem* ("Down the dark valleys in our incessant hunting we have seen the first building of the city and we have come to know the entire river", 244-45). To meet the needs of public rhetoric, communal certainty has replaced individual speculation.

and it is revealing of his ambition that Nisus should assume that he and his comrade will share a triumphant platform with their superior, Aeneas. Subconsciously, perhaps, Nisus betrays his true motives for the mission, and it may be counted as a failure in leadership that the Trojan chieftains do not pick up on this.[14]

At any rate, with the plan endorsed, the early stages of the night expedition are a success. Nisus establishes sound leadership credentials by assigning himself the role of cutting a path through the enemy ranks while instructing his companion to keep watch (320-23). This plan seems eminently achievable in view of the absence of discipline on the enemy's part, as the disorder in the ranks first noted at 164-67 has by now descended into a scene of complete drunken stupor (316-19):

> *passim somno vinoque per herbam*
> *corpora fusa vident, arrectos litore currus,*
> *inter lora rotasque viros, simul arma iacere,*
> *vina simul.*

("Here and there they see bodies stretched out in sleep and drunkenness across the grass, chariots upturned on the shore, men between reins and wheels, arms lying here, wine jars lying there").

Asyndeton here contributes to a scene of chaos, as chariots are upright while men lie prone – the very opposite, perhaps, of what one would expect to see in a military setting – and weapons lie scattered around seemingly unready for use.[15] Individual enemy warriors are summarily dispatched by Nisus (324-38) as he adheres to his responsibility within the plan. But 342 strikes an alarming note, all the more pointed for its brevity: *nec minor Euryali caedes* ("no less was the slaughter carried out by Euryalus"). Euryalus appears at some point to have abandoned his responsibility as watchman to join in with the easy pickings among the enemy, and his delight in slaughter is described in the sort of ominous terms that earlier marked Nisus' enthusiasm for the plan.[16] To his credit, Nisus continues to display leadership qualities by recognising the transgression and focusing minds back onto the mission (353-56):

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[14] Although see later discussion for potential mitigation in the case of Ascanius.

[15] *per herbam … fusa* (316-17) directly recalls *fusique per herbam* (164), but the scene has moved on logically from revelry to drunken sleep: wine jars which were upturned (165) now lie scattered (319), and gaming into the early hours (166-67) has resulted in exhaustion which will prove fatal (335-38).

[16] *incensus* (342) and *fervidus* (350) recall the fire imagery of Nisus' own earlier passion (*ardorem*, 184; *ardentem*, 198), while *perfurit* (343) suggests an intense immersion in *furor*.

breviter cum talia Nisus
(sensit enim nimia caede atque cupidine ferri)
'absistamus', ait, 'nam lux inimica propinquat.
Poenarum exhaustum satis est, via facta per hostis'.

("… when Nisus spoke these words in brief (for he sensed that they[17] were being carried away by too much desire for bloodshed): 'let us cease, for hostile daylight is approaching. We have drunk deep enough vengeance, a path has been made through the enemy'").

The phrase *via facta per hostis* concisely alerts Euryalus to the fact that this part of the mission has now been fulfilled and that they should move on. But desire for slaughter has evidently caused the couple to linger too long in the enemy camp, now that daylight is approaching, and the related desire for plunder will inform Euryalus' fatal decision to take burdensome spoils, especially the reflective plumed helmet of Messapus. This decision appears all the more foolish in view of the fact that the horses of Messapus' men, which would have helped them both to evade enemies and to cut down travel time to Pallanteum, were tied up together and freely available for stealing (352-53).[18] Once approaching enemy cavalry catches sight of Euryalus' helmet reflected in the moonlight (373-74) – might Euryalus have spotted this enemy earlier if he had kept to his duty as watchman? – roles are tragically reversed, as the enemy finds strong leadership behind its *magister* Volcens (370), while Nisus and Euryalus embark upon a series of bad and individual strategic decisions.

When the Trojan pair rush into the dark woods, the enemy blocks them off at all access points (379-80):

[17] The subject of *ferri* is left unstated, and some scholars, who seek to discern a difference between Nisus and Euryalus, follow Servius Danielis *ad loc.* when he suggests by implication that Virgil is here referring only to the excesses of Euryalus; see *e.g.* Lennox (1977) 336-37; Makowski (1989) 12. But the plural that follows (*absistamus*), as well as the earlier indication that both anticipate great slaughter from the expedition (242-43), point to a more inclusive sentiment here. Moreover, the simile of the lion (339-41), driven by an unreasoned/maddening hunger (340 *vesana fames*), is linked to both Trojans through syntactical ambiguity (see Pavlock, 1985, 214-15). On the preponderance of animal similes in book 9, a book bereft of the rational thinking of Aeneas, see further Hornsby (1970) 64-69.

[18] This marks one of the more telling contrasts between the strategies of Nisus and Euryalus and those of Diomedes and Ulysses in the night raid in *Iliad* 10: the Greek heroes recognize the strategic value of the Thracian horses, albeit with some prompting from Athene, and use this plunder to make good their return to the Greek ships (*Il.* 10.474-514). Indeed, the reader who recalls the Homeric episode might assume that Nisus is following Odysseus in cutting a path through the enemy (356), rather than simply passing by the drunken ranks without spilling blood, precisely so as to create a passageway for horses without unduly upsetting them (*Il.* 10.488-93).

Obiciunt equites sese ad divortia nota
hinc atque hinc, omnemque abitum custode coronant.

("The horsemen throw themselves before the known branchings of the road, here and there, and they encircle all the exits with a guard").

Not only do the cavalry, here and elsewhere, act as a unit in this episode, but *nota* and *omnem* bring to mind a key fact: this is *their* terrain, terrain that they know very well, whereas Nisus had incautiously talked up his knowledge in his eagerness for the mission – his actual uncertainty will come back to haunt him. Euryalus never claimed to know the terrain, and this lack of local knowledge, combined with the onerous spoils that he has unwisely elected to retain, are held directly responsible for his falling behind Nisus and leading him into error within the woods (*Euryalum tenebrae ramorum onerosaque praeda / impediunt*, 384-85; *fraude loci*, 397). When Euryalus is duly captured (395-98), at no point does Nisus contemplate using what knowledge of the terrain he has to escape to continue the mission: his internal dilemma revolves only between the options of saving his friend or dying in the attempt (399-401). For this reason, once his attempts at rescue by long-range weaponry have proven futile, and Euryalus is killed by Volcens, Nisus opts for death by revealing his concealed location and seeking out the killer. The final moments of Nisus' charge reveal just how much the tables have turned with regard to proper leadership and military decision-making (438-41):

At Nisus ruit in medios solumque per omnis
Volcentem petit, in solo Volcente moratur.
Quem circum glomerati hostes hinc comminus atque hinc
proturbant.

("Nevertheless Nisus rushes into the midst [of the enemy] and seeks out Volcens alone through all of them, on Volcens alone he is fixed. Around him the enemy, gathered together in a mass, drive him off at close quarters here and there").

Following straight on from the death of Euryalus (431-37), *at* signals the illogical nature of Nisus' move: he has no companion left to protect, he is heavily outnumbered and his mission lies elsewhere. At the beginning of the expedition, Nisus was able to pick off single enemies unscathed, but his attempt to adopt the same strategy here (note the repetition of *solum* … *solo*) is thwarted by an enemy that works together as a unit around its leader. Virgil does not specify in 438-45 exactly when Nisus receives the killer blow, and the omission is pointed: the difference in military tactics adopted by each side has made the final outcome inevitable.

With both young men killed, and the mission a failure, attention turns back to the Trojan camp (468-72):

> *Aeneadae duri murorum in parte sinistra*
> *opposuere aciem (nam dextera cingitur amni),*
> *ingentisque tenent fossas et turribus altis*
> *stant maesti. Simul ora virum praefixa movebant*
> *nota nimis miseris atroque fluentia tabo.*

("Aeneas' hardy men set up a battle line against the Rutulians on the left part of the walls (for the right side was surrounded by the river), and they defend the huge trenches[19] and stand sorrowful on the high towers. At the same time the wretched Trojans are moved by the faces of the men they know all too well, fixed on the end [of the enemy spears] and flowing with black gore").

Faced with the harrowing sight of the enemy approaching with the heads of Nisus and Euryalus fixed on their spears (465-67), the Trojans act in the sort of controlled, strategically sensible manner which reassures the reader that, at this stage at least, the high-spirited behaviour of the doomed youngsters was a localised incident. Virgil's repetition of military phraseology from earlier[20] reminds us that the Trojans are still adhering to Aeneas' instructions, and the parenthetic note in 469 underlines the prudence of the particular tactic of manning only the left walls at this juncture. As at 44-46 and 168-75, the Trojans are shown to be not immune to emotional responses (*maesti*; *movebant*), but these emotions are still admirably contained so as not to compromise their leader's key instructions. *duri* (468) is no idle epithet, as the Trojans are faced with, and overcome successfully, a series of escalating emotional scenes: as well as enduring the sight of their comrades' heads, the Trojans effectively contend with the public reaction of Euryalus' mother before it has a chance to break the men's spirits (473-502, esp. 498-502).[21]

When the battle starts proper from 503, the early engagements are inconclusive, as the concerted attacks of the Italians are met comfortably by the Trojans, who, as Virgil reminds us, find themselves in the experienced position of defending walls (511). The toppling of one of the towers, and the subsequent deaths of two survivors, Helenor and Lycus

[19] As Servius Danielis (*ad loc.*) suggests, *tenent* here must mean "defend/watch over" rather than "hold/man": nothing in the narrative that follows suggests that the Trojans have ventured outside the camp at this point.

[20] For manning the walls, cf. 43, 174-75; for keeping watch in their high towers (470 *turribus altis*), cf. 46, 168-69.

[21] We will come back to this episode later, in the section on Ascanius.

(530-66), do little to alter the overall trajectory of the conflict. A particularly emotional test for the Trojans, perhaps, is the plight of Lycus, who escapes immediate death from the enemy, reaches the walls of the camp and seeks help with outstretched hands to be pulled up to the ramparts (556-62, esp. 557-58). It is one thing to witness dead comrades outside the camp, but quite another to have the chance to save one. Still, there is no sense that any Trojan wavers from Aeneas' instructions by, for instance, attempting to open an access point for Lycus or venturing outside the camp to lend assistance: impressively, they continue to attack the enemy from within their walls (569-73). So far, the Trojans as a whole have resisted the heroic (and Roman) impulse for proactive military engagement and have contained their emotions admirably, to follow Aeneas' instructions. This then prompts the Italian Numanus Remulus to hurl abuse and mock them for what he sees as unmanly cowardice. His opening words – *non pudet?* (598) – pinpoint the speaker's central reason for surprise at the Trojans' inactivity, by a question which the reader has already had answered at 44: the Trojans feel *pudor*, to be sure, but they do not let it dictate their actions. Once again, the Trojans contain any emotional response they may have, and allow their surrogate leader, Ascanius, to exact punishment on Numanus in an appropriate manner on their behalf.[22] Virgil again registers a reassuring sense of continuity in the Trojans' activities by means of pointed repetition of military phraseology.[23]

But the Trojans' fortunes take a radical turn for the worse with the sudden introduction of Pandarus and Bitias (672-78):

> *Pandarus et Bitias, Idaeo Alcanore creti,*
> *quos Iovis eduxit luco silvestris Iaera,*
> *abietibus iuvenes patriis et montibus aequos,*
> *portam, quae ducis imperio commissa, recludunt*
> *freti armis, ultroque invitant moenibus hostem.*
> *Ipsi intus dextra ac laeva pro turribus astant*
> *armati ferro et cristis capita alta corusci:*

("Pandarus and Bitias, born of Alcanor from Mount Ida, whom the woodland nymph Iaera had brought up in the grove of Jupiter, young men equal to their native fir trees and mountains, open the gate which had been entrusted to them by the command of their leader, confident in their arms, and of their own accord invite the enemy within the walls.

[22] Again, we will look at this scene later, in the section on Ascanius.
[23] Note the repetition of *propugnacula* at 170 and 664.

They stand by inside, on the right and the left, in place of the towers,[24] armed with the sword, their tall heads shimmering with the crests of their helmets").

As in the early episode of Nisus and Euryalus, two youthful companions and guardians of the gate embark upon an endeavour that, we are implicitly told, goes against the strict instructions of the Trojan leader (675). But while the former was a tragic but essentially localised incident, the current venture presents a threat to the Trojans at large. This threat is, moreover, realised when the early success of Pandarus and Bitias, slaying the enemy at the gate (683-87), excites the Trojans' spirits and encourages them to venture outside (688-90):

Tum magis increscunt animis discordibus irae,
et iam collecti Troes glomerantur eodem
et conferre manum et procurrere longius audent.

("Then anger grows all the more in their discordant hearts, and now the Trojans gather together in one place and form a mass, and they dare to engage in hand-to-hand combat and run forwards further away [from the gate])".

It is disconcerting that emotions are now goading the Trojans towards activity outside the confines of the camp. Tellingly, there are distinct echoes of the instructions of Aeneas which have now been discarded: the action of *conferre manum*, spurred on by *irae*, directly recalls the Trojans' earlier subjugation of this very desire (*ergo etsi conferre manum pudor iraque monstrat*, 44), and *audent* picks up the specific injunction of Aeneas (*neu … auderent*, 42).

Intratextual cues such as these are sufficient to signal trouble, as Virgil now focuses his attention on the consequences of disobedience. The opportunity has at last been afforded for Turnus to embark on a more productive *aristeia*, one that promptly sees the dispatch of one of the brothers, Bitias, albeit with some effort (703-16). From this point, the situation is at its most serious for the Trojans as a whole, as their confidence turns to fear (719) and the enemy's spirits rise (717-18) as they start to work together (*undique conveniunt*, 720). The situation is exacerbated by Pandarus' decision to close the gate again (722-30), a move branded as *demens* ("witless"/"devoid of rational thinking", 728) by the narrator,

[24] Virgil clearly implies in these lines that the confidence of Pandarus and Bitias stems from their size and strength. This (misplaced) confidence is best captured if we take *pro turribus* (677) to mean "in place of the towers", rather than "in front of the towers". In similar vein, the translation "confident in their arms" attempts to capture the slipperiness of *freti armis* (676), where *armis* may refer to weapons (*arma*) and/or shoulders (*armi*); with the latter cf. 725. *obnixus latis umeris*.

because it has locked Trojans outside and, more worryingly, it has locked Turnus inside. The chance situation even precipitates a rise in stature for the enemy leader, as Turnus, so often compared with frustrated predatory animals, is revealed to the Trojans almost in the manner of a deity (731-33):

> *Continuo nova lux oculis effulsit et arma*
> *horrendum sonuere, tremunt in vertice cristae*
> *sanguineae clipeoque micantia fulmina mittit.*

("A new light shines out immediately from his eyes and his arms make a horrific sound, his bloody crests quiver on his head, and he shoots flickering lightning from his shield").

As Hardie (1994, 228) notes, *nova lux* recalls the bright light that attends a divine epiphany, and the reflections of light in his shield cast the wearer in the guise of Jupiter, wielder of the thunderbolt.[25] This sense of magisterial supremacy is maintained during his straightforward confrontation with Pandarus (735-55), as Turnus meets his seething adversary (*fervidus ira*, 736) with a newfound calmness of disposition (*sedato pectore*, 740). Once Pandarus and Bitias are both dead, and the Trojans in complete disarray, Turnus is at his most powerful and dangerous in the epic. But an authorial note marks an unexpected reprieve for the Trojans (756-61):

> *Diffugiunt versi trepida formidine Troes,*
> *et si continuo victorem ea cura subisset,*
> *rumpere claustra manu sociosque immittere portis,*
> *ultimus ille dies bello gentique fuisset.*
> *Sed furor ardentem caedisque insana cupido*
> *egit in adversos.*

("The Trojans turn their backs and flee in different directions, in quaking dread, and if this concern had occurred to the victor immediately, to break through the bolts with force and to let his allies in through the gates, that would have been the final day for both the war and the race [of Trojans]. But instead frenzy and a mad desire for bloodshed drove him burning against his adversaries").

At exactly the right moment, from the Trojans' point of view, Turnus abandons his divine aura and the rational military judgment of a leader, and gives way again to frenzy and the

[25] The same Jovian overtones are also apparent in Turnus' slaying of Bitias with a *phalarica* … *fulminis acta modo* (705-06).

animalistic desire for slaughter, as he embarks upon another *aristeia* (762-77).[26] This offers the Trojans a crucial opportunity to regroup (778-80):

> *Tandem ductores audita caede suorum*
> *conveniunt Teucri, Mnestheus acerque Serestus,*
> *palantisque vident socios hostemque receptum.*

("After a long time the Trojan commanders, Mnestheus and keen Serestus, come together, having heard the slaughter of their own men, and they see their allies dispersed here and there and the enemy received [within their walls]").

tandem certainly offers criticism of Turnus: by implication, his irrational rampage and failure to think strategically have gone on for a long time. But Di Cesare (1974, 169) does well to draw our attention to the subtle criticism of Mnestheus and Serestus in these lines. As the officially appointed leaders of the Trojans (*ductores*), they have been conspicuous by their absence since their introduction at 171. Where have they been for so long (*tandem*)? Evidently, they have been some way removed from the main action, as they first only *hear* the dying cries of their men (*audita*) before actually *witnessing* the scene first hand (*vident*). Better late than never, perhaps, as a rousing speech from Mnestheus (781-87) – which, on this occasion, appeals to a sense of *pudor* precisely in order to move the Trojans towards proactive military engagement (787) – brings them back together as a unit: Mnestheus' skill as leader converts a picture of disunity (*diffugiunt*, 756) to one of solidarity and resolution (*firmantur … agmine denso / consistunt*, 788-89; *glomerare*, 792). Turnus' inconsistency costs him dear, as he reverts to his position as savage lion (*saevum … leonem*, 792) and gives up his sense of Jovian majesty to Mnestheus, who is now the one hurling lightning (*fulmineus Mnestheus*, 812). From a position of absolute supremacy, Turnus ends the book barely escaping with his life by throwing himself into the river in flight (812-18).

To summarise to this point, what brings book 9 together as a discrete unit is its sustained focus on military leadership and discipline. In the absence of Aeneas, a variety of surrogate leaders from both sides step forward to be assessed, and all fall short to varying degrees, dependent on the emphasis they place on solidarity over individual action, control of emotions over giving them full rein. By the end of the book, the Trojans have lived

[26] Every word in this dense description of Turnus in 760 recalls the mindset of Nisus and Euryalus when in the midst of an apparently inferior enemy; for *furor* cf. *perfurit* (343); for *ardentem* cf. *ardorem* (184), *ardentem* (198); for *cupido caedis* cf. Nisus' recognition at 354, *sensit enim nimia caede atque cupidine ferri*; with *insana* cf. *vesana* (340).

to fight another day – quite literally (10.118-45) – but largely because of the folly of Turnus at a critical moment. In this way Virgil signals the importance of Aeneas' presence, detailing the errors in Trojan leadership that occur in his absence. At the outset of book 9, Iris had stated as a fact that a camp without its leader was one already thrown into confusion (*turbata ... castra*, 13). The book as a whole has borne out this assumption, and Venus will concur when she later reflects upon the situation at a council of the gods at 10.22-25, emphasis falling on a simple phrase to explain the Trojans' turmoil: "Aeneas, unawares, is absent" (*Aeneas ignarus abest*, 25).

But book 9 is not all about implicit endorsement of Aeneas. One character, while not yet ready to alter the overall trajectory of the conflict, gains sufficient space in the absence of Aeneas to develop his own leadership skills and demonstrate promise for the future. This is the young prince, Ascanius, to whom we now turn.

The Emerging Leadership of Ascanius

Much has been written about Ascanius, and I find myself in agreement with what one might call the more traditional scholarly position, that Ascanius undergoes a positive growth in stature within the poem, with books 5 and 9 proving to be critical points of reference.[27] Broadly speaking, book 5 marks a transition in Ascanius from the dependent child of the earlier books to an individual with emerging talents in leadership, especially in his roles as leader of a file of riders in the *Lusus Troiae* (5.545-51, 570-72) and chief spokesman in the successful campaign to curtail the civil disobedience of the Trojan women (5.667-74). With the absence of Aeneas, book 9 presents itself as an opportunity for showcasing further the developments in the young prince, providing the clearest glimpses of the promise Ascanius is to fulfil in the future.[28]

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[27] For positive assessments of Ascanius' growth in stature during the poem, see Warde Fowler (1919) 87-92; Coleman (1942); Feldman (1953); Baker (1980). For more sceptical assessments, see Lyne (1987) 193-206; Petrini (1997) 87-110; esp. Merriam (2002).

[28] This in an important point: Ascanius does not formally pass into manhood within the chronological parameters of the epic, as he continues to be referred to as *puer* in later books (10.70, 236, 605; esp. 12.435-40). Instead Virgil signals by various means that Ascanius' manhood and significant purpose lie in the future: the omen of the flame (2.679-91); making him a consistent reference point within prophecies (Jupiter, 1.267-71; Tiber, 8.48); making him a predominant concern among the gods (Venus, 1.678; 10.132; Mercury, 4.232, 275-76); referring to him as a hope (*spes*) rather than an asset for the present (1.556; 4.274; 6.364; *spes surgentis Iuli*, 10.524; *magnae spes altera Romae*, 12.168). See further Feldman (1953) 308-10.

The increased stature for Ascanius in the wake of Aeneas' absence is brought to our attention when Virgil refers to him as *rex* (223), a startling conceit which may nonetheless be justified by the later suggestion that Ascanius is an individual "bearing both a spirit and the cares of manhood beyond his years" (*ante annos animumque gerens curamque virilem*, 311). It is Ascanius that Nisus and Euryalus feel duty-bound to approach to seek approval for their plan (222-23) and, following a short expression of praise from the aged Aletes (247-56), Ascanius delivers his longest speech of the epic (257-80):

> *'Immo ego vos, cui sola salus genitore reducto',*
> *excipit Ascanius 'per magnos, Nise, penatis*
> *Assaracique Larem et canae penetralia Vestae*
> *obtestor, quaecumque mihi fortuna fidesque est,*
> *in vestris pono gremiis. Revocate parentem,*
> *reddite conspectum; nihil illo triste recepto.*
> *Bina dabo argento perfecta atque aspera signis*
> *pocula, devicta genitor quae cepit Arisba,*
> *et tripodas geminos, auri duo magna talenta,*
> *cratera antiquum quem dat Sidonia Dido.*
> *Si vero capere Italiam sceptrisque potiri*
> *contigerit victori et praedae dicere sortem,*
> *vidisti, quo Turnus equo, quibus ibat in armis*
> *aureus; ipsum illum, clipeum cristasque rubentis*
> *excipiam sorti, iam nunc tua praemia, Nise.*
> *Praeterea bis sex genitor lectissima matrum*
> *corpora captivosque dabit suaque omnibus arma,*
> *insuper his campi quod rex habet ipse Latinus.*
> *Te vero, mea quem spatiis propioribus aetas*
> *insequitur, venerande puer, iam pectore toto*
> *accipio et comitem casus complector in omnis.*
> *Nulla meis sine te quaeretur gloria rebus.*
> *Seu pacem seu bella geram, tibi maxima rerum*
> *verborumque fides'.*

("'Indeed I, whose safety rests only with my father's return, implore you both', continues Ascanius. 'Nisus, I solemnly declare to you by the great Penates, the household god of Assaracus and the inner sanctuary of white-haired Vesta – whatever fortune and grounds

for confidence there is in me, I place it in your laps. Call back my father, give him back to my sight: nothing is gloomy when he has been received back. I will give you, made from solid silver and encrusted with reliefs, two cups that my father took from conquered Arisba, and two tripods, two great talents of gold, an ancient mixing bowl that Sidonian Dido gave. If indeed it comes about that he [Aeneas] takes Italy as victor, and gains its kingdom and orders the distribution of booty, you have seen the horse on which Turnus was riding and the arms he was wearing, all in gold – that very horse along with the shield and red crests I will set aside for you as your prizes even now, Nisus. Thereafter my father will give you twelve of the choicest matrons and captives, all of them along with their armour, and over and above these things the fields which king Latinus himself owns. But as for you, whom my own age follows at nearer distance, o revered boy, I now take you entirely to my heart and embrace you as a comrade in every chance. I will not seek any glory in personal matters without you. Whether I am waging peace or war, in you will I have the greatest confidence in both deed and word").

Ascanius first endorses the plan and specifies its remit (257-62), before detailing the rewards that the pair can expect, in terms of both booty (263-74) and esteem (in the case of Euryalus, 275-80), on successful completion of the mission.[29] Scholarly attention has long been focused on Ascanius' promises to the pair in the central section, and responses have been almost exclusively critical. Opinions range from a "delightful boast" (Coleman, 1942, 144) or "an array of gifts such as only a boyish imagination could contrive" (Feldman, 1953, 307), to much more forceful expressions of condemnation: the gifts are "barbarous" (Quinn, 1968, 203), "savage" (Owen Lee, 1979, 77 n.27), indicative of "a boy playacting" (Petrini, 1997, 29) who reveals "exaggerated self-importance" (Di Cesare, 1974, 162).[30]

The persistence of this unfavourable scholarly assessment of Ascanius' speech strikes me as surprising for two reasons. First, the poet in this book offers hints of the speaker's maturation, as we have noted above (223; 311). Secondly, we must acknowledge that Ascanius has already displayed some skill in public speaking at a critical moment: his brief public reprimand of the Trojan women in book 5 was a fine demonstration of

[29] I take the vocative at 271 (*Nise*) in a localised sense, in that it is specifically Turnus' horse and armour that are promised to Nisus alone (269-71). The twin nature of the material gifts in 263-74 (*bina …pocula*, 263-64; *tripodas geminos*, 265) strongly suggests that at least some of the prizes are to be shared out between the pair.

[30] For further negative judgments, see also Heinze (1903) 157 = (1993) 129; Highet (1972) 144-45; Pavlock (1985) 212; Henry (1989) 29-31; Merriam (2002) 857-59; Casali (2004) 328-35.

the speaker's rhetorical powers.[31] Indeed, the opening section of the current speech (257-60) displays a similar sense of rhetorical maturity: it is highly appropriate, at the outset of a critical mission, for Ascanius to call to witness the divine guarantors of Trojan prosperity (Vesta and the Penates) and the household deity (Lar) that protects his own lineage. We surely owe it to Virgil, then, to seek out more charitable readings of the young prince's longest speech in the epic, and not reduce it simply to a (very) longwinded expression of boyish bravado.

To my mind, a seldom-read piece by McLoughlin (1968) provides an important step forward. Taking a more nuanced approach to the rhetorical effect of the speech, McLoughlin notes the deliberate temporal development in the rewards Ascanius offers to Nisus: first, he offers those gifts that he can deliver readily at the present time (263-66); then, dependent on success in Italy, he promises rewards that can be given in the immediate aftermath of the war, as soon as Turnus has been conquered (267-71); finally, looking further forward, he offers the sorts of gift (female captives as mothers, claimed land) which are the hallmarks of settled domestic life at a time when peace has been firmly established (272-74). Having astutely noted this progression of thought, McLoughlin unfortunately does not take his analysis a stage further by asking what Ascanius' motive might be for laying out such a detailed picture in front of Nisus and Euryalus.

I would argue that Ascanius is here specifically trying to tempt Nisus and Euryalus away from the immediate thrills of slaughter and spoils-gathering – a desire that Nisus had himself indicated at 242 – by offering them a much grander vision of the wealth and insignia of greatness that they can accumulate over time, provided that they concentrate on the central goal of returning with Aeneas. Indeed, the repetition in 261-62 – *revocate parentem, / reddite conspectum; nihil illo triste recepto* – rams home Ascanius' central point that it is Aeneas, and not spoils, that should accompany their return. Ascanius' strategic attempt to focus the minds of Nisus and Euryalus on the rewards *he* offers, rather than any that they might themselves acquire, is marked by a series of mature rhetorical ploys: emphasis on the highly ornate nature of the trappings (*argento perfecta*,

[31] For example, Ascanius signals the future societal ramifications of the Trojan women's actions in his proleptic address to them as *cives* (5.671). Moreover, the speaker takes full advantage of the fact that his identity is obscured by a helmet to lend impact to the final revelation – he emphatically delays his name until the very end (5.673). No other words from any other speaker are required to bring the Trojan women to their senses (5.675-79). Baker (1980) 140 may well be right to suggest that Ascanius' place among the council of men in book 9 (226-27) comes precisely from recognition of his effective civic action in book 5.

263; *auri duo magna talenta*, 265; with the effective delay of *aureus* at 270); emphasis on the royal stature of the gifts, donated both willingly (*Sidonia Dido*, 266) and unwillingly (Turnus, 269; *campi quod rex habet ipse Latinus*, 274); emphasis on gifts which carry the hallmarks of slaughter and military conquest (*devicta … Arisba*, 264; and the implied death of Turnus and enslavement of the conquered enemy, 267-74); encouragement to look upon even future gifts as *present* assets (*iam nunc tua praemia*, 271). For good measure, Euryalus' enthusiasm for heroism is pandered to in the form of the highly flattering address, *venerande puer* (276), which almost casts him as a god.

Now, one might say with the benefit of hindsight that Ascanius, having picked up on the potentially dangerous heroic impulses of Nisus and Euryalus, ought to have been more direct in his advice to these eager warriors. Indeed, Pavlock (1985, 212) may well have a point in suggesting that "this extravagant promise perhaps only encourages the materialistic desires that lead Euryalus to the disastrous events later in the episode". So much may be conceded. But in the context of Ascanius' growing maturity, I would contend that there are much more grounds for a positive reading of the young prince's rhetorical efforts in this section. At least as much criticism should attach itself to the impetuosity of Nisus and Euryalus for failing to take on board the meaningful path to glory that Ascanius sets out carefully and in detail for them.

Ascanius' next significant role in book 9 is to deal with the aftermath of the slaughter of Nisus and Euryalus, and the particular reaction of Euryalus' mother (473-502). As she is the only mother to refuse to settle in Acesta and choose instead to travel on to Italy (216-18), all Trojan female reaction to warfare is concentrated within her at this point. She delivers a rhetorically powerful lament for her son, right in the midst of the male sphere of the battlements (478-79), and presents a (gendered) threat to the soldiers' spirits which needs to be eradicated (498-502):

Hoc fletu concussi animi, maestusque per omnis
it gemitus, torpent infractae ad proelia vires.
Illam incendentem luctus Idaeus et Actor
Ilionei monitu et multum lacrimantis Iuli
corripiunt interque manus sub tecta reponunt.

("With this lament their spirits were shaken, and a sorrowful groan goes up through all the ranks, their broken strength is sluggish towards warfare. On the instructions of Ilioneus and Iulus – who is crying a great deal – Idaeus and Actor together snatch her up between their hands, as she is kindling grief, and place her back within the house").

As Hardie (1994) 167 notes, Ascanius' grief has particular point here, in view of the pledge he made earlier to Euryalus to treat his mother like his own (297-98), and it serves the additional function of showing that, like his father, Ascanius is able to observe the communal good in spite of his own emotional response to the situation. But no one to my knowledge has spotted the particular parallel here with Aeneas' earlier reaction to the emotional queen Dido (4.391-96):

> *Suscipiunt famulae conlapsaque membra*
> *marmoreo referunt thalamo stratisque reponunt.*
> *At pius Aeneas, quamquam lenire dolentem*
> *solando cupit et dictis avertere curas,*
> *multa gemens magnoque animum labefactus amore*
> *iussa tamen divum exsequitur classemque revisit.*

("Her attendants take (Dido) up and carry her collapsed limbs back to her marble bedchamber and place her back in her bed. But dutiful Aeneas, although he wants to soothe the grieving woman with consolation and avert her concerns with words, groaning a great deal and his spirit shaken by great love, nevertheless follows the orders of the gods and goes back to his fleet").

Similarities both thematic and verbal invite the reader to link the two episodes. In both, a distraught woman is carried back indoors by attendants – they are "placed back" (*reponunt*, 4.392; 9.502) within the domestic (female) sphere of the home. In both, the spirit of the male audience has been shaken (*animum labefactus*, 4.395; *concussi animi*, 9.498). And most significantly, both Aeneas and Ascanius manage to control extreme human emotion (*multa gemens*, 4.395; *multum lacrimantis*, 9.501) in the pursuit of a course of action that is in the best interests of the community and the central mission.[32] Albeit as part of a wider group of commanders at this stage in his career, Ascanius is following directly in the footsteps of his father.

The final significant act undertaken by Ascanius in this book, and indeed in the epic as a whole, is the slaying of Numanus Remulus, the pompous Italian who hurls abuse at the Trojans for their cowardice and unmanliness in persisting with a strategy of non-engagement (598-620). Ascanius promptly kills the offender with a well-aimed arrow (621-36). Some scholars express concern towards Ascanius' initiation into the world

[32] One might add that both are also motivated in their emotion by great love: we hear this directly with Aeneas (*magnoque … amore*, 4.395), and indirectly with Ascanius, who promises to hold Euryalus' mother in the same level of affection as his own mother (9.297-98).

of warfare. One might, for example, interpret Ascanius' reaction to Numanus' taunting as the result of boyish petulance.[33] Moreover, one might take on board the problematic place of archery in Roman military thinking and conclude that Ascanius' action only confirms the accusation of cowardice that Numanus had levelled a little earlier.[34] Those who would criticize Ascanius for his action, however, must weigh this against a variety of positive factors. First, Ascanius has negotiated successfully the mandates of both Aeneas and Anchises: the young lad manages to cast down a proud individual (*tumidusque novo praecordia regno*, 596; cf. *debellare superbos*, 6.853) while adhering to his father's instructions to remain inside the camp (41-43). Secondly, the act itself receives divine endorsement in the form of Apollo (638-58), the deity cherished by Augustus whose skills in archery will later help the Emperor to victory at Actium (8.704-05).[35]

In conclusion, I would venture the proposition, on the strength of the analysis above, that book 9 holds Aeneas as a central concern precisely *because of* his absence from the action. First, it demonstrates the importance of his leadership through a more intense focus on the (flawed) leadership qualities and military discipline of others. Secondly, it creates space for the emerging leadership talents of his son, a youngster who is not yet ready to lead independently, but who shows promise for the future, if only Aeneas can secure that future for him. The stakes are certainly set high for Aeneas as he returns from Pallanteum to face his final battles.

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[33] See *e.g.* Coleman (1942) 147 and, more forcefully, Merriam (2002) 859-60.
[34] See *e.g.* Di Cesare (1974) 160; Lyne (1987) 202.
[35] In fact, only Aeneas and Ascanius receive direct guidance and instruction from Apollo in the poem (cf. 3.90-99), which forges another special bond between father and son.

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Aeneas, *Pietas*, and the Gods

A presidential address given to the Virgil Society on 26 May 2012

Before the *Aeneid*

A Latin poet is, by definition, learned. As the Romans loved to say, he should be not only an inspired singer, a *vates*: one who has met the Muses and been inspired by them to extraordinary and pregnant utterance. In addition to all that, in a way not always easy to analyse or define, he should also be learned, be (in fact) a *doctus poeta* - although the Latin word *doctus* means much more than simple erudition.

The Roman standard of learning, of *doctrina*, was not by Greek standards, at all dauntingly high: the erudition of a poet like Propertius, duly called *doctus* in Rome, would certainly not have impressed the poets of Callimachus' circle in Ptolemaic Alexandria, the inheritors of a long literary tradition and also (at least in theory) of all the accumulated treasures of the Alexandrian Library. There was also another most significant difference: the learning of a Roman poet was mainly in matters that were Greek; but no Greek poet ever felt the slightest inclination, let alone any pressure, either to claim familiarity, or to be really familiar, with such barbaric poetasters as might, possibly, be active in Rome, writing their uncouth verses in Latin.

In the first place, then, a Latin poet must *know Greek*, and to a very high level, so as to master the most difficult Greek texts, and he must show his familiar acquaintance with Greek poetry, with Greek myth, and with some smattering of Greek scholarly learning. That, primarily, was what erudition meant, though Virgil would strive, first in his *Georgics*, and then in the second half of his *Aeneid*, to make knowledge of the

traditions of Italy, and a grasp of early Italian history, equally significant. The Greeks, of course, were not impressed by that.

For there was no comparable or analogous obligation on Greek poets, once Hellas was under Roman rule, to have read any literature in Latin, or even to mention whatever uncouth productions their Roman conquerors, looters, and oppressors - essentially an uncivilised people, tough but utterly unpoetical - might have amused themselves by knocking together in the way of poetry, on the distant banks of the Tiber, far, far removed from the Muses or the Graces.

Those poetic deities, of course, spoke only Greek. They were patrons and inspirers of poetry in the only possible language for literature. The almost unbroken silence of Greek writers, through the whole imperial period, about Latin poetry, the *Aeneid* included, or about any serious literature in that barbaric language, except as a source for historical fact: that silence is deafening. A Greek simply did not read it.

More demandingly, a Roman poet must not only be at home with Greek poetry, and have some Greek erudition: he must also, in the Augustan period, show off his knowledge of the *deities worshipped at Rome*. But even that Roman religion was strongly Hellenised. A poet will be stepping, even there, in the learned footsteps of Callimachus, as well as the Italian ones of Varro, who had learned the use of libraries and of scholarly assistants from Greeks trained in Alexandria. Roman writers found many different ways of emulating that scholarly tradition: from Varro's systematic treatises, to the theology, part Greek and part Italian, of the *Aeneid*. Both these approaches were equally unthinkable without the precedent and model of Hellenistic learning.

Virgil's first published poems, his deliciously Alexandrian *Eclogues*, were musical, learned, and hauntingly pederastic: rather surprising productions, surely, and not an obviously promising commencement, for a poet who would produce a classic work, at full length, in twelve books, on the antiquities of Italy and the foundation of Rome. That poem would forever remain the central monument of Roman self-consciousness and of Latin literature. The journey to it from the *Eclogues* was long and arduous. Yet Virgil even succeeded, with the characters of Nisus and Euryalus, their exploits, and their *Liebestod*, he even succeeded, at crucial moments, with Turnus himself, in using that pederastic sensibility, and turning it, brilliantly, to the purposes of his patriotic epic poem.

In his *Eclogues,* Virgil makes it quite clear that we are at the opposite pole from an epic poem, full of warfare, glorifying Rome. The sensibility displayed by the young

poet, learned, aesthetic and sensuous, seems completely, and almost ostentatiously, unmilitary, and unhistorical. Soldiers get a very bad press: the epithet that goes with *miles* is *impius*, godless (*Ecl.* 1.70). We are at the furthest possible remove from a martial and nationalistic epic, celebrating the conquests and the empire of Rome, the conqueror and governor of the world. The poet, indeed, does (in his sixth *Eclogue*) explicitly renounce any intention of composing in that war-like vein.

So it is, perhaps, surprising that the appearance of the *Eclogues* led to an invitation to dinner with Maecenas, whom Virgil had, apparently, not - up to now – met, to a handsome reward in land and income, and to pressure, discreet and delicate pressure (doubtless), but firm and emphatic and unrelenting, for the production of the great Augustan epic poem. We are not to imagine anything like the brutal methods of Stalin - "Produce an epic on our god-like leader, or be sent to Siberia and shot in the back of the head" - but discussion of young Virgil's own poetic career, so extraordinarily promising, and of the really great work, not yet written, "for which, my dear boy, you are now, believe me, ready. We are all so much looking forward to it: it will make you a classic - and, between ourselves, our great Octavian, the new Caesar, the saviour of the world, is really interested: you will certainly not find him ungrateful or ungenerous ..."

Virgil did, it seems pretty clear, think hard about the possibility of writing an encomiastic epic poem on the career of Octavian/Augustus. What he actually produced, however, was something quite different: the *Georgics*. He turned to the traditional agriculture and the rustic life of Italy. That was a safely uncontroversial subject, certified as worthy of a Roman's attention by the stiff didactic work of the Elder Cato, that irreproachable source of true blue Italian vinegar and homespun common-sense. Octavian could hardly find fault with that choice of subject, or with the poem that it called forth.

And, importantly, the *Georgics* could contain fulsome passages of devotion to the Princeps himself, too, as an exemplar of all those edifying and homespun Italian qualities: as a model of *virtus*, of *labor,* and of *religio*, and as Virgil's own patron and inspiration. There are indeed plentiful hints, in the two thousand lines of that poem (for it is, let me emphasise in passing, one poem), of elegiac or *Eclogue*-style naughtiness, *nequitia*. But they are decently subdued and unobtrusive, except in the beautiful, and very unexpected, conclusion.

There, for once in his career, Virgil let rip, unabashed, in the full decadent and erotic style which had been popular with the poets of his youth. He showed, indeed,

how far he could have excelled them, and what a marvellous decadent and erotic poet he could have been. But thereafter he was able, and willing, to keep his taste for, and inclination to, the exquisite, the erotic, and the decadent, well within bounds. All that, in his *Aeneid*, would merely serve to enrich, to deepen, and to render more interesting the great martial epic that he did, finally, nerve himself to produce.

But for now Virgil, who had enlivened and varied his Catonian agricultural advice with some bewitchingly un-Catonian attitudes and subject matter, decided at the end to fly his own colours in exquisite, even decadent, defiance. At the *Georgics'* conclusion, then, Virgil really followed his own temperament where it naturally led him: to the tale, erotic, tragic, and ravishingly beautiful, of Orpheus and Eurydice. We see the minor poet that he might have been. The connection of that epyllion with the nominal subject-matter of the didactic *Georgics* remained strikingly light and unstressed. It was left for the virtuous endeavours of Virgilian scholars in the future to excavate, or to excogitate, or to invent.

It would be interesting to know what Octavian made of that epyllion: if, that is, he actually ever got as far as the end of the *Georgics*. He was a very busy man, with an Empire to run, and a Senate to keep orderly and reasonably contented, and (as he complained) a very difficult daughter to keep in order; and Maecenas, who seemed to know about these things, and who could communicate with these strange birds, the poets, had assured him that Virgil really was OK. It is hard to imagine Maecenas, or indeed Virgil, drawing the plangent episode of Orpheus to the attention of a busy and preoccupied Princeps. It came, after all, at the very end of the *Georgics*, a pretty long poem; and the Princeps had other things to do. Did he ever actually reach it? We shall never know.

The great public poem to which Virgil finally turned - elegantly ignoring the outspokenly explicit demand of Maecenas and Augustus for an epic on the marvellous career of Our Leader – took as its subject the aetiology, the legendary foundation, of the city of Rome itself. Augustus had to be content with that.

Embarking on the early history of Italy and on the coming to Italian shores of the Trojans, carrying with them the destiny and the gods of Troy, and blessed and received by the gods of Italy, Virgil naturally needed his Italian sources. He needed also to show, if only to the more sophisticated and better informed among his readers, that he was pretty well instructed about that early period. That of course would mean the use of

sources in Greek, as well as Latin. Rome really was connected to the ever glorious history and traditions of Hellas..

Aetiological erudition and Roman patriotism thus came together to unique effect, in a cohabitation of Greek and Latin which was much happier, and very much more successful, than might have been anticipated. It even inspired some of those previously reluctant poets: even Propertius, an elegiac and erotic poet who delighted in recording his own amorous naughtiness, joined in, rather half-heartedly, in his Fourth and last book of poems: that book is not indeed wholly free of elegiac levity, but the poet did manage to squeeze out a couple of fine Roman poems, which must have given the Princeps some pleasure – if again he ever read them. Maecenas, at any rate, must have been pleased; perhaps, even, relieved.

Ovid, in the next generation, wrote elegant poems expressing his regretful refusal, his unfortunate inability (alas! but Apollo has forbidden me) to write the patriotic, upbeat, and military poetry which Augustus so urgently wanted. In the hallowed Italian traditions, in fact, Ovid found an inexhaustible source of amusement, rather than of inspiration. That is very clear from the six books which he actually composed of his *Fasti*, before the heavy hand of the Princeps banished him from Rome forever, and deprived posterity of the completion of the Roman year, of *Fasti* books 7 to 12. But the month of August would surely have proved heavy going for Augustus' reluctant Augustan poet. Ovid must have felt relief at not having to tackle it, and all the unavoidable stuff about Augustus, though being exiled to the frozen North of the Black Sea was certainly a very heavy price to pay.

Horace had contributed more seriously than Ovid to the big propaganda effort: his 'Roman Odes' provide an elegantly stirring evocation of Roman greatness, though on a far smaller scale than the *Aeneid.* A pretentious and pushy poetaster introduced himself officiously to Horace - *docti sumus* ("we are learned", *S.* 1.9.6): that means, "I'm a poet, too". What a nerve! To talk as if he were a colleague, as if he were an equal, as a composer, with Horace - with the friend of Virgil, with the Emperor's chosen laureate, and with the unique composer of lyric verse, who had proclaimed himself, memorably, as the Roman Alcaeus, and who would be chosen for the extraordinary project of composing the hymn, the *Carmen Saeculare*, for the city's Secular Games in 17 BC. Virgil by then was two years dead. It is useless, but irresistible, to speculate on what he would have given the world, had that spectacular commission come, not to his friend, but to him, - after the great epic was done.

The *Aeneid*

A really major poem, an epic - whether on a mythical subject or in praise of the military exploits of some contemporary Roman grandee - anything like that that was simply out of the question, nowadays, for a poet with any artistic conscience. There was not much in the way of Latin precedent, except good old Father Ennius, more than 100 years earlier, who was by now viewed with some superiority and felt to be sadly deficient in poetic technique, in sophistication, and - for the sophisticated reader - in interest. It was no wonder that Virgil felt, at moments, that he had been crazy ever to embark on his *Aeneid*. We have a quotation from a letter which he wrote to Augustus, confessing precisely that: he had embarked on it, *paene vitio mentis* - "When I took it on, I almost think I must have been mad" (Macrob. *Sat.* 1.24.6).

To Virgil from Homer

By dragging into the cultured reader's mind the Hellenistic masters of the small scale and of the exquisitely finished poem, by his echoes of Callimachus and Theocritus and Euphorion, Virgil emphasises the big, the enormous, the vital difference that must exist between such productions and his own work - the great Latin epic poem, so long expected, the child of so many prayers. It was conceived and composed in the very highest, grandest, and most ambitious style, unmistakably Homeric, yet also unmistakably contemporary in reference, and displaying every up-to-date refinement, both of poetic technique and erudite reference, but also of emotion and sensibility. It must, in fact, be clearly conscious of the work of the most trendy, the most recent, and the most learned poets, both of Hellas and of Italy.

Virgil's epic poem was to be on the supreme theme, too: yes, on the one true Roman myth: on the tale, so well known, at least in broad outline, and so often repeated, proclaimed, and devoured, but never yet given classical and really satisfying form, of the foundation, the destiny, and the early history of Rome itself. At the same time, his poem would, of course, be learned and allusive. At this date, that went without saying. But many of those allusions would be to the poems of Homer, which were universally known, and thus rather reassuring, and not too dauntingly, or too snubbingly, out of the reach of the ordinary cultured Roman reader.

They would be strictly in the service of that least Callimachean of themes, uniquely dear to the heart of every cultured Roman: the simple beginnings of Rome, and her amazing rise to world-wide domination, the extraordinary destiny, which must (surely)

be God-given, of the Imperial city and its Imperial people. The grateful poet would not be forgetting, of course, our contemporary Leader, equally God-given, the Saviour of Rome, the second Romulus, the son of a god, who entitled himself The Sublime One: Augustus!

All this meant, among other things, that Virgil must follow Homer by including in his own poem the divine mechanism of actively intervening gods, always felt as indispensable to epic, which is such a prominent and striking feature of the *Iliad* and, to a lesser extent, also of the *Odyssey* - a poem which, for the most part, involves one single goddess, the ever present, ever resourceful, and ever competent Athena. Virgil involved himself with passionate enthusiasm in the task that he found himself facing. That task was the creation of a comparably lively polytheistic picture - in which, however, one goddess, again, was to stand out as dominant and central.

Virgil's Homeric Gods: in general

We are not surprised, perhaps, to find that Virgil includes in his epic poem a regular and well loved feature, familiar from the poems of Homer: a full scale divine assembly, with dissent, disagreement, and speeches by different deities (10.1-117). But Virgil does not repeat his effects, and his one divine assembly achieves far more power than could have been amassed by a whole series of such divine interludes, on Homeric lines.

That picture of an Olympian assembly depicts and represents the world as being run, ultimately and decisively, not by the heroic human persons who dominate the primary story, by the various heroes of doomed Troy, nor by those of Agamemnon's Hellas, or those of primitive Italy, but by a second and higher cast list, which consists of deities. Yes, we really mean it: a cast of all-too-human gods, with their all-too-human assemblies, schemes, love affairs, and off-spring - all too often irregular in conception and in birth. The gods are to be shown with all their casual sexual unions, with their various children, mortal and immortal, and with their human protegés and favourites.

In fact, the gods must be depicted with all their family relationships, alliances, quarrels, hostilities, schemes, disloyalties, infidelities, adulteries, reconciliations, and all the rest of their inherited poetic baggage: all too human, but never - despite the recurrent protests of high-brow thinkers - entirely jettisoned. And all of that poetical machinery, miraculously, could be shown as fulfilling, in the gods' good time, the benevolent plan of Jupiter and of Fate, which is set out, in the very grandest possible style, in the first

book of the *Aeneid*. That plan was no less than the conquest and rule by Rome of the whole world. *Imperium sine fine dedi* ("Imperial rule without end have I given them", 1.279). That is what Jupiter has bestowed on Rome as her destiny: glorious, of course, but perhaps (in Virgil's view) also undesired and heavy with tragedy and loss.

Such a picture of the world, as being governed and purposefully directed by human-like gods, had long been the subject of severe criticism among the intellectuals of Hellas, at least from the time of the enterprising and notorious thinker Xenophanes of Colophon, in the early fifth century BC. He had been a shocker, and his thoughts had been vigorously denounced and generally disowned, but never (once he had raised the awkward questions) would they be they definitively disposed of, or got wholly out of mens' minds. And then - very much more influential than Xenophanes - there had been the great Athenian philosopher Plato, whose works every educated person had studied at school. Were poetry and philosophy, as he argued so bewitchingly, to be enemies: irreconcilable, and bitterly quarrelling, for ever?

Plato, that supremely influential thinker, that classic writer of perfect Greek prose, had rejected the whole idea of a divine cast list and of a set of supernatural agents, visibly present and active in a work of literature: however much it might be (on the one hand) classic and venerable and apparently inevitable, yet it undeniably remained (on the other) pregnant with a set of assertions, and of images, that were dubious, worrying, un-Platonic, and morally very vulnerable. Plato demanded the abolition of that mythology, and its replacement with a new set of stories, his own fine mythical inventions, all guaranteed to be entirely free from Thoughtcrime, or from Oldthink, or from bad, corrupting, and generally non-Platonic images and ideas.

The inclusion in the *Aeneid* of such a set of traditional divine characters, the proclamation of such an intensely personified vision of destiny, and of the shaping of history and of the running of the world by superhuman agencies, who were emotional and personal, some male and some female, every one of them wide open to damaging moral criticism - all of that marked Virgil's poem as an attempt at a true epic. Yes, the poet is declaring: despite all the gloomy or despairing utterances and predictions, despite the philosophical criticism, that was still possible. It could still be successfully achieved, given enough *labor* and *doctrina* and inspiration.

His great epic poem thus, visibly and unmistakably, not only *acknowledged*, but also *challenged* the work of the greatest of all poets: yes, *Homer* himself! With characteristic ingenuity, Virgil would create an epic which would use, and which would use up, both

the Homeric epics - both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*: the *Odyssey* in the first half (but with the carefully surprising exception of the more Iliadic book 2, the heroic fighting that went with the taking of Troy, and also of the heroic sporting contests of book 5), and the *Iliad* in the second half (but, again, with the carefully surprising exception of Aeneas' excursion up the Tiber, in book 8, so clearly recalling Telemachus' trip to Pylos and to Sparta, in the *Odyssey*, books 3 and 4). Virgil's use of Homer was to be, not mechanical or banal, but subtle and unpredictable. The reader was to be kept, throughout the great epic, on his intellectual and literary toes.

Virgil, in fact, makes some still greater claims. His subject, the founding of Rome and her mighty destiny, which was both given and ratified by heaven, would call not only for the full use of both Homeric poems, but for that of all his own poetic predecessors in Latin, most notably (of course) good old Father Ennius. It would make intelligible so much in history which had always seemed to lack any theme or any direction, to be going, in fact, nowhere. It would establish the story of Troy, and of Rome herself, as planned, very explicitly, and as constantly overseen, by the immortal gods. That Trojan story must be a vital thread in the pattern that made sense, including - above all - moral sense, of the history of the whole world. And central to that conception was the presence, and the activity, of the immortal gods.

Not until the precocious and cheeky young poet Lucan, two generations later, would anyone attempt to write an epic which did not feature the traditional divine apparatus at all; and Lucan's example, remaining eccentric and *mal vu*, was not followed in antiquity. We find disapproving criticism and correction of it in the work - of all unexpected people - of the otherwise conscientiously unconventional and naughty novelist Petronius. Yes, it's true: even for the creator of the gross Trimalchio, and of Encolpius and Giton, those sexy and lawless playboys, we see that there were some things that were just too shocking, that were simply too outrageous, to be tolerated or included in a book, and an epic poem without the Olympian gods, obviously and categorically, was one of them.

For, after all, the great subject of epic verse still remained, as it always had been, that central obsession of all serious early Greek literature: the place of mere human persons, however great, or brave, or beautiful, or well connected, in a world that also contained the deathless gods. There are gods, and there are goddesses too, hardly less active and very nearly as powerful; but you - you are not a god! You are merely a mortal: an ephemeral being, of short duration and of little significance. You are condemned,

pretty soon, to death and to oblivion. Put that in your pipe and smoke it! Or, as the Greeks said, Know yourself! - which meant, not Practice introspection, but, rather, Realise that you are only mortal: that you can't be, what you naturally want to be, a god!

How could that fearful plight of humanity be made either intelligible or tolerable? Friedrich Nietzsche would say, in the far, far distant future of the 19th century: "If God existed, how could I bear not to be God? Therefore" (he went on) "God does not exist!" That is an example, I suppose, of what we might call romantic philosophy, or of romantic logic: so different, so very different, from ordinary, or indeed from real, logic. The epic poet found a way out of that appalling bind: in his own created epic world, he himself was God, was, indeed, several gods, sometimes in harmony, but more often in picturesque, dramatic, highly poetic, and ultimately satisfying conflict and resolution.

The gods of epic poetry are the gods whose names, and titles, and functions, and stories and family connections we learn and know from the myths and from the heroic genealogies. They were gods, that is, who were keenly interested in the affairs of men. With beautiful mortal women, they engendered splendid human children. They might be intensely interested, they might indeed take an active part, in the adventures, the exploits, the triumphs, the sufferings, the wars, and the deaths, of exceptional men: of heroes - of men, that is, who were once mortal, like us, but who were greater than we can be, in stature, in beauty, in connections, and (above all) in enduring significance.

Their doings, both their actions and their sufferings, were worthy to interest, and to involve, the immortal gods, as it seems painfully evident that the doings of us mere modern mortals, and those of our mortal friends and relations somehow are not. Those merely human actions, and those merely human events appear in the newspaper headlines one week, and the next week they are gone, replaced by others, no more significant, equally ephemeral. But the stories of Troy and of Thebes were of a different order of importance and of interest. Through the generations, and through many poetic treatments, they illustrated divine intervention and divine interaction, and so the nature and limitations of human life, and they remained both intensely interesting and lastingly important.

Virgil's Homeric Gods: Individuals

Virgil's divinities, unlike Homer's, were subject also to a fresh imperative: they must not reflect badly, or unseriously, on the all-important subject of Rome. The official gods of the Roman state and calendar cannot be identical with the figures of their Greek

namesakes, or figures implicitly identified with them, so memorably cut in Homer. Thus Mars, a great and serious Roman god, cannot play in the *Aeneid* the role of simple brute, and of comic butt, that Ares is given in the Homeric poems.

Of all problematic and difficult deities, it had to be the goddess Venus who was crucial to the poem! She was, of course, the ancestress of Caesar and of the Julian House, to which Augustus himself, through his posthumous adoption by Caesar, now proudly and very emphatically belonged. The Julian House had now blessed the world, and had saved Rome, by producing Augustus, veritably the son of a god. *Hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis, / Augustus Caesar, divi genus* … as Virgil will rhapsodise, at the very centre of his epic poem (6.791-92): "This, this is the man whom you have so often been hearing promised - Caesar the Sublime, the son of a god ..." So Venus, too, must move some way up market and become a thoroughly respectable and dignified deity, fully deserving of the reverence of the serious-minded people of Rome.

The mother of the hero, the ancestress of the Roman people and of Our Leader, must be notably grander and less frivolous than the Aphrodite so deliciously depicted in Homer: though we remind ourselves that Virgil, who wasted nothing and forgot nothing, does include a sexy and none too dignified scene in *Aeneid* 8, when the goddess Venus must beg her husband Vulcan to make splendid armour for Aeneas, her son by a mortal man, Anchises; which she does by mobilising against him the irresistible power of her sexual charms. "All Virgil's art", snorted the Victorian Latinist Conington, editor of Virgil, "all Virgil's art has not concealed the indelicacy of Venus asking a favour for the off-spring of her adultery" (*ad loc)*. But we no longer talk quite like that. A really modern-minded commentator, I suppose, would be shocked, but by something quite different: by Venus' failure to head for the smithy, roll up her sleeves, put on an apron, pick up the hammer, and forge the armour herself ... In our progressive world, who says that only males can forge weapons?

Homer, of course, had a very progressive goddess in his Athena; but she has no real Virgilian equivalent. The active role played in Homer by Athena is in the *Aeneid* played - not very well - by Venus, ever anxious about her son, but by no means judicious in her actual interventions on his behalf. There is in fact no Virgilian successor to the Athena, specifically, of the *Odyssey:* affectionate, capable, virginal, and ever-present to the hero, and also to his son, the Athena who even attends, on occasion, with a slightly weary kindness, to his harassed wife Penelope, so tiresomely female, and so constantly in tears!

By contrast, when Venus does try to give a helping hand, she can go disastrously wrong, as she does when she agrees, or seems to agree, to the plan of Juno, that her son Aeneas should fall in love with Dido, Queen of Carthage. Venus, no longer Homer's frivolous Aphrodite, seems not to understand about human love, her own special department. She uses Cupid to work on the childless Dido's emotions (1.657-88. Cf. 4.327, (Dido): "If only I had a son by you!"), caring nothing, it seems for the longer-term effect on Dido, or for what this episode will mean to her son: poor Aeneas, having sailed away from Carthage at top speed, as if he did not notice Dido's funeral pyre, is obliged to meet her unforgiving ghost in book 6, and to stammer out a feeble apology, which dead Dido treats with silent scorn.

Questioning the Gods

Virgil inherited various traditions, critical, or complex, towards the gods. There was not only the philosophical criticism, already mentioned, of the all-too-human Olympians, a problem by this time very familiar and centuries old, which was well known to all Virgil's readers; but there were reservations, too, from Virgil's own philosophical education by the Epicureans, and from his own highly strung sensibility, and from his wide reading and his profound meditations on that reading, and on the myths in which the gods were so active. *Tantaene animis caelestibus irae*? asks Virgil, at the very opening of his poem (1.11), shocked and almost incredulous at what he will be required to produce, by the exigences of his own mythical plot. Can heavenly spirits really feel such mortal rage? The answer, unexpressed but resonant, is: Alas, yes, they can, and they do!

Other philosophical problems arose in the Homeric epics themselves. From Homer comes the idea of *a god opposing and thwarting the hero*, even if his historic career, and its eventual fated happy outcome, have been *approved and willed by the highest god*, by Zeus/Juppiter himself. In the *Odyssey*, Poseidon - for reasons of personal grievance and resentment - opposes and hinders Odysseus' destined home-coming, - planned though it is by Zeus. In the *Iliad,* powerful gods defend doomed (and sinful!) Troy, and bring great suffering on the Achaeans, who, of course, are fated eventually to succeed. But in both epics the will of Zeus must, in the end, prevail. That is announced at once, in the opening words of each poem: *Il.* 1.1-5, Troy must fall, and *Od.*1.1-8: Odysseus will return home to Ithaca, and he will punish the wicked Suitors and regain his imperilled wife and his menaced kingship.

Virgil's Jupiter has much longer views than the Zeus of the *Iliad*, who is never shown looking any further into the future than the fall, now known to be imminent, of Troy. That, indeed, will follow very soon on the events of the poem itself: at the end of *Iliad* 24, the city of Priam is doomed, to a destruction now close at hand. By contrast, the events of the *Aeneid*, it is emphasised, will be decisive for all time and for all of future history, and Jupiter is intensely interested in all of it: "To them [to the Romans] I set no bounds in space or time; I have given them imperial rule without limit" - *imperium sine fine dedi* (1.278-79). And: "The house of Aeneas shall rule the whole world; they, and their childrens' children, and those who shall be born of them" (3.97-98, Apollo):

hic domus Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris,
et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis.

You really can't say fairer than that, now, can you?

This second passage echoes Homer's most explicit prophecy of events outside the epic poem, when his Poseidon proclaims: "Now mighty Aeneas shall rule the Trojans (Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει); so shall his children's children, those that come after" (*Il.* 20.307-08). This must have referred, originally, to a dynasty in the Troad (after - probably, long after - the fall of Troy itself) which claimed a glamorous and impressive descent: no less, in fact, than one from the sexual union, ultimately, of Anchises and Aphrodite, of mighty hero and great goddess. *But* there is a late variant reading in the Homeric text, which was probably known to Virgil: "The race of Aeneas *shall rule the whole world* (πάντεσσιν ἀνάξει), so shall their children's children, those that come after". That must have been meant, and must have been understood, as predicting the conquests, and the final ascendancy, of Rome.

And yet there are two opposed goddesses. Aeneas is the son of the goddess Venus. He is opposed by another goddess, of apparently equal power: Juno, who favours Carthage, Rome's historic enemy. She is its patroness and passionate defender. This opposition, a central plot line of the poem, involves the mythical narrative with formative experiences in the history of Rome, and in the memory of the Roman reader. For the name of Hannibal never lost its terrors for Roman ears.

At the same time, the war between the goddesses shows that something in heaven is opposed to the great destiny of Rome and will make Rome pay a very high price for empire - even a moral price, in bloodshed, destruction, and guilt.

We might note here the fateful renunciation that is made at *Aen.* 6.847-52: we Romans have a glorious imperial destiny, explains the hero's dead father, a figure of enormous authority, but as for the sciences and the arts - all that is destined for somebody else! This renunciation comes at the very centre of the poem, and the reader must feel how much it cost the poet to make it, here, at the heart of his own marvellous poem: yes, at the very centre of the supreme artistic creation of the Roman people, which was in fact greater than anything which Greek literature had produced now for several centuries. The arts are not destined for the Romans but for the Greeks. We observe that Virgil says only *alii*, "others": the great poet, himself also a great aesthete, cannot bring himself, at this moment of supreme sacrifice and abnegation, to name the happier and more privileged race of people who are to create, and to perfect, the arts. We also observe that he lists a number of arts, but cannot bring himself to include poetry.

The duel of Juno and Venus, (especially their explicit and angry confrontations at 4.90-128 and 10.1-117), combines high and historic politics with mere female sexual jealousies and grievances. The very greatest events of history are shown as akin to, and as caused by, human-type passions. This narrative permits/encourages the involvement, as important motive forces in history, of unedifying and purely personal motives: Juno's sexual grievances against Troy, the Judgment of Paris, and her husband's passion for Ganymede (1.25-28), while Aeneas is loved by Venus, on the other side - naturally, as being her son. We observe that these are female emotions, loves and hatreds. Virgil's portrayal of the feminine is always marked by violent and alarming passions. The temptation to trace that evident fact to things that can be inferred about the poet's own sensibility and emotions will, on this occasion at least, be stoutly resisted.

The poet himself, as we have seen, is sometimes visibly shocked by his own story. If, right at the beginning of the poem, he asks, or laments, *tantaene animis caelestibus irae?* then near the end he asks: "Was it really your will, Jupiter, that peoples should clash in such a great war, when they were to live in endless peace?" *Tanton placuit concurrere motu, / Iuppiter, aeterna gentes in pace futuras?* (12.503-04). We should not fail to note the important positions of these two questions, which are left unanswered at the explicit level, and which therefore reverberate on in the memory: they over-arch the whole poem.

As Jupiter's plans are much vaster, both in space and especially in time, than the plans of Homer's Zeus, opposition to them becomes something morally much worse,

becomes, indeed, not only doomed but also criminal. In the *Aeneid*, unlike in Homer, we find deities who, opposing Fate, are actually on the side of evil, especially the Fury Allecto (7.323-28), a "hellish monster": hated even by the other Furies, she delights in crime, in destruction, and in death. Juno uses her but is ashamed of her (7.557-59). Juno herself becomes almost evil, but in the end she is won over, comes round, and will - after all - be much worshipped at Rome (1.279-82; 12.840). She will, in fact, deserve it. A god who opposes fate is forced into a corner and left no alternative to admitting defeat (Juno, Juturna). A mortal who opposes Fate is destroyed, not without divine action (Dido, Turnus, Amata). In the case of the mortals, the morality is much less clear-cut, but the attractiveness of these human victims does not help them in their struggle with Fate.

Pietas and the Lonely Hero

Venus and Aeneas have a revealing and paradigmatic encounter, early on in the poem (1.314-411). Aeneas, just shipwrecked, miles from where he has to be, is not content, is indeed explicit in his complaints, as his divine mother turns away and leaves him unsatisfied: "Why do you constantly deceive me, your son, with illusions? You are cruel, too!" *Crudelis tu quoque!* (407). We cannot fail to see and feel the loneliness of the hero: his human happiness is certainly not, for the gods, the point - Jupiter thinks in terms of the Romans as a collectivity, not of anyone's individual feelings, and Aeneas' own goddess mother light-heartedly agrees to entrap him in the suffering and the guilt of his tragic affair with Dido.

Divine impulsion helps to blur the responsibility of Dido and Aeneas for their fatal liaison, and so for its fearful historic consequence, the Punic Wars, and also of Aeneas for his decision to leave Carthage - a decision taken under great pressure (not one but two peremptory messages from Jupiter). Dido and Aeneas' union in the cave (4.165-68) is less a matter of their own choice than of the impulsion of cosmic powers - the complicity of heaven and earth. It is actually staged by Juno - whose province marriage is ... That enables the poet to turn a very tricky corner, for Aeneas can neither be shown abandoning a wife, nor yet having a mere casual love affair: gods, we see, *were* indeed involved in that story, but in a very special and very exceptional way! Venus actually smiles at her detection of Juno's plot against the destiny of her son (4.128), as she embarks on the actions that will destroy Dido and leave Aeneas full, lastingly, of guilt.

Aeneas, of course, is marked out by his *pietas*: "the loyal Aeneas". Rather than being an epic poem of essentially Homeric type, concerned with active and interesting

human characters and with their spectacular doings and sufferings, the *Aeneid* shows something different: the hero struggling to identify his will with the divine purpose, which is declared, and known, and very, very difficult. We may compare, in the future, the Christian ideal. Not inappropriately, the pagan Virgil will have meaning and significance for many Christians: for Dante, in the greatest of Christian poems, he will be an inspired prophet.

It is all very hard for Aeneas. Implacably, the gods drive him on. In book 2 (the sack of Troy), Aeneas resists: he tries - vainly - to throw away the life for which destiny has such great plans. Then he tries to settle down, not in the West, but on the island of Crete (book 3). Both times, he is pushed brusquely on! In book 4, he makes a bid for happiness and escape, with Dido in Carthage. In the light of what we have just seen in books 2 and 3, we understand - and we sympathise with him. At the end of book 5, he still thinks of giving up and renouncing his god-given destiny: should he just forget all about fate and simply settle down in Sicily, instead? He is promptly rebuked: "Let us follow fate as it drags us to and fro, and overcome any fortune with our endurance" (5.709-10).

But in the second half of the poem, after the great vision of book 6, he no longer says anything of this kind: telling Evander that he has been brought to him "by fate, with my consent', *fatis egere volentem* (8.133). That word *volentem*, profoundly resonant in its context, demands serious reflection from us, his readers: after all his reluctance, Aeneas now declares his acceptance of the plans of fate. But he certainly does not think himself lucky. Kissing his son through his closed visor (aha! - a symbol: the iron necessity of war overtrumps the softer claims of the emotions), he says: "From me learn courage and endurance; you can learn good luck from other people" (12.435-36). That is a representative scene, showing dour, even bitter, acceptance of a fate which has taken from him everything that he really valued and wanted - Troy, and his wife, and Dido - and which has forced him to massacre the Italians who will be a vital part of his people of Rome - of the imperial city that he will not live to see.

We note in passing that Virgil does not excel at *character-drawing* - there is a sharp contrast between the shadowy Trojans of this poem, Aeneas' companions, and the vivid and varied cast of Achaeans in the *Iliad*: compare *e.g.* the competitions of *Iliad* 22 with the games of *Aeneid* 5. Virgil's competing athletes must mostly be introduced to the reader for the first time, and they are interesting only as the ancestors of aristocratic Roman families.

Nor does he excel at *conversations*, which seldom go beyond statement and counter-statement. The inarticulate Aeneas of book 4 contrasts sharply with the urbane Odysseus, who, in *Odyssey* 5, deals so well with the problem of leaving a loving female, Calypso. Aeneas and Dido have one confrontation, at the end of which she leaves him *multa parantem dicere*, preparing much to say (4.390-91); and Dido cannot get another interview. The imperialist is not articulate, and certainly not Greek: we can imagine, by contrast, how elegantly Odysseus would have coped in this situation!

The point of the Dido episode, of course, is to show that the renunciation of natural human desires and happiness is an unavoidable part of the imperial destiny. "Alas, was I the cause of your death?" he asks Dido, in the world of the Dead (6.458). The wife he will eventually get, immediately after killing her fiancé, is the teenage Lavinia, who will not be the mother of his heir, and who never gets to speak in the poem (her utmost extent of action, in fact, is that in book 12 she blushes prettily, at 64-69). With her, he will live only three years, (1.265). Not, that is, happy domesticity for the tired hero - nor much happiness for his destined bride either. The Fates, or the gods, evidently, are not greatly interested in the happiness of their human creatures.

Imperialism also means: bringing to Italy religion and civilisation, learning to "spare the conquered and war down the proud" (6.851-53), shouldering the weight of blood-soaked Roman history, with "Mars raging" in the centre of the prophetic Shield (8.700). Aeneas feels its weight, as he advances into his historic battles, but he cannot not understand the stories on it (they haven't happened yet!): *attollens umero famamque et fata nepotum* (8.729-31).

His great imperial destiny forces the hero into painful and sometimes morally difficult situations. He loses young Pallas, who had been entrusted to him by his father; he causes the deaths of his own followers, Nisus and Euryalus (book 9); he kills some charming, attractive people on the enemy side – Italians, our own people! - such as Lausus (10.790-832), and he occasions the death of Camilla. Finally, he kills Turnus, sympathy overcome by rage for revenge (12.919-52).

Steven Green, at the last meeting of the Virgil Society, showed us how problematic, later on, Virgil's ending to the *Aeneid* was for his readers. The end of the poem is, indeed, striking, and it is utterly un-Homeric: the great symphonic work, so rich in various tones and harmonies, closes with an unresolved discord. It easily could have been made so much more straight-forward and up-beat: victory in the heroic duel, triumph, marriage, destiny, feasting and fun - but Virgil does not do any of that. After

great efforts to keep his temper, even when he is wounded by a treacherous breach of the armistice (12.311-17), in the end Aeneas kills Turnus, "set on fire by the furies and fearsome in his rage", *furiis incensus et ira / terribilis* (12.946-47): he kills a now helpless opponent, who has suddenly, and rather unexpectedly, become boyish and vulnerable (12.216-21).

Turnus' killing provides a very disturbing conclusion, and (surely) a kind of defeat for the victorious Aeneas; that is not how the hero, or the poet, - or his civilised audience, after reading all through his civilised poem? - would have wanted the story to end. We recall that both Homeric epics close, after the great episodes of killing, with scenes of peace and reconciliation. Virgil most certainly cannot have failed to notice that. But the *Aeneid*, very strikingly, ends on a very different note. Of course, reconciliation, and the marriage of Aeneas with Lavinia must have followed next, after Turnus' defeat and death. All that could all have been made quite comforting and agreeable.

But Virgil preferred to create a very different ending: ambiguous, tragic, raising questions and leaving them unanswered: Could Aeneas have spared Turnus, as he wanted to? Does it all, including especially the acquisition and possession of the Empire, really have to be like this? Was it all truly worth it? We leave the story of the founding of Rome at the moment when our Roman ancestor, who is regularly called *pius* by the poet, yielded to the passion of rage and revenge and killed his defeated and helpless Italian opponent. That, too, is part of the destiny of the conqueror and the imperialist; that, too, is something for the imperial and conquering people of Rome to understand and to meditate upon. Such a conclusion, so resonant, so tragic, and so disconcerting, such a fearful emphasis is a fact, which is not to be overlooked, or minimised, or glossed over, in the interpretation of Virgil's extraordinary epic poem.

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Virgil in French Romanticism: Parallel Novels of Benjamin Constant and Germaine de Staël

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I

Two highlights of French Romanticism, Benjamin Constant's *Adolphe* (first published in 1816) and Madame de Staël's *Corinne ou l'Italie* (1807) have often been related to one another. Both novels treat the complicated relationships between two protagonists, Adolphe and Ellénore, and Corinne and Oswald, respectively – and both stories are written from the perspective of a narrator who shares the author's gender: Constant adopts Adolphe as his hero, Mme de Staël created her Corinne. Both the literary relationships between these novels, and the personal links between their authors, are complicated in their nature. Many studies have been devoted to the works, to their authors and to the historical circumstances in which they came into being.[1] Relatively few, however, treat their ancient literary predecessors, although these might provide a framework for interpretation. It is my hypothesis that, among their other models, the novels are thoroughly inspired - to use a notion from the era from which

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[1] The relationships between *Corinne* and *Adolphe* have been the subject of *e.g.* Poulet (1978), while Winegarten (2008) devoted a dual study to the lives of Mme de Staël and Constant. See also ch. 15, 'Corinne et Adolphe', in Herold (1981) 374-423. See also the general overview of different types of relationships in romantic literature by Klinkert & Willms (2008) in which *Adolphe* and *Corinne* are treated within a broader perspective of romantic writing (esp. 230-235).

the works originate - by Virgil's *Aeneid*, in structure, plot and use of characters. In other words, the *Aeneid* (its fourth book in particular) may well have served as a common model for both novels.[2]

In order to elucidate this idea, I will first give an outline of Constant's *Adolphe*, after which I will explain part of its historical background, as well as its relations with Mme de Staël and her *Corinne*. Before turning to the discussion of these novels, some remarks about the person and time of both of their authors may be in order, although in more severe – and maybe outdated – literary theories, this extra-literary aspect should not make any difference. Therefore, I will finish with some theoretical considerations on how my interpretations may be placed in the broader context of literary criticism.

My last preliminary remark is on the era called "Romanticism" in the title of this piece: by this designation is meant the era that followed the neo-classical period. These two are not always clearly separated from each other – Gilbert Highet, in *The Classical Tradition* (1949), prefers to speak of "the Time of Revolution" for the whole era of the later eighteenth and earlier nineteenth centuries, a definition which is not far removed from the experiences of the two authors central to this study.

II

Benjamin Constant (1767-1830) was born in Lausanne, Switzerland, while his Huguenot family originated from Artois in Northern France. In the revolutionary tumults that held sway over Europe, Constant's political career fluctuated continuously. Having lived in turn in Switzerland, France (Paris), Scotland (Edinburgh) and the Netherlands, in 1802 he was expelled from France, where he had participated in the Counsel of State called the "Tribunat", due to his unfavorable attitude towards Napoleon. Another cause was the relationship he maintained with Germaine de Staël (1766-1817), who harbored anti-Napoleonic sentiments, and actively supported movements against the regime. In 1790, her family as well had moved from France, where her father Jacques Necker had

[2] Regarding *Corinne*, there are far more explicit references to Virgil. Saminadayar-Perrin (2000) provides one of the rare studies of the Virgilian model in *Corinne*. She argues that that contemporary literature did not provide apt models for a love-story, while there was no better source of inspiration for an amorous novel set in Italy than the famous epic produced in that same country. In the final stages of the conception of this article, I came across a book chapter by Catherine Edwards, 'The Return to Rome: Staël's *Corinne*' (2012), in which she draws a parallel between Corinne and Dido (186). In general, the book in which this chapter appeared is important for a new approach towards the romantics' view on Roman antiquity (although Virgil's *Aeneid* is still hardly taken into consideration).

served as a finance minister, and a very popular one, under king Louis XVI, to live in Coppet on Lake Geneva in Switzerland, due to the revolutionary changes that had taken place in France. Mme de Staël - her name acquired by her unhappy marriage to a Swedish husband in 1786 - and Constant met in 1794, after which a close friendship developed that lasted until 1811. During these years, both had acquired fame with literary works: Constant mostly with political treatises and Mme de Stäel with novels and essays, not to mention her plays and political reflections.[3]

Mme de Staël's new habitat on Lake Geneva enabled her, in imitation of her mother's salon in Paris, to devote her time to thinking, to writing and to discussion with guests who visited her villa. The intellectual circle that thus came into being quite spontaneously did not have any official character, and came to be known, in retrospect, as the "groupe de Coppet". Prominent members of the circle were August Wilhelm Schlegel, Charles Victor de Bonstetten, who wrote a commentary on the last six books of the *Aeneid*,[4] and the historian Jean de Sismondi, who wrote a history of the Italian republics. Apart from Benjamin Constant, other visitors were François-René de Chateaubriand, Lord Byron and Stendhal, who recorded an impression in his travel diary *Rome, Naples et Florence,* for 6 August 1817: "Il y avait sur les bords du lac six cents personnes des plus distinguées de l'Europe: l'esprit, les richesses, les plus grands titres, tout cela venait chercher le plaisir dans le salon de la femme illustre que la France pleure".[5] By the time that Mme de Staël's salon was frequented by this host of international intellectuals, Benjamin Constant was in his late twenties. The contact between the two had been initiated by the Dutch writer Isabel de Charrière, known in Holland as Belle van Zuylen, who, although almost twice his age, was then his mistress.[6]

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[3] Here and below, I will focus on the period before and around the conception of *Corinne* and *Adolphe* in 1806, although *Adolphe* only appeared in 1816, one year before Mme de Staël's death in 1817. Further reading about historical contexts and biographical facts may be advisable, *e.g.* the biographies of Mme de Staël by Winock (2010) or Fairweather (2005).

[4] *Voyage sur la scène des six derniers livres de l'Éneide*, 1804, Geneva. Published at the instigation of Mme de Stäel, a close friend of Bonstetten, it aroused enthusiasm in the groupe de Coppet. On the basis of this study, Constant concludes about the second half of the *Aeneid*: "Il y a de l'imagination, mais point d'ordre" (*Journaux intimes,* ed. Roulin & Roth, 96). Note that Edward Gibbon, who tried to woo de Staël's mother, Mme de Necker, for a while, also published *Critical Observations on the Sixth Book of the Aeneid* (London, 1770).

[5] "On the lake's shore, there were six hundred of the most distinguished people of Europe: the spirit, the wealth, the highest ranks, all came to look for pleasure in the salon of the famous lady, regretted by France". (All translations, unless otherwise stated, are by the author of this article).

[6] Winegarten (2008) 8-10; also Constant's *Ma Vie* (ed. Roulin, 2011) 60-61.

Despite Mme de Staël's hesitations, her marriage to the Swedish ambassador in France, and their other love interests, the two ended up being passionate lovers. Due to their far from regular lives, their relationship went up and down, until in 1811, they finally broke up. Four years before that moment, in 1807, they both wrote a novel about impossible relationships between passionate lovers who were able to live neither together, nor separated from one another. The male parts of the couples were both suffering under the often incompatible demands of duty and love.

III

The narrative of *Adolphe* is presented as a document sent to a fictitious editor, who, in a preceding announcement, explains how the edition of the text came about. The editor claims to have met a traveller in a village called Cerenza (probably today's Cerenzia) in Calabria. Several months later, on a journey to Naples, he received the text of the story from the keeper of the inn where they both had stayed. Not knowing what to do with the unexpected gift, he later published the story at the request of a third person, who had known the author of the text. The editor did this, considering that the story so well reflected the sorrow of men's hearts when in love. The book, thus presented in a complex narratological framework, is divided into ten chapters, rounded off by a letter from the man who knew the author, who was also the hero of the narrative, and a response to this letter by the editor.

The hero of the story, named Adolphe, recounts that he moved to the provincial town of D*** in Germany, after his successful studies in Göttingen and on the brink of a brilliant career, supported by his influential father. In the German town, he meets the wealthy Polish lady Ellénore, who had been brought to France by her mother, when her father had fled to Russia in a period of political turmoil. After her mother's death, Count de P*** fell in love with her; they resided in D*** and had two children. There, Ellénore left her family for the young hero Adolphe. While Ellénore passionately sticks to their romance, Adolphe starts to hesitate about their love; his affection gradually decreases. The process of estrangement between the two develops in four different stages and in four different places, D***, Göttingen, Caden in Bohemia, and Poland, where Ellénore has inherited the property of her late father. In the last episode, Adolphe accompanies Ellénore to Poland, but is persuaded by an accomplice of his father's, the Saxonian ambassador Baron de T***, to quit his liaison and take up his career again. Adolphe, however, keeps on postponing the moment of his departure, due to his compassion for the depressed Ellénore and his own inner weakness. The relationship reaches its depths;

Adolphe often thinks about his death. A friend of Ellénore's attempts to mediate, to no avail. When finally Ellénore, by way of an envoy in possession of letters between Adolphe and Baron de T***, finds out that Adolphe had been considering leaving her for quite some time, but has not dared to for fear of insulting her, she suffers a fatal breakdown and dies. It appears from an unsent letter from her hand, which was handed to Adolphe after her death, that Adolphe's thoughts had not gone unnoticed by Ellénore. She had become deeply unhappy and would have preferred that Adolphe had left her, as she herself lacked the strength to leave him. From the framework in which the tale is presented, as sketched above, we may infer that Adolphe spent the rest of his days as a vagabond in Calabria. So much for the story.

When the novel was published on 6 June 1816 by Henry Colburn in London (with a more or less simultaneous edition in Paris from Treuttel and Würz), correspondences with Constant's personal life were immediately supposed and sought for.[7] In his preface to the second edition, Constant rejects every correspondence between the hero of the story and himself.[8] Just as Chateaubriand is not supposed to be recognized in his René and Mme de Staël in her Corinne,[9] so, he states, he does not resemble Adolphe.[10] And yet, the main concern of his contemporaries, as well as critics up to the Second World War, remained the parallels between Constant's personal life and the events described in

[7] "Various papers have given the public to understand that the short novel of *Adolphe* contains circumstances personal to me and to individuals really existing". So Constant in a letter 'To the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*' dated 23 June 1816 (*Adolphe*, ed. Rudler, 1919, 157). The order in which the first editions appeared is hard to reconstruct. Conventionally, the first two editions are considered to be the ones from London and Paris in 1816, while the third edition is that of 1824. The preface to the last (in which Constant mistakenly states that the book had appeared ten years earlier, instead of eight); is normally printed as the preface to the third edition heading in editions from 1824 onwards see for the problem *Adolphe*, ed. Rudler, 1919, lxxix-lxxxvi; ed. Leuwers, 1989, 16-17.

[8] "Neither Ellenore, nor Adolphe's father, nor the Count of P*** have any resemblance to any person I have ever known. Not only my friends, but my acquaintances are sacred to me". (tr. from *Adolphe*, ed. Rudler, 1919, 157).

[9] Charles de Constant, Benjamin's cousin, who severely disapproved of Benjamin's novel, wrote to his sister Rosalie on 22 July 1816 regarding Constant's praise of Mme de Staël in the preface to the second edition: "Basse flatterie à mes yeux après tout ce qui s'est passé entre eux". (see *Adolphe*, ed. Rudler, 1919, lxxix).

[10] "Cette fureur de reconnaître dans les ouvrages d'imagination les individus qu'on rencontre dans le monde, est pour ces ouvrages un véritable fléau. Elle les dégrade, leur imprime une direction fausse, détruit leur intérêt et anéantit leur utilité", quoted from the preface to the second edition, as printed in *Adolphe*, ed. Leuwers, 1989, 35. ("This mania for recognizing, in works of imagination, individuals we meet in society is a real curse for these creations. It belittles them, gives them a false purpose, ruins their interest and destroys their utility". tr. Mauldon, 2009, 81-82).

Adolphe.[11] This, of course, also prompted the question about the identity in real life of Adolphe's unhappy mistress Ellénore. Several candidates were proferred. Firstly, the above-mentioned Mme de Charrière († 1805), whom Constant had met in 1786.12 Secondly, the married Charlotte de Hardenberg, who had proposed to divorce her husband when Constant considered divorcing his wife Wilhelmine von Cramm in 1793 (they had been married for four years). Thirdly, Mme de Staël, with whom he had entertained a passionate relationship from 1794 to 1811. This last caused a temporary break-up with Mme de Charrière, and professed to have borne a daughter, Albertine, to Constant, within her marriage to Auguste de Staël.

Furthermore, in 1800, Constant had fallen deeply in love with Anna Lindsay, an Irish belle married with two children. Without going into details as to when Constant was involved with which woman, it must be said that most of these relationships were recurrent, the most passionate and consistent of them being that with Mme de Staël. During the years 1805 and 1806, in the last two months of which year Constant wrote his *Adolphe*, many of Constant's earlier relationships culminated in one way or another: Anna Lindsay became his mistress for a second time; Mme de Charrière died at the end of 1805; Charlotte de Hardenberg reappeared on the scene in 1806 and divorced her second husband. Half a year after Charlotte had fallen heavily ill, in late 1808, they married secretly (Winegarten, 2008, 202). During these years, Constant kept visiting and accompanying Mme de Staël. After Charlotte revealed the marriage to her, Mme de Staël was enraged, but still sought Constant's companionship, until in 1811 they broke up, never to be reunited again.[13] Constant went to Germany with Charlotte, and five years later to London, where he published his *Adolphe*. Mme de Staël was indicated as the main source of literary inspiration, at which she did not take offence. One year later, she died.

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[11] After the third edition of 1824, Stendhal in the *Monthly Magazine* of 1 December 1824 comments that there are correspondences with Mme de Staël "dont M. Constant fut l'ami très intime pendant plusieurs années". In his 'Lettres de Paris par le petit-fils de Grimm' no. 10 (16 September 1825), published in the *London Magazine* (October 1825), Stendhal says: "On dit dans le monde que Benjamin Constant s'est peint lui-même".

[12] Wood (1982) draws attention to the interesting collaboration of Charrière and Constant on a novel (probably in the period 1787-88) which Constant baptised *Lettres d'Arsillé fils, Sophie Durfé et autres* - the novel provides, as it were, a missing link between Charrière's *Caliste* and Constant's *Adolphe*, in which the difficulty of decision-making by reluctant men is explored.

[13] From 1814 to 1815, the famous and popular Juliette Récamier was the next target of Constant's indomitable womanizing.

In fact, it is of no avail to look for one particular woman as the model for Ellénore, who appears to have traits of several women Constant knew in his life. Important motifs such as the married woman with two children (~ Anna Lindsay), or the death of Ellénore, who was ten years older than Adolphe (~ Mme de Charrière), may be associated with women in Constant's life. The quarrelsome relationship across many years and Ellénore's noble origin bear the marks of Mme de Staël. Still, it is Charlotte de Hardenberg with whom Ellénore shares most of her traits.[14] In his diary of 30 October 1806, when staying near Mme de Staël in Rouen, after having visited Charlotte in Paris for a week, Constant writes: "Commencé un roman qui sera notre histoire" and one day later: "Avancé beaucoup ce roman qui me retrace de doux souvenirs".[15]

During the process of writing, Constant considered introducing a second woman into the story, witness a note in his diary on 28 December 1806, after he has read his novel to M. de Boufflers: "On a très bien saisi le sens du roman. Il est vrai que ce n'est pas d'imagination que j'ai écrit. *Non ignara mali*. Cette lecture m'a prouvé que je ne pouvais rien faire de cet ouvrage en y mêlant un autre épisode de femme. Ellénore cesserait d'intéresser, et si le héros contractait des devoirs envers une autre et ne les remplissait pas, sa faiblesse deviendrait odieuse".[16] Apparently, he gave up the idea. The Latin quote is, of course, borrowed from Dido's words in *Aen*. 1.630, addressed to Aeneas: *non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco* ("not being ignorant of misfortune, I learn to help the wretched"), which underlines the personal experience from which Constant draws. Furthermore, Constant mentions the "effet bizarre" which the novel had at the occasion of two other recitals (24 February and 28 May),[17] in the second case adding the remark: "Il est donc impossible de faire comprendre mon caractère".[18]

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[14] As supposed *e.g.* by Herold (1981) 418. See for further discussion Delbouille (1971), who warns against reading *Adolphe* as a biography of Constant. Charlotte is also supposed to be the model of the heroine in Constant's *Cécile* (discovered posthumously and published in 1951); see Winegarten (2008) 169 and Roulin (2011) 205, n.3 – who also points out parallels between *Adolphe* and *Cécile*, 205-212 *passim*.

[15] See *Journaux intimes*, ed. Roulin & Roth, 1952, 300-301 (with photographic reproduction of the handwritten page).

[16] "The audience grasped the meaning of the novel very well. Indeed, I did not write from imagination. *Non ignara mali* [I have gone through all this myself]. The recital demonstrated that mixing the story with another female episode should not bring the work any further. Ellénore would cease to arouse any interest, and if the hero would contract but not fulfill duties towards another woman, his weakness would turn hideous".

[17] *Journaux intimes,* ed. Roulin & Roth, 319, 332.

[18] "It is therefore impossible to make my soul comprehensible".

IV

In his preface to the third edition , Constant tells us about the initial goal of his book: "… cette anecdote, écrite dans l'unique pensée de convaincre deux ou trois amis réunis à la campagne de la possibilité de donner une sorte d'intérêt à un roman dont les personnages se réduiraient à deux, et dont la situation serait toujours la même".[19] Constant does not state explicitly that he had any model in mind when composing his narrative. Still, comparison with the story of Dido and Aeneas, seen as a narrative of two characters, may be of interest. In the latter case, the situation does not "remain the same", which provides us with a difference when comparing to Ellénore and Adolphe: while the first couple does separate, the second does not, to the misfortune of both pairs and with the same fatal result. What *fatum* is for the ancient story, determinism is for the romantic: a man does not escape his destiny.

As we have seen, Ellénore herself gets the traits of several woman from Constant's experience. But these are not only women of flesh and blood, but also of words and phrases.[20] Constant, like his peers from the groupe de Coppet at Lake Geneva, was very well versed in classical literature. In his diary, Constant constantly refers to his reading of classical works. When we consider possible literary models, if we look beyond more recent examples such as the Abbé Prevost's *Manon Lescaut* (1731), Rousseau's *Julie ou la Nouvelle Héloïse* (1761) or Chateaubriand's *René* (1802), in which the restrictions imposed on love-affairs by social expectations are thematized, some well-known examples from classical literature come to mind. Famous abandoned ladies, like Catullus' Ariadne, Euripides' Medea, but above all (because of the fatal outcome) Virgil's Dido, show remarkable similarities with Ellénore in Constant's *Adolphe*. It might be that similar themes evoke similar wordings, but there is more.

To begin with the first of the triad: when Ariadne, having left her home and family with no chance of turning back, is in her turn left by Theseus on Naxos while sleeping, she screams in a long lamentation that no man should ever be trusted any more on his word, that she had left all she had, but that, on the other hand, she is prepared to live humbly as a slave at her master's feet, if only Theseus would free her from her dreadful position. The complaint ends with the invocation of the Furiae, the goddesses of vengeance (Catul.

[19] "... that anecdote, written with the unique thought of convincing two or three friends gathered together in the countryside of the possibility of bestowing a certain interest on a novel in which the characters are only two in number, and whose situation always stays the same".

[20] The "intertextual heroine", in Stephen Hinds's terminology, as quoted by Hardie (2014, 52), in his explanation of "the intertextual density of Dido".

64.143-201). The same arguments return in Ellénore's reproaches against Adolphe after he had gone from D*** to Göttingen at his father's request. Ellénore had made him promise that he would return in two months, which he did not. In a letter she then wrote him, as voiced by Adolphe:

> "Que demandait-elle? De vivre inconnue auprès de mois … Elle m'avait tout sacrifié: fortune, enfants, réputation; elle n'exigeait d'autre prix de ses sacrifices que de m'attendre comme une humble esclave, de passer chaque jour avec moi quelques minutes, de jouir des moments que je pourrais lui donner" (ch. 5).[21]

Ellénore's arrival in Göttingen immediately follows on the letter. She slanders his character; their conversation ends up in a quarrel: "on eût dit que nous étions poussés l'un contre l'autre par des furies".[22] The similar motifs in this typical scene of fighting lovers suggest that Constant wrote the scene with Catullus' Ariadne on his mind.

Once Ellénore has arrived in Göttingen, Adolphe's father takes measures to remove her from town: he orders her to depart by the next day. Adolphe's love for her revives, and he visits her early in the next morning: "Elle était couchée, ayant passé la nuit à pleurer; ses yeux étaient encore humides, et ses cheveux étaient épars".[23] This scene mirrors the situation in Euripides' *Medea*. She too had left her fatherland to follow her lover Jason, but was constrained to leave the town of Corinth after Jason had proposed to marry the king's daughter. Euripides' play opens with the nurse recounting the sorrow of Medea, who has been weeping all night because she had to leave the town that same day.

The correspondences of the events as described in *Adolphe* with Catullus' and Euripides' narratives are not continued in the outcome of the love-story, as Adolphe again and again decides to stay loyal to Ellénore. This, however, does not result in a narration that is entirely opposite to that of the supposed model: the similarities remain in Ellénore's reactions to the threat of being left. Constant is a very keen observer of the lover's mind, male and female alike, while adapting classical models to his own novelistic needs. Description of the ways of the human heart, supplemented by the characters' reactions to and thoughts about their own and others' emotions, is the most important addition to the storylines from classical literature, to which we will return in the treatment of Mme de Staël's *Corinne* (see especially n.66).

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[21] "What did she ask of me? … To live near me in obscurity. … She had sacrificed everything for me: money, children, reputation. She asked no recompense for her sacrifices other than to wait for me like a humble slave, to spend a few minutes every day with me, to enjoy those moments that I could give her". (All translations of *Adolphe* are from Mauldon, 2001).

[22] "It was as if the Furies were urging us on against each other".

[23] "She was in bed, having spent the night in weeping; her eyes were still wet and her hair unkempt".

Virgil's *Aeneid*, book 4 in particular, also provides a sub-text for Constant's *Adolphe*. The love between Aeneas and Dido is central to the first half of this famous epic: Aeneas, on his way to a new land for the penates of fallen Troy, lands on the northern coast of Africa, where he finds another refugee from the East, queen Dido, building the city of Carthage. Dido falls in love with this unexpected but noble passer-by, who has suffered so much trouble in war and on his sea-journey. She, prompted by her sister Anna, is even prepared to reconsider her decision never to marry again after the death of her husband Sychaeus. This decision prevented the Carthaginians from entering into relations with neighbouring peoples by a royal marriage. Aeneas, however, attracts the foreign queen's interest and enjoys her hospitality in the company of his fellow Trojans (Dido and Aeneas even come close to marrying), but is sandwiched between his duty (*pietas*) to reach a new home-country (*patria*) for the Trojans and their ancestral guardian gods and his ephemeral love (*amor*) for Dido. It takes a repeated visit by the messenger-god Mercury, sent by Jupiter, to remind the man of his duty. So the friction between *pietas* and *amor* is the conflict which Virgil's Aeneas has to face. This is not so different from the circumstances in which Constant's Adolphe finds himself, although this character does not seem to be moved by a sense of duty at all, which makes him, in some respects, an anti-Aeneas.

Nevertheless, the narrative's characters do show remarkable similarities with Dido and Aeneas. First we have the talented but wavering Adolphe, who gets trapped by the choice between his loyalty to his love and his career, as envisaged by his father. Facing him, there is the wealthy Ellénore, who has fled from her home-country, Poland, and leaves her husband and children out of sheer love for Adolphe, with no hope of turning back. Their unquiet relationship revives every time Adolphe is on the verge of departing to seek a better future. The interventions of an ambassador in Poland on behalf of his father, in order to liberate Adolphe from his desperate position, prove fruitless. On the other hand, Ellénore's friend tries to persuade Adolphe to stay, while Ellénore is languishing at her home. In other words, the protagonists and the actors are Adolphe (Aeneas), urged by his father (Jupiter) and his ambassador count Von T*** (Mercury) to do his duty, and Ellénore (Dido), who betrayed her husband count Von P*** (Sychaeus) and tries to persuade Adolphe through the intervention of a confidante (Anna). It all ends with Ellénore's final collapse, which parallels Dido's suicide. Ellénore's love turned into bitter grief, described as *vulnus* ("wound") or *furor* ("fury") in Virgil's Latin idiom. In fact, Constant's *Adolphe* is the story of Aeneas had he not chosen his duty: exile and desperation are the result.

The corresponding structure of the narratives is reflected in similarities on a more detailed level, for example the arguments used in quarrels. When Ellénore has heard in Caden that her father has died, and wants Adolphe to accompany her to her homeland in order to lay claim to her paternal estate, she uses the argument that the people are hostile towards her: "Vous m'avez fait manquer … à un devoir sacré …. Mais, certes, je n'irai pas seule dans un pays où je n'ai que des ennemis à rencontrer" (ch. 6),[24] which is close to what Dido says to Aeneas in 4.320-01: *te propter Libycae gentes Nomadumque tyranni / odere, infensi Tyrii*.[25] Both women sacrificed their honor for their lovers, while they use the hostility of their vicinity as an argument to convince their partners to stay loyal.

Ellénore shows several traits of Dido, especially in the later parts of the novel, when her impending death lingers like a dark cloud above the action. The theme of the lonely vigil, encountered in *Aen*. 4.522-32, is reflected in Ellénore's words: "Comme tout est calme, me dit Ellénore; comme la nature se résigne! Le cœur aussi ne doit-il pas apprendre à se résigner?" (ch. 10).[26] Already in ch. 7, this theme occurred when Adolphe was wandering through the night.[27] Both heroes, Ellénore and Dido, are longing for death, in order to be freed from mortal sorrows. While this theme may not be derived directly from Virgil, as it is very common in classical as well as romantic literature (one only has to think of Goethe's "Über allen Gipfeln ist Ruh"), there are other similarities which betray a more specific Virgilian vein. Ellénore screams to Adolphe (at the end of ch. 8): "Adolphe … vous ne savez pas le mal que vous faites; vous l'apprendrez un jour … quand vous m'aurez précipitée dans la tombe",[28] which is similar to the threat Dido

[24] "You made me neglect a sacred duty. (…) but I definitely will not go alone to a country where I will meet only enemies".
[25] "Because of you the Libyan tribes and Numidian chiefs hate me, the Tyrians are my foes". (All Virgil translations are from Fairclough / Goold, unless otherwise stated).
[26] "'How calm everything is', said Ellénore, 'how resigned nature seems! Ought not the heart also learn to resign itself?'"
[27] "Je parcourus des champs, des bois, des hameaux où tout était immobile. De temps en temps, j'apercevais dans quelque habitation éloignée une pâle lumière qui perçait l'obscurité. Là, me disais-ja, là, peut-être, quelque infortuné s'agite sous la douleur, ou lutte contra la mort". ("I walked through fields and woods and hamlets where everything was still. From time to time I would see, in some distant dwelling, a dim light piercing the darkness. There, I would reflect, perhaps there some unhappy creature lies tossing in pain or struggling against death").
[28] "Adolphe…, you do not know what harm you are causing; you will find out one day, you will find out through me, when you have driven me into the grave!"

utters to Aeneas in *Aen*. 4.307-08: *nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido?*[29] In the final chapter (10), having read the correspondence between Count Von T*** and Adolphe, Ellénore throws herself on a couch ("Elle s'était jetée sur son lit sans prononcer une parole").[30] This is, mutatis mutandis, what Dido does when in distress about Aeneas' departure.[31] In both cases, the women are watched over by servants, which makes the scene even more dramatic.

The question might be posed whether these correspondences, either on a structural or lexical level, or in conjunction, show direct derivations from a Virgilian example. And if so, whether Constant consciously tried to construct a story on a Virgilian basis, and whether he expected the reader to read it through a Virgilian lense. These questions may never be answered with certainty in every case, but I believe some degree of conscious modelling is certainly present. However, our experiment is also about how far the reader can go in reading the story through Virgil, while asking if this way of reading yields anything for the interpretation of the narrative.

One more example to illustrate this point. Adolphe speaks to himself in ch. 7 as follows:

> "Elle m'accuse sans cesse, disais-je, d'être dur, d'être ingrat, d'être sans pitié. Ah! Si le ciel m'eût accordé une femme que les convenances sociales me permissent d'avouer, que mon père ne rougît pas d'accepter pour fille, j'aurais été mille fois heureux de la rendre heureuse".[32]

When we replace Adolphe by Aeneas, Ellénore by Dido, "mon père" by Jupiter and the "convenances sociales" by *fata*, these words would have been very apt for Aeneas when looking into his own heart (had he been prone to do so). The situation Adolphe finds himself in is opposite to *Aeneas*', in as much as the former chooses to stay loyal to his love, while the latter does not. Adolphe may be read as a reaction to Aen. 4, in which the hero choose an alternative path and must face the consequences of that choice. In this sort of approach to the narrative, I do not insist on pointing out direct (verbal)

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[29] "Does the doom of a cruel death for Dido not restrain you?" (tr. adapted from Fairclough / Goold).

[30] "She threw herself on her bed without speaking a word".

[31] *Aen.* 4.391-02: *suscipiunt famulae conlapsaque membra / marmoreo referunt thalamo stratisque reponunt* ("Her maids support her, carry her swooning form to her marble bower, and lay her on her bed").

[32] "She never stops accusing me, I said to myself, of being hard, ungrateful, pitiless. Ah! If heaven had granted me a wife whom my father would not have blushed to accept as his daughter, I would have found immeasurable happiness in making her happy".

echoes, but rather wish to apply a certain way of reading the text, which the author was most probably aware of when composing his narrative.

V

As stated above, Constant was surely influenced in writing *Adolphe* by his all but placid relationship with Mme de Staël, as his cousin Charles and Stendhal already perceived. Mme de Staël appears to have already read the novel in 1806, when *Corinne*, written around the same time, appeared.[33] The London-based professor G. Rudler, the first critical editor of *Adolphe*, in his introduction to his 1919 edition, indicates many correspondences between the novel and *Corinne*. Since then, it has become standard to treat the two books together in accounts of Constant's and Mme de Staël's lives. Moreover, both the authors were well versed in Virgil, and the parallels with the *Aeneid* indicated in *Adolphe* are matched by parallels and explicit references to Virgil in *Corinne*. So the investigation of Virgilian parallels may be a good way of exploring the relations between the two books.

When *Corinne ou l'Italie* (written between April 1805 and November 1806 and published in May 1807)[34] appeared, Mme de Staël was already a celebrated author. Following her political treatises (*Réflections sur la paix, 1794*), theoretical considerations about literature (*De la littérature*, 1800) and a novel (Delphine, 1802), *Corinne* may be viewed as a mixture of political, literary and historical themes gathered in one narrative framework, with a plot, many motifs and a limited number of fictitious characters. The structure, as I will demonstrate, has a thoroughly Virgilian flavor.

Corinne consists of twenty chapters, subdivided into 102 subchapters of varying length. The first part is devoted to the arrival and residence in Rome of a certain Oswald, Lord of Nelvil, from Scotland, accompanied by a French friend, Count d'Erfeuil. Oswald is on one year's leave from his regiment. The day after Oswald arrives, the famous poetess Corinne (who is called after Pindar's contemporary of that name)[35] is crowned as a tribute to her poetical and musical genius. Let us take a look at the

[33] The exact chronological relationships are hard to determine, but surely *Corinne* must have been conceived earlier, although it appeared only half a year after Mme de Staël seems to have read a version of *Adolphe* – in November 1806 she writes "Benjamin s'est mis à faire un roman, et il est le plus original et le plus touchant que j'ai lu" (quoted by Rudler in *Adolphe*, 1919, xiii).
[34] For the early editions of *Corinne*, see Balayé in *Corinne*, 1985, 610.
[35] See Isbell (1998) xvi.

moment Corinne, Mme de Staël's alter ego, arrives at the Capitol for the ceremony:[36]

"L'admiration du peuple pour elle allait toujours en croissant, plus elle approchait du Capitole, de ce lieu si fécond en souvenirs. Ce beau ciel, ces Romains si enthousiastes, et par-dessus tout Corinne, électrisaient l'imagination d'Oswald: il avait vu souvent dans son pays des hommes d'état portés en triomphe par le people; mais c'était pour la première fois qu'il était témoin des honneurs rendus à une femme, à une femme illustrée seulement par les dons du génie: son char de victoire ne coûtait de larmes à personnes; et nul regret, comme nulle crainte, n'empêchait d'admirer les plus beaux dons de la nature, l'imagination, le sentiment et la pensée.

Oswald était tellement absorbé dans ses réflexions, des idées si nouvelles l'occupaient tant, qu'il ne remarqua point les lieux antiques et célèbres à travers lesquels passait le char de Corinne". (2.1)[37]

The scene of Corinne's entrance is reminiscent of the scene where Dido in Carthage is spotted by the yet unseen Aeneas: *Haec dum Dardanio Aeneae miranda videntur, / dum stupet, obtutuque haeret defixus in uno, / regina ad templum, forma pulcherrima Dido, / incessit magna iuvenum stipante caterva* (*Aen*. 1.494-97).[38] When entering Carthage, Aeneas is moved by the depiction of scenes from the Trojan war. When Dido arrives, he only has eyes for her and

[36] Corinne is described as a Sibyl: "Elle était vêtue comma la Sibylle du Dominiquin, un schall des Indes tourné autour de sa tête, et ses cheveux du plus beau noir entremêlés avec ce schall" ("Attired like Domenichino's Sibyl, an Indian shawl was twined among her lustrous black curls"), and when climbing the stairs of the Capitol: "la Sibylle triomphante entra dans le palais préparé pour la recevoir" ("the all-conquering Sibyl entered the palace prepared for her reception"). Portraits by Domenichino of the Cumaean Sibyl (one version to be dated circa 1616, now in the Villa Borghese; another circa 1622, now in the Capitoline Museum) were used as a basis for a portrait of Mme de Staël by François Gérard (1810) – the portrait show similarities with Corinne's description here (the curly hair, the shawl).

[37] "The nearer she approached the Capitol, so fruitful in classic associations, the more these admiring tributes increased: the raptures of the Romans, the clearness of their sky, and, above all, Corinne herself, took electric effect on Oswald. He had often, in his own land, seen statesmen drawn in triumph by the people; but this was the first time that he had ever witnessed the tender of such honors to a woman, illustrious only in mind. Her car of victory cost no fellow mortal's tear; nor terror nor regret could check his admiration for those fairest gifts of nature — creative fancy, sensibility, and reason. These new ideas so intensely occupied him, that he noticed none of the long-famed spots over which Corinne proceeded". (All translations of *Corinne* are from Hill & Landon, 1833).

[38] "While these wondrous sights are seen by Dardan Aeneas, while in amazement he hangs rapt in one fixed gaze, the queen, Dido, moved towards the temple, of surpassing beauty, with a vast company of youths thronging round her".

forgets the surroundings, however beautiful. The same happens to Oswald, for whom the classical scene provided by the Roman antiquities is totally obliterated by the sight of Corinne.[39] "Her car of victory cost no fellow mortal's tear" may also contain a hint to s*unt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt*[40] in *Aen*. 1.462, just before the quoted passages from the *Aeneid*, where Aeneas cries about the hardships suffered in war.[41]

Just as in the case of *Adolphe*, what counts is not so much an immediate imitation, with lexical and thematic similarities, as the reading of *Corinne* from a Virgilian perspective. Although I do suppose that Mme de Staël sometimes used the *Aeneid* as a model even for details, it is more importance that the interpretation of the novel may be directed by keeping the *Aeneid* in mind. There are similarities and differences in every layer of the narration. For example: the fact that this scene from *Corinne* is positioned in Rome may electrify the reader as much as Corinne affects Oswald. Imagine that Rome was founded by Aeneas' offspring, after Aeneas left Dido in Carthage with fatal result, and that the same genius who is crowned at the Capitol is staged as a Dido rediviva, spotted by a Scotchman. The effect of these parallels, once acknowledged, will be that a continuous process of comparison may occur, a kind of intertextuality that adds an extra dimension to the reader's experience.[42]

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[39] Constant comments, in one of three reviews of the book, on this scene (in *L'esprit des journaux*, July 1807, vol. VII, 51): "Avant cette époque [*sc*. de la maturité], la nature lutte contre des règles qu'elle ne conçoit pas clairement; et c'est durant cette lutte que l'homme est en proie aux égarements de l'imagination comme aux orages du cœur. C'est ainsi qu'Oswald se présente, lorsque, pour la première fois, il rencontre Corinne. Sans doute, dès cette première rencontre, le destin de tous deux est décidé. Ils ne peuvent pas être heureux ensemble, ils ne pourront plus être heureux séparés". ("Before that age [of maturity], human nature struggles with rules which it does not comprehend properly; and it is during that struggle that men are subject to the wanderings of the imagination and storms of the heart. Thus Oswald presents himself when he meets Corinne for the first time. Undoubtedly, from that first acquaintance, the fate of both of them is determined. They cannot live happily together, nor will they be able to be happy when separated").

[40] "Here, too, are tears for misfortune and human sorrows pierce the heart".

[41] See Hardie (2014, 16) for a treatment of a chapter from the 19th century reception of these famous words, *lacrimae rerum*, that have become "a motto for a worldview felt as a peculiarly Virgilian sensibility".

[42] What Corinne sings ("Italie, empire du soleil; Italie, maîtresse du monde; Italie, berceau des lettres, je te salue" ["Italy, empire of the Sun; Italy, mistress of the World; cradle of literature; I salute you"], etc.) may remind the reader of the *laudes Italiae* in *Geo*. 2.136-75 (see for an analysis Harrison, 2007). As I confine myself to the *Aeneid* as a "reading model", passages from Virgil's other works are outside the scope of this study.

Another example. When, in ch. 1.4, Oswald reaches Ancona, a fire occurs, and many people in the town have to be evacuated. A problem arises in a building which turns out to be a madhouse. Oswald single-handedly rescues six victims and is praised as a hero – or even an angel – by the inhabitants of Ancona. In ch. 3.2, the rumor of his heroic deed has already preceded his coming to Rome. Through the report of Oswald's friend Count d'Erfeuil, who was present in Corinne's home when her friend Castel-Forte told about Oswald's exploits in Ancona, we learn about Corinne's reaction. Oswald has asked for further proof of her interest for him, after she had noticed him at the Capitol; d'Erfeuil replies:

> "J'ai réservé le plus fort pour la fin. Le Prince Castel-Forte est arrivé et il a raconté toute votre histoire d'Ancone, sans savoir que c'était de vous dont il parlait: il a raconté avec beaucoup de feu et d'imagination, autant que j'en puis juger … D'ailleurs la physionomie de Corinne m'aurait expliqué ce que je n'entendais pas. On y lisait visiblement l'agitation de son cœur! Elle ne respirait pas, de peur de perdre un seul mot; quand elle demanda si l'on savait le nom de cet Anglais, son anxiété était telle, qu'il était bien facile de juger combien elle craignait qu'un autre nom que le vôtre ne fût prononcé. Le prince Castel-Forte dit qu'il ignorait quel était cet Anglais; et Corinne, se retournant avec vivacité vers moi, s'écria: 'N'est-il pas vrai, monsieur, que c'est Lord Nelvil?' – 'Oui, madame', lui répondais-je, 'c'est lui'; et Corinne alors fondit en larmes. Elle n'avait pas pleuré pendant l'histoire; qu'y avait-il donc dans le nom du héros de plus attendrissant que le récit même?"[43]

Oswald's fame has impressed Corinne even more than the overwhelming impression made by his appearance and behavior – just as before Aeneas entered the stage in Carthage the exploits and disasters of the Trojan war were already carved on the temple front.[44] Just like Aeneas and Dido (*Aen*. 1.595-610: Aeneas addresses the queen; 1.615-30: Dido replies to him), the two protagonists only later have the chance talk to one another, when

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[43] "I kept the strongest to come last. The Prince Castel Forte related the whole of your adventure at Ancona, without knowing that it was of you he spoke. He told the story with much fire, as far as I could judge … Besides, Corinne's face explained what I should not else have comprehended. 'twas so easy to read the agitation of her heart: she would scarcely breathe, for fear of losing a single word: when she enquired if the name of this Englishman was known, her anxiety was such, that I could very well estimate the dread she suffered, lest any other name than yours should be pronounced in reply. Castel Forte confessed his ignorance; and Corinne, turning eagerly to me, cried, 'Am I not right, monsieur? was it not Lord Nevil?' 'Yes, madame', said I, and then she melted into tears. She had not wept during the history: what was there in the name of its hero more affecting than the recital itself?"

[44] Bruce Gibson attentively remarks that the narrating of a story before the arrival of the main character (as is recounted here) or in the actual presence of the main character is an epic element. The latter occurs in Hom. *Od*. 8, the case of Demodocus, who sings of the adventures of Odysseus in his presence, of which the singer is unaware; similarly the prince of Castel-Forte recounts Oswald's story "without knowing that it was of you he spoke".

Oswald makes the acquaintance of the crowned singer through the mediation of the prince of Castel-Forte.[45] Comparison with the hypothesized model shows a difference in that Corinne had already spotted Oswald at this stage (ch. 2.3), which slightly modifies the scenario – still, the rumour that preceded the coming of the hero is an element that leads to the same emotional effect.

In the model, *Aen*. 2 and 3, Aeneas tells the queen about his sufferings in war and about his journey to Carthage. In Mme de Staël's narration, however, a comparable act is only rendered in reported speech ("il a raconté toute votre histoire d'Ancone"), voiced by a character other than the actor in the reported events: Corinne is then said to be moved by the narration of events, which is again reported to the main actor. Thus, the direct confrontation between the two main figures in the model is transformed into a more complex narration with different layers of focalisation. By this transformation, the focus shifts to the reaction of the recipient, at the expense of the act of narration by the actor himself. Still, Corinne's crying in the absence of the person discussed may be based on a similar situation in the *Aeneid*, where Dido cries after a conversation with her sister Anna about Aeneas: *sic effata sinum lacrimis implevit obortis* (*Aen*. 4.30).[46] In this same scene, another emotional effect on Dido is shown: she is impressed by Aeneas' countenance, looks and voice: *multa viri virtus animo multusque recursat / gentis honos; haerent infixi pectore vultus / verbaque* (*Aen*. 4.2-5).[47] A comparable impact on Corinne as a listener to Oswald occurs in a conversation about Italian and English tragedy: here, Corinne is impressed by the tone of Oswald's voice and his behavior while the object of her veneration is present (ch. 7.2):

> "Oswald aurait pu parler longtemps encore sans que Corinne l'eût interrompu; elle se plaisait tellement et dans le son de sa voix, et dans la noble élégance de ses expressions, qu'elle eût voulu prolonger cette impression des heures entières".[48]

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[45] Oswald's acquaintance with Corinne is prepared for by d'Erfeuil and the gentleman who tells the story of Ancona, Castel-Forte, so that the role of Ilioneus, who prepares (unknowingly) for the coming of Aeneas to Dido's court (*Aen.* 1.520-60), is divided over two characters in Mme de Staël's narrative. In fact, Aeneas is already present in the cloud that veils him. A hint to this scene may be read in 4.1: "Ces paroles, et l'accent avec lequel Corinne les prononça, dissipèrent un peu le nuage qui s'était élevé dans l'ame de lord Nelvil". ("The words, the accent of Corinne, somewhat dispersed the clouds that gathered over Nevil's thoughts").

[46] "So saying, she filled her breast with upwelling tears".

[47] "Oft her mind rushes back to the heroes' valour, oft his glorious stock; his looks and words cling fast to her bosom".

[48] "Oswald might have spoken much longer ere Corinne would have interrupted him, so fascinated was she by the sound of his voice, and the turn of his expressions [that she would have like to prolong this pleasure for hours]". Hill & Landon (1833) 114-15 misses the part between square brackets, which I supply from Raphael (2008) 117-18.

An intricate web of intertextuality unfolds when the different situations are compared: Corinne hears about Oswald, who is absent, and cries after receiving confirmation of his identity (3.2); she listens to him in his presence, and is impressed by his voice and countenance (7.2); while in the Aeneid, Dido listens to Aeneas' recounting of Troy directly (end of Aen. 1 to the end of Aen. 3) and later talks about him with her sister, and shows herself impressed by his stories and behaviour, after which she cries (Aen. 4.1-55). The emotional effect described in the latter scene is transposed to two different situations in Corinne's case: the former (corresponding with the narration of Aen. 2, which is transposed to the narration about Ancona) in Oswald's absence, the latter in his presence.

The threat of Oswald's eventual return to Scotland also plays a part in this stage of the narration, in 7.1. The thought of this terrifies Corinne, who stipulates that Oswald at least prepare her for his leave, before the moment comes:[49]

> "Je ne sais pas, quand je vois ce beau jour, s'il ne me trompe point par ses rayons resplendissants, si vous êtes encore là, vous, l'astre de ma vie. Oswald, ôtez-moi cette terreur, et je ne verrai rien au-delà de cette sécurité délicieuse. – Vous savez, répondit Oswald, que jamais un Anglais n'a renoncé à sa patrie, que la guerre peut me rappeller, que… - Ah! dieu, s'écria Corinne, voudriez-vous me préparer? … et tous ses membres tremblaient comme à l'approche du plus effroyable danger. – Hé bien, s'il est ainsi, emmenez-moi comme épouse, comme esclave… (…) Non, répondit Oswald, je n'hésite pas, tu le veux, Hé bien, je le jure, si ce départ est nécessaire, je vous en préviendrai, et ce moment décidera de notre vie".

In the dialogue, Corinne proffers the same options as Ellénore did when facing Adolphe: to take her with him as his wife, or even slave. The preparation for the departure is very important for Corinne, who keeps insisting on it. By her insistence, she means to protect herself from the emotions that beset Dido - who was not prepared for the bad news - when she had heard about Aeneas' departure and furiously addresses him: dissimulare etiam sperasti, perfide, tantum / posse nefas tacitusque mea decedere terra? (Aen. 4.305-06).[50] So, in Corinne's case, the moment of separation is repeatedly

[49] "'I ask the fair day if it has still a right to shine; if you, the sun of my being, are near me yet? Oswald, remove this fear, and I will not look beyond the present's sweet security'. – 'You know', replied he, 'that no Englishman should renounce his country: war may recall me'. – 'Oh God!' she cried, 'would you prepare my mind?' Her limbs quivered, as if at the approach of the most terrific danger. 'If it be even so', she added, 'take me with you — as your wife— your slave!' … 'No', returned he, 'you wish it; and I swear, if my departure be necessary, I will apprise you of it, and that moment shall decide our fate'".

[50] "False one! Didst thou hope also to block so / foul a crime, and to pass from my land in silence?"

discussed. In 15.1, having returned from a trip to Campania, she is again in distress about the prospect of Oswald's departure, which he had just announced to her:

> "Quoi! vous partez; quoi! vous allez en Angleterre sans moi? – Oswald se tut. – Cruel! s'écria Corinnne avec désespoir, vous ne répondez rien, vous ne combattez pas ce que je vous dis. Ah, c'est donc vrai! Hélas! tout en le disant, je ne croyais pas encore. – J'ai retrouvé, grace à vos soins, répondit Oswald, la vie que j'étais prêt à perdre; cette vie appartient à mon pays pendant la guerre".[51]

The passage contains an echo, though not in a literal sense, of Dido's *perfide* in Corinne's 'Cruel'. Oswald's reaction shows his piety towards his country in times of war, a situation not entirely similar to Aeneas', although the choice of duty over love remains the same. At certain points, Oswald's departure is linked to Corinne's eventual death, such as in 15.1: "Le départ d'Oswald pour l'Angleterre lui paraissait un signal de mort"; and in 15.2, Corinne, expressing the oracular power of a suffering heart, cries to Oswald: "Que signifie donc cette palpitation douloureuse qui soulève mon sein? Ah! mon ami, je ne la redouterai pas, si elle ne m'annonçait que la mort", while at the end of that same passage Corinne's silent thoughts are expressed in "Pourquoi ne me laissez-vous pas mourir?"[52] None of these instances, that are only a few of many references to an impending death (cf. *e.g.* the end of ch. 14), is either a direct prediction or threat towards Oswald, but together they add to the morbid atmosphere that exists between the two lovers at the prospect of their separation.

VI

The lovers' situation had become complicated after Corinne and Oswald departed for a journey to Campania. Apart from the incompatibility of their characters, the reason why Corinne and Oswald are not able to stay happily together is that Oswald is destined by his late father to marry another woman, namely Lucile, who lives in England. Corinne is devastated when she learns of this obstacle to a sound relationship, especially since Lucile,

[51] "At last she took his hand, crying, 'So, you return to England without me'. Oswald was silent. 'Cruel!' she continued: 'you say nothing to contradict my fears; they are just, then, though even while saying so I cannot yet believe it'. – 'Thanks to your cares', answered Nevil, 'I have regained the life so nearly lost: it belongs to my country during the war'".

[52] 15.1: "His departure for England appeared the signal for her death"; 15.2: "What portends, then, the heavy palpitation of my heart? Ah, love, I should not fear it, if it were but my knell!"; "Why will you not let me die?".

as it is later revealed to the reader in a letter from Corinne to Oswald (ch. 14: 'Histoire de Corinne'), is a half-sister of hers. Oswald, just like his counter-character Adolphe, is caught between a sense of duty to his father and *patria*, and his love for his Italian muse, Corinne. At the same time, frictions occur relating to the societal surroundings of the protagonists: they are not married, and still choose to travel together, which leads to disapproving comments among their social circle.[53] Different conceptions of love and marriage in different countries and their cultures are also a theme, and form part of the collision between *amor* and *patria*. In fact, Mme de Staël, who is generally inclined to investigate national characters in literary forms (for example in *De l'Allemagne*, 1810), emphasizes this theme in *Corinne ou l'Italie* by making Corinne half-English and half-Italian (while the gentle and moderate Count d'Erfeuil embodies the French counterpart to these national stereotypes).[54] In other words, the theme of friction between *amor* and *patria* may not be inspired by or taken from Virgil directly, but the theme that was so masterly exploited by the Roman epicist may at least direct the reader's experience in pacing through the text. In doing so, the reader will certainly not be discouraged by the many allusions that de Staël either implicitly or explicitly incorporates in the narration.

Unlike in *Adolphe*, in *Corinne* Virgil is explicitly named, which provides us with a means to indicate Virgilian influence. Often, direct allusions to Virgil serve only as embellishments of the narrative, in order to evoke the great past of Rome: Thus, in descriptions of a walk on the Aventine hill (4.5) and through the villa Borghese (5.3), the landscapes evoke Virgil:

> "La poésie vient encore embellir ce séjour. Virgile a placé sur le mont Aventin la caverne de Cacus".
>
> "La statue d'Ésculape est au milieu d'une île, celle de Vénus semble sortir de l'ombre; Ovide et Virgile pourraient se promener dans ce beau lieu, et se croire encore au siècle d'Auguste".[55]

Virgil's *Aeneid*, however, is also directly referred to in other parts of the novel. On their trip to Tivoli, Corinne leads Oswald through the gallery, where they study the paintings (8.4):

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[53] *E.g.* a trip made by Corinne and Oswald, about which see below, is received with repugnance by Corinne's entourage in Rome, especially in the mouth of Castel-Forte, as Corinne's behavior, travelling with a man who is not her husband, can hardly be considered ladylike.

[54] In the same review as quoted above (n.39), Constant speaks about "l'opposition qui existe entre la nature et le climat d'Angleterre, et la nature et le climat d'Italie", which Mme de Staël puts to literary use in order to underline the differences between the peoples of those countries.

[55] "Poetry also has embellished this spot: it was there that Virgil placed the cave of Cacus". "Esculapius stands in the centre of an island; Venus appears gliding from a bower. Ovid and Virgil might wander here, and believe themselves still in the Augustan age".

> "Le premier [tableau] représente Énée dans les Champs-Elysées, lorsqu'il veut s'approcher de Didon. L'ombre indignée s'éloigne et s'applaudit de ne plus porter dans son sein le cœur qui battrait encore d'amour à l'aspect du coupable. La couleur vaporeuse des ombres, et la pâle nature qui les environne, font contraste avec l'air de vie d'Énée et de la Sibylle qui le conduit. Mais c'est un jeu de l'artiste que ce genre d'effet, et la description du poëte est nécessairement bien supérieure à ce que l'on peut en peindre".[56]

The ekphrasis – one in a series of descriptions of the paintings in Tivoli – concerns a painting by the German painter Friedrich Rehberg, which in turn refers to the famous scene in *Aen*. 6.450-76, where Dido – indeed veiled in clouds, but not in the Elysian fields – turns her back on Aeneas.[57]

Virgil is even more present in the first parts of the second half of *Corinne*. Oswald and Corinne go on a journey to Campania, where Virgil is all around. Just in between the account of the early life of Oswald (ch. 12) and that of Corinne (ch. 14), and therefore at a dramatic peak of the narration, Oswald and Corinne visit Virgil's tomb, that overlooks the bay of Naples (13.3):

> "Il y a tant de repos et de magnificence dans cet aspect, qu'on est tenté de croire que c'est Virgile lui-même qui l'a choisi; ce simple vers des Géorgiques aurait pu servir d'épitaphe:
>
> *Illo Virgilium me tempore dulcis alebat*
> *Parthenope …*
>
> Ses cendres y reposent encore, et la mémoire de son nom attire dans ce lieu les hommages de l'univers. C'est tout ce que l'homme, sur cette terre, peut arracher à la mort".[58]

The visit to the grave is more than a tribute to the ancient poet. It contains a poetical program: Mme de Staël shows how Virgil's images and words are revived by later

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[56] "There is the meeting of Dido and Aeneas in the Elysian fields: her indignant shade avoids him; rejoicing to be freed from the fond heart which yet would throb at his approach. The vaporous colour of the phantoms, and the pale scenes around them, contrast the air of life in Aeneas, and the Sibyl who conducts him; but in these attempts the bard's description must far transcend all that the pencil reaches".

[57] See Belnap Jensen (2013) for an analysis of the collection of paintings viewed by Corinne and Oswald, and the pan-European and anti-Napoleonic sentiment that speaks from the fictitious collection.

[58] "Such is the magnificent repose of this spot, that one is tempted to believe the bard himself must have selected it. These simple words from his Georgics might have served him for epitaph: — *Illo Virgilium me tempore dulcis alebat / Parthenope.* 'Then did the soft Parthenope receive me'. His ashes here repose, and attract universal homage, — all, all that man on earth can steal from death". The quote is from *Geo.* 4.563-64, the last-but-two verses from the famous epic about agriculture. Mme de Staël erroneously translates *alebat* with "acceuillait" ('received') instead of "nourrissait" ("fed"). See Balayé in *Corinne* (1985) 622.

generations. Many have written their names on the grave – indeed, it was a famous destination for travellers - but among them, according to Corinne, only Petrarch has been worthy to do so.

Then, in ch. 13.4, a second moment of poetic glory follows, an improvisation by Corinne. As in the scene on the Capitol, where Oswald met Corinne, the verses the latter improvises are thoroughly inspired by Virgil, who is not only mentioned by name, but is also evoked by the elements Corinne's words contain: lake Avernus, the rivers Acheron and Phlegeton, the city of Cumae, the Sibyl's cave and Apollo's temple, which are so prominently present in the *Aeneid's* sixth book.[59]

After the Campanian episode, where Oswald and Corinne act like they are married (the word "marriage" occurs several times, there is a reference to the "Madone de la Grotte", where marriages are contracted), Oswald gives Corinne a ring which his late father had destined for his son's wife, as a gift for the future. Oswald and Corinne even read a letter from the former's father, as if he were speaking from the underworld. The most vehement quarrels arise about the eventual return of Oswald to Scotland, in which Corinne, as we have seen, uses similar arguments to Ellénore in *Adolphe* and Dido in the *Aeneid*.

VII

As to the overall structure of *Corinne*, the narration consists of two parts. The first ten chapters are devoted to Oswald's arrival in Rome, his meeting with Corinne and their adventures in and around Rome. One of the trips they make outside Rome

[59] "J'aperçois le lac d'Averne, volcan éteint, dont les ondes inspiraient jadis la terreur; l'Achéron, le Phlégéton, qu'une flamme souterraine fait bouillonner, sont les fleuves de cet enfer visité par Énée … / La ville de Cumes, l'antre de Sibylle, le temple d'Apollon, étaient sur cette hauteur. Voici le bois où fut cueilli le rameau d'or. La terre de l'Énéide vous entoure, et les fictions consacrées par le génie sont devenues des souvenirs dont on cherche encore les traces. // Un Triton a plongé dans ces flots le Troyen téméraire qui osa défier les divinités de la mer par ses chants: ces rochers creux et sonores sont tels tel que Virgile les a décrits. L'imagination est fidèle, quand elle est toute-puissante. Le génie de l'homme est créateur, quand il sent la nature, imitateur, quand il croit l'inventer". ("A dead volcano now, I see thy lake / Avernus, with the fear-inspiring waves / Acheron, and Phlegeton boiling up / With subterranean flame: these are the streams / Of that old hell Aeneas visited. // … The town of Cuma and the Sibyl's cave. / The temple of Apollo mark'd this height; / Here is the wood where grew the bough of gold. / The country of the Aeneid is around; / The fables genius consecrated here / Are memories whose traces still we seek. // A Triton has beneath these billows plunged / The daring Trojan, who in song defied / The sea divinities: still are the rocks / Hollow and sounding, such as Virgil told. / Imagination's truth is from its power: / Man's genius can create when nature's felt; / He copies when he deems that he invents"). The slashes represent the line breaks in the printed text (/for a single break and // for a blank line).

is a visit to Tivoli, where they also pay honor to the Sibyl's temple.[60] The first part is characterized by conversations about literature, music, art, religion, history and national stereotypes, embellished with frequent ekphraseis of the marvels of ancient Rome and Italy. The developing romance between Oswald and Corinne connects the scenes as a guiding motif. Then, in the second part (chs 11-20), starting with the journey to Naples, the narrative covers Oswald and Corinne's trip to Venice, Oswald's return to Scotland, his relationship and finally his marriage with Corinne's half-sister Lucile, Corinne's undercover journey to England, Oswald and Lucile's trip through France and Northern Italy to Florence – where Corinne had settled after Oswald's departure – and finally their meeting up with Corinne, who has a part in the education of Oswald's and Lucile's child. In Corinne, who has fallen heavily ill, only a shadow of her former glory is left. After a reconciliation with her sister, her former lover and their child, Corinne dies. Oswald, who had chosen his duty instead of his passions, and Lucile return to Scotland and live on.

So we can distinguish a "sedentary" part in the first ten chapters, in which the visit to Tivoli is the most extensive trip, followed by a "nomadic" part in chapters 11 to 20. There is a movement from a rather static narration, characterised by conversation and manageable passions, within a relatively continuous backdrop, towards a dynamic narration of travel, love and betrayal, which ends in Corinne's death. The break, which occurs just before the middle of the book, has been noticed since the very first appearance of the novel. Besides the change of scene and transformation of character, Christopher Herold (1981, 375) adds the observation that there is an "intensification of tone", from a "novel of ideas" towards "an act of passion and revenge". According to this same division into two parts, Poulet distinguishes between the "passion" and the "après-passion", a division that also occurs in *Adolphe*, though in differing circumstances. *Corinne* describes the "après-passion" after a rupture, while *Adolphe* is about a progressive lack of love within a relationship.

The structure also inverts the composition of the *Aeneid*, in which six books of Aeneas' travels on the Mediterranean Sea are followed by six books of war in Italy. Corinne has the Italian books as its first part, while the traveling part begins with a stay in the surroundings of Naples: even if the inversion is not deliberate on the author's part (which can hardly be imagined), the *Aeneid* again provides a framework for the reader's interpretation.

[60] See n.36, above. In ch. 19.6 a portrait of Domenichino's Sibyl is visited and commented on by Oswald and his wife Lucile.

VIII

In both novels under discussion, we saw echoes of Virgil's *Aeneid* in the depiction of the relationships between the protagonists in several respects: for the male characters (Adolphe and Oswald), the choice between love and duty; for the female (Ellénore and Corinne), the reactions to the impending departure of their lovers. In both cases, Aeneas and Dido may have served as models. The novels also contain other shared themes, such as the ladies' prayers to be brought as slaves to a new home, their tears, their threat of death if the men leave, the hostility of their vicinity and the sacrifices they made for the men. The characters of *Adolphe* may be retraced on Virgil's example; the overall structure of *Corinne* also has some superficial similarities to the *Aeneid*, although its characters tend more to diverge from the model. On the other hand, in *Corinne*, there are many explicit references to Virgil as a poet and to his work. All in all, Virgil's *Aeneid* proves to be a very fruitful model for these somewhat sentimental, but still very convincing, pictures of impossible loves in the romantic era.

We must ask whether the Virgilian model is unique to the parallel novels here discussed. In modern studies about these two novels, the name of Virgil practically never occurs. Virgil, however, was one of the heroes of romantic painting since Napoleon opened up the realm of Italian art by his conquest of Italy[61]. While Homer was the preferred poet in neo-classicist times, a position which he maintains in Germany up to the present day, in Switzerland (Fuseli), France (David, Ingres, Guérin) and England (Wright, Reynolds, Turner), Virgil became the iconic author above all others.[62] The predominance of Virgil in figurative arts may very well be connected with his position in literature. After all, Virgil was a poet himself. We must remember that for artists from the Renaissance onwards, the relationships between different art forms was the object of a lively debate and theorizing, far more than it is today. Reflections of this debate may be seen in the text of *Corinne*:

[61] Brown (2012) 311.

[62] Fuseli: *Dido's death* (1781). David: *Aeneas fleeing from Troy* (1798); Ingres: *Virgil reading the Aeneid to the Emperor Augustus* (1812); Guérin: *Aeneas recounting the Misfortunes of Troy to Dido* (1817). Wright: *Virgil's tomb, with the Figure of Silius Italicus* (1779); Reynolds: *Dido's death* (1781); Turner: *Aeneas and the Sibyl, Lake Avernus* (1798), *Dido and Aeneas* (1814); *Dido building Carthage: or the Rise of the Carthaginian Empire* (1815). On Turner's paintings see now Hardie (2014) 206-07 (in the chapter 'Art and Landscape'). Literary penchants in the last decade of the 18th century may be mentioned: Goethe's friend Charlotte von Stein wrote a tragedy, *Dido*, in 1794; Schiller translated the second and fourth book of the *Aeneid* in 1792 (Hardie, 2014, 64).

music, poetry, literature and painting are treated in this voluminous work.[63] The recital of Corinne in Campania, near Cape Misenum, is in fact an ekphrasis, not so different from a painted scene like Turner's *Aeneas and the Sibyl, Lake Avernus* from 1798. The ekphrasis, situated in Tivoli, of Rehberg's painting of Dido is in turn a description of a painting based on Virgil's scene of Dido in the underworld. In other words, Virgil was all around, in figurative arts as well as literature (not to mention musical compositions).[64] This central position is also reflected in the veneration that he received from travellers: Virgil's grave was considered the ultimate goal of the Grand Tour. His *Eclogues* and *Georgics* served as a source of inspiration for rustic scenes;[65] his *Aeneid* was a point of departure for the depiction of the human heart.[66] In short, there is every reason to suppose that Virgil's central position in art also held for literature.[67]

Summing up, reading *Adolphe* and *Corinne*, or rather Adolphe and Ellénore and Corinne and Oswald, is reading about their creators Benjamin and Germaine in their guise

[63] A painting of Mme de Staël was posthumously commissioned from the painter Gérard, who portrayed Corinne in the guise of Mme de Staël with mount Vesuvius in the background. Belnap Jensen (2013) 254 comments on the painting: "In *Corinne at Cape Miseno*, Vesuvius is the centerpiece of a sublime landscape, and its dark emissions blend into ominous clouds that threaten the figures below. The charged atmosphere of the natural world mirrors the narrative tensions imbued in this scene from Staël's novel, wherein the inspired protagonist invokes the lineage of wronged women to which she belongs". See further on this portrait Sherrif (2013) 226.

[64] In 1790, Christopher Pitt had translated the *Aeneid* into English. Anne-Louis Girodet, who also illustrated Virgil, translated his work into French. In 1798, the publisher Pierre Didot released this illustrated Virgil in a luxury edition in Paris, for which he won a gold medal one year later (Patterson, 1988: 'The Didot Virgil: Representation of Counter-Revolution', 242-48). On Mme de Staël's preference for Virgil, see Selden 2006, 7-8.

[65] See Martindale (1997) (especially 118-23) for a discussion of the use of Virgil's *Eclogues* in pastoral descriptions in renaissance and later times; Liversidge (1997) for Virgil's presence in landscape painting.

[66] Brown (2012) 313, 317 and Saminadayar-Perrin (2000) 163, who quotes from the *Essai sur les fictions* (ed. Ramsay, 1979, 28) in which Mme de Staël proposes the idea of "une réécriture moderne de l'épopée virgilienne": "Lorsque Didon aime Énée … on regrette le talent qui aurait expliqué la naissance de cette passion par la seule peinture des mouvements du cœur". The essay is included in the edition of Bordas (2006, 231-78). Thus, Mme de Staël takes Virgil as a model to be surpassed when it comes to the descriptions of the movements of the human heart, where Virgil lacks imagination. See also Edwards (2012) 185 (and n.6).

[67] The notion of "imagination", which occurs in several of the quotes above (and 202 times in *Corinne*), is important for the conception of arts of any kind. It would lead us to far to go into the theory of "imagination", but for present purposes, it should be remarked that "imagination", or "active participation of the viewer (or artist)", encapsulates all kind of arts, and in a way unites them. Mme de Staël begins her *Essai sur les fictions* (1795) with the clause "Il n'est point de faculté plus précieuse à l'homme que son imagination" ("there is no faculty more precious to man than imagination")

of Aeneas and Dido. Both authors treat problematic loves, while using the relationship of Aeneas and Dido as model for their description, at least for some of the motifs from which the narration is constructed.[68] By taking the *Aeneid* as a model for their novels, they present themselves as the revived antique lovers, which corresponds to a poetic ideal of the romantic period, as expressed in *Corinne* in the scene of the visit to Virgil's grave.

Dido is, as is well known, an amalgam made out of narrations about Medea, Ariadne and possibly others. Similarly, attention to the use of Dido in the portraits of Ellénore and Corinne to my mind considerably enriches the reading of *Alphonse* and *Corinne*, whose reciprocity becomes clearer through the parallels which are based on the same model. Virgil's *Aeneid* serves as a sub-text which adds to the reader's interpretation, just as Virgil's *Aeneid* can never be fully understood without knowledge of Homer, or James Joyce's *Ulysses* can hardly be understood without Homer's *Odyssey*. This kind of sub-text is, in Gérard Genette's terminology, the "hypotext", which, as an integral part of the narration, directs the reader in his interpretations. Hypotext manifests itself in different ways in *Adolphe*, *Corinne* and *Ulysses*: the first of these lacks any explicit hint of the supposed model; the second only contains reminiscences of the model in scenes and quotations, while the reader is invited to interpret the last of these three, from the title onwards, as a new *Odyssey*.[69] As to the first two, what remains hidden for the modern reader under the surface of the text, may have been entirely clear-cut for the contemporary readership, at least for the extended groupe de Coppet.

So, for the two novels discussed, we may state that passions were described along Virgilian lines. Virgil's *Aeneid* is a point of departure for the narratives, pursued by the use of imagination - for author as well as reader. This conclusion may differ from the established view that romanticism moved away from classicism in its literary forms and ideas about men and human culture (see, similarly, Saunders *et al*, eds, 2012). This is, however, a problem that cannot be addressed only on the basis of the analysis of two related novels, although it is better not to exclude classical models beforehand, as Virgil, at least, was so clearly present in the imagination of romantic artists. But it remains to be seen if other novels of the period also fit this model.

[68] Note that Charlotte von Stein, being abandoned by her lover the famous Goethe, wrote an autobiographical novel titled *Dido* (1794).

[69] See the Penguin edition of *Ulysses*, introduced by D. Kiberd (London, 2008). Joyce's friend and literary scholar Stuart Gilbert made a scheme of - among other items - chapter titles, keyed to the Homeric passages to which scenes in *Ulysses* referred. The scheme, authorized by Joyce himself, was published in Gilbert's *James Joyce's Ulysses, A Study* (London, 1930).

Apart from what may have been the frame of reference for both of the authors, the reader's experience is paramount for the construction of the narration. When reading *Corinne*, I lost confidence in my reading hypothesis after Oswald and Corinne had visited Campania and Virgil's grave. In particular, Corinne's trip to Scotland, maybe already implausible in itself, seemed so un-Virgilian to me, that I thought for more than two hundred pages that I had lost Virgil, like Dante had to let him go when entering the Purgatorio. Oswald's departure with his wife and child to Italy, to be finally more or less reconciled with Corinne, had the same effect. Until, at the very end, as Corinne is about to die (20.5):

> "Elle s'assit, chercha des yeux à découvrir Oswald, l'aperçut, et, par un mouvement tout-à-fait involontaire, elle se leva, tendit les bras vers lui, mais retomba l'instant d'après, en détournant son visage comme Didon lorsqu'elle rencontre Énée dans un monde où les passions humaines ne doivent plus pénétrer".[70]

Finally, just before Corinne dies, the following scene is described (20.5), which shows clear parallels with Dido's death, who searches for the light and sighs before dying (*Aen*. 4.692: *quaesivit caelo lucem ingemuitque reperta*):[71]

> "Elle leva ses regards vers le ciel, et vit la lune qui se couvrait du même nuage qu'elle avait fait remarquer à lord Nelvil quand ils s'arrêtèrent sur le bord de la mer en allant à Naples. Alors elle le lui montra de sa main mourante, et son dernier soupir fit retomber cette main".[72]

What manifests itself here is the predictive force of the hidden model, and the power of postponement. When Virgil is not quite expected anymore, he reappears. At the same time, Mme de Staël gives us an interpretation of Virgil's underworld, as impervious to human passions – this is apparently what separates the human being from dead souls. The image Mme de Staël makes appear before the reader's eye - the meeting of Dido and Aeneas in the underworld - is crucial in the *Aeneid*. The Virgil Society's first president, T. S. Eliot, indicated it as the most convincing case for the "civilized"

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[70] "Seating herself, her eyes sought Oswald, found him, and involuntarily starting up, she spread her arms; but instantly fell back, turning away her face, like Dido when she met Eneas in a world which human passions should not penetrate".

[71] "She searched (with her eyes) for the light in the sky and sighed having found it". Precisely these words are cited by Mme de Staël in her *De l'influence des passions sur le bonheur des individus et des nations* (1796).

[72] "She raised her eyes to heaven; the moon was covered with just such a cloud as they had seen on their way to Naples. Corinne pointed to it with a dying hand — one sigh — and that hand sunk powerless".

epic that the *Aeneid* is. Dido's behavior meets the expectations of the unfaithful lover. It is that of a betrayed woman who acts like the unfaithful lover expects her to behave: rejecting him. This example of civilized intercourse, "maturity of manners" and "absence of provinciality", so remote from the anger of Homeric heroism, is part of what makes Virgil's *Aeneid* practically the only classic in history, "our classic, the classic of all Europe". For the romantic period, a good proof for this seems to be provided by the parallel novels of the utterly European authors Benjamin Constant and Germaine de Staël.

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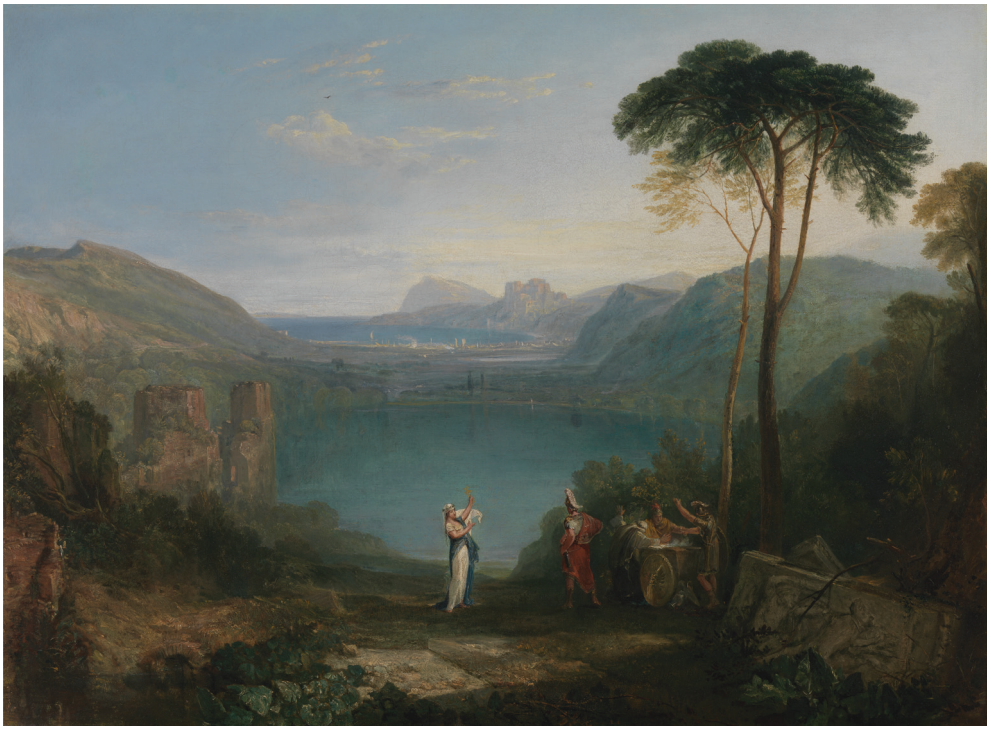

J.M.W. Turner, *Aeneas and the Sibyl, Lake Avernus* (1798).
Courtesy of Yale Centre for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

Dying in Purple: Life, Death, and Tyrian Dye in the *Aeneid*

Revised from a paper given to the Virgil Society on 26 January 2013[*]

Introduction[1]

Purple is the colour of empire: the colour for Rome's magistrates, its emperors, and its imperial achievements.[2] But to Rome's authors, it was also the colour that came to symbolise desire and luxury. For Cicero, the desire of men to wear the purple was a symbol of their overweening ambition (*e.g.* Caesar, *Div.* 1.119.4) or degeneracy (*e.g.* followers of Catiline, *Cat*. 2.5.10), and he included Tyrian purple among the gifts offered to the corrupt Verres (*Verr*. 2.5.146). For the elegiac poets the colour purple was a prominent feature in their works, used in reference to luxurious furnishings and personal attire (*e.g.* Propertius 3.14.27) as well as being offset with the colour white to symbolise the sexual awakening of young, blushing girls (*e.g.* Tibullus 3.4.29-30). For Virgil, purple was not just a colour of luxury (*e.g. Aen*. 1.639), sexual desire (*e.g. Aen*. 12.67), or representative of Rome's future ambitions (*e.g. Aen*. 5.205). Through the purple-dyed cloth worn by his protagonists, or prominent use of the adjective *purpureus*, the colour purple became an extension of life and death, reflective of the ability – and more often failure – of Virgil's youths, as well as those of Augustan Rome, to realise

[*] I would like to thank the members of the Virgil Society, Daniel Hadas, and Bé Breij for their helpful comments and feedback on earlier versions of this paper.

[1] Throughout this article I deliberately use the word "dying" as the participle and gerund of both "to dye" and "to die", with the intention of punning upon the ambiguity between the two. *The Oxford English Dictionary* (*s.v.* 'dye') lists "dyeing" as the correct form for "to dye", but notes that "the convenient distinction in spelling between *die* and *dye* is quite recent".

[2] Purple dye was used for example to colour the stripes on the togas of Rome's senators, the robes of the emperor, the garments of men of religious rank, and the clothes – twinned with gold – that were worn by the winners in a triumph. See for example Statius *Silv.* 3.2.139-40 (purple stripes) and Ovid *Tr.* 4.2.27 (triumph). On the use of purple as a status symbol in the Roman Republic and early empire, see especially Reinhold (1970) 37-61.

their potential: the youthful Octavian, whose success Virgil promises to honour with the "purple triumph" of his verses (*Ge*. 3.16-48), offset by the premature deaths in purple of Pallas (*Aen*.11.72-75), Camilla (*Aen*.11.818-19), and Augustus' nephew Marcellus, mourned with purple flowers at *Aen*. 6.884.

Despite the complexity of Rome's use of the purple, studies on colour in the *Aeneid* have been relatively few in number. Robert Edgeworth's *The Colors of the Aeneid* (1992) is the only published full-scale study of colour usage, although individual studies on the colour purple, particularly in reference to Virgil's descriptions of purple flowers (*e.g.* Brenk, 1986) are more numerous and few commentators (*e.g.* Hardie, 1994, on 9.435) have failed to observe that the adjective *purpureus* is often used by Virgil to reflect the vitality of youth. So too Oliver Lyne (1983) and Don Fowler (1987) have observed that the colour is synonymous with a character's life-blood, as well as a symbol of his or her sexual awareness or even symbolic "deflowering" in battle. Colour, then, and specifically the colour purple, clearly matter in the *Aeneid*. What is lacking in these studies, however, is an appreciation of how Virgil employs purple in a way that reflects the diversity of its usage throughout Roman literature and culture.

For "dying in purple" – both the dye production and Virgil's lost youths – was for Rome's authors often a case of dying in *Tyrian* purple, prompted by the association between this most sought-after purple dye and its main production centres in Tyre and Sidon.[3] The choice by Rome's authors to focus on the "Tyrian" or "Sidonian" aspect of dye-production is indicative of the association that they made between the purple dye and the supposedly decadent Tyrian city of Carthage, a city frequently viewed by Rome as its opposite number.[4] In Virgil, or amongst his predecessors and contemporaries, we find the purple terms *murex*, *ostrum*, and *purpura* all used in conjunction with the adjectives *Tyrius* and *Sidonius*,[5] most frequently in contexts that stress the luxurious nature of these Tyrian-dyed garments, but also in contexts where Tyrian purple is the symbol for Roman

[3] See for example Biggam (2006) 25-26.

[4] The tendency by Rome to view Carthage in this way was due largely to the ferocity of their military encounters during the three Punic wars, especially the Second, which Livy describes as the "most memorable war ever waged" (*bellum maxime omnium memorabile quae unquam gesta sint*, 21.1.1). The association between Carthage and dye production was not limited to Tyre: the Western Mediterranean also had a strong connection to Carthage, and "the origins of the industry are placed in the Phoenician colonies of southern Spain" (Lowe, 2004, 46).

[5] See, for example: Cic. *Flac*. 70.10 (*purpuram Tyriam*); Tibul. 2.4.28 (*Tyrio murice*); Hor. *Epist*. 1.10.26 (*Sidonio ostro*); and Virgil *Ge*. 3.17 (*Tyrio…ostro*).

success: in the triumph (*e.g.* Virgil, *Ge*. 3.17).[6] The association made by authors between Carthage, purple dye, and purple cloth is thus evident throughout Latin literature, and it is therefore difficult to think of purple as the colour for Rome, without also being reminded of its perceived Carthaginian pedigree.

In Virgil's *Aeneid* there is only one stated example of *Tyrian* purple (4.262), but the colour is blazoned throughout every area of Dido's Carthage in books 1 and 4, and the association continues to be felt in later books, where robes of purple and gold, gifts from Dido to Aeneas, feature as the burial shroud for the dead youth Pallas (11.72). Viewing purple in the *Aeneid*, then, is on one level about witnessing the tension created by a colour that represented both the epitome of Roman strength – its *imperium* – and its inherent (one might say "Carthaginian") weakness: a penchant for luxury and vice. Thus we see Aeneas, our proto-Roman whose task it is to secure Rome's future by wearing the purple *amictus* (3.405) risk upsetting Rome's future – and Virgil's plot – by wearing luxurious Tyrian purple and helping to found the walls of Carthage (4.260-64).

Purple Power: Rome's obsession with Tyrian purple

The colour purple came in many shades. Not just the dye, which could vary in tone from a reddish hue to the more popular (and expensive) Tyrian blue/black "purple", said to resemble clotted blood (Pliny *Nat*. 9.135),[7] but the variety of words used to describe it.[8] Among these colour terms four are prominent: *murex*, *ostrum*, *purpura*, and the adjective

[6] We see an increase in the number of references to *Tyrian* purple amongst Virgil's successors. This is particularly the case for the combination *Tyrium ostrum*, for which the earliest example in a literary text is Virg. *Ge.* 3.17. After this there are 7 further examples in literary texts: Ovid (*Her*. 12.179; *Met*. 10.211), Seneca the younger (*Thy*. 955; *Her. O*. 644), Statius (*Theb*. 6.62), and Silius Italicus (8.487; 15.25).

[7] *Laus ei summa in colore sanguinis concreti nigrans aspectu idemque suspectus refulgens.* ("It is considered at its best when it is the colour of clotted blood, black in appearance but also reflecting the light when lifted up", Pliny *Nat*. 9.135). All translations are my own.

[8] The varying quality of purple dye is something noted by Rome's authors. Horace for example speaks disparagingly of someone who is unable to tell the difference between dye from Aquinum and the (superior) Sidonian purple: *Non qui Sidonio contendere callidus ostro / nescit Aquinatem potantia vellera fucum / certius accipiet damnum propiusve medullis / quam qui non poterit vero distinguere falsum* (*Epist*. 1.10.26-29). The most expensive, Tyrian, purple dye appears to have been introduced to Rome comparatively late: in 63 BC P. Lentulus Spinther, a curile aedile, was allegedly the first Roman to use this particular dye on his *toga praetexta*: "a display of luxury which met with disapproval in Rome" (Reinhold, 1970, 43).

purpureus.[9] Providing a precise definition of exactly what shade of purple was meant by the ancients, or a clear distinction between the different uses of the purple words, has proven difficult to achieve.[10] Both *murex* and *purpura* can refer directly to the purple shellfish that produces the dye (*OLD s.v. murex* and *purpura*),[11] whilst all four words can refer to materials dyed purple as well as to the dye itself. It is not surprising, then, that the most common use of all four terms is in reference to clothing or furnishings (*e.g.* Hor. *Epist*. 2.2.181), a natural result of the colour's primary association with the purple dye and the cloth that it produced. These items dyed purple varied enormously and included the broadly-defined *vestis*, which could refer to clothing or furnishings (*OLD s.v. vestis*), the *amictus* (a cloak which often had religious and senatorial connotations),[12] and the *pallium*, "a characteristically Greek form of dress" (*OLD s.v. pallium* ii, 1b) which often had negative associations.[13]

What these garments dyed purple stood for in ideological terms, however, presents further complications, since they could be a status symbol for their wearer, representative of Rome and its *imperium*, but also a visual manifestation of an individual's greed or degeneracy. Disapproval of women wearing purple as a sign of excessive luxury, especially during times of economic hardship, is something we see in Cato (*Orig*. 7.8, 10) and was one of the underlying motives behind the introduction of the Oppian Law in 216 BC.[14] But there is a noticeable increase towards the end of the Republic in evidence of negativity towards men wearing purple, particularly in the works of Cicero. This shift may be unduly influenced by the increase in textual sources left to us from this period, especially with respect to the works of Cicero, but Reinhold (1970, 42-43) argues that there was also a strong motivation for this increased negativity: namely the rise of power-hungry individuals in the Roman state, whose ambition prompted men like Cicero to highlight

[9] Of these four "purple" words, *purpura* and the adjective *purpureus* appear the most frequently in fragmentary and extant literary texts. Among Virgil's predecessors and contemporaries for example we find references, among other authors, in Cato the Elder (*e.g. Orig*. 113.1), Ennius (*Ann*. 11.361 Skutsch), and Lucilius (*e.g. Sat. Frag*. 3.29 Charpin/3.132 Marx). Likewise these purple terms are used heavily by the playwright Plautus (14x), usually in reference to purple attire (*e.g. Men.* 121, *vestem purpuram*, and *Poen.* 304, *purpureo coturno* where there is a deliberate play upon the word *puniceus* to imply Tyrian purple).

[10] On this difficulty see for example Gipper (1964) esp. 57-59. Whilst often translated as "purple", these words can also refer to colours classed as "red". See for example Edgeworth (1992) 138, 215, 222 n.2.

[11] See n.20 below.

[12] See n.34 below.

[13] See n.15 below.

[14] See especially Reinhold (1970) 41.

pejorative associations between the colour purple, luxury, and Hellenistic kingship. Thus we see Cicero describe the followers of Catiline as men who are shining with ointment and gleaming in purple (*qui nitent unguentis fulgent purpura*),[15] and most damning of all, Julius Caesar: dressed like a king in a purple *amictus* and sitting on a golden throne (*Phil*. 2.85).[16]

Cicero's speeches highlight the negative gloss of purple when worn by an individual who seeks excessive power. Livy, on the other hand, provides an illustration of the positive use of purple as a status symbol. At 34.7 for example he describes the speech of the tribune L. Valerius who was in favour of repealing the Oppian law. Notable among his arguments is that it diminished the status of Roman woman in relation to those in the provinces who could, and did, wear the purple: *cum insignes eas esse auro et purpura, cum illas vehi per urbem, se pedibus sequi, tamquam in illarum civitatibus non in sua imperium sit*. Again it is not the act of wearing purple that matters so much as what that colour symbolises: here Rome's power and its authority – its *imperium*.

Purple, then, *is* the colour of empire, as well as the colour of luxury and vice, but there is one final feature of the colour worth emphasising, that is found predominantly among the elegiac and epic poets: namely the juxtaposition of purple (notably *purpura* / *purpureus*) with white.[17] Among these poets is Catullus, who highlights the juxtaposition in three out of four references to the colour purple in poem 64: the purple bedspread vs the ivory bed (48-49); Ariadne's imagining of the white soles of Theseus' feet vs the purple of his bedspread (162-63); and the depiction of the Fates, whose white skin is driven into sharp relief by the purple cloth of their robes: *His corpus tremulum complectens undique vestis / candida purpurea talos incinxerat ora* (307-08).[18] This juxtaposition, coupled with the reference to their bodies (*corpus*) is echoed in the close connection that many authors, including Ovid and Virgil, draw between purple cloth and the "white" or "shining" skin of

[15] Other references in Cicero that highlight purple as a colour associated with kingship include *Sest* 57 (purple as a symbol of royal authority) and *Sen.* 16.59 (purple robe of Cyrus the younger). Another of Cicero's prominent targets, Verres, is also subject to frequent criticism for his love of purple, *e.g. Verr*. 2.5.86, where Verres stands on the shore watching his fleet, dressed in a purple *pallium* and leaning on a prostitute: *stetit soleatus praetor populi Romani cum pallio purpureo tunicaque talari muliercula nixus in litore*. Heskel (2001, 134) notes that the *pallium* is "decidedly Greek" and employed by Cicero as a form of criticism against Verres.

[16] Cicero's negative portrayal of Caesar in purple will be somewhat reversed by later portrayals of Augustus as a "god-in-waiting", adorned with purple. See n.43 below.

[17] Thomson (1997) on Catul. 64.49 observes that "Red-white contrasts are especially popular with the Roman poets". On these red-white contrasts in Roman poetry, see especially André (1949) 324-26; Buchner (1970) 163-69; Rhorer (1980); Hinds (1987) 154; Quinn (1996) on Catul. 64.49; Jamset (2004) 100-01, who notes that this colour contrast is a characteristic feature of love elegy.

[18] The fourth usage refers to the purple light of the sunrise (275).

its wearer - an example of colour opposition that is then extended to the motif of the fallen youths of epic whose dying moments are characteristically described in terms of their purple blood flowing over their white skin (*e.g.* Pyramus, Ov. *Met*. 4.125-27; Euryalus, *Aen*. 9.434-37). For these authors purple cloth is more than a symbol of status or luxury: it acts as an extension of the self, matching the colour of the life-blood that pulses through – and over – its wearer.[19]

Dying for Purple: Tyrian dye production and the *Aeneid*

The emphasis placed by these poets on purple as both the colour of luxurious cloth and the blood of the dying finds a parallel in the origin of the purple dye. This dye production was a hugely costly process, due in no small part to the difficulty involved in extracting the dye from its source: the sea-molluscs known as the *purpura* and *murex*.[20] There appear to have been two main types of extraction: crushing hundreds of thousands of the smaller specimens whole to produce dye in sufficient quantities for use,[21] and removing the larger species from their shells before extracting the dye.

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[19] Pliny the Elder, when describing the resemblance of the purple dye to clotted blood (see n.7 above) says that it was for this reason that Homer referred to "purple blood": *unde et Homero purpureus dicitur sanguis* (*Nat*. 9.135). See, too, Brotier (1826) 1778 on *Homero*, who argues that Pliny is also thinking of Virgil's Rhoetus. See n.28 below.

[20] Scholars have identified three main species of shellfish that were used for producing purple dye in the ancient Mediterranean, of which the modern identification is: *murex trunculus*, *murex brandaris*, and *purpura haemastoma* (see Lowe, 2004, 46). Ancient Greek had several words for these shellfish: the most common appears to have been πορφύρα ("the purple"), but we also have μύαξ (Latin *murex*) and κῆρυξ ("trumpet shell"). Latin, however, has four: *murex* and *purpura*, as well as *bucinum* and *pelagia*. Pliny the Elder describes two kinds (9.129): the *bucinum*, which he says is smaller, and the *purpura*, which he describes as having a shell with rows of spines. Thompson (1947, 210) says that Pliny's *purpura* is "undoubtedly *M. brandaris*", whereas his *bucinum* "would seem to be our *Purpura haemastoma*", but then adds several pages later (217): "*Purpura* (*nomine alio pelagiae vocatur*) is defined (ib 130) by *cuniculatim procurrente rostro*, and is therefore *M. trunculus*, the true Tyrian shell; *bucinum* on the other hand, characterized *rotunditate oris in margine incisa*, is *M. brandaris*". Dalby (2003, 271) further muddies the waters: "*bucinum* is probably *Stramonita* [*i.e. Purpura*] *Haemastoma*; *murex* is *Murex Trunculus* ... *purpura* is usually applied to *Murex Brandaris*, the species used for dyeing in Laconia and at Tarentum". *OCD*[3] (*s.v.* "purple") offers some clarity, stating that *purpura* and *pelagia* (πορφύρα) refer to both *Murex Trunculus* and *Brandaris*, whilst *murex* and *bucinum* (κῆρυξ) refer "to the smaller and less precious *purpura haemostoma*". This position is affirmed by Forbes (1964, 118) and also Marzano (2013, 143 n.3). The general consensus amongst scholars is that the *murex trunculus* was used to produce the most expensive purple dye, produced at Tyre and Sidon.

[21] The ancient world took dye-production to an industrial scale via a vat-process which has proven difficult to reconstruct. On this process see especially Lowe (2004) 46-47, Biggam (2006) 25-27 and Veropoulidou, Andreou & Kotsakis (2008).

This extraction process is described in some detail by Aristotle, Vitruvius, and Pliny the Elder. Aristotle's description focuses on the "bloom" (τὸ ἄνθος, *Hist. an.* 547a7) of the purple fish, *i.e.* the coloured juice that was used to produce the dye that was situated in a white (λευκός, 547a17) vein in its throat.[22] Of particular note is Aristotle's comment that the dye should be extracted whilst the fish is still alive, or else it will "vomit" up the dye upon its death (Σπουδάζουσι δὲ ζώσας κόπτειν· ἐὰν γὰρ πρότερον ἀποθάνῃ, συνεξεμεῖ τὸ ἄνθος, 547a26-27). The importance of capturing a "live" purple fish, and the risk that it will "vomit" up the dye when it dies, are details also stressed by Pliny the Elder:

> *Sed purpurae florem illum tinguendis expetitum vestibus in mediis habent faucibus. Liquoris hic minimi est candida vena, unde pretiosus ille bibitur nigrantis rosae colore sublucens. Reliquum corpus sterile. Vivas capere contendunt, quia cum vita sucum eum evomunt.*
>
> ("But the purple fish have that 'bloom' [i.e. juice], so sought after for the purpose of dying cloth, in the middle of their throats. [This juice consists of] a miniscule drop contained in a white vein, from which that prized bloom, glimmering with the colour of rose verging on black, is drained. The rest of the body has none of it. Men struggle to capture the fish alive, since they vomit up the juice with their lives").
>
> *Nat.* 9.125-26

This, then, is dye-production that requires actual *dying*, with both Aristotle and Pliny describing the purple dye as a bodily fluid that appears to be equated with the fish's life-blood, since, if it is not extracted whilst the fish is still living, it will be coughed up *cum vita*. So too both Aristotle and Pliny, in their anatomical descriptions of these purple fish, refer to the dye-producing juice in terms of a flower (ἄνθος / *flos*), locating this "bloom" in the white vein of the fish's throat (λευκός / *candida*). Aristotle takes this "language of flowers" one step further, telling his readers that the ἄνθος is produced between the μηκῶν and the neck (Τὸ δ' ἄνθος ἔχουσιν ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς μήκωνος καὶ τοῦ τραχήλου, 547a15-16). Aristotle uses μηκῶν to refer to a part of the fish's anatomy, a "quasi-liver" (*LSJ s.v.* μηκῶν, II) probably situated below the "neck", but a far more common meaning of μηκῶν is poppy, so that it would be difficult for the reader not to be reminded of this "purple" flower when reading Aristotle's description.

[22] The purple pigment was produced from the mucus of the hyperbranchial glands of the *murex*/*purpura*, which when exposed to air and sunlight went through a process of colour change over time from yellow to green, blue, and eventually the purple which ranged in hue from blue-violet to red-purple (see Biggam, 2006, 25).

Vitruvius, a contemporary of Virgil, provides another (brief) account of purple dye production that stresses the life and death nature of this process. He does not refer to flowers or the removal of the "bloom" from a white vein, but he does describe the violent method of extraction in terms that appear almost human: *Ea conchylia, cum sunt lecta, ferramentis circa scinduntur, e quibus plagis purpurea sanies, uti lacrima profluens, excussa in mortariis terendo comparatur* ("these shells, when they have been collected, are all broken apart with iron tools, and from these wounds the purple gore, flowing out like tears, is forced out and collected into the mortars for grinding", 7.13.3).

For our natural historians the above are points of fact and anatomical observations, and their reference to the dye-producing juice as a flower is intended to stress both the lustre of the dye and that this dye is the "choice part" of the purple fish (*LSJ s.v.* ἄνθος, III and *OLD s.v. flos*, 9a). But their accounts of dye-production nevertheless contain details – notably the extraction of the dye from the white throat, the violence of this extraction, and the fish's act of vomiting up the "bloom" (juice) with its life – that find parallels in the deaths in battle of Virgil's ill-fated youths.

In the *Aeneid*, there are two youths in particular whose deaths *could* be viewed as a form of pseudo-dye extraction: Rhoetus and Euryalus, who are both killed in book 9. First Rhoetus, who is fatally wounded by Euryalus, is described as "vomiting forth" (*vomit*, 349) his "purple life" (*purpuream … animam*, *ibid*).[23] Then there is Euryalus, whose death is depicted in terms of his blood flowing over his white limbs: *candida pectora rumpit. /… pulchrosque per artus / it cruor … / purpureus veluti cum flos succisus aratro / languescit moriens*, 432-36). The death of Rhoetus is violent, but short. With the death of Euryalus, Virgil lingers over the details and includes a simile that compares Euryalus to a "purple flower" cut down by the plough.

The association between purple flowers and death in ancient texts, especially in the *Aeneid*, has drawn much scholarly attention.[24] Propertius, like Virgil and Ovid after him,[25] associates the purple flower with ill-fated youths, such as Hylas, the favourite of Hercules,

[23] There has been some controversy as to whether the right reading here is *purpuream*, to agree with *animam*, or *purpureum*, to be taken with *ensem* at 9.347. General consensus favours *purpuream*, and Henry (1889, *ad* 342-50) provides a detailed, and convincing, discussion to this effect.

[24] Heyne (1822) on 6.885 for example notes the parallel between blood and purple flowers "ut saepe diximus, propter sanguinis similitudinem". On purple flowers and death in the *Aeneid* see especially Edgeworth (1992) 26-29.

[25] See for example Ovid *Met.* 10.211, where Hyacinthus is changed into a flower described as "brighter" (*nitentior*) than "Tyrian purple" (*tyrio … ostro*). The use of colour by Ovid has received a great deal of study in recent years. See for example Rhorer (1980) and Barolsky (2003).

who immediately prior to his abduction is described as plucking the purple poppies (*purpureis ... papaveribus*, 1.20.38) like a child (*pueriliter*, 1.20.39): in effect picking the flowers for his own "funeral". In the *Aeneid* there are three references to "purple flowers" in addition to the simile comparing Euryalus to a *purpureus flos*: 5.79 (Aeneas lays purple flowers, *flores*, on the tomb of his father Anchises); 6.884 (purple flowers, *flos*, for Marcellus); 12.414 (the purple flower, *flos*, which Venus brings to save Aeneas). But we also have two notable references to flowers that are, according to our Latin authors, purple: again Euryalus, who in lines 9.436-37 is also compared to a poppy (*lassove papavera collo / demisere caput pluvia cum forte gravantur*), and Pallas, who is compared to a "soft violet" and "drooping hyacinth": *qualem virgineo demessum pollice florem / seu mollis violae seu languentis hyacinthi* (11.68-69).

Together with Marcellus, whose premature death is mourned with purple flowers,[26] Euryalus and Pallas stand as examples of Virgil's ill-fated youths, whose comparison to purple flowers not only affirms that they have been "cut down" in the prime of life and the beauty of youth,[27] but serves as a reminder of what the colour purple represents: purple death (blood), but also the radiance of the purple dye, described by our natural historians as the "bloom" (ἄνθος/*flos*) or "choice part" of the purple-fish.

When we examine the fallen youths of Virgil's *Aeneid*, then, we need not see a direct allusion to Aristotle or Vitruvius, just as by association we need not presume that Pliny's account of the purple fish "vomiting up" its *flos* together with its *vita*, written some 100 years after the *Aeneid*, alludes to Virgil's Rhoetus (9.349).[28] But what all these texts do demonstrate is a shared language with regard to the colour, which confirms that producing the purple – be it purple dye or purple blood – is a costly, life and death, affair.

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[26] Fletcher (1941) on 6.882-83: "Marcellus – the youth whose early death Rome in Virgil's day was still mourning". On Marcellus and the purple flowers see especially Brenk (1986).

[27] See Heyne (1822) on why the hyacinth is an appropriate flower to represent lost youth (141 on 11.69): "quia Hyacinthus puer fuit".

[28] There is some justification, however, for believing that Pliny may have had Virgil's passage on Rhoetus' death in mind (see n.19 above). So too, La Cerda (1617), on *purpuream vomit ille animam*, is also reminded of Pliny's discussion of the *purpura* in Virgil's description of Rhoetus' death and cites Pliny's subsequent description of the purple dye resembling blood (9.135). Gipper (1964) 45-46 contemplates the possibility of πορφύρεος θάνατος in the *Iliad* ("purple death", *e.g.* 5.83) alluding indirectly to the death of the purple shell-fish, although he dismisses this as implausible, since he finds it hard to believe that the dye-production process was that well-known ("es ist kaum anzunehmen, daß ein so spezieller Vorgang in der Purpurherstellung allgemein bekannt und somit fähig war, die Geltung des Wortinhaltes zu bestimmen"). Kirk (1990) on *Il.* 5.82-83 notes that all three instances of "purple death over the eyes" in the *Iliad* (5.83; 16.333-34; 20.476-77) are "associated with blood".

The parallel that can be drawn between the dye-production process and the deaths of Virgil's youths confirms the complexity involved in interpreting what the colour purple meant to Rome. This is a complexity further acknowledged by Pliny, who finds himself in something of a quandary: desirous of describing the production of purple to impart knowledge to his readers, but simultaneously finding it distasteful to describe in detail such a luxurious commodity.[29] Thus Pliny shows himself to be aware of the tension[30] created by the two-fold nature of purple, as he recognises its importance to Rome's sense of self (*i.e.* its *romanitas*) by virtue of it being the traditional marker of honour, but also describes Rome's madness (*purpurae ... insania, Nat*. 9.127) for it, a reminder that lust for the purple, that is imperial power, became a motivation for civil war. It is apt, then, that the deaths of Rhoetus and Euryalus – our "purple fish" – should occur in the most *civil* book of Virgil's *Aeneid*, book 9, which explores residual civil-war tension in Augustan Rome via the conflict between the Italians and Trojans, our proto-Romans.[31] Thus both Virgil's Rhoetus, vomiting up his life-blood, and Euryalus, cut down like a poppy in the field, are not just fallen youths in battle, but a reminder of the cost of Rome's lust for the purple at every level: from the expensive dye-production process that involves *actual* dying, to those who fight and fall for "purple power", men like Catiline and Caesar. Like the dye-producing *murex* and *purpura*, then, Euryalus and Rhoetus are vomiting up the colour of Rome's empire; dying for the purple.

Wearing the Purple: Clothing and the *Aeneid*

This cost of empire, "purple power", as well as the inherent tension in a colour that represented both luxury and honour for Rome, is also evident in the purple attire worn by many of Virgil's protagonists. Purple dye, of course, produces purple cloth, and Virgil's *Aeneid* conforms to our expectations by having the majority of its purple terms refer to clothing, cloth, or accoutrements and trappings: 2 out of 3 examples for *murex* (4.262; 9.614); 11 out of 12 examples for *ostrum* (1.639, 700; 4.134; 5.111, 133; 7.277, 814; 10.722; 11.72; 12.126); 2 out of 2 examples for *purpura* (5.251; 7.251); and 8 out of 15 examples for *purpureus* (1.337; 3.405; 4.139; 6.221; 7.251; 9.163; 10.722; 12.602).[32]

[29] See Lao (2011) 43.

[30] See Murphy (2004, 96), who notes that purple (and gold) were "traditional markers of honour among the Romans", thus Pliny (96-97) "allows such luxuries a legitimate place in society ... But when diverted from these traditional and legitimate uses, this same purple stands as a supreme example of useless luxury ... In political terms, if luxurious display is sometimes the prerogative of the good, it is a privilege more often usurped by the bad".

[31] See for example Hardie (1994) 14-18 and Stocks (2012) 138.

[32] Virgil also employs the adjective *puniceus* (or *poeniceus*) for a type of purple, although this is often defined as more of a scarlet red (*OLD s.v. puniceus*). This word also has obvious links to Carthage.

This purple clothing, then, is clearly significant, and it is worth noting that even the reference to purple light in the underworld at *Aen.* 6.641 is described as "clothing" (*vestit*) the Lands of the Blessed, so becoming a virtual shroud for heroes in Elysium, who in life would most probably have worn purple on the battle-field or been honoured with a purple cloak at their burial.[33]

Bender (2001, 147) discusses the symbolism of clothing in Virgil's epic and notes that: "*Vestis* ... does seem to have thematic significance when it is modified by adjectives which relate to color, dimension, or condition". Thus we can see significance in the purple-coloured cloaks worn by Virgil's warriors on the battle-field (*e.g.* Camilla, 7.814-15), which Horsfall (1999, *ad* 7.815) notes would have "carried marked antiquarian resonances at Rome". Also of note is Helenus' command to Aeneas that, when fulfilling his religious vows, he should wear a purple *amictus* (*purpureo velare comas adopertus amictu*, 3.405), a garment that had particularly strong religious connotations.[34] The use of this *amictus*, coupled with the fact that Aeneas and his descendants must continue this practice of sacrifice (*hac casti maneant in religione nepotes*, 3.409), is surely a reminder of Virgil's own day, and the *princeps* Augustus, who was keen to cultivate an image of himself as a priest.[35] The *amictus* is used elsewhere in the *Aeneid* as a garment with religious and sacrificial significance, such as in the burial of Pallas (11.77),[36] and it is also worn by the god Tiber (8.33),[37] but neither of these examples involves a purple *amictus*. Edgeworth (1992, 190 n.125) would have us believe that a sacrificial veil in purple, as opposed to white, is unheard of. This may be true with respect to the *Aeneid* – there are no other scenes of sacrifice involving a purple *amictus* – but a more extensive survey suggests that Virgil has deliberately chosen a garment that

[33] Honouring the dead with a purple cloak is a feature of the *Aeneid* (11.72-5, burial of Pallas; see below), and epic thereafter, *e.g.* Silius Italicus' *Punica* 10.569-70 (death of Paulus), but prior to the composition of Virgil's epic, it appears to have been a rare occurrence (see n.64). See also *Aen.* 1.590-91, where Venus bathes Aeneas in the "purple light" of youth, the first instance in the *Aeneid* of the "heroic colour triad" of gold, silver/white, purple/red (Edgeworth, 1992, 48-49, 151). Some scholars argue that in these examples of "purple light", *purpureus* should not be viewed as a word for colour, but should instead be translated as "lustrous" or "dazzling". See for example Austin (1977) on 6.641. Heyne (1822) 144 *ad* 1.591 however believes that both interpretations are possible: "non modo color, sed nitor". On the question of whether or not *purpureus* means simply "bright", see especially Edgeworth (1992) 215-26.

[34] See for example La Cerda (1613) on 3.405, *velare comas adopertus*.

[35] See for example Fantham (2008) 162 and Kleiner (1992) 93, who notes the parallels between the depiction of Augustus and Aeneas in priestly garb on the *Ara Pacis*: "A scene of Aeneas making a sacrifice to the *penates* or household gods is depicted on the panel on the southwest side ... Aeneas is depicted in roughly the same position as Augustus in the south frieze".

[36] See n.63 below.

[37] See n.45 below.

affirms Aeneas' status as a proto-Roman, as well as a priestly proto-Augustus. Whilst most commentators remain silent regarding the potential problem of using a purple-coloured *amictus* within a sacrificial context,[38] two scholars, separated by four centuries, do pass comment. First La Cerda (1613, *ad loc.*) cites Varro's observation that the *amictus* can have a purple band around it (Varro *L. Lat.* 5.132: *amictui dictum quod ambiectum est, id est circumiectum, a quo etiam quo vestitas se involuunt, circumiectui appellant, et quod amictui habet purpuram circum, vocant circumtextum*), and so concludes "itaque ex natura & forma amictus fuit esse purpureum". Next Horsfall (2006, *ad* 3.405), who also cites Varro, goes one step further and identifies this *amictus*, by virtue of its colour and sacrificial context, as a (proto-) *toga praetexta*: "the colour refers above all to the purple band of the priestly *toga praetexta*".[39] His statement is convincing. Not only was the *toga praetexta* a garment worn by Rome's magistrates,[40] so illustrating Aeneas' position here as a proto-Roman statesman, but its status as a garment that also could be used in a sacrificial context is corroborated by Livy, who provides just such an example of its usage when he recounts the self-sacrifice (*devotio*) of the consul Decius in battle in 304 BC. Decius is instructed by a priest to don the *toga praetexta* and to cover his head (*pontifex eum togam praetextam sumere iussit et velato capite* … 8.9.4),[41] as Aeneas is instructed to do here.

This will not, however, be the only occasion that Aeneas will wear purple. In the only explicit example of "Tyrian" purple in the *Aeneid*, Virgil depicts Aeneas wearing Carthaginian clothes whilst he is helping to build the walls of Dido's city:

> *Aenean fundantem arces ac tecta novantem*
> *conspicit. Atque illi stellatus iaspide fulua*
> *ensis erat Tyrioque ardebat murice laena*
> *demissa ex umeris, dives quae munera Dido*
> *fecerat, et tenui telas discreverat auro.*

[38] See for example Conington (1872) *ad loc.* and Williams (1962) *ad loc.*

[39] Varro's comments on the *amictus* are positioned within his wider discussion on Roman clothing. He makes no reference to the *amictus* having religious significance, but instead focuses on its function as a garment that is wrapped around its wearer. Varro refers to the purple-bordered *amictus* as a *circumtextum*. Helen's robe at *Aen.* 1.649 also has a coloured border (*circumtextum croceo velamen acantho*) – yellow in this instance, although Connington (1872) *ad loc.* notes that "the more ordinary colour of the 'acanthus' was white, but later poets (Calp. 4.68, Stat. 3 *Silv*.1.37, quoted by Heyne) speak of it as red or purple". Daremberg & Saglio (*s.v. amictus*) note that *amictus* is a type of covering "tel que le toga et toutes les espèces de manteaux" and in turn (*s.v. velamen*) that the toga was used as a *velamen* in Roman rituals.

[40] See for example Edmondson (2008) 25.

[41] On the act of *devotio*, see especially Oakley (1998) 477-86.

("[Mercury] saw Aeneas founding towers and renovating houses.
And his sword was starred with yellow jasper,
and the cloak that hung from his shoulders burned
with Tyrian purple, a gift that wealthy Dido
had made, and had interwoven the threads with fine gold").
(Aen. 4.260-64)

Mercury's timely arrival, at the point where Aeneas is wearing specifically named "Tyrian" garb, highlights the importance of clothing as a marker of identity – that is as an extension of the self. For Mercury's words are not just a warning that it is time for Aeneas to move on, but a warning that he is in danger of becoming a Carthaginian – or rather that he is in danger of forsaking Rome's purple *imperium* by embracing the negative attributes of luxury and degeneracy that such overtly *Tyrian* purple inspires.[42]

That our attention should be drawn to the purple cloak is stressed by the focus in this scene on the visual: the purple *burns* bright on Aeneas' shoulders (*ardebat*), just as the sword at his side is starred (*stellatus*) with yellow jasper. His clothing makes him a symbol of the cosmos and hints at the future Augustus, at the battle of Actium in book 8 (680-81), who will himself be a visual symbol on Aeneas' shield, depicted with head aflame and his father's star shining upon him: *hinc Augustus … Caesar / … tempora flammas / laeta vomunt patriumque aperitur vertice sidus* (*Aen*. 8.678, 680-81). The parity with Augustus here is suggestive rather than conclusive – the verbal parallels after all are not direct – but it is tempting to draw it out.[43] Not only would such a parallel highlight the figure of imperialism that Aeneas ought to represent – a future *princeps*, not a prince of Carthage – but it would draw attention to what Aeneas ought to be wearing on his shoulders, not just the purple *amictus* referred to in book 3, but that symbol of the cosmos, his shield, which he will in fact lift up onto his shoulders at the end of book 8 (*talia per clipeum Volcani, dona parentis, / miratur rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet / attollens umero famamque et fata nepotum*, 8.729-31).[44]

[42] See Austin (1955) on 4.260, who describes him as "a Tyrian Aeneas, dressed out in magnificence by Dido, not a grave and sober man of destiny", and Kraggerud (1968) 41.
[43] The star of his "father" Julius Caesar is a mark of the divine favour that Aeneas enjoys and a hint of his own future divinity. Horace takes Rome's use of purple to new heights when referring to Augustus' "purple lips" (*purpureo… ore*, *C*. 3.3.12). Augustus' purple lips may suggest "the vitality of a new god" (Nisbet and Rudd, 2004, *ad loc*), but the future tense of *bibet* implies that Augustus is here too a god-in-waiting, suggesting that he has learnt from the mistakes of his adopted father Caesar, whom Cicero describes as wearing purple and sitting on a gold throne (e.g. *Div*.1.119.4; 2.37.10).
[44] On the shield as a "cosmic icon", see especially Hardie (1986) 336-76.

Aeneas' failure to wear the right type of purple in book 4 will be corrected should he continue to uphold Helenus' call that he, his comrades, and his descendants wear a purple *amictus* (i.e. the *toga praetexta*) during sacrifices.[45] But if Aeneas' wearing of the purple *amictus* is meant as a positive reflection of Augustanism, Virgil appears to undercut this image with the only other reference to a purple *amictus* in his works, that of the Latin queen, Amata:

> *Multaque per maestum demens effata furorem*
> *purpureos moritura manu discindit amictus.*
>
> ("Out of her mind through raging grief she uttered many things,
> and, intending to die, she ripped apart the purple robes with her hand").
>
> (Aen. 12.601-02)

Aeneas is meant to don his purple robe, whereas Amata rips hers to shreds. Her ripping of the purple *amictus* is thus symbolic of her desire to destabilise the future of Rome that Aeneas' purple *amictus* – that is his *toga praetexta* – represents.[46] So too, her *demens* state, which implies a continuation of her earlier Bacchic frenzy (*Aen.* 7.385-405) as well as her determination to die (*moritura*), reminds us of Dido and her inability to derail Aeneas' march towards *imperium*.[47] Thus, though Amata's purple *amictus* undeniably makes us think of Aeneas and the future that his *amictus* represents, without the context of a pious sacrifice and allusion to the future Rome, there is no reason to look upon this purple *amictus* as a prototype for the *toga praetexta*. Rather Amata's purple robe stands in contrast to that of Aeneas: a symbol of her regal status[48] and a reminder of the negative aspects of purple attire, when worn in excess (*e.g.* Caesar's purple *amictus*, *Phil.* 2.85; see above).

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[45] As we have seen, Aeneas is not described as wearing a purple *amictus* at any other point in the *Aeneid*. The continued importance of the *amictus* as a symbol for Rome is, however, suggested by one of its wearers: the god Tiber (*glauco amictu*, 8.33) who "personifies the landscape of the Rome of the future" (Bender, 2001, 149). Aeneas also covers the head of the dead Pallas with an *amictus*, as well as clothing him in a robe of Carthaginian purple. See below.

[46] At 12.67 Amata states that she will not live as a "captive" to see Aeneas as her son-in-law: *nec generum Aenean captiva videbo*.

[47] Tarrant (2012) on 12.600 notes that Amata's "self-description as *causa* and *caput malorum* makes her nearly an embodiment of her city, called *causa* and *caput belli* by A., 567, 572". The concept of Amata as a (self-styled) symbol for her city, as Aeneas is a symbol for the future Rome, provides a further tie between the Italian and Trojan and highlights the failure of the former to establish her preferred future for her city.

[48] La Cerda (1617) on 12.602, *discindit amictus*, believes that Amata's purple *amictus* can be thought of as a sort of diadem ("quin prope est, ut credam intelligi per amictum ipsum diadema") which, he argues, ties her to the wife of Mithradates in Plutarch's life of Lucullus as well as to Sophocles' Antigone.

Tyrian Purple: Love, Luxury, and Ambition

The purple *amictus* may hint at Rome's future under Augustus, but our first sight of purple in Virgil's epic occurs in Carthage, reminding us of the colour's Tyrian associations. Dido's halls (1.637-42), her horse (4.134),[49] and Dido herself (4.139) are all adorned with purple and gold, creating a luxurious environment reminiscent of the world of love elegy, as well as reminding us of the colour's royal associations.

The elegiac tone that suffuses the "Carthaginian" books (1 and 4) of the *Aeneid*, through the love affair of Aeneas and Dido,[50] seems to be evoked by the first scene involving purple (*purpureus*) in the poem: the appearance of Venus. Her arrival is in keeping with both an elegiac and epic world, as she appears in the guise of a virgin huntress (1.315-20, 336), foreshadowing the later appearance in battle of the virgin warrior Camilla.[51] In this guise, she informs Aeneas that Carthaginian girls wear purple boots (*purpureoque ... cothurno*, 1.337) – presumably she is sporting a pair herself. Despite her appearance as a virgin huntress, these boots are buskins (*cothurnus*), the same as worn by tragic actors on the stage, hinting at the "tragedy" soon to be enacted between Aeneas and Dido.[52] So too the scene is charged with eroticism,[53] hinting at the purple scenes of "defloweration" of our dying youths in battle – including that of Camilla – which are yet to come.[54] That we should think of the impending "purple deaths" of our virgin youths is suggested by Venus herself, who comments that it is specifically the custom of Tyrian *virgins* (*virginibus Tyriis*, 1.336) to wear these purple boots.

The image of Tyrian purple conjured by Venus' meeting with Aeneas, where purple is the colour that represents virginity, but that also carries tragic and elegiac tones, is further developed when Aeneas enters the decadent environment of Dido's halls. Here her palace is not only luxuriously furnished in purple and gold, but this purple is described as "arrogant" or "proud" (*ostroque superbo*, 1.639), a motif that is picked up later when we see the Trojan leaders arrayed proudly in purple as they prepare for battle: *ductores auro*

[49] See also *Aen*. 7.277, where the horses offered by Latinus to the Trojans are wearing purple and gold, further evidence that purple (and gold) trappings in the *Aeneid* are not limited to Carthage.
[50] The poet Ovid, in exile, was the first to accuse Virgil of turning epic into elegy, complaining to Augustus in the *Tristia* that: *et tamen ille tuae felix Aeneidos auctor / contulit in Tyrios arma virumque toros* (2.533-34). See Kennedy (2012) 199.
[51] See below.
[52] See Moles (1987) 153: "[Venus'] prologue-like recital of Dido's past (a bloody family feud suggesting Cleopatra and the Ptolemies) and her wearing of the buskin introduce a Tragedy".
[53] See for example Reckford (1996).
[54] On the "defloweration" (and eroticism) of youths in battle see especially Fowler (1987) and Jamset (2004), esp. 101: "*niveus* and *purpureus* are used to eroticize the young victims of war".

volitant ostroque superbi (12.126). In the books which follow Aeneas' stay in Carthage, this pride in wearing the purple finds further expression in episodes such as the funeral games of Anchises in book 5, which remind us of the danger in competing for the purple, particularly in the ships' contest, which subtly foreshadow the civil strife that awaits the future Rome.

Funeral games in epic have often been cited as a practice-ground for war,[55] but by their nature they usually involve participants from the same race (here Trojans), so that they are also pseudo-civil conflicts. Thus the captains of the sea-race stand arrayed as though for battle, shining (*effulgent*) in purple and gold (*auro /… ostro*, 5.132-33). This hint of civil strife – or rather competition for the purple (purple garments are among the prizes for the competitors: *ostro / perfusae vestes*, 5.111-12) – is reinforced when the captain Sergestus wrecks his ship on a ridge of rock referred to as a *murex* (5.205). Muse (2007, 593) notes that Sergestus' "mishap" has often been viewed as an allusion to the failure of the Catiline conspiracy. He argues that Virgil's use of a word normally reserved for the purple-shell fish is designed to recall the purple dye and so alludes to the damaging quest for purple amongst Rome's elite at the end of the Republic: "we might say that Catiline wrecked his career on his lust for purple".

Further negative associations with the colour purple, specifically *murex*, occur in book 9, when the native Italian Numanus accuses the Trojans of wearing clothes dyed with saffron and purple: *vobis picta croco et fulgenti murice vestis* (9.614). Numanus makes no mention of the word Tyrian, but the choice of *murex* encourages the reader to recall the only two other examples of *murex* in the *Aeneid*: Aeneas' wearing of Tyrian *murex* in Carthage (4.262) and the allusion to civil conflict evoked by Sergestus' wrecking of his ship on the *murex* (5.205). For Numanus, his insult extends only as far as his desire to portray the Trojans as effeminate, by casting them in the role of the decadent eastern barbarian.[56] He sees purple-*murex* as a threat to a man's virility, yet this verbal recall of the earlier scenes in Carthage and Sicily reminds the reader that it is also a potential threat to a man's *romanitas* (Aeneas) as well as being potentially destabilising for the future Rome (Sergestus).[57]

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[55] See for example Lovatt (2005) esp. 1-8.

[56] See Hardie (1994) on 614-20. Criticism of luxurious dress is a standard feature in Roman invective (*e.g.* Cic. *Cat.* 2.5).

[57] A further hint of civil strife is supplied by Numanus' family pedigree, since he has the *cognomen* "Remulus" (6.593), a reminder of the fraternal conflict between Romulus and Remus. See Hardie (1994) on 9.592-93. Numanus' insult is apt, but he ignores the fact that the Rutulians, as well as the Trojans, are dressed in purple and gold: *ast illos centeni quemque sequuntur / purpurei cristis iuvenes auroque corusci* (9.163).

Dying in Purple: The Death of Virgil's virgins

Virgil's *Aeneid*, then, displays the full spectrum of Rome's purple usage: from its association with luxury (*e.g.* Carthage, 1.637-42), priestly *imperium* (*e.g.* Aeneas, 3.405), and lust for power (*e.g.* Sergestus, 5.205), to the purple dye and the blood of those *dying*: *e.g.* Rhoetus (9.349) and Euryalus (9.432-36). These fallen youths, whose deaths represent the cost of empire, are the climax to Virgil's exploration of purple, Virgil's virgins, who include not only Euryalus and Pallas, but the virgin warrior Camilla.

Camilla first appears at 7.814, in a guise reminiscent of both Dido and Venus (1.336-37) as she moves about resplendent in purple and gold:[58]

attonitis inhians animis ut regius ostro
velet honos levis umeros, ut fibula crinem
auro internectat, Lyciam ut gerat ipsa pharetram
et pastoralem praefixa cuspide myrtum.

("With their souls astounded they gape at how regal glory in purple
veils her soft shoulders, at how the clasp binds together her hair
with gold, at how she herself carries the Lycian quiver
and the pastoral myrtle tipped with a blade").

(Aen. 7.814-17)

Camilla's purple becomes an extension of herself: covering her shoulders as a glowing symbol of her life, whilst the people gape at her open-mouthed (*inhians*), their own breath/life stupefied (*attonitis animis*) at the sight. This is purple that implies the regality of its wearer (*regius ostro /…honos*, 7.814-15), and coupled with the gold clasps in her hair, it strongly echoes Dido when she emerges from her palace in Carthage:

sidoniam picto chlamydem circumdata limbo;
cui pharetra ex auro, crines nodantur in aurum,
aurea purpuream subnectit fibula uestem.

("She was clothed all round in a Sidonian robe with embroidered hem;
Her quiver was made of gold, her hair was tied into a knot in gold,
and a golden clasp fastened her purple clothes").

(Aen. 4.137-39)

[58] *Tum Venus: 'Haud equidem tali me dignor honore; / virginibus Tyriis mos est gestare pharetram, / purpureoque alte suras vincire cothurno'* (1.335-37). Horsfall (1999) on 7.812 describes Camilla's arrival as "an heroic recasting of the *aduentus* of a great republican magnate".

The parallel with Dido is ominous: Camilla is a virgin huntress, dressed in a manner that evokes memories not only of Dido here but also of Venus in book 1, an association which adds an erotic charge to these scenes from books 4 and 7. So too the appearance of Dido and Camilla in purple occurs before a pseudo-loss of virginity: Dido, who had sworn to remain celibate following the death of her husband (4.20-29), will shortly succumb to Aeneas' charms (with the aid of Juno and Venus, 4.90-128); Camilla's death will be styled as a form of defloweration.[59] Thus purple is a symbol for the status of these women, but also a reminder of the lives – and the life-blood – that is soon to be lost. For when Camilla dies, her purple life flows out of her as the colour leaves her face: *purpureus quondam color ora reliquit* (11.819).[60]

That we should read Virgil's purple in this way – *i.e.* as the colour of purple dye, purple life, and purple death – is highlighted by one of the final examples of purple usage: Lavinia's blush at 12.67, one of the most discussed purple-scenes in the *Aeneid*.[61]

The blush reflects Lavinia's sexual awaking, but it also symbolises the association between one's life-blood and the purple dye. This association works on several levels: overtly through the simile which compares her blush to ivory stained with blood-like purple (*sanguineo … ostro*, 12.67), but also through the recollection of the Homeric simile of Menelaus' wound, compared to a woman staining ivory with scarlet (*Il.* 4.141-47). Lavinia's scene focuses on the dying of an object (ivory) but the life and death motif could

[59] See for example Jamset (2004) esp. 96-98.

[60] There is no reference to purple in Dido's death scene, but there is a macabre echo of the purple-dye production process. For when Dido, that great wearer of Tyrian purple, dies, her sister Anna attempts to stem the flow of blood with her dress, in other words literally dying the cloth with a Tyrian's (purple) blood: *atque atros siccabat veste cruores* (4.687). The verb used by Virgil here is *sicco*, which refers to the draining or drying up of liquid (*OLD s.v.*). There is only one other example of the verb in the *Aeneid*, in reference to Mezentius, who staunches his wound with waters from the Tiber (*Interea genitor Tiberini ad fluminis undam / vulnera siccabat lymphis corpusque levabat / arboris acclinis trunco*. 10.833-35), and there is a further verbal parallel between the two scenes: *vulnera lymphis / abluam* (4.683-84) vs *vulnera siccabat lymphis* (10.834). Mezentius is not dying here, but his son Lausus has just died at the hands of Aeneas, his (purple) blood filling the fold of the tunic made for him by his mother (10.818-19; compare *sinum* [10.819] with *sinu* [4.686]). Mezentius is still unaware of his son's death, but Virgil's audience is not, and that it should view Mezentius as a father who has suffered familial loss in this scene is suggested by the word *genitor* ("the father", 833). In a similar way, the familial bond is stressed in Dido's death scene (*germana*, 4.675; *germanam*, 4.686). Hardie (1986, 267, n.91) says that the Mezentius scene may be intended to make us think of Polyphemus (a model for Mezentius in the *Aeneid*), who, after the loss of his eye, bathes the empty socket in the sea: "does an awareness of the Polypheman model make the fact of [Mezentius'] loss more poignant for us?" I would suggest that the verbal parallels with Dido's death-scene also may be intended to make us think of personal loss.

[61] See for example Todd (1980), Lyne (1983), and Dyson (1999).

not be clearer. This is *sanguineum ostrum* and the verb for dying (staining) is a verb suitable for *dying* (being killed): *Indum sanguineo veluti violaverit ostro / si quis ebur, aut mixta rubent ubi lilia multa / alba rosa, talis virgo dabat ore colores.*[62] Thus, though Lavinia lives, her blush is a reminder of the youths who have already fallen and who, like ivory stained with dye, in dying stained their white skin purple.

The Cost of Purple: Augustan Success and Lost Youth

There is one more fallen youth worth discussing, whose death is marked with purple: Pallas. When Pallas has been killed, Aeneas drapes a cloak made by Dido of purple and gold over his body, which serves as a reflection of the dead youth:

Tum geminas vestis auroque ostroque rigentis
extulit Aeneas, quas illi laeta laborum
ipsa suis quondam manibus Sidonia Dido
fecerat et tenui telas discreverat auro.

("Then Aeneas brought out two robes, rigid with gold and purple,
which Sidonian Dido, happy in in her task,
in a previous time, with her own hands, herself
had made for him, and had interwoven the threads with fine gold").
(Aen. 11.72-75)

Pallas' burial in this purple garment is striking: Aeneas, the proto-Roman, is honouring a native Italian with a Carthaginian garment, with the words *tenui telas discreverat auro* (75) providing a pointed echo of Aeneas in purple in Carthage (4.264). This mix of Carthaginian and proto-Roman is also reinforced by the presence of the *amictus* (11.77), which is wrapped around Pallas' head – a reminder of, among other uses, the (purple) *amictus* with which Aeneas previously shrouded himself when performing his sacrificial duties.[63]

[62] Lyne (1983, 58-59) notes that the verb *violo* is much stronger than μιαίνω in Homer's simile, and adds (59) that "*violo* signifies physical injurying in a way that μιαίνω does not ... Thus paradoxically, these variations from Homer assist the recall of Homer: they remind us that the simile originally applied to a wound". Jamset (2004, 99) notes in reference to 11.591 that the verb *violare* also has connotations of sexual violence. This sense of the verb is also present in the Lavinia scene and Bradley (2004, 118) writes that Virgil uses "sea-purple dye to clarify the role that the blush performs on the blusher; a signal of personal violation as well as special and distinctive beauty". When Diana promises to avenge the death of Camilla, she employs the same verb of "staining" as we see used here for Lavinia: *quicumque sacrum violarit vulnere corpus* (*Aen*. 11.591).
[63] The religious significance of *amictus* here is clear: Horsfall (2003) *ad* 7.77, on *obnubit*, notes that this was "a legendary aetion for veiling the head (traditional for the celebrant at a Roman cult-act)".

These robes, then, are a reminder of Aeneas' past and of the tension that exists between purple as the colour of Carthage and of Rome. For, through the association with royal Dido, we are reminded not just of Tyrian purple but of kingship. So too robes of purple and gold, combined with the *amictus*, remind us of the Roman triumph and sacrificial rites. These garments speak of the future that Pallas, as the favourite of Aeneas, has lost. Moreover they continue the association between wearer and object: the purple (and gold) cloth does not glow, as it is wont to do when it reflects the vitality of its wearer (*e.g.* Aeneas, 4.262; Camilla, 7.814-15), but instead the robes are "stiff", *rigentis*, reflecting Pallas' lifeless form. Like Marcellus before him (6.878-86), Pallas is the (Augustan) youth cut off in his prime.[64]

Before the death, however, is the moment of promise. And when Pallas rides off to war in book 8 (588) he is described as shining like a star, conspicuous in the middle of the column in his mantle and coloured weaponry (*pictis ... armis*). Like the youthful Octavian/Augustus on Aeneas' shield (8.675-81), Pallas is an object of spectacle (*conspectus*) as he heads off to battle. There is only one other example of the participle *conspectus* in the whole of Virgil,[65] at *Ge*. 3.17, where Virgil envisages himself as a victor*, conspectus* in Tyrian purple, leading a triumphal procession in honour of Caesar, a metaphor for the triumphant poetry that Virgil envisages himself writing: his epic *Aeneid*.[66] The use of *conspectus* establishes a direct comparison between the scenes in the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid*, which draws our focus to the visual, forcing us to compare Pallas and his false promise of victory to the pomp and circumstance of Virgil dressed in purple and the promise for his poetry: poetry for and about Caesar – the epic verse of empire – what we may term Purple Poetry.

But Pallas is a youth who fails to realise his potential, who is *conspectus* amid the procession but who will wear the colours of a triumph only in death. It would be asking too much of one word, *conspectus*, to suggest that as a consequence of Pallas' failed promise the whole of the *Aeneid* should be read as a subversion of the triumphant epic foretold in the *Georgics*. But it is not too much, I think, to say that this scene with Pallas – our soon-to-be fallen youth – forces us to reflect back on the epic that was promised in the *Georgics* and to ask if the *Aeneid*, as arguably the fulfilment of that promise, is Purple

[64] The burial of Pallas in purple garments provides a further link between Aeneas and Augustus, since by the time of the *Aeneid*'s composition Julius Caesar was still the only man to have been laid out in purple and gold upon his death. This "use of colors [thus] brings out the similarity between Aeneas' obligation to avenge the slain Pallas and Augustus' obligation to avenge the slain Julius" (Edgeworth, 1992, 39).
[65] See Williams (1996) on 3.17 who writes: "Virgil pictures himself driving a hundred chariots; in one sense this suggests presiding over chariot-races, but in another ... it symbolises his verses".
[66] Thomas (1988) on *Ge*. 3.19-20 writes that "the import of the statement is literary, and goes to the heart of the sense of achievement that Augustan poetry was coming to feel".

Poetry that offers a revised version of what it means to live, fight, and die for Rome. An acknowledgement, perhaps, that the triumph of Tyrian purple (*Ge*. 3.17) and Rome's *imperium* is counterbalanced by the cost in purple blood required to sustain it.

Conclusion

Virgil's use of purple in the *Aeneid* is a reflection of the wide spectrum of uses for *murex*, *ostrum*, *purpura*, and *purpureus* that we see throughout Latin literature. Whilst the colour purple applied predominantly to purple clothing, it acquired ideological significance through its use as a status symbol for Rome's triumphant generals. But it was also a colour that came to symbolise luxury, greed and ambition – a reflection both of its negatively perceived Tyrian origin and its association with powerful individuals towards the end of the Roman Republic. For the elegiac and epic poets it symbolised something further: the colour of life and death. Purple dye – through its association with the purple fish (the *purpura* and *murex*), which coughs up its life with the purple juice – became synonymous with purple blood, and twinned with the colour white it symbolised a loss of purity and the failure of youthful promise.

The concept of a colour that could, paradoxically, symbolise both success and failure extends, however, beyond the fallen youths of epic to stand as a metaphor for Virgil's epic poetry. For, at the start of book 3 of the *Georgics*, Virgil envisages himself in Tyrian purple promising a triumph of epic poetry that would celebrate Octavian's youthful success. Octavian's success *is* heralded in the *Aeneid*, but it is confined predominantly to images on a shield, a glimpse of – or promise for – a future that even Aeneas cannot understand (*ignarus*, 8.730). The promised epic of the *Georgics*, then, remains tantalisingly distant; for Virgil's *Aeneid* does not celebrate the foundation of Rome's *imperium* through a triumph honouring the contemporary achievements of a Caesar, but through bloodshed. Thus Aeneas ends the epic "founding" Rome's *imperium* by plunging his sword (*condit*, 12.950)[67] into Turnus: staining the weapon with the Rutulian's blood, dying it purple.[68]

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[67] On the verb *condere* and its significance as a verb of "foundation", see especially James (1995)
[68] At the end of the *Aeneid* we can only assume that there is an outflow of blood from the wound that Turnus receives, but the concept of "dying" a sword with (purple) blood is clearly stated earlier, when Turnus at 12.358 "dyes" his shining blade with blood from deep in the throat of his victim (*impresso dextrae mucronem extorquet et alto / fulgentem tingit iugulo*). The verb *tinguere* is commonly used for "dying" cloth (*e.g.* Pliny in reference to the dying of purple cloth, *Nat.* 9.125).

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Did Aeneas love Dido?

*Revised from a paper given to the Virgil Society on 26 October 2013**

The Dido and Aeneas episode in *Aeneid* 1, 4 and 6 is famous for being one of the great love stories of all time, and it has often been supposed that Virgil describes two lovers, prevented from spending their lives together by the commands of the gods and the future destiny of Rome. Thus in Purcell's opera *Dido and Aeneas* (1689, words by Nahum Tate) Belinda assures her sister Dido:

"Fear no danger to ensue,
The hero loves as well as you".

Shortly afterwards, Belinda's words are confirmed by Aeneas himself, who says to Dido:

"If not for mine, for empire's sake,
Some pity on your lover take;
Ah! make not, in a hopeless fire,
A hero fall, and Troy once more expire".[1]

Many people since have believed that Aeneas is as deeply in love with Dido as she is with him, or in love but less deeply, and that both of them then have to give up their hope of happiness, and in Dido's case her life, for the sake of Rome. R. G. Austin, in the

* This paper has benefited greatly from points made by audiences at the Universities of Keele, Durham, Glasgow, Hull, Sheffield, Nottingham and Cape Town, at University College, Dublin, where it was given as the Inaugural Lecture in 2006, at the University of Edinburgh, at the Virgil Society and at Wellington College. The late Gerry Nussbaum, the late David West and Tony Woodman kindly sent me written comments which have helped me to strengthen the argument in many places (it should not be inferred that they agreed with it). Professor West's deep and honest reflections are especially precious to me now that he is no longer with us. I have also profited from discussion with Francis Cairns, and the editor's critical eye has led to numerous improvements. Translations not attributed to others either are my own or have in some cases been adapted from Fairclough/Goold (1999-2000).

[1] Both passages quoted from Macfarren (1841) 2.

introduction to his 1955 commentary on *Aen.* 4, painted a picture of Dido and Aeneas that may be taken as a strong statement of the standard view:

> "His Dido and his Aeneas are a woman and a man in love; and long after the tragic tale has run its course, the pity of it echoes through all Aeneas' life and actions, so that it is never possible to think of him as any other but the man whom Dido had loved, and who, despite himself and despite his destiny, had loved Dido".[2]

The view that Aeneas was in love with Dido appeals to our romantic sensibilities, and is cherished by many readers of the poem. For example, B. Otis wrote in 1963: "It is clear that Aeneas was overcome by his passion for Dido and was, temporarily at least, unfaithful to his mission … The attempt of some commentators and critics to deny this (especially the reality of his passion for Dido) can hardly be sustained by the text". But these assertions were supported by no more than a reference to 4.395.[3] Similarly, K. Quinn wrote in 1968: "He [Aeneas] loves Dido, but to him that seems beside the point", adding a footnote which reads: "For Aeneas' love for Dido see 4.395 and *Latin Explorations*, p. 36".[4] But when *Latin Explorations* is consulted, one finds only another brief reference to 4.395.[5] That Aeneas was in love was more or less taken for granted by R. D. Williams in his 1972-73 commentary on the entire *Aeneid*: a large number of notes are made to hang on the statement, on 4.291, "That Aeneas was in love with Dido is made very clear by Virgil (cf. also 221, 332, and especially 395)".[6] In 1973, J. Sparrow published a lecture in which he made a forensic defence of Aeneas with respect to his treatment of Dido. Arguing that Aeneas did not betray their love, he did not consider the possibility that Aeneas was not in love at all:[7] had he accepted that as being the case, his defence would have been easier to make, and stronger, since there would have been no love for Aeneas to betray. C. J. Mackie, in a book on the character of Aeneas published in 1988, wrote in his introduction: "close reference to the narrative tells us that he [Aeneas] was in love with Dido", citing four passages, 4.221, 332, 395 and 448.[8] But the close reference to the narrative is never provided, except inasmuch as the same four passages are listed a second

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[2] Austin (1955) ix; cf. xv: "He loved Dido, and had not been strong enough to withstand the temptation that she brought". Austin's picture is criticised by Farron (1993, 113): "in fact, he [Aeneas] was remembered as the man who brutally destroyed her [Dido]". Cf. Farron, (1980) 39.

[3] Otis (1963) 266.

[4] Quinn (1968) 143.

[5] Quinn (1963) 36.

[6] Likewise in his book on the *Aeneid* (2009, 87-88, 92), Williams thought it was clear from 4.332, 395 and 447-49, and 6.455, that Aeneas loved Dido, and saw no need to argue the point.

[7] He believed that Aeneas did feel love for Dido—"a passion which seems to have had its origin rather than its consummation in their meeting in the cave" (Sparrow, 1973, 14).

[8] Mackie (1988) 14.

time in a later footnote: "For the love of Aeneas for Dido, see 221, 332, 395 and 448".[9] W. S. Anderson, in 1989 (in the second edition of a book first published in 1969), wrote that "Aeneas loves Dido more than any other human being", but did not attempt to justify that bold statement.[10] In the third edition of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, published in 1996, S. J. Harrison wrote that "he [Aeneas] is deeply affected by love for Dido (4.395, 6.455)".[11] (All the passages cited by all these scholars are discussed individually below).

The assumption that Aeneas loved Dido has only occasionally been questioned. N. W. De Witt, in an infrequently cited Chicago dissertation of 1907, devoted a chapter to the feelings of Aeneas in book 4, noting that Virgil says little about those feelings and, where he does mention them, does so in ambiguous terms. De Witt's conclusion is that the emotion that Aeneas overcomes in himself is pity, not love.[12] In 1980, S. Farron argued that the Dido and Aeneas episode is an attack on Aeneas and on Rome's treatment of Carthage.[13] Aeneas, Farron contends, is a nonchalant, uncaring character who shows no sympathy for Dido; even so, and although it undermines his argument, Farron believes that at some points in the text Virgil does represent Aeneas as loving Dido.[14] F. Cairns, in *Virgil's Augustan Epic* (1989), argued that Virgil presents Aeneas as making progress in his development as a king and as yielding to pleasure but not to love, but he does allow that Virgil attributes love to Aeneas in two places (4.395 and 6.455).[15] Generally speaking, scholars have been aware that "Did Aeneas love Dido?" is a question that can be asked, but have thought the answer "Yes" to be so self-evident that they saw little, if any, need to argue for it, beyond citing line numbers.

This paper will now consider the matter afresh by examining all the passages in which Virgil refers to Aeneas' feelings for Dido, in order to establish precisely what those feelings are and whether, in fact, Aeneas loved Dido.[16]

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[9] Mackie (1988) 83 n.2.

[10] Anderson (1989) 45.

[11] *OCD*[3] *s.v. Aeneas*.

[12] De Witt (1907) 26-37. Monti's (1981) study of the Dido episode makes no mention of De Witt's dissertation, but, like De Witt (34, 37), he rejects what he calls the "virtually universal" opinion that Aeneas faces a conflict between love and duty (43-44, 104 n.11).

[13] Farron (1980).

[14] Farron (1980) 15. Farron later abandoned his view: see Farron (1993) 70, 114.

[15] Cairns (1989) 29-57, esp. 49-53.

[16] It is of some interest that an older contemporary of Virgil's, the grammarian L. Ateius Philologus, wrote a book entitled *An amaverit Didun Aeneas* (Iulius Romanus *apud* Charis. 162.6-7 Barwick = test. 9). But this treatise was almost certainly written before the *Aeneid*. It may have been concerned with the question whether, in the pre-Virgilian tradition, Aeneas loved Dido or Anna (cf. Serv. on *Aen*. 5.4; Serv.Auct. on *Aen*. 4.682): see Horsfall (1973-74) 11.

The story of Dido and Aeneas begins in book 1. Aeneas and part of his fleet are driven by a storm to the Libyan coast. Aeneas is in a state of near-despair because he believes that the rest of his fleet has been destroyed in the storm. He goes off to explore the neighbouring countryside and happens upon his mother, Venus, who is disguised as a young huntress to prevent him from recognising her. Venus tells her son that the country is ruled by a Tyrian woman named Dido, who settled there after her beloved husband Sychaeus was murdered by her wicked brother, the tyrant Pygmalion. Dido has founded a city, Carthage, and Aeneas makes his way there, protected by a cloud with which Venus surrounds him.

The reader would at this point think of the *Odyssey*, and of another hero who set out from Troy, was shipwrecked, and arrived on an unknown coast. Odysseus wandered for ten years and visited many places. Each of them presented an obstacle of a different kind, but in the end he overcame all of those obstacles and returned to his homeland. There were, for example: the lotus-eaters, who gave his men lotus to eat, making them forget their voyage and lose their desire to return home; the Cyclops Polyphemus, who imprisoned Odysseus and his men and ate some of them, until Odysseus blinded him and succeeded in escaping; the sorceress Circe, who turned Odysseus' men into pigs, and then detained him and his men on her island for a year; the Sirens, whose singing lured men to their destruction; the nymph Calypso, who fell in love with Odysseus and kept him prisoner on her island for seven years, before allowing him to sail to the land of the Phaeacians; and finally Nausicaa, the Phaeacian princess, not an obstacle as such, but an attractive unmarried girl with whom Odysseus might have chosen to remain forever. All these encounters involved either the possibility of physical harm or the risk of being detained, sometimes by a powerful or alluring female, and prevented from returning home. Aeneas, similarly, having arrived in an unfamiliar land controlled by a queen without a husband, was in danger.[17] Moreover, the place was for Roman readers one of singular ill omen: Carthage, the city which would later become Rome's deadliest enemy, and which would threaten her very existence, until being finally destroyed by the Romans in 146 BC. Dido, then, was likely to present a potentially fatal obstacle to Aeneas, and, as a hero, his task was to overcome that obstacle and escape unscathed, before proceeding on his important mission to Italy.

So Aeneas reaches Carthage, where he sees the Trojans he had supposed drowned being royally received by Dido. The cloud parts, and Dido is suddenly aware of his presence. Venus has made him beautiful in order to predispose Dido favourably to him.

[17] Later, in the underworld, Anchises will tell Aeneas that he had been afraid that the kingdom of Libya would cause him harm (6.694).

Dido, of course, is beautiful already (1.496; 4.60). Aeneas is welcomed by her, and sends to the ships for his son Ascanius to come with gifts of friendship. It is at this point that Venus makes Dido fall in love with Aeneas: she substitutes Cupid for Ascanius, and Cupid breathes the fire of love into Dido's bones, making her forget Sychaeus. Venus does this in order to ensure that Dido and the Carthaginians do not turn against the Trojans, as, under Juno's influence, and being Carthaginians, they might easily do (among the Romans, the Carthaginians had a reputation for duplicity; cf. 1.661). But, significantly, Cupid does not cause Aeneas to fall in love.[18]

In the rest of *Aen.* 1, Dido entertains the Trojans, and makes Aeneas tell the story of the sack of Troy, which then occupies book 2, and of his wanderings between Troy and Carthage, which occupies book 3.

By the time that book 4 opens, Dido is fully in the grip of the deadly passion which will destroy her. Aeneas, on the other hand, is not in love, and is not even aware that Dido loves him: this is made clear in the simile at 69-73, in which Aeneas is likened to a Cretan shepherd who has wounded a deer with an arrow without realising it (*nescius*, 72). Dido's sister Anna, whose role in the poem is that of the counsellor who gives bad advice, encourages Dido to give in to her love: this is reprehensible in itself (*huic … culpae*, 19), but also involves breaking the vow she had made to remain loyal to Sychaeus.[19] Her breaking of her vow will trouble her later, in the speech she makes when she resolves to commit suicide (552).

At this point Virgil introduces a divine interlude in the Homeric manner. Juno has seen what Venus has done, and that Dido is in the grip of passion and is beyond caring about her reputation. Thanks to Venus, Juno has lost the opportunity of causing the Carthaginians to destroy Aeneas. She therefore plots for the alternative danger that faced him, the risk of being detained and prevented from completing his mission. Her plan is to keep Aeneas in Carthage forever by causing him to marry Dido and settle there: instead of founding Rome, Aeneas can help Dido found Carthage. Venus acquiesces in this, knowing that Juno's plan cannot succeed, since Jupiter has promised her (at 1.257-66) that Aeneas will reach Italy.

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[18] This point was picked up by Ovid in *Heroides* 7 (an imagined letter from Dido to Aeneas), written shortly after the *Aeneid* and closely dependent on it, in which Dido exclaims (31-32): *durumque amplectere fratrem, | frater Amor; castris militet ille tuis!* ("Embrace your hard-hearted brother, brother Love, and make him serve as a soldier in your camp!"), *i.e.* "Cupid, make your hard-hearted brother Aeneas fall in love!"

[19] Moles (1987) 154-55.

Back in Carthage, Dido and Aeneas go hunting. Juno sends a storm, and the couple take refuge in a cave. Propriety prevents Virgil from saying that they make love there, but Dido's reference immediately afterwards to her *culpa* makes it clear this is indeed what has taken place.[20] From this point on she does nothing to keep her behaviour within the bounds of respectability (170-72):

> *neque enim specie famave movetur*
> *nec iam furtivum Dido meditatur amorem:*
> *coniugium vocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam.*

("For Dido pays no heed to appearances or reputation, nor does she contemplate any longer a clandestine affair: she calls it a marriage, and uses this term to veil her misdemeanour").

These lines are an explicit statement from Virgil, and reveal much. As J. L. Moles explains, they show: **(a)** that Dido is at fault (*culpam*, "her (sexual) misdemeanour"), **(b)** that she is not married to Aeneas (*hoc ... nomine*, "under this name", "with this term") and **(c)** that she herself knows she is not married to Aeneas (*praetexit*, "veils", "screens", "covers up", *i.e.* deliberately conceals the fact that she is not married).[21] (Later, at 338-39, Aeneas will tell her that he did not marry her, and she will not contradict the assertion).

At this point Rumour spreads word that Dido and Aeneas have forgotten their kingdoms, and are caught up in a disgraceful passion (*regnorum immemores turpique cupidine captos*, 194). Rumour mixes fact and fiction in equal measure (190), and clearly what she says is true of Dido but not true of Aeneas. Dido has forgotten her kingdom: building work at Carthage has been suspended (86-89). Aeneas, in contrast, has not forgotten his: later, when he explains to Dido why he must leave her, he says that he has been seeing his father Anchises in his dreams, and spending his nights worrying about Ascanius' destined kingdom in Italy (351-55). Similarly, it is Dido who has been caught up in a disgraceful passion, not Aeneas. There has so far been no indication that Aeneas is romantically involved with Dido.

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[20] Moles (1984, 51-53; more briefly at 1987, 156) demonstrates that Dido's *culpa* is her sexual submission to Aeneas outside wedlock (and not her breaking of her vow to Sychaeus). Virgil does, however, take care later to report that no offspring resulted from Dido and Aeneas' union (4.327-30). His purpose is perhaps to make it clear that the Carthaginian race did not possess any of Aeneas' blood, and hence that Rome's wars against Carthage were not civil wars.

[21] Moles (1984) 53. Moles comments (51) that "Virgil himself steps out of the narrative and pronounces his own judgement".

The rumour reaches the Gaetulian king Iarbas, who complains to Jupiter. Jupiter then (221-22):

oculosque ad moenia torsit
regia et oblitos famae melioris amantis.

("turned his eyes towards the royal fortifications and the lovers who had forgotten their good name").

Is *amantis* ("lovers") an oblique way of telling the reader that Aeneas has suddenly fallen in love? Surely it is not. Virgil is presenting the situation here not as it actually is, but as it is interpreted by Jupiter—and Jupiter has obtained the information on which he bases his interpretation from Iarbas, who has obtained it from Rumour. To outward appearances, Dido and Aeneas seem like lovers, and to have forgotten their good name. In Dido's case, this appearance is a fair enough reflection of the situation. But in the case of Aeneas it is not: Virgil has still given no indication that Aeneas is in love with Dido.[22]

Jupiter sends Mercury to tell Aeneas to set sail for Italy. Mercury flies to Libya, and sees Aeneas engaged in the building of Carthage, and wearing a precious cloak that Dido had made herself and given to him. These details seem to confirm Jupiter's view. Mercury therefore addresses Aeneas (265-67):

tu nunc Karthaginis altae
fundamenta locas pulchramque uxorius urbem
exstruis? heu, regni rerumque oblite tuarum!

("Are you now laying the foundations of lofty Carthage, soppy husband that you are, and building a fair city? For shame, you have forgotten your kingdom and the things that are yours!")

The tone is sarcastic: Mercury seeks to induce Aeneas to depart by pouring scorn on him and mocking him. What he does is to confront him with a picture of how his actions appear to others: this portrayal is already familiar to the reader, though not to Aeneas, from Rumour, Iarbas and Jupiter. The sarcasm is most evident in the word *uxorius*. This word is not an objective description of his situation. Virgil has already stated explicitly that Aeneas is not married to Dido (172). But the scorn conveyed by the word serves to make Aeneas aware of the unfavourable conclusions that others are drawing from the way he is conducting himself.

[22] Cf. Cairns (1989) 49: "But it soon emerges that the state of the two *amantes*, as Jupiter thinks of them, is far from parallel ... Aeneas, although one of two *amantes*, is not an *amator*".

Mercury's words have their intended effect on Aeneas (281-82):

Ardet abire fuga dulcisque relinquere terras,
attonitus tanto monitu imperioque deorum.

("He burns to flee away and leave the sweet country, stunned by so great a warning and command of the gods").

Dulcis, like "sweet" in English, carries a range of meanings, and can be used to imply love of different kinds. It carries the implication of erotic love when used by Dido to describe Aeneas' sword and clothing at 651, *dulces exuviae* ("sweet relics"): the *exuviae* were not sweet in themselves, but were *dulces* because of the love Dido felt towards their owner. But the adjective is regularly paired in Latin with words meaning "land", or with place names, to indicate non-erotic love, or deep affection (*e.g.* for Virgil *dulcia linquimus arva*, *Ecl.* 1.3; *Vergilium me … dulcis alebat / Parthenope*, *Geo.* 4.563-64; *dulcis moriens reminiscitur Argos*, *Aen.* 10.782).[23] At 281, the land of Libya was certainly sweet to Aeneas, because he had been warmly received there by Dido. However, since Virgil has given no indication at all that Aeneas feels love for Dido, it would be a mistake to take *dulcis* here as implying erotic love.

Aeneas, then, realises that he must depart. But good manners demand that he tell his host of his departure, and here he perceives a difficulty (283-84): "With what speech now dare he canvass (*ambire*) the frenzied queen?" This is in fact the first place in which Virgil indicates that Aeneas is aware of Dido's feelings towards him. Wisely, he instructs his men to prepare the fleet quietly, and to conceal the reason for what they are doing (289-91). Less wisely, he puts off his final encounter with Dido. Still speaking to his men, he justifies this decision (291-92):

quando optima Dido
nesciat et tantos rumpi non speret amores

("since excellent Dido knows nothing, and does not expect so great a love affair to be broken off").

Aeneas is telling his men what he thinks will be going through Dido's mind. Since she supposes Aeneas and herself to be so deeply attached, he reasons, it will never occur to her that he is preparing to depart. *tantos … amores* is not an objective statement by Aeneas as to the nature of his relationship with Dido, but a description of how he thinks that relationship appears from Dido's perspective. These words cannot be used, then,

[23] See further *ThLL* 5.1.2194, 15-25.

as evidence that Aeneas is in love. On the contrary, the fact that he is able to analyse Dido's psychology before his men in this way is a strong indication that her love is not reciprocated.

Dido, of course, discovers at once that Aeneas is preparing to leave her (296-97):

At regina dolos (quis fallere possit amantem?)
praesensit …

("But the queen (for who can deceive a lover?) sensed his trickery in advance …").

The question appeals to common knowledge. Virgil knows what lovers are like, and his readers do - but Aeneas, by contrast, does not, or else he would not have counted on Dido's failure to understand the meaning of his preparations. In view of this ignorance, it would be hard to maintain that Aeneas is a lover himself.

Realising that Aeneas is preparing to leave, Dido raves like a Bacchant (300-01): "She rages, out of her mind, and all ablaze she raves (*bacchatur*) throughout all of the city". Her passion has clearly been growing all the while: it has now completely taken her over and driven her insane. She careers around the city, a woman on fire (*incensa*), and the reader is reminded that her behaviour will ultimately lead to her city's destruction at the hands of the Romans.

Dido then gives a speech in which she accuses Aeneas of intending to leave Carthage secretly; talks about her, or their, love (*noster amor*, 307),[24] their mutual pledges (*data dextera*, 307) and their marriage (*conubia nostra … inceptos hymenaeos*, 316); begs Aeneas to stay; and makes veiled references to suicide. The speech begins in fury, but turns to self-pity when the focus moves from Aeneas to Dido. The specific charges against Aeneas are untrue: in Virgil's account, Aeneas merely put off telling Dido of his departure, and he did not profess to love her, swear oaths to her, or marry her. Remembering the stately and kindly figure that Dido was in book 1, the reader will feel shocked and saddened that she has been reduced to this.

Aeneas checks his natural concern for Dido before making his reply (332):

obnixus curam sub corde premebat.

("with an effort he stifled the concern he felt within his heart").

[24] De Witt (1907, 31) takes the plural as poetic, comparing *fletu … nostro* below (369). If it is a genuine plural, Dido will be ascribing *amor* to Aeneas in order to bolster her charge of betrayal.

curam ("care") has been taken by some to mean love (as at 4.1),[25] but that is not the primary meaning of the word, and there is nothing to suggest that it should be taken in that sense here. The most obvious meaning of these words is that Aeneas feels concern, or compassion, for Dido, as well he might.[26] Faced with a woman who has lost her reason, his reaction is one of solicitude, not love.

In his speech, Aeneas begins by expressing gratitude to Dido, and then states precisely what his feelings for her are (335-36):

nec me meminisse pigebit Elissae
dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regit artus.

("I shall not be irked by my memories of Elissa, as long as I remember my own self, as long as my spirit governs these limbs").

Aeneas feels for Dido no less and no more than these words imply: for as long as he lives, he will never feel displeasure when he thinks of her. He states, truthfully, that he had been planning to tell her of his departure. Then he points out, again truthfully, that he has not married her (338-39). He tells her that, were he a free agent, he would stay at Troy and re-establish it (340-44): this declaration that he would not choose to spend his life with her is tantamount to a declaration that he does not love her. He explains that he has been commanded by the gods to go to Italy, and hence (347):

Hic amor, haec patria est.

("*This* is my love, *this* my country").

This is an explicit and emphatic statement that he is not in love with her: it is Italy, not Dido, that he loves, and Italy, not Carthage, that is his country. If Dido has founded Carthage, he continues, why should he not found a city of his own in Italy? Next, he reveals that he has been spending his nights worrying about Ascanius' destined kingdom, and finally that he has received a command from Jupiter to depart. He asks her not to upset them both by objecting, but to accept the situation as it is. It is not by his own choice, he says (361), that he is making for Italy.

This speech contrasts strongly with that of Dido. Her speech is emotional and impulsive; Aeneas' is calm and rational. Dido's speech is filled with untruths; Aeneas'

[25] Austin (1955) *ad loc*; Williams (1972-73) *ad loc*; Williams (1983) 43, 182; Mackie (1988) 14, 83 n.2.
[26] Pöschl (1962) 44.

impresses with its honesty and plain speaking.[27] Many readers have criticised Aeneas in this speech for being cold and unfeeling, and Dido will shortly make the same criticism. But that is unfair. Aeneas does feel concern for Dido, but he represses it. In Roman eyes, a man of standing, and particularly a ruler, was called upon to display dignity and self-control at all times. The proper course for Aeneas was therefore to attempt to recall Dido to a sense of her responsibilities without resorting to displays of emotion. R. O. A. M. Lyne maintained that if Aeneas were more sensitive he would say to Dido that, were he a free agent, he would choose to stay with her.[28] But this would of course be a lie (a "white lie", according to Lyne). Lyne then goes on to say that Aeneas fails to tell Dido of the love he feels for her, in spite of which he must go. But this love of Aeneas for Dido is a figment of readers' imaginations: in Virgil's story it is just not there.

Dido's response is a mixture of abuse, accusations, assertions of her own insanity and threats of revenge. She now accepts that Aeneas did not love her (370):

Num lacrimas victus dedit aut miseratus amantem est?

("Did he give in and shed tears, or have pity for a lover?")

At the end of the speech she collapses, and her servants bear her away to her marble bedchamber.

At pius Aeneas ("But dutiful Aeneas") the next passage famously begins (393), as Virgil gives Aeneas' behaviour his ringing endorsement.[29] Stunned by what he has just witnessed, Aeneas longs to comfort Dido (because of his natural concern for her, mentioned at 332), but she is no longer in his presence, and is in any case inconsolable. So he now fulfils his duty to the gods and to his men. He returns to the fleet (395),

multa gemens magnoque animum labefactus amore

("groaning heavily, and shaken in his mind by the great love").

Whose love? The commentator A. S. Pease and many other scholars take *magno ... amore* as referring to love felt by Aeneas;[30] and this is also the view taken by nearly all the translators, from Dryden onwards ("Tho' much he mourn'd, and labour'd with

[27] Feeney (1983, 217), in a valuable discussion of Aeneas' speech, points out that Aeneas does not lie when he speaks.

[28] Lyne (1987) 165.

[29] McLeish (1972) contrasts Aeneas' *pietas* with Dido's lack of *pietas* (towards Sychaeus), which causes her madness and death. (McLeish assumes that Aeneas loves Dido: 134).

[30] Pease (1935) *ad loc*; Otis (1963) 266; Quinn (1963) 36; Quinn (1968) 143 n.2; Williams (1972-73) *ad loc*; Williams (1983) 43, 182-83; Mackie (1988) 14, 83 n.2; Cairns (1989) 50.

his Love").[31] Thus there are the following twentieth-century translations: C. Day Lewis: "Heavily sighing, his heart melting from love of her"; W. F. Jackson Knight: "he was shaken to the depths by the strength of his love"; A. Mandelbaum: "though groaning long and shaken in his mind / because of his great love"; R. Fitzgerald: "And though he sighed his heart out, shaken still / With love of her"; D. West: "with many a groan and with a heart shaken by his great love" (West has a section in his introduction entitled 'Aeneas' Love'); H. R. Fairclough/G. P. Goold: "with many a sigh, his soul shaken by his mighty love".[32] In the current century, only the translations by S. Lombardo and F. M. Ahl retain Virgil's ambiguity: "He sighs heavily, / And although great love has shaken his soul" (Lombardo), "Much as he groaned and felt shaken at heart by the great force of love's power" (Ahl).[33] The new translation by M. Oakley has "With many a sigh and unmanned by the might of his love", that by R. Fagles, "moaning deeply, heart shattered by his great love", that by S. Ruden, "he continued groaning, deeply lovesick", and yet another new translation, by P. A. Johnston, "grieving deeply and shaken within by his / deep love".[34] It is more natural, however, to understand Virgil's reference in a way consistent with what he has said so far about the feelings of Aeneas and Dido, *i.e.* "groaning heavily, and shaken in his mind by the strength of her love"; and in fact it is suggested in Servius Auctus (*ad loc*), although with hesitation, that the *amor* is Dido's: *num Didonis, quo illa flagraret?* ("is this not Dido's, with which she was ablaze?")[35]

Dido now sends Anna with a final appeal to Aeneas to delay his departure. "Such were her prayers, and such the weeping (*fletus*) that her unhappy sister bears and bears again. But he is moved by no weeping (*nullis … fletibus*), nor can he be persuaded by any appeal" (437-39). Aeneas stands firm against Dido's weeping, like a great old oak tree buffeted by a northern gale, which strews the grounds with foliage (*altae* / *consternunt terram … frondes*, 443-44), but is not uprooted. Virgil then declares (448-49):

> *et magno persentit pectore curas;*
> *mens immota manet; lacrimae volvuntur inanes.*

("and in his great heart he feels concern; his mind remains unmoved; the tears flow in vain").

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[31] Dryden (1697) *ad loc*.

[32] Day Lewis (1952), Jackson Knight (1956), Mandelbaum (1972), Fitzgerald (1984), West (1990), Fairclough / Goold (1999-2000) *ad loc*; West (1990) xviii-xix.

[33] Lombardo (2005), Ahl (2007) *ad loc*.

[34] Oakley (2002), Fagles (2006), Ruden (2008), Johnston (2012) *ad loc*.

[35] Ribbeck (1884) deleted 4.395 on grounds of supposed inconsistency with 438-39 and 449. Subsequent editors have retained the line.

curas must mean "concern" or "compassion", as at 332 above: Anna's entreaties, like Dido's speech at 305-30, cause Aeneas to feel concern for Dido, but do not change his mind. But whose are the tears that flow in vain? Many scholars follow St Augustine (*Civ. Dei* 9.4 *fin*) in claiming these tears for Aeneas;[36] others claim them for different combinations of Aeneas, Dido and Anna.[37] Dryden wrote: "Sighs, Groans and Tears, proclaim his inward Pains, / But the firm purpose of his Heart remains".[38] Fairclough/Goold's translation attributes the tears to Aeneas: "and in his mighty heart [he] feels agony: his mind stands steadfast; his tears fall without effect".[39] The argument that the tears are Aeneas' rests on a supposed correspondence between the narrative and the preceding simile: the *lacrimae*, it is claimed, correspond to the *frondes* in the simile.[40] There would be some force in this argument if *frondes* meant "leaves" - although it would still be bizarre to compare the action of tears coursing down a human face to the wild trajectory of leaves whirling in a gale. However, the meaning of *frons*, according to the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, is "the leafy part of a tree, etc., foliage or leafy boughs", and not "leaf" (for which the Latin word is *folium*).[41] In the simile, Virgil is describing what happens to an oak tree in a gale: he is not saying that individual leaves fall to the ground (in the manner of tears), but that foliage, leafy boughs, branches, twigs etc. are forcibly torn from the tree and violently strewn on the ground. The simile shows graphically how Aeneas is assailed and even injured by Dido's tearful appeals, but is not overcome by them: it does not inform the reader that Aeneas is weeping. Moreover, Virgil has just referred to Dido's weeping (*fletus … fletibus*, 437-39), and has described how that weeping was repeatedly conveyed to Aeneas by Anna. The tears must therefore be Dido's.[42]

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[36] See Pease (1935) on 4.449. Horsfall (1995, 125 n.20) is especially forceful on this point. See also Pöschl (1962) 46; Otis (1963) 269; Quinn (1963) 41 n.1; Williams (1983) 182-83; Lyne (1987) 163-64; Anderson (1989) 48.

[37] Pease (1935) on 4.449.

[38] Dryden (1697) *ad loc*.

[39] Fairclough/Goold (1999-2000) *ad loc*. Likewise Griffin (1986) 72: "His will remains unmoved, in vain fall his tears".

[40] West (1969) 44-45.

[41] *OLD s.v. frons*[1], 1 (in the *ThLL*, 6.1.1350, 81-82; *frondes* at 4.444 is listed as an example of the plural used collectively with the meaning "Laub"). This argument has not to my knowledge been advanced before.

[42] For a full refutation of the view that the tears are Aeneas', see Hudson-Williams (1978). Hudson-Williams (20) raises a further point, that the tears must be Dido's because they are described as *inanes* ("without achieving their purpose"): they fail to induce Aeneas to change his mind. But *inanes* would still make sense (though perhaps less obviously so) if the tears were Aeneas': Aeneas' own tears would not induce him to alter his *mens*. See further Mackie (1988) 92 n.1.

The interpretation of the rest of the book is unproblematic. Having failed to persuade Aeneas to delay his departure, Dido plans her own suicide, and tricks Anna into building a funeral pyre for her. Her madness is repeatedly mentioned. At night she lies awake, reviewing her options. In her fevered state, suicide seems the only one possible. She is also distressed at having broken her vow to Sychaeus (552). It is at this point that Mercury visits Aeneas a second time and warns him that, unless he leaves at once, Dido will burn his fleet. Aeneas makes his escape.

At dawn, Dido sees Aeneas' ships out at sea, sailing away. She makes a speech in which she again draws attention to her own insanity, and declares eternal war between Carthage and Aeneas' descendants. In doing so, of course, she condemns her city to destruction at the hands of the Romans: Dido's tragedy is also Carthage's. She mounts the funeral pyre and, after a final speech, kills herself with Aeneas' sword. The reaction in Carthage is as if the city is already being sacked. Whereas Aeneas has done right by his people, Dido has brought ruin on hers.

Book 5 opens with Aeneas at sea looking back at the flames rising from Carthage. Then Virgil adds (4-7):

> *Quae tantum accenderit ignem*
> *causa latet; duri magno sed amore dolores*
> *polluto, notumque furens quid femina possit,*
> *triste per augurium Teucrorum pectora ducunt.*

("What cause kindled so great a fire is unknown; but the hard pains when a great love is defiled, and the knowledge of what a mad woman is capable of doing, fill the Trojans' minds with dark foreboding").

Virgil says that the Trojans know well what pain can arise when a great love (*magno … amore*) is defiled (*polluto*). Is this "great love" a love of both Dido and Aeneas, or of Dido alone? As at 4.395, where Virgil also writes *magno … amore* (*magnoque animum labefactus amore*), it is more natural to understand the reference in a way consistent with the preceding narrative, and take the love as being of Dido alone. Moreover, the logical sense is "a mad woman is capable of doing something terrible when her love has been defiled", not "a mad woman is capable of doing something terrible when her and someone else's love has been defiled". Dido cannot logically be said to have killed herself because Aeneas' love had been defiled.

If the "great love" is Dido's alone, it is also worth asking: love for whom? There are two other places where Virgil refers to Dido's *magnus amor*. At 1.343-44, Venus, who is in disguise, tells Aeneas:

Huic coniunx Sychaeus erat, ditissimus auri
Phoenicum, et magno miserae dilectus amore.

("Her husband was Sychaeus, the richest of the Phoenicians in gold, and loved with the great love of an unhappy woman").

But later, at 1.675, Venus tells Cupid that she plans to make Dido fall in love: *magno Aeneae … teneatur amore* ("so that she may be held in great love for Aeneas"). Dido, then, felt "great love" for two men, Sychaeus and Aeneas, and one of those loves was defiled in the course of what took place at Carthage. To my knowledge, no scholar thinks of Sychaeus at this point, and all assume that the reference is to love for Aeneas.[43] Lyne, however, sees the inappropriateness of Dido's love for Aeneas being said by the Trojans to have been defiled by him, and therefore tentatively labels the "abruptly discordant participle" (*polluto*) a "further voice".[44] But *polluto* deserves further scrutiny. The *Oxford Latin Dictionary* cites two meanings that fit this context: "to violate, degrade ... by immoral action" (*s.v. polluo*, 3a) and "to defile with illicit sexual intercourse" (*ibid*, 4). The immoral action that has taken place at Carthage is the intercourse in the cave. I therefore suggest that *magno … amore … polluto* refers to the great love of Dido for Sychaeus, which has been defiled by her sexual submission to Aeneas.[45] The fault implied by *polluto* is hers and hers only. But, in any case, my argument requires merely that it is accepted that *magno … amore* refers to a love of Dido alone.

In book 6 Aeneas has his final encounter with Dido, in the underworld (440-76). He enters the Mourning Fields, where those who died of love are to be found, and notices Dido, her wound still fresh. As soon as he is certain that it is her (455):

demisit lacrimas dulcique adfatus amore est

("he shed tears, and spoke to her with sweet *amor*").

Here, for the first time, Aeneas is shown as feeling love for Dido - but it is after her death, when she is a mere shade, a dim form (*obscuram*, 453), like the moon which one sees,

[43] See *e.g.* Williams (1960) on 5.6.
[44] Lyne (1987) 232-33.
[45] In the *ThLL*, this instance of *polluo* is listed under a general heading "potius per culpam, ignominiam … sim."; but on my view the sub-heading, "promissa, foedera sim.", implies a misinterpretation of the passage (10.1.2565, 61-63).

or fancies that one has seen, through the clouds (453-54). It would be a mistake to seize on this passage and infer from it that Aeneas was in love with Dido in book 4: as Virgil presents it, Aeneas does not love Dido while she is alive, but does feel love for her when he encounters her unexpectedly after her death. It would also be wrong, in view of the fact that Dido is dead, a shade that can barely be seen, and suffering from a mortal wound, to see Aeneas' love as erotic: the context, and the word *dulcis*, suggest a softer and more tender emotion, *i.e.* non-erotic love.[46]

In his final speech to Dido (456-66), Aeneas once again defends himself, naïvely asking whether he was the cause of her death (he still resembles the Cretan shepherd at 4.69-73 who has wounded a deer without realising it).[47] He claims once again that he left Carthage unwillingly, and that the gods gave him no choice but to leave. Still not fully comprehending what has happened between himself and her, he says he could not foresee that his departure would cause her such intense pain, and he asks her, as she retreats, from whom she is fleeing, apparently not realising that it is himself.[48] Refusing to meet his eye and giving no answer, Dido, his enemy (*inimica*, 472), tears herself from him and flees into a shadowy grove (473-74),

> *coniunx ubi pristinus illi*
> *respondet curis aequatque Sychaeus amorem.*

("where Sychaeus, her husband of old, responds to her sorrows and reciprocates her love").

The implication is clear: Aeneas did not reciprocate her love. He follows her in tears: the emotion he feels is pity (*miseratur euntem*, 476). Anderson comments on this passage: "As she walks away spurning him, he can only look after her with tears that epitomize his love and pity. Anyone who needs proof that Aeneas loved Dido can find it here".[49] But Virgil only mentions pity at this point: there is no mention of love.

The scene is a reversal of the scenes in Carthage. In Carthage, Dido was alive, made speeches to Aeneas, pursued him and was unfaithful to Sychaeus; in the underworld, she

[46] Cf. Catul. 72.3-4: *dilexi tum te non tantum ut vulgus amicam, / sed pater ut gnatos diligit et generos* ("I loved you then not as ordinary men love their girlfriends, but as a father loves his sons and sons-in-law"). Day Lewis (1952) well translates *dulcique adfatus amore est* as "and addressed her in tender, loving tones".

[47] I follow modern editors in taking his words at 458 as a question, not an exclamation.

[48] Camps (1969, 29) justly observes: "his speech is full of affection and sympathy for her but contains nothing to suggest the feelings of one who has himself suffered a devastating loss".

[49] Anderson (1989) 59. Anderson also misrepresents the scene by writing "she walks away": in fact, she flung herself away (*corripuit sese*, 472). Austin (1977, *ad loc.*) points out that this is a phrase from drama.

is dead, says nothing, flees from Aeneas and is comforted by her dead husband. It is now Aeneas, not Dido, who is described as feeling love (though he is not "in love"), and it is now Aeneas who, three times (455, 468, 476), weeps tears (Aeneas does not weep anywhere in book 4). By attributing *amor*, once, to Aeneas in book 6, Virgil underscores the absence of *amor* in Aeneas in book 4.

It should now be clear that Aeneas is at no point in love with Dido, and that he is not even aware, until after her death, of the full extent of her feelings for him. Austin's remarks about "a woman and a man in love" therefore turn out to be pure make-believe. The many scholars who conclude that Aeneas is in love with Dido on the basis of one or more of the passages discussed above appear, on this analysis, to be mistaken. As for the translators of the *Aeneid*, all but two of the thirteen considered above impose their own interpretation on at least some of the crucial passages, freely adding in masculine possessive pronouns in order to supply Aeneas with the feelings that Virgil does not.[50] When all the passages are taken together, the picture that Virgil gives is not an ambiguous one: he has made it quite clear that Aeneas is not in love with Dido. So it would also be a mistake to fall back on the poet's famed ambiguity and argue that he has left the question unresolved. There are no grounds for concluding that Aeneas has any feelings of love for Dido during her lifetime. Hence the story of Dido and Aeneas is not a conventional, romantic love story in which a pair of lovers, "star-crossed" perhaps, share a mutual passion. It is, rather, a story about a love which is entirely one-sided and which is more akin to an obsessive disorder than to what people today would describe as love.

The key to understanding why Virgil's story is as it is, rather than as readers with a romantic notion of love might prefer it to be, lies in the historical context of the poem, and in particular in the official mind-set of Augustan Rome. The Romans traditionally viewed *amor*, in the sense of erotic love (ἔρως in Greek), in entirely negative terms.[51] It was not something noble or beautiful: it was morally bad, a vice (like anger or greed). It was a type of madness that would seize hold of a person and make him, or her, act in an undignified and shameful way. Most objectionable was that it was anti-social, and threatened the stability of the community. The Romans did not associate love and marriage as closely as moderns do: marriages, at least among the aristocracy, were contracted for reasons to do

[50] I have not considered translations into other languages, since this is a paper about the interpretation of the *Aeneid* rather than about trends in scholarship or translation. The translations that I have chosen are sufficient to demonstrate that Virgil is being seriously misrepresented to readers who do not know Latin.

[51] For a valuable discussion of ancient attitudes to love and their relevance to Dido and Aeneas, see Cairns (1989) 54-57.

with property, or for political reasons.[52] *Amor* could only upset the arrangements that had been made by the respective families. It was self-control (*temperantia*) that made marriages work; *amor*, the opposite of self-control, broke up marriages by making husbands and wives unfaithful to each other. For the Romans, *amor* was a force which disrupted their world, a world in which duty, obedience and responsible behaviour (*i.e. pietas*) were paramount. A Roman gentleman had responsibilities to his family and to the state. He did not neglect these, or put them in jeopardy, by allowing himself to fall victim to *amor*.

At the time that Virgil was writing, this negative view of *amor* was particularly prevalent. To Augustan Romans, *amor* was one of the vices which had led to the collapse of the old Republic. In the recent decades there had been certain women who were notorious for their scandalous behaviour and their cultivation of *amores* (disreputable love affairs). Clodia Metelli, attacked by Cicero in the *Pro Caelio*, was one of them. Another was Sempronia, the wife of D. Junius Brutus. Sallust describes her as a society lady; she was beautiful and talented, but her way of life was promiscuous and degraded, and she ended up becoming a supporter of Catiline (Sal. *Cat*. 25). The picture that Catullus gives of his "Lesbia" (one of the sisters of P. Clodius Pulcher, possibly the Clodia just mentioned) illustrates the way in which a wealthy aristocratic married woman might choose to conduct herself. But the person whose love-making was most shocking and disastrous for Rome was a man, Mark Antony: he fell in love with a foreign queen, Cleopatra, held court with her in Alexandria, and produced children by her, despite not being, in Roman law, married to her. It was believed that he even intended to give Rome to Cleopatra, and transfer the government of the empire to Alexandria (Cass. Dio 50.4.1-2).

In 31 BC Antony was defeated at Actium, after which he and Cleopatra committed suicide. Augustus then established peace, and claimed that he was restored the Republic. Henceforward, a higher standard of behaviour was expected. Temples were restored and forgotten religious ceremonies revived. The old immorality was not just frowned upon; it was actively punished. Marriage was promoted and, in due course, adultery criminalised. Women were once more expected to behave in the traditional fashion, sitting at home spinning and weaving. Virgil and Horace welcomed and promoted the new mood in their poetry, and were honoured by Augustus. Ovid, by contrast, mocked it, and was exiled.

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[52] In 46 BC Cicero divorced his wife Terentia and married Publilia, a girl young enough to be his granddaughter. Afterwards, Terentia sought to discredit Cicero by maintaining that he had married Publilia out of ἔρως; but Tiro, anxious to defend his master's reputation, wrote in his biography of him that he had married her for her money (Plut. *Cic*. 41.4).

If the mind-set of Augustan Rome is taken into account, it will be seen at once that the hero of Rome's great national poem cannot succumb to *amor*. Aeneas was not just the originator of the Roman race: he was a member of Augustus' own family, since the *gens Iulia* claimed descent from Venus. Aeneas was therefore an ancient counterpart to Augustus,[53] and had to be portrayed with all the attributes of a great leader, and without moral failings.[54] Thus Aeneas is above all *pius*: he is a man who puts his duty to his people before all other considerations. Dido's modern counterpart, on the other hand, was Cleopatra: both were African queens who attempted to detain a Roman leader and persuade him to abandon duty for pleasure.[55] In the case of Antony, Cleopatra was successful, inducing him to overturn all the values of Rome for *amor*. Aeneas was made of sterner stuff, however, and resisted. Dido and Cleopatra were both afflicted by madness,[56] and both, after failing to achieve their designs, took their own lives. Cleopatra was an enemy of Rome, and as for Dido, she was the founder of Carthage, Rome's most intractable foe. Dido's destruction and Carthage's destruction are linked in *Aen.* 4; and the destruction of both was necessary to Rome. Dido is an example of a bad leader, the opposite of Aeneas: she failed her people, and paid the price.

Are we not, though, expected to feel compassion for Dido? Virgil does allow us to feel some compassion for the victims of the Roman mission, especially Dido and Turnus: it is not their fault that they come into conflict with a higher purpose. This sympathy for the other side, surprising in a Roman context, appeals strongly to us today. We consider that it is one of the features which make the *Aeneid* such a great work of art. But we must be careful not to home in on this sympathy of Virgil's so much that we underrate or overlook the central theme of the poem, the establishment of Rome's greatness, and its central purpose, to justify Rome's right to rule. We should remember that Aeneas' behaviour is of a higher moral order than Dido's, and that is why it was Rome, not Carthage, that deserved "empire without end".

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[53] Pease (1935) 47-49.
[54] Cf. Cairns (1989) 1-84.
[55] For an account of the numerous points of comparison, and also the points of non-comparion, between Dido and Cleopatra, see Pease (1935) 24-28. See also Camps (1969) 29-30, 95-96.
[56] For that of Cleopatra, see Hor. *Carm*. 1.37.7, 12, 14.

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The Enigmatic *Vergili* at Hor. *Carm.* 4.12.13 and a Roman Monument

An article to thank the Society for the election as Honorary Vice-President[*]

Ode 4.12

(1) *Iam veris comites, quae mare temperant,*
impellunt animae lintea Thraciae,
iam nec prata rigent nec fluvii strepunt
hiberna nive turgidi.

(2) *Nidum ponit, Ityn flebiliter gemens,*
infelix avis et Cecropiae domus
aeternum opprobrium, quod male barbaras
regum est ulta libidines.

(3) *Dicunt in tenero gramine pinguium*
custodes ovium carmina fistula
delectantque deum, cui pecus et nigri
colles Arcadiae placent.

(4) *Adduxere sitim tempora,* **Vergili**,
sed pressum Calibus ducere Liberum
si gestis, iuvenum nobilium cliens,
nardo vina merebere;

[*] I thank Federico Aurora for a useful epigraphic parallel to *apparet* (*CIL* 1^2 1203 and 1204) and, respectively, Rachel McCombie and Jonathan Rome for allowing me to make use of their rare photographs of the less accessible western side of the monument of Eurysaces. Above all I thank the conscientious editor for all suggestions, improvements and corrections.

(5) *nardi parvus onyx eliciet cadum,*
qui nunc Sulpiciis accubat horreis,
spes donare novas largus amaraque
curarum eluere efficax. 20

(6) *Ad quae si properas gaudia, cum tua*
velox merce veni; non ego te meis
inmunem meditor tingere poculis,
plena dives ut in domo.

(7) *Verum*[1] *pone moras et studium lucri,* 25
nigrorumque memor, dum licet, ignium
misce stultitiam consiliis brevem:
dulce est desipere in loco.

("**(1)** Already the companions of spring, the Thracian breezes that calm the sea, drive the sails on, the meadows are stiff no longer, nor do the rivers roar swollen from winter snow. **(2)** With weeping laments for Itys, the bird builds her nest, the ill-starred and an everlasting disgrace on Cecrops' house, by having avenged so cruelly the barbarous lust of kings. **(3)** Shepherds, while tending fat sheep on soft grass, recite songs to the pipe, delighting the god who finds pleasure in the flocks and dark hills of Arcadia. **(4)** The season has brought thirst, **Vergilius**, but if you wish to drink the juice of Liber, squeezed at Cales, o client of young nobles, you will only earn your wine by means of nard. **(5)** A small flacon of nard will lure out a jar just now reposing in the Sulpician storage rooms, a jar generous in giving fresh hopes and effective at washing away a bitter layer of cares. **(6)** If you are eager for these delights, come hastily with your commodity. For I have no intention to moisten you from my own goblets free of charge, as if I were a rich man in a well-stocked house. **(7)** However, put aside delay and the pursuit of profit and, mindful of the black flames, blend while you may a brief folly with your counsels: it's a sweet thing to be silly on occasion").[2]

The Problem

Strange, if not inscrutable assertions about the friend of Horace, addressed as *Vergili* at line 13, seem to be in vogue.[3] One recent and fairly representative example may suffice:

[1] Shackleton Bailey (2001) and Fedeli in Fedeli & Ciccarelli (2008) have adopted Campbell's conjecture *rerum*, perhaps justly (on this issue see more below).
[2] The author's translation.
[3] References to pro and con positions are found in Thomas (2001) 55-58 and Thomas (2011) 226-227.

> "In *Carm.* 4.12, Vergil is to be guest of honor at the symposium, and his attendance is of the utmost importance. Without Vergil and the gift he will bring *(tua merx,* 4.12.21-2) there will be no party. That he has passed away will provide no barrier; if Vergil himself cannot be present, at least his poetry can. It is the *merx*[4] that will pay for the cups of wine Horace will provide. By addressing the poem to Vergil, Horace has resurrected him, and by making his poetry the necessary contribution for the symposium to take place, he recalls 4.10 and invites his readers to reflect again on Vergil".[5]

Making the poet Virgil (dead or alive) the pivotal figure of a private symposium is a fairly risky and challenging business. If the poem is read in this way, a kind of meta-meaning easily becomes its quintessence. Still, while I myself,[6] and perhaps the majority of modern scholars in the field, have been opposed to the idea that the poet Virgil is the addressee, this is not to say that the arguments for the other position have generally been altogether lacking in substance and credibility. A principal argument is, of course, that, since the poet Virgil is mentioned indisputably 9 times in Horace's œuvre,[7] the burden of proof lies rather heavily with those who are disallowing the tenth instance. But what of the main objection,[8] the putative date of the poem's composition and publication, after Virgil's death?[9] To reconcile the genesis of the collection with the invitation of the famous poet colleague to a wine party is so difficult to accept that Richard Thomas and others have certainly chosen a safer ground by assuming that Horace has included a poem written *before* Virgil's death in his collection.[10] But even this position does not escape the objection: How could the younger poet escape a verdict from most contemporary readers that he had shown bad taste and irreverence by addressing the master of the recently published *Aeneid* in such a way? In view of the standing both Virgil and Horace must have had with Augustus and his regime, the attitude shown by Horace may seem on this assumption to

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[4] I am at a loss as to how *merx* should be taken as "Virgil's poetry", when it is, according to the poet's own words, "a small bottle of spikenard". The reference to 4.10 is of no relevance.
[5] Zarecki (2010) 250. See further *e.g.* Putnam (1996) 145-56.
[6] Cf. Kraggerud (2012) 599.
[7] See Shackleton Bailey (2001), *index nominum*, 371.
[8] Phrased with sharpness and authority in a footnote by Fraenkel (1957, 418 n.1, quoted also by Thomas, 2001, 56 and Thomas 2011, 226).
[9] The common opinion is that the fourth book of Odes was written in the years following the *Carmen Saeculare* and published in 13 BC. Cf. the collection's opening sort of "sphragis", *circa lustra decem* (*C.* 4.1.6). It is in the nature of things that some poems in the collection are without any indication of date. For a recent discussion see Fedeli in Fedeli & Ciccarelli (2008) 13-16.
[10] For Thomas, see n.3 above. Niall Rudd (2004, 252 n. 33) is a recent spokesman for a similar view: "The ode seems to be an imaginary invitation, set nostalgically in the period when Horace first knew him". The problem is that there is no indication in the poem (or for that matter in the collection as a whole), why its chronological setting should differ so radically from the rest of the book.

verge on the frivolous. The poem's setting would also be hard to reconcile with what we know about the respective abodes of both poets: Virgil presented himself as a citizen of Naples at the end of the *Georgics* in 30/29 BC (4.563-64) and so he remained apart from short visits to Rome and abroad, Horace was seldom more than two days' journey away from Rome (the Digentia valley, Tibur). So it is hard to believe that the poem could have been written between the publication of *Odes* 1-3 (probably 23 BC) and Virgil's death. The situation depicted in the poem seems rather to be one involving old friends living in the same city on a permanent basis and within walking distance from each other. Yet so far the alternative to this, namely to posit another Vergilius,[11] has had little appeal to readers.

The Other Vergilius

Let us then set out on another course, and start from what the poem is actually offering us in the way of identifying clues. For Horace seems deliberately to have put such clues into his poem to prevent future ages from being bewildered by the name Vergilius and from drawing false conclusions. If his friend had been an otherwise anonymous *mercator* or *ungentarius,* there would in all likelihood have been no solution to our enigma and no end to the discussions it has given rise to. But Horace is certainly a circumspect poet. For a start, he knew that contemporary readers of the fourth book of *Carmina*, be it in 13 BC or somewhat later, would **(1)** certainly be attentive and think of Vergilius Maro when meeting the vocative *Vergili* at line 13 – and, what is more important, ask themselves **(2)** whether there was another man with the same *nomen gentile* who was well enough known to merit the attention caused by such a conspicuous name. To use the name Vergilius instead of for example an unknown Ligurinus (as in *C.* 4.1 and 4.10) was obviously as deliberate a choice as putting any nobleman's name into the collection. Horace must therefore have reckoned it probable that his compatriots would be in a position to identify the other Vergilius, not least those who were his primary audience: the circle around Augustus, men of letters, those who had listened to his *Carmen Saeculare*, in short all he believed would know the identity of *Vergili* as well as that of *Censorine* (*C.* 4.8.2). My theory, then, is that Horace included the man calling himself *Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces* as one of his identifiable individuals in the fourth book of Odes. But as this person has so far not been considered as a candidate by commentators, he will need some introduction.

[11] Shackleton Bailey (2001) 371 rejecting the comments of the scholiasts says: "alius amicus Horati, ut vid".

The Monument of Eurysaces

All we know about Vergilius Eurysaces is connected with his tomb just outside the Porta Maggiore in Rome, the *Sepulchrum Eurysacis*, as it is called by modern handbooks.[12] I prefer to use the term monument (*monimentum*) in accordance with the owner's own designation: it is clearly both a memorial and a tomb. This is an extraordinary construction, and no less so is its history. It was brought to light in 1838, after having been encapsulated for more than fourteen centuries in the fortifications outside the most easterly entrance to the city through the Aurelian Walls.

Built during the early years of Augustus' reign,[13] the monument was spared by the emperor Claudius around 50 AD, when he led two aqueducts across the fork of the Via Labicana and the Via Praenestina. These aqueducts were supported by arches constituting the Porta Maggiore, which had an impressive attica celebrating the emperor and his care for the water supply of Rome. In the 270s the arches were integrated into Aurelian's walls. Early in the fifth century, under Stilicho, the baker's tomb was incorporated into a fortification tower at this entrance and its inscription was hidden from view.

The form of the monument is called trapezoid, its shape being perhaps best characterized as a deliberately non-rectangular quadrilateral: there are neither right angles nor sides of equal length.[14] Eurysaces' builder or architect had been constrained in his enterprise by the roads on either side and the restricted space available for the construction. The longer northern side of the monument is parallel to the ancient Via Praenestina, the southern side to the Via Labicana. The now totally demolished eastern side was in all probability decorated above the entrance with a marble portrait relief of Eurysaces and his wife Atistia after their deaths.[15] The main part of the monument, built in travertine, consists of a lower tier with solid supportive elements, conspicuous among them being the cylindrical column forms standing between more or less broad partition props. Above is a fascia reminiscent of an architrave. The next tier is even more extraordinary than the first, because of its three rows of horizontal drums adorning the wall, each side of the monument having a different number of drums in accordance with the varying length of the sides. The corners of this tier had nice regular pilasters ending in capitals. An illustrative frieze

[12] Platner & Ashby (1929); Richardson, Jr (1992); Steinby (1993-2000).
[13] See below, 'The Dating of the Monument'.
[14] Coarelli (2007) 204.
[15] The relief of Eurysaces and Atistia was found in the ruins in 1838. A photograph of it in its pre-1934 state of preservation can be seen in the documentation of the monument by Nash (1968) II, 329-32. An inscription belonging to Atistia's so-called *panarium*, *i.e.* her cinerary urn in the form of a bread bin, was also found (*CIL* I^2 1206).

encircling the upper part on the three preserved sides is obviously meant to be the main attraction for the passer-by. A geison gives a further impression of a construction inspired by grand temples.

Much attention has, as a matter of course, been given to the monument's most striking and distinctive feature, the drums – framed orifices, thirty of which are extant. This decorative element is explained well enough, it seems, for both the ancient and the modern viewer, by a closer look at the frieze, which exhibits their full context and function: the drums are representations of a key element in the baking process, circular tanks for preparing dough. Their sheer number alludes to a big bakery producing bread on an industrial scale.[16] The cylinders below in the first tier are more disputed. I find the interpretation offered recently by Diana Kleiner appealing: they are meant to point at or represent silos for grain.[17] But it is the inscription, as taken together with a reading of the frieze, that has been the most relevant part of the monument in my quest for the correct identification of the *Vergili* in Horace's ode.

The Inscription(s)

Accordingly we start, as the ancient viewer would have done, with the inscribed message on the architrave-like fascia. The inscription – I prefer to refer to it in the singular – presents itself in the middle of the monument between the lower tier and the drums, and is the key element of the whole. It is identical on two sides (the western and northern), and has an abbreviated form on the third (southern) side, which perhaps ended on the destroyed eastern side.[18] The western side, however, has a layout which in my view should be seen as the "original" and the first one which was put in place. On this side the inscription is divided into two lines, as follows:[19]

EST·HOC·MONIMENTUM·MARGEI·VERGILEI·EVRYSACIS
PISTORIS·REDEMPTORIS·APPARET

[16] This interpretation is borne out by the westernmost part of the northern frieze showing the same cylindrical trough in its normal upright position in the bakery. The preparing of the dough was the start of baking proper after the flour had been inspected. It is clear for the modern viewer that the upper tier is built in the "lego" fashion from prefabricated identical travertine blocks with drums in the middle.

[17] This view is most recently advocated in her online course on Roman funerary art from Yale University (openyalecourses, HSAR 252, Lecture 10).

[18] For all the versions see *CIL* I^2 1203-05, the two line version being 1204.

[19] An excellent printed reproduction can be seen in Ciancio Rossetto (1973) 35. On the northern side, the inscription is on a single line.

The inscription here is marred by a spelling mistake, corrected on the northern side (see Fig. 2): The stonecutter wrote a G for a C in the forename.[20] Otherwise the inscription is diligently and beautifully carved.[21] Only, at the end of the first line, IS was written in somewhat smaller letters due to lack of space.

The first line informs us about the monument's ownership. The second is more essential for our purposes. *Pistor*, the usual word for a baker, should be taken in its etymological sense: this baker is also grinding (*pinsere*) his grain at the start of the baking process. The word *redemptor*, contractor, adds essential information: Eurysaces is no ordinary baker, he is a baker who holds a contract[22] with the authorities of Rome. Before I expatiate on this designation, or rather title, the last word *apparet* is in sore need of comment. Theodor Mommsen, writing in his early years an otherwise magisterial article about the mixed group of *apparitores* in Roman public life,[23] was notably hesitant here. On the one hand he would not directly reject (*non improbo*) taking *apparet* as an abbreviation of *apparitoris*,[24] but on the other hand he was evidently in favour of seeing it as a verb in the present indicative, with Eurysaces as its subject. He added, quite rightly, that the present tense would reflect the fact that Eurysaces had made the monument during his own life-time, to serve both his wife Atistia and himself. Mommsen then spoke of Eurysaces' *tria officia*, namely as 1. *pistor*, 2. <operum publicorum> *redemptor* and 3. *praeco* (defining his role as a magistrate's

[20] Was he a Greek more familiar with the word ΜΑΡΓΟΣ than the Roman *praenomen*?

[21] I do not follow O. Brandt (1993, 13-17, esp. 14-15) in his belief that the version written on the western side is copied after the "original" on the "southern side", "as that inscription is more beautiful than the rest". Leaving aside the article's obvious mistake in mixing up the southern and northern sides in the text under Fig. 1, I cannot see any significant difference in quality in the versions. I believe that the same *incisor* wrote the inscription on all extant sides with the same diligence. Taking the most difficult task first, the short western side, he probably followed the owner's instruction in dividing the inscription there as he did. Afterwards he became aware of (or was told about) his spelling mistake and made it all correct on the northern side. The southern inscription, which reads EST·HOC·MONIMENTUM·MARCI·VERGILI·EVRYSAC(IS) (*CIL* I^2 1205) was, according to Brandt's attractive idea, continued on the eastern side because of the easy angle for the viewer. This would strengthen my point that the three last words of the inscription were meant to have an emphasis of their own.

[22] *redemptor*, added to *pistor*, should be taken as an adjective and not be printed after a dividing comma. Cf. the standard example *exercitus victor* = "a victorious army" (Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*, § 92).

[23] Mommsen (1848). For our inscription, 22.

[24] It raised Mommsen's suspicion that an 'E' was written instead of an 'I'. The *apparitor* theory has been repeated also in recent times: A. Claridge translated the inscription in her archaeological guide (1998, 360) as: "This is the tomb of Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces, baker, contractor, he serves … [possibly some minor public official]". In the 2010 edition, however, she has changed "he serves" to "it's obvious". Cf. also Coarelli (2007) 205: "attendant".

attendant or servant, *apparitor*), all of which gave him considerable wealth. But on the basis of monument's own evidence it is not easy to accept such combined activity or to see or say how Eurysaces would have functioned as an *apparitor*. For which magistrate? Or simply in the capacity of being a baker? But Eurysaces' "function" vis-à-vis the authorities is already defined well enough by taking *redemptoris* closely with *pistoris*. I cannot see the point of mentioning any functions in the inscription beyond that connected with his special occupation as a contract baker, which is clearly pointed out and illustrated by the monument as a whole. Therefore I share, with some modification, the view represented by the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*,[25] that *apparet*[26] is impersonal.

At first glance, however, an abrupt and one word statement like *apparet*, "it is obvious", must seem strange. For one thing, the common expression is *ut apparet*.[27] But *apparet* alone in an absolute usage might arguably be taken as a more definitive form of expression. The one parallel mentioned by the *ThLL* is Plaut. *Cist.* 696: [Phanostrata:] *locum signat, ubi ea* (sc. *cistella*) *excidit: apparet*. The colloquial nature of this example is plain to see. The brevity is in tune with the speaker's observations on the spot and her immediate conclusions. But the same kind of brevity and syntax seems out of place on the monument. Consequently an interpretation of the syntax seems best guided by the western *in situ* version: we should make a pause at the end of the first line after EURYSACIS, preferably in print marking the line's pause with a semi colon or colon, and then read the whole lower line as a sentence in its own right. This creates a more even balance between the two verbs (*est* and *apparet*). The syntactic construction of the lower line is thus: *apparet* + *acc. c. inf.* (cf. *ThLL* 1.266, 77 - 267, 11) with an easy ellipsis, *pistoris redemptoris <esse hoc monimentum> apparet*,[28] which points to the man's profession, emphasizing the fact that he is a contract baker. For *apparet* is the monument's way of calling on passers-bys' attention.[29] Every Roman on the point of leaving the city or entering it, either by the Via Praenestina or the Via Labicana, would have seen the monument, and some of them at least would have looked at the frieze which the inscription is specifically referring to.

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[25] The author of the lemma *appareo* is A. von Mess (1875-1916).

[26] *ThLL* 2.267, 48-61.

[27] *E.g.* Cic. *Flac.* 38; *Brut.* 95; *Fin.* 5. 21; later *sicut apparet* is also common.

[28] An analogous case can be found in *CIL* XI 494; the epitaph in question has *quod suis dedit appare(t)*, "what he gave to his own people is obvious".

[29] It is well known how often Greek and Latin inscriptions, especially epitaphs, address the passer-by with an appeal to make a stop before the monument and take an empathic interest in the deceased. A fair number of examples was collected by Richmond Lattimore in his valuable 1935 University of Illinois dissertation, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs*, later published in part as Lattimore (1962), where cf. esp. 230-34.

The Frieze

The sequence of illustrations depicting the baking process can, at least from Eurysaces' point of view, be seen as the most important part of the monument. But, however interesting in itself, it does not need to detain us for long here. I single out the top panel on Fig. 3, showing the sequence on the western side which represents the last phase in the production of bread: after the loaves of bread have come out of the ovens, they are carried to the weighing scales, emphasized by their central position, then they are put in baskets, and finally they are carried away by slaves into the city. Persons dressed in togas are supervising each stage. The artists who planned and carved this frieze were almost certainly following the ideas and instructions of Eurysaces himself. That is why the official supervision of the production is so prominent in his frieze. Eurysaces was keen to show the public that he was scrupulously and honestly fulfilling his obligations towards the authorities. A business like his was based on trust from those who paid for the bread, as to both the quality of the production and the accountability of the owner.

The Dating of the Monument

Experts are far from agreed on when Eurysaces had his monument built. The dating ranges from the late 50s BC[30] to the end of the century and beyond. A date of the monument after the Mausoleum Augusti was begun (in the early 20s BC) seems altogether the likeliest. I hope that my contribution will lead to a new interest in this issue among archaeologists and art historians. I have come to believe that the monument was built when the baker's enterprise had been flourishing for years and Caesar Octavianus had for some time been Augustus, in short that Ciancio Rossetto's dating of the monument between 30 and 20 BC is tenable.[31] The portrait relief of the baker and his wife stems most probably from a somewhat later date than the monument itself, so that Diana Kleiner may well be right in dating the drapery and coiffure as belonging to the period influenced by the craftsmanship of the Ara Pacis between 13 BC and AD 5.[32]

Without, I hope, being too much a prey to circular reasoning, I believe in conclusion that Horace wrote his poem when the monument was a fairly recent sight at the eastern crossroads leading out of the city, and that its owner was still concerned at the time with the bakery firm on a daily basis and the contract he was responsible for.

[30] Kockel (1993) 88-90 (with many references).
[31] Ciancio Rosetto (1973) 67.
[32] Kleiner (1977) 202.

The Poem in View of its Addressee

As can be easily seen, the poem is a sort of combination of two well-known subtypes of Horatian poetry: a spring poem (1-12) and an invitation poem (13-28). As to its dates, the most reasonable estimate is this: 4.12 was probably written at any time between 17 BC (autumn) and 13 BC (summer), the latter year being a fair guess for the publication of the collection. This would mean that when his compatriots were for the first time confronted with the collection, more than five years had passed since the poet Virgil's death. Coming to the twelfth poem, they would probably have ascertained by then that the other identifiable addressees in the collection were alive, contemporary friends and acquaintances of Horace. Then, why should poem 12 be an exception? Virgil the poet was out of the question, but they would not have to look far for another addressee: there was another Vergilius around and a Roman one at that, Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces.[33] His name indicates a *libertus* who had once had an unfree status, but had become a Roman citizen of distinction, and his monument spoke eloquently of his success, both to his contemporaries and to posterity.

As to his name, there is no reason to dwell on the fact that our modern age has mostly preferred to call him by his Greek name, to which was added the acquired Roman name to which he had a legitimate right like other *liberti*. But if a successful *libertus* could be identified only by his *nomen gentile*, so much the better. The case of Andronikos from Tarentum, who in the second half of the 3rd century BC became the first Roman poet, is relevant here. As a free man his *tria nomina* were Lucius Livius Andronicus. About two centuries later Livy, belonging to the same widely ramified *gens*, mentions him on more than one occasion just as Livius, without adding his Greek name.[34] So *Vergili* was in the eyes of Romans the most honourable way of addressing a Eurysaces living as a respected and wealthy citizen of Rome. Perhaps the fuller form *Vergilius Eurysaces* would have been officially preferable in many situations during the poet Virgil's lifetime, in order to distinguish between the two men, if required. But after the poet's death confusion was less likely, and *Vergilius* alone would have been sufficiently clear to identify the contract

[33] He had a name by birth ("Broad-shield") "inherited" from the son of Aiax Telamonius. The mythical Eurysaces became king of Salamis, made over his island to Athens (Plut. *Sol.* 10. 2), where there was a heroic shrine, the Eurysakeion at Melite (Paus. 1.35.1-3). To claim descent from Eurysaces was honorable among Salaminians (Ferguson, 1938, esp. 15-17). Eurysaces is prominent in Sophocles' *Aiax* (particularly 545-95). Sophocles dealt with him also in the lost tragedies *Teucer* (presumably) and *Eurysaces* (cf. *RE s.v.* and Lloyd-Jones, 1996, 96-97).

[34] Liv. 7.2.8; 27.37.7. For "Livius" alone cf. also Cic. *Brut.* 72; *Tusc.* 1.3. Likewise Horace: mentioning Andronicus twice in *Epist.* 2. 1 (62, 69), he calls him by his *nomen gentile* (admittedly, *Andronicus* could not be handled in a hexameter).

baker in both official and every day speech. As for Horace himself, he would hardly have left out the acquired Roman *nomen gentile* which must have contributed much to his addressee's social standing.

As to much discussed details in the poem,[35] *iuvenum nobilium cliens* (16) could in theory designate poets from Ennius onwards, but it suits our contract baker infinitely better than the poet Virgil. For Eurysaces, being a *libertus*, it adds to his prestige that one could meet him at times among the high and mighty. Horace implies: "You are a well-known man and have connections pointing to the highest places in society and politics". In fact, as he set out rather explicitly himself in his frieze, Eurysaces' kind of business would clearly involve close co-operation and contact with the authorities, not least with a view to obtaining a steady and undisputed income from his contract. Horace himself could well have become acquainted with Eurysaces in such a social setting. Indeed Vergilius Eurysaces must have been a pivotal figure for the satisfactory supply of bread in Rome, most probably to the poor and needy populace. Social unrest would be the result if such supplies failed.

But with the opening line of the seventh stanza we are nearer to proving our case. Applied to the poet Virgil, *verum pone moras et studium lucri* (25) would come dangerously close to an insult (*i.e. vivo poeta*) or thoughtlessness. To go after profit would be no compliment addressed to men serving the Muses like Virgil and Horace, *lucrum* being often a negative notion. Yet its mention here would necessarily imply that to make profit was rated as a reputable aim for poetic talent.[36] The sentiment would be even worse in a sort of obituary. Misplaced teasing would be the only explanation and excuse which I can come up with in that case. But if the address is to Vergilius Eurysaces, the potentially provocative *lucrum* will say something quite different: on an occasion like the one depicted, the friend must not let himself be kept back by his business[37] and his perfectly legitimate interest in its profit (*studium lucri*). Applied to a Eurysaces, *studium lucri* is in tune with his monument and will be taken as the best of compliments. It would signal that Eurysaces is

[35] Another perhaps significant detail: Horace mentions that his exquisite wine is waiting to be fetched from the Sulpician magazines (*Sulpicia horrea*) close to the Tiber. With the baker at the center of the poem, it is a unifying trait that his provisions of grain would come from the same complex of magazines.

[36] That poets were sponsored by aristocrats and by the Augustan regime more or less directly was a matter of course, but to say that a fellow poet was devoting his spiritual energy to acquiring a good income would be tasteless or offensive or both.

[37] Especially if we adopt, as I think we should, the reading *rerum* for *verum*: subjective genitive; understand *morae* caused by his *res* ("business", "affairs", *OLD s.v.* 14).

always intent on fulfilling his duties towards the authorities and the people of Rome and not putting his income at stake by forfeiting their goodwill.

There are also positive factors in the poem's whole structure and wording that speak in favour of our identification. Horace allows himself in the playful second half of the poem to allude to Eurysaces' profession as *pistor redemptor,* demonstrated so precisely on the frieze, as he makes the whole symposium dependent on a form of contract between them, a contract to be scrupulously observed. Otherwise the invitation will evidently be annulled. Horace is not in the mood for treating Vergilius with good wine for nothing, this being in accordance with the Roman principle *do ut des*. Horace insists on his condition by repeating it in consecutive stanzas (4, 5 and 6): *nardo vina merebere* (16); *nardi parvus onyx eliciet cadum* (17); *cum tua … merce veni* to compensate for *meis …tingere poculis* (21-24). Words like *mereri, merx, immunis* emphasize that the businesslike side of their contract must be agreed upon and accepted.[38]

But there are even more indications that we are on the right track in identifying *Vergili* with Eurysaces. The spring section of the poem dominating the three first stanzas takes us away from Rome and Italy to the eastern part of the Greek world. Here, the expression *animae … Thraciae* (2) for *zephyri* (or *favonii*) is unusual. In his comment on the line, Richard Thomas seems to be right in spotting an influence from the Greek word for *venti,* ἄνεμοι. The epithet *Thraciae* reveals Greek influence even more. Horace is alluding to Homer's personified Ζέφυρος whose grand moment in the *Iliad* is his role in the 23rd song, when the pyre of Patroclus will not catch fire (192). The helpless Achilles calls on the brothers Boreas and Zephyros, promising them rich offerings (193-98). The goddess Iris takes his prayer to the abode of Zephyros in Thrace, finds the other winds assembled there and asks Boreas and Zephyros to make haste, whereupon they rush forth with formidable strength and noise on their way across the sea (that is the Mare Thracium).[39] Having completed their mission at Troy they return to their home in Thrace (198-230). The reference to this *locus classicus* about Zephyros and Boreas makes us see that the rough winds of spring emanating from the north have undergone a metamorphosis in Horace, in accordance with the mild season evoked. The same winds are now moderating the sea and allowing the ships a safe travel across calmer waves.

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[38] If the contract Eurysaces had with the authorities was not duly kept it would be the end of both his "commodity" produced by his bakery (~ spikenard) and *lucrum* from the authorities (~ wine from Cales).

[39] τοὶ δ᾽ ὀρέοντο / ἠχῇ θεσπεσίῃ νέφεα κλονέοντε πάροιθεν. / αἶψα δὲ πόντον ἵκανον ἀήμεναι, ὦρτο δὲ κῦμα / πνοιῇ ὕπο λιγυρῇ (*Il.* 23. 212-15).

Greek associations are also very much to the fore in the second stanza. While seen building its nest, the bird of spring, the swallow or *hirundo* in daily speech, is associated with terrible memories of the mythical age before the bird's final metamorphosis, when she as an Athenian princess, Pandion's daughter, had killed her off-spring Itys to avenge the gruesome passion of her husband, the Thracian king Tereus. The infamy attached forever to the Athenian royal house (*Cecropia domus*) comes from her horrible deeds. This atrocity is more prominent than Tereus' barbarous passion in Horace's condensed account. We cannot say for sure whether Horace had specifically in mind the tragedy *Tereus* by Sophocles, the earliest famous treatment of the myth. All the same, the emphasis on the tragedy of Athens and the grave guilt of its princess are motives that stand out in the stanza.

Then, with the third stanza, a bright Greek spring is seen without all sinister associations. The bucolic world of Arcadia is filled with singing shepherds and thriving sheep. Pan himself enjoys it all to the full. The elements of bucolic poetry set in the landscape of Arcadia are pointing directly to the poet Virgil,[40] a reference that clashes almost paradoxically with the immediate address to (another) Vergilius at the beginning of the next stanza. From (possible) references to Homer and Sophocles we are turning in the third stanza unmistakably to the Roman poet Virgil, whose first poetic achievement was to have transplanted bucolic Greek scenery to Italy.[41]

This account of a spring in the Greek world, with its allusion to Greek myth and literature, and finally to Virgil's adoption of the pleasant scenery of Arcadia, seems well attuned to an address made to a man who had emerged socially from the state of a Greek slave to become a successful Roman citizen. It is as if Horace wants to communicate indirectly: "You, my Vergilius Eurysaces, by birth a Greek, have become a Roman, nay even a Vergilius, and are able to enjoy your new status in the high levels of Roman society". There is even a metapoetic dimension involved in the spring stanzas, if I am right in my identification of literary associations with the Greek name Eurysaces. After the initial reference to a famous Homeric scene in the first stanza, the second reference seems to point to Sophocles, who had also dealt notably with Eurysaces by name in his *Ajax*, *Eurysaces* and *Teucer*. Then the poet Virgil is directly alluded to in the third stanza, just before the introduction of the guest.

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[40] Pan and Arcadia are mentioned together both in *Ecl.* 4 (58-59) and *Ecl.* 10 (26).

[41] For a somewhat more detailed comment on this literary and linguistic Romanization in Virgil's *Eclogues,* see the comments on *Prima … Thalea* in Kraggerud (2010).

Incontrovertible arguments are of course lacking, but the sum of possible and probable indications is much in favour of *Vergili* being Vergilius Eurysaces. The outlook on contemporary Rome which Horace shows in his fourth book of Odes seems indeed to strengthen this interpretation. Seldom, if ever, is a clearer ideology worded by the poet. In brief, Horace is praising the happy present in undisguised terms: prosperity, peace and security have become manifest realities, the country is thriving. The regime of Augustus is behind it all. These odes seem almost intended to prop up the impression communicated by the Ara Pacis. Already from the *Carmen Saeculare* (29-30, cf. also 59-60) the goddess Ceres is at the centre of people's wellbeing. And one man, Vergilius Eurysaces, can be adduced as a prominent example in that regard, instrumental on behalf of the regime in passing on the blessing of this affluence to the people of Rome. He is, as shown by his own monument, both a worthy and a necessary mainstay for Rome in these years, a man in whom Augustus must have put his trust no less than in aristocratic addressees like Censorinus and Lollius. I also think that Horace felt some personal motive in giving prominence to a man who was a *libertus*, albeit in a category of his own, just as Horace's father had been a *libertus*. And to end on a word of compromise and reconciliation, to bring together those for and against the presence of the poet Virgil in the poem: In an elegant way Horace has in my view deliberately combined the two Vergilii, the dead poet and the living contract baker, both friends, evoking the presence of each of them in very different ways, making us aware of both with striking effect by means of the juxtaposed lines 12 (*Arcadiae*) and 13 (*Vergili*).

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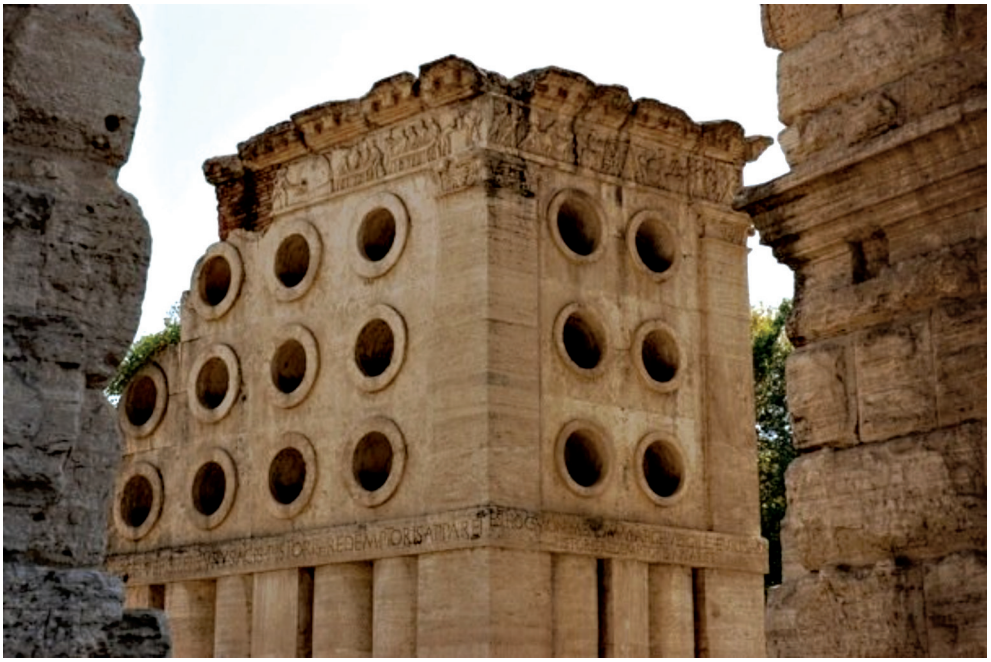

Figure. 1. The monument's western (and shorter) and northern side seen through the Porta Maggiore. © *Rachel McCombie*

Figure. 2. The inscription in its full form in two rows on the western side. © *Jonathan Rome*

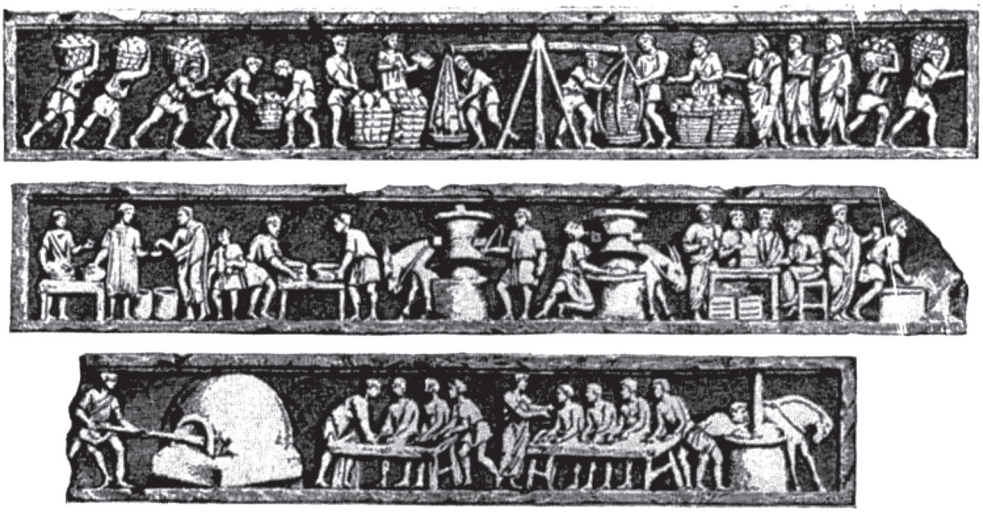

Figure. 3.

1st row: Western side (from left to right).
2nd row: Southern side (from right to left).
3rd row: Northern side (from right to left). *Image from Foto Flickr Commons*