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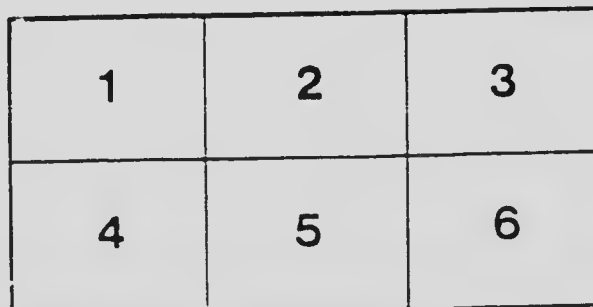
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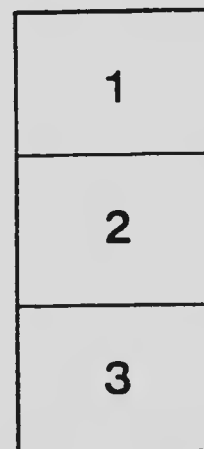
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THE
DIDO EPISODE
IN
THE AENEID OF VIRGIL

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
OF THE
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND LITERATURE
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
DEPARTMENT OF LATIN

BY
NORMAN WENTWORTH DE WITT

TORONTO
WILLIAM BRIGGS
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PREFACE

IN these pages I have had occasion to mention not infrequently Mr. T. R. Glover's *Studies in Virgil* and Richard Heinze's *Virgils Epische Technik*. Readers will understand that these works are referred to by the names of their authors.

Thanks for good suggestions are due to Professor George Lincoln Hendrickson, of the University of Chicago, who kindly read this thesis in manuscript; also to Professor F. W. Shipley and Dr. Winthrop H. Chenery, of Washington University, who have carefully looked over the proof sheets.

NORMAN WENTWORTH DE WITT.

Washington University,
St. Louis.

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THE DIDO EPISODE IN THE AENEID OF VIRGIL

CHAPTER I.

THE RISE OF EROTIC POETRY.

The word erotic has reference not to the form but to the content of literature, and for this reason, although it is extremely frequent in literary criticism, it is not a technical term and is not usually found in the indices of works upon Greek literature. In Proclus the word Erotikon denotes a song addressed to a boy-favorite, but the same is also known as a *παιδικὸς ὕμνος*, and this as the more definite term is to be preferred.

Confining ourselves, therefore, to the wider meaning of the word, we may say it describes a work of which love is the chief theme. A large literary work may have, of course, an erotic passage, and this is the case with the Aeneid. Taking the word in this sense, we could properly apply it to the literary works of different periods and countries, but in practice it is confined to the poetry and prose of the period of Greek culture that we call Alexandrian, and to the verse of Roman poets who imitated that literature. Love came to be treated by these writers in a more or less conventional manner of which we hope to show that the fourth book of the Aeneid is a conspicuous example.

The word erotic was, of course, derived from Eros, the god of love, and with him it maintained the closest associations. As we may infer from the *Symposium* of Plato,¹ Eros was a god of little honor on the mainland of Greece, although his name was ancient enough. Already, in Hesiod, he is the companion of his mother Aphrodite, and figures as a co-ordinating force that came into being after Chaos. To the philosophers he is a principle of the universe, actuating all living things, but with this Eros the adjective erotic has little to do. It is the picture of the winged god that the word calls up. In Aleman we hear of him flitting among the flowers,² and in Euripides he has the arrows that cannot miss their mark.³ Yet it is only in Alexandrian days that he

¹Plato, *Sympos.* 177 ff.

²No. 56 in Hiller-Crusius.

³Medea, 634.

becomes the ubiquitous and mischievous urchin who meets us in painting, sculpture and literature until he seems to have displaced the whole pantheon of greater gods. His character is perhaps best seen in the Anaereontic poems where he is a heartless, treacherous and irrepressible small boy. It is possible that the metaphors of the fire, the arrows and the wounds of love are more ancient than the pictorial and plastic representations, but it is certain that the works of art gave a greater currency to these conceptions and that the associations of the word erotic were markedly strong with sculpture and painting.

In Homer there is little enough upon the subject of love. Behind the poem lies the abduction of Helen, but it is as completely left out of the story as the adultery of Clytemnestra from the tragedy of Agamemnon. The great names in Homer belong to the good women, Penelope and Andromache. The adultery of Mars and Venus, detected and published to all the gods by Vulcan, suggests the only form of erotic story that the oldest literature allowed, the amours of the gods. Of these the earliest literary treatment, so far as we now know, was the love of Venus and Anchises which is described with some detail in the Homeric hymn to Aphrodite. Still more famous was the marriage of Pelens and Thetis, which was in later days a subject much favored by the poets. Most notorious of all were the amours of Zeus. The story of Europa runs through the whole literature, and was even made by Stesichorus the subject of a dithyramb, which was properly confined to episodes in the life of the god Dionysus. Scarcely less popular was the story of Danaë, still extant in a fragment of Simonides. In general, the serious efforts of the earlier poetry were directed to the divine and heroic world almost to the exclusion of ordinary men. To the gods and heroes was accorded a moral license and a freedom of conduct that gave room for the wildest adventures, and the added advantage of the supernatural was a charm to which the world in those days was especially susceptible. Not yet did human affairs seem worthy of the epic poet, but a change was coming that ended in bringing poetry, like philosophy, down from heaven to earth.

Of two of the great tragedians little need be said. From Aeschylus love as a motive of conduct is entirely absent. He transports the spectator so completely and so far into the remote and rugged heroic world that there is no place for the most human of emotions, even in an heroic guise. He was not for stirring feelings of tenderness and pathos, and love was not thought to be capable of anything higher. In the *Suppliants*, the love of the sons of Aegyptus for the daughters of Danaus is implied, and in the

Agamemnon the sin of Clytemnestra, but they were not employed to make the plays more interesting nor were they subjects for description. In the lost play of the *Myrmidons*, he is said to have told with great power the love of Achilles for Patroclus, and this would have been called by the Greeks an erotic passage, for to them, and especially the Athenians and the citizens of other states where women were secluded, it was easier to idealize the affection of man for man than that between the sexes. In the *Antigone* of Sophocles, the love of Haemon for the heroine is suggestive for the future development of the drama, but it is in the play a very subordinate motive. In the *Trachiniae* Deianeira is a victim of jealousy.

Euripides furnishes more material for discussion. In the case of Phaedra love is not thought of in the way we conceive it, and it is only in this play that it is presented to us in such a peculiar way. We have to think of the goddess Aphrodite, who has a cruel and spiteful side as well as the smiling mien by which she is generally known. She is a heartless persecutor of those who offend her, and the instrument of her vengeance is a mad, irresistible, and often incestuous passion, that ruins its victim and frequently all concerned. This love is a madness, *maria*, against which human intelligence is of no avail. The purity of Hippolytus and his disdain of Aphrodite incenses that divinity, and she resolves to get revenge by inspiring Phaedra with an adulterous passion for him that can end only in guilt and death. The queen is prostrated with the force of her infliction, and on the third day, on which the play opens, she is lying powerless upon her couch taking no food or drink and resolutely enduring and concealing her passion. The interest here is not in the love, but in the suffering. The case is quite parallel with the madness of Ajax in Sophocles, and in both cases the poet is using the madness as a tragic instrument. It is not human love that is described, but a revolting, overmastering passion that has come from an angry deity. Yet the madness of Ajax was a much safer kind for the tragic poet to employ. The play of Euripides marks the declination of the drama towards motives less remotely removed from daily life. The love of Phaedra is technically a mere instrument of the tragic plot, conceived in a form that separates it from the sphere of human affections, but a mad love of this heroic sort sent by the goddess naturally prepares the way for the description of a human passion that often takes the form of an infatuation. Especially among people who were less resolved to resist the feeling than other nations have been, and who were prone to believe in superhuman agencies working upon the hearts of men, the tragic conception of the passion differed

less perhaps than now from the ordinary one. Behind the Medea of Euripides lies a love story, but the drama itself is the tale of a high-spirited, vindictive, angry wife and mother. Alceestis is an example of wifely, not romantic, love. The thing we call erotic is of a more earthly sort.

We may say, therefore, concerning the epic and the classical poetry of Athens, that there is a singular absence of the erotic motive. Of adultery there is enough, and it seems to have been this form of the love-story that chiefly interested the poets in those days. There is much, too, about the amours of the gods, but of men and women falling in love, of lovers suffering, and of deserted women, there is little.

Reverting to another race of Greeks, we find a single note in the poems of Sappho, and that is love. For her there is no goddess but Aphrodite. Yet her love is for her girl friends, and it may be remarked in passing, that in her poetry the love of a woman for a girl friend seems to be idealized in the same way that the love of a man for a lad was idealized in other parts of Greece. She seemed to realize that noble and pure affection associated with the relation of teacher to pupil that is extolled by Pausanias in the *Symposium* of Plato.¹ For Sappho there is only *ἄφροδίτη θήρεια*. Alcaeus celebrates at the same time love and war, nor is there any *ἄφροδίτη πανδῆμος* for him. Love is noble and exalted. Not yet, however, have we found the form of erotic poetry in which we are at present interested. Romantic love is only for youthful man and woman, never for those of the same sex.

The erotic elegy began with Minnervius, in Asia Minor, and was addressed to living women. In the hands of Antimachus it probably took a narrative form. At any rate, he is said to have recounted famous tales of unhappy lovers to console himself for his own sorrow. It is significant for the later employment of the erotic motive by the epic poets, that Antimachus was an epic poet as well as an elegist. The elegiac form continued in increasing favor in Alexandria in the hands of Callimachus, while Philetas of Cos was almost equally famous. The elegy was addressed to women of the better class of courtesans, and became recognized as the proper form for conveying the sentiments of a love-lorn man. Its tone was not elevated, and wavers between sentimentality and obscenity. It was cultivated side by side with bucolic poetry, which celebrated the loves of shepherds and shepherdesses. Especially famous was the story of Daphnis, who was punished by Aphrodite for boasting of his fidelity. She sent upon him a mad love for another nymph that wore him out and ended in

¹Sym. 184c ff.

his death. Equally popular in Alexandrian literature was the story of Venus and Adonis. The cult of the latter never became strongly established in Greece proper, but in Egypt it overshadowed that of the greater gods. The Alexandrian age shows a marked tendency to prefer the more effeminate and sentimental elements of the Greek religion, and their taste in poetry reflects it. To the elegy and the amatory bucolic epyllion may be added the epigram, which was like an excerpt out of the new comedy, depicting some passing phase of a lover's feeling. It was doubtless a factor in the development of the Roman elegy.

Rome took up erotic poetry with fervor, and it is remarkable that between the time when Catullus began to write and the death of Ovid, there is not a great poet who did not lay his tribute on the shrine of Venus. Even Horace, whom the whole world knows for an indifferent lover, feels constrained at times to dedicate an amatory ode. The development of erotic poetry may have received an impetus from the arrival of the Greek Parthenius in Italy. He was brought as a captive from the Mithradatic wars, and Macrobius tells us that he was an instructor of Virgil. He was doubtless a teacher of Greek literature, and probably influenced to no small extent the first Roman who made a name by writing elegy, Cornelius Gallus. To him he dedicates the collection of plots for erotic stories that is still extant. He wrote himself only elegies and short epics, and always on the same theme. If it is true that he lived to the reign of Tiberius, as Suidas states, it deserves to be noted as a curious fact that Roman erotic literature begins and ends within his lifetime. His influence was perhaps greater than is generally thought.

Catullus naturally had plenty of fervor and passion, but that did not qualify him especially for erotic verse. In this a nice pretence serves quite as well as a fiery heart. A poem like the marriage of Peleus and Thetis shows little enough of the real Catullus, but it is, in the Ariadne episode, our best example of the erotic technique next to the fourth book of the *Aeneid*. The *Eclogues* of Virgil are in the manner of Theocritus, and love is frequently a passing theme and a pleasant reminiscence of his models. The *Eclogues* presuppose a familiarity with the stock elements of bucolic poetry, such as the story of Daphnis. The second, beginning, "Formosum pastor Corydon ardebat Alexim," is interesting as a rare example of the boy-love that found no favor in Rome. From the last eclogue we learn something about Lycoris, the favorite of the lost elegist, Gallus. In the *Georgics* we find the story of Orpheus and Eurydice and that of Hero and Leander, which is elsewhere referred to in this study. In the

Aeneid, besides the Dido episode, is the story of Nisus and Euryalus beautifully told, which may be a companion piece to the incident of Hercules and Hylas in Alexandrian literature.¹ Virgil mentions many famous heroines in the sixth book. Pasiphae also appears in the eclogues. Ariadne is not mentioned by name, but she is the *regina* of Aen. VI. 28. It is passing strange to see the child of the poem of Catullus, which gave to Virgil a model for the last part of the Dido story, referred to by the same term that he uses for the queen of Carthage. The picture of Camilla is drawn from stories of the Daphne type and will be referred to again. In general it is easily recognized that Virgil exhibits abundantly the taste of his time and the popularity of Venus and Eros.

Among the elegists Gallus was the first, with his favorite, Lycoris. Tibullus follows with his Delia, and his successor was Propertius, who had a favorite, Cynthia. Ovid came last, with his Corinna, but he left nothing for any successor. He reduced love to an art, and published all the secrets. It is needless to cite the works of a man that simply harvested all the erotic material of antiquity. His talent for saying the same thing in different ways has never been surpassed, and all the stock situations in the art of love were handled again and again. He left nothing to be said.

¹Aen., V., 294; IX., 176.

CHAPTER II.

THE POETICS OF EROTIC POETRY.

The erotic poem admits of either a hero or a heroine, but as it would be difficult to write an epic poem about a woman, so it would be a difficult task to make a man the subject of an erotic poem. This follows from the aims that the two respectively have in view, for the epic aims to awaken our admiration at the spectacle of a great man doing and suffering, but the erotic poem attains its end when it starts our pity and our tears, and the most pathetic thing in the world is a woman suffering undeservedly. Consequently the erotic poem is at its best when a woman is the subject.

Now, a man may be made the subject in two ways, but the woman in only one. The man may perish for love of a boy, since the boy-love that came into Greece at an early time was thought capable of idealization and was often treated in verse. It more often was celebrated in hymns, and we find in the epic material offered by Parthenius only two of this kind, which indicates that they were in less favor. One of these is about one Antileon, of the Italian Heraclea, who fell in love with a beautiful boy named Hipparinus, and offered to perform any feat, however difficult, if he could only win his love. After he had successfully accomplished a task that had been named, the tyrant of the place fell in love with the boy and was about to carry him off, but Antileon went and slew him, and would have escaped had he not fallen over some sheep that were tied together.¹ This example will serve to show how a poem of this kind can be written without female characters, but it is evidently the least effective of all forms. The story of Heracles and Hylas was the most famous² and perhaps that of Nisus and Euryalus may be set beside it. It may be observed that the love of woman for woman is idealized in the poetry of Sappho, but there are no erotic poems based upon such a sentiment. More effective than love between men ought to be the story of a man brought to death and disaster by his love for a woman. This seems, in the nature of things, more probable and more likely to stir human interest and sympathy. Yet it was not popular. In his whole collection of thirty-six stories, Parthenius offers a single example of it. Virgil himself mentions Hero and

¹Parthenius, No. 7.

²Theoc. Id. XIII.; Argon. I., 1187 ff.

Leander in a way that tells us their fate was familiar to the public of the day:

quid invenis, magnam eni versat in ossibus ignem
durus amor! nempe abruptis turbata procellis
nocte natat caeca seris freta; quem super ingens
porta tonat caeli, et scopulis inlisa reclamant
aequora; nec miseri possunt revocare parentes
nec moritura super crudeli funere virgo.

—Geor. III., 258-263.

Of this story, and a few others, perhaps, the popularity may be admitted, yet it is to be remembered that the love of man for woman was celebrated in at least three forms of verse—the elegy, the epigram, and the new comedy.¹ These had such a vogue that we need not be surprised to find but rarely the tragic erotic story with a man for a hero.

While the aim of tragedy is to present a picture of pity and terror, the effect of the tragic erotic story is to move our pity and tears. Terror enters into the reader as well as pity, but the latter is steadily uppermost. This is especially true when the subject is a woman, and, as was said before, the poem is then at its best. We expect endurance of a man, and cannot feel the same sympathy in his misfortune. The women of tragedy too must have manlike traits. One may think of Antigone, who is courageous, or Clytemnestra, who is daring and revengeful. Alcestis is gentle but brave. The difference of aim between the tragic erotic poem and tragedy is well illustrated in the case of Medea, who is a strong, vindictive mother in the tragedy of Euripides, but a tender girl in the epic of Apollonius. Ariadne also is little more than a child in the poem of Catullus; her youth makes her fate sadder. It will be recalled that Virgil begins Dido's story in her youth and purity.

In conclusion it may be said, that from her nature the ruin is more irreparable and more tragic in the case of a woman, but there was a time when a man could be the subject of an erotic poem.

Erotic poetry is essentially epic, and it uses either the same meter or the elegiac couplet, but it resembles the drama in its smaller compass. The *Odyssey* itself presents situations that would be capable of treatment in the Alexandrian style. Nausicaa, for example, might have become infatuated with the hero had the needs of the plot demanded it or the poet chosen to treat it in this way; as it is, she is spoken of as ready to be enamoured of Odysseus. Yet, had this been done it would have been at the loss of another interest, for the picture of a modest, obedient and pure

¹These appear to be the chief sources of the Roman elegy. See the excellent article of Jacobi, *Rh. Mus.*, LX, 1905, pp. 38-105.

maiden would have been lost. Whether the Circe and Calypso incidents could have been handled in the manner of later poets is not so certain, but quite conceivable. Certainly, in the *Iliad*, an erotic situation of more than ordinary interest is offered in the first book, when Briseis was led away from the tent of Achilles. Ovid recognized the opportunity and handled it in the only way left open to him, in one of the letters of the heroines. Yet, had Homer lived in a later age he would probably have paused to tell at greater length the pain of the captive, for parting scenes were a specialty with the erotic poets. There are two in Apollonius, one when Medea parts from Hypsipyle, and another when Medea apprehends desertion by him,¹ but this was not destined to occur within the poem. The most famous of all parting scenes comes in the Dido episode. But of purely erotic stories, even in the ancient mythology, there was no dearth. The house of Minos furnished almost as many subjects of this kind as the house of Atreus did for tragedy. The names of Europa, Pasiphae, Phaedra, and Ariadne are widely scattered through the literature; scarcely less famous are the Danaïds, and Medea outstripped them all in popularity. But this wealth of material fell chiefly to the lyric and tragic poetry until the elegists found a new way to celebrate their love for living women and turned at last the new technique to ancient subjects.

Erotic stories are usually brief and end, like a tragedy, in death or disaster. In consequence of this they can serve only as episodes in long poems, and it is sometimes difficult to furnish a plausible reason for their introduction there. For Apollonius this happened to be extremely easy, since the Medea story had always been an integral part of the legend of the golden fleece. He had only to enlarge as he did upon the topics proper to erotic poetry and the task was done. Catullus introduces the story of Ariadne and Theseus into the poem on the marriage of Pelens and Thetis, but it is so obviously a digression that he scarcely attempts to excuse it. Virgil, on the other hand, employs all his art to make the Dido episode a natural step in the progress of the hero's fortunes. The storm that took Aeneas to Africa was a part of Juno's spite, and her spite runs all through the poem. It was natural for Venus to arrange for the reception of the hero, and equally natural for the old enemy to plan the temptation. The parts they are represented as taking accord perfectly with their positions as deities of love and marriage. The union of the episode and the epic is made still closer, because the fall of Troy is described for the sake of the queen, and the fate of Creusa

¹Argon. I., 886 ff. IV. 350 ff.

gains a new interest when we think of her for whom it was told. In the later books, too, we are not allowed to forget Dido. Aeneas rides the horse that she had given him;¹ the reward that he promised to Euryalus was a gift of hers;² and Lausus in death was wrapped in a garment that she had woven.³ Least of all can we forget the passage in the sixth book, where the queen has taken her final place among the hapless heroines of ancient story.⁴ Yet, in spite of all this, the independent unity of the tragedy remains conspicuous and is marked by the extension of the episode beyond the departure of Aeneas. A more than sufficient excuse for this is the legacy of hatred that the queen leaves to her descendants and the prophecy of the Hannibalic wars. To these is attached the curse, and thus the erotic story is ingeniously completed.

An erotic poem has several parts, but all of these are usually not found in a single poem. In the *Argonautica* the interest is called to the enamourment and the progress of love in Medea's heart. In the *Hypsipyle* incident there is only a brief parting scene. In the *Ariadne* episode in Catullus all parts are passed over lightly except the desertion; still, the meeting and enamourment, the curse and the conclusion, are present. In the *Hippolytus* of Euripides the suffering of the queen under the pain of love is described at great length; vengeance is planned and the end is described. In the Alexandrian erotic fragment discovered by Grenfell and Hunt there is nothing but the maiden's lament; the enamourment, wooing and desertion are all left to the reader to imagine, and in general it is easy to believe that the lament was the favorite topic of the poets. In the *Dido* episode we find all the elements of an erotic poem, and these are the following: the prologue or introduction, the enamourment, the progress and fruition of love, the desertion including a parting scene, the curse and death. It remains to indicate briefly the normal treatment of each of these stages.

The purpose of the prologue is to introduce the heroine to the reader and to predispose us in her favor. Care is taken throughout the whole work to make us love her, but it is a well-known fact that the beginning is the all-important part, and what is there well started will go far towards taking care of itself in the sequel. Hence we find the poets taking special pains to create a powerful impression at the start. The stock-in-trade of the heroine is youth, beauty and innocence; she may have been wronged as *Ariadne* was, who had done a favor and met with ingratitude. *Ariadne* is first presented to us in the poem of Catullus at the moment of finding herself deserted, and the description is minute

¹V., 571.²IX., 266.³XI., 72.⁴VI., 450.

and pictorial.¹ Virgil, as usual, has all the motives. Dido is introduced as the pure bride of a good husband, to whom she had given her love, with the unmodified sanction of her father and the gods!² She was the victim of a cruel wrong and of deception, which were both aggravated because the guilty person was her own brother. Sympathy for her misfortune turns to admiration for the energy and courage she displayed in leading away her people and founding a city. Her beauty is last mentioned. She was most beautiful in form and carried herself like Diana. Virgil's task was more difficult than that of Catullus, who had merely to picture the poor bacchante-eyed girl straining her vision towards the departing ship while her hair falls from its fastening and the wavelets toy with the garments at her feet. Sympathy goes out unbidden to a wronged and innocent child. It must be won for a woman.

The enamourment is always one of the most interesting features of the erotic poem. It is regularly instantaneous, or nearly so.³ The gradual growth of love has no part in these ancient stories. The passion is conceived in somewhat the same way as a madness, and, as it is usually sent from a god, a slow inception is excluded. Eros or Amor carries a bow with arrows and torches, but the beginning of love is due to the arrows. This was a hackneyed conception, and the best poets prefer to suggest the action of Eros rather than to describe it in the familiar fashion, as Apollonius did. Catullus leaves it to be inferred, and Virgil implied it only by such words as *volans*, *saucia*. The eyes are often thought of as the seat of love, and it was with gazing that Dido was enamoured (*ardescit tuendo*). It is said of her, too, that she clung to him with her eyes and her whole being:

haec oculis, haec pectore toto
haeret, et interdum gremio fovet.

—I., 717, 718.

A metaphor that may be peculiar to Virgil, and certainly is not hackneyed, is contained in the expression:

longumque bibebat amorem—(She drank deep of love).

In Propertius Amor fixes his image in the eyes. "Not so lightly in my eyes did the boy plant his image that my forgotten dust should lack your love."

Non adeo leviter nostris puer haesit ocellis
Ut meus oblito pulvis amore vacet.

—I., 19.

¹Cat. LXIV., 60 ff.

²I., 345. ³Cf. Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman*, p. 149. Heinze, p. 120.

It was with the eyes that Cynthia first caught Propertius.

Cynthia prius suis miserum me cepit oculis.

Here again Virgil's treatment is emulative and original. He seized the opportunity afforded by the person of the boy Ascanius to accomplish the enunciation in a novel way, and he has so described it that the poetical fiction seems extremely probable. We readily consent to the part that Cupid plays. It was likely that the boy should win the childless woman's heart for the father. At the same time, all the usual metaphors of erotic poetry are scattered here and there.¹

The obstacle to love is shame, modesty or *pudor* (*αἰδώς*), and the poets love to dwell upon it. Its seat is in the eyes like love, and there the two struggle for the mastery.² Apollonius has a long passage descriptive of Medea's hesitation. With her it is only a feeling of girlish shyness that prevents her from speaking of her love to her sister (*παρθενὴν αἰδώς*). Where the passion is sinful and forbidden the feeling is a different one. Examples of this are found in Parthenius, Nos. 13, 16 and 17. Virgil again is unique in his treatment. Dido's *pudor* is not shyness, for her place in the world is independent and her will is free; it is not shame, for there was every reason for her marrying the hero, and nothing forbidden in her love, at least, in the eyes of the world. The obstacle is in her own heart, and it is only before the bar of her own conscience that she is condemned. She had sworn to the ashes of Sychaens a voluntary promise never to think of love again, and many suitors had been spurned both in Tyre and Africa.³ The thought of wedlock was hateful to her and love became a sin. So, when the great, cold hero came and won her heart, unasked, her pride rebelled against the new emotion. Yet love was strong, and with the sanction of the gods, she yielded.

The symptoms of love were well known, and over them the erotic poets loved to linger. Medea grew pale and blushed by turns. First she dreamt of Jason, and when she was startled from her rest she could not sleep again. She threw herself upon the bed and moaned. After the interview with Jason she heeded not the friends about her; mechanically she mounted her swift chariot, and she heard not the words that her sister addressed to her.⁴ Dido, too, was sleepless. She could not rest for thinking of Aeneas and all the honor of his race. She rushed aimlessly through the city like a wounded deer. Eagerly she wooed Aeneas, shows him the walls and the wealth of Carthage. She halts in her speech. She

¹See Language, p. 70.

²Athenaeus, 13, 564 B., quoting Aristotle.

³Aen., IV., 552; IV., 35 ff.

⁴Argon., III., 1149 ff.

plans to have his company continually and begs again for tales of Troy. She lies upon the couch where he had lain and takes the young Aescanius to her breast, if she can cheat her love. All the works of the city are suspended.'

Marriage had long been a subject of poetry and could not be used with effect in erotic verse unless treated in a novel way. In the chapter upon Aollonius will be found an account of this feature of his story. Dido's was a mockery of a marriage and boded ill for her. The cave was a romantic feature taken from the Argonautica, but Virgil showed great originality and skill in making the use of it conform to the law of the possible and the probable.

A desertion may take the place of a parting scene as in the story of Ariadne in Catullus, but in Virgil the plot has been so managed that we have both. The stock reproaches to be hurled against the recreant lover are to be gathered from Catullus and Virgil. These are perfidy, perjury, cruelty and pitilessness. Dido was hampered in her attack because she had done the wooing and the hero had been most discreet. She calls him *perfidus*; it is because he had given the right hand of friendship. The charge of perjury she could not make, but she was able to bring up the ancient reproach of the race of Laomedon:

nescis, heu, perdita, needum
Laomedontae sentis periuria gentis?

—IV., 542.

Another charge equally difficult to sustain was impiety, yet she can call his conduct a *tantum nefas*. Other expressions, such as *infand. in caput* (613), *nefandus vir* (497), and *improbis* (386), have been added to the vocabulary of reproach by Virgil. There is a similar scene in the Argonautica when Medea suspects Jason of an intention of surrendering her to her pursuers.² The entreaties of the fearful lover are common to this with the parting scene in the Aeneid.

The wronged lover gets vengeance by a curse. In the Ariadne story this occupies only two lines; in Virgil it is somewhat elaborated and is followed by a legacy of hatred to their descendants. The curse will be mentioned at greater length in the chapter on Catullus.

The conclusion of the erotic story is usually tragic. In the collection of Parthenius the love ends in death for the lovers, and often for all concerned. In the Ariadne story the *deus ex machina* comes in the shape of Bacchus; in Euripides Phaedra

¹Aen., IV., 68 ff.

²Argon., IV., 350 ff.

and Hippolytus both die. Dido's end was both tragic and spectacular.

Erotic poetry shares with the epic a fondness for the supernatural. Of the greater gods, Venus and Cupid are of supreme importance since without them there can be no enamourment. The great importance of the latter as compared with older poetry has already been spoken of. Juno's aid is necessary for the marriage. The sun as the witness of crime and the furies take us to tragedy rather than to the epic¹: Dido's sorceress invokes Chaos and Erebus, but the deity *par excellence* of erotic poetry is Hecate. To her the curse is addressed. She is the patroness of witches, and love has been the sphere of witchcraft in all time. Rites are chiefly for the purpose of winning or regaining love. The deserted lover's curse has already been spoken of.

It remains to speak of Dido's sorceress. It will escape no one that the eighth eclogue contains an earnest of the witchcraft of the Aeneid. Magic was of the most varied kinds, ranging all the way from the vulgar to something that inspires awe. The dreadful power of Circe's spells makes her miracles fit entertainment for the readers of Homer, whose tone is eminently noble. The idyll is humbler. The scene is in the country and among shepherds, where superstition flourishes. The rites are for the most part simple and for the purpose of winning or regaining love. This is, however, the purpose for which they are employed in the Aeneid. It was necessary to ennoble it in many ways. The preparations are on an elaborate scale. The pyre and the relics collected are fit for the service of the queen. The sorceress is the priestess from the temple of the Hesperides; formerly she had fed the dragon that guarded the apples. This puts the scene back into mythological times and serves the same purpose as the change that Virgil has made in the genealogy of Dido.

Now, if Virgil succeeded in attaching his sorceress to a famous legend of the mythology, it remained to make her art equal to her fame. Her powers are told in five lines only, but they are of the greatest. By her charms she can set free what hearts she will, and strike cruel pain into others; she can stop the water in the rivers and turn the stars backwards; she can arouse the souls of dead men in the night; you will hear the ground rumble and see the ash trees come down from the mountains.² Turning to the eighth eclogue, we find there the commonest of all magic performances, bringing down the moon from the sky, which Medea had often done. We read of the clammy snake in the meadows that can be broken in two by a charm, a purely rustic feat. Rustic also is the

¹IV., 607.

²487.

transference of a crop from one field to another. Transformation into a wolf was a piece of vulgar magic. One feat common to the *Aeneid* with the *eclogue* is that of raising the spirits of the dead.

Virgil suggests to us the prejudice against magic in Rome in the lines:

Testor, eara, deos et te, germana, tuumque
dulce caput, magicas invitam necingier artis.

Superstition there was at Rome, among all classes, in great plenty, but it was rather Etruscan than Oriental, and seemed almost a part of religion. The *haruspices* enjoyed the patronage of the state and drove a thriving practice in private life, but the rites of the East seemed vulgar and debasing. They are ridiculed in an extremely amusing satire of Horace,¹ where they disgusted even the god Priapus, and he was not a finicky deity; the moon, too, had to conceal her face. The attitude of Dido is purely Roman. She is thoroughly in earnest when she leans open-mouthed over the steaming entrails, and she has resort to the magic arts only to deceive her sister in her motive for building the funeral pyre. This is an ingenious device whereby Virgil succeeded in bringing in a stock element of erotic stories without demanding the sanction of the Romans for it. It will be remembered that in the latter part of the *Aeneid* the powers of the nether world are on the side of Rome's enemies.

There are in the fourth book traces of the influence of other forms of erotic stories. One of these is of special interest since the failure to recognize it caused for a long time misapprehension of the two lines, 550, 551:

Non licit thalami expertem sine crimine vitam
degere more ferae, talis nec tangere curas.

The crucial words are *more ferae*, which Conington rightly calls startling. There is certainly no reference to any wild beast, such as the lynx, which Servius tells us never takes a second mate. The abstract *feritas*, used in speaking of Metabus, father of Camilla, in XI. 568, means only "wild life."

neque ipse manus feritate dedisset.

This can only mean, "he loved his wild life too much to surrender his liberty." We are too familiar with the frontiersman in America to fail to recognize his type. By the word *fera* we will then understand the feminine type, the huntress who lives on the mountains following the chase. Stories of this beautiful asceticism

¹I., 8.

were among the most popular of antiquity. Hippolytus is a familiar example. He worshipped Artemis alone and brought upon himself the anger of Venus. The story of Daphne was even more famous, and Parthenius furnishes us another type of the pure huntress in the last story of his collection, yet her love was finally won by Resus. The spirit of this idealized purity dictated another passage of the fourth book:

si non pertaesum thalami tectaque fuisset,
ne cui me vinco vellem sociare iugali,
postquam primus amor deceptam morte fefellit;
si mihi non animo fixum immotumque seleret,
huic uni forsam potui succumbere culpa.

—15 ff.

It was such an ideal that Dido had set before herself, and would not surrender without a struggle; the thought of a lover seemed to her a sin. The conception is not new in the Aeneid. It was a life of this sort that Orpheus led after the death of Eurydice. One line especially suggests the beginning of the fourth book:

nulla Venus, non ulli animum flexere hymenaei.

—Geor., 4, 516.

Compare with this line Dido's own words and those of her sister:

solus hic inflexit sensus animumque labantem iapulit.

—22, 3.

esto, aegram nulli quondam flexere mariti.

—35.

There is one stock sentiment for parting scene that Virgil has made little use of, but at least suggested. Aeneas tells Dido that he will ever delight in thinking of her (335), *non me meminisse pigebit Elissae*. Dido does not heed this serap of comfort, and it is passing strange that it was not made the occasion of a taunting reply. Ariadne calls Theseus "forgetful"—*immemor* (135). Hypsipyle says to Jason on parting, "I pray thee, when thou art far away, and when thou art returning, remember Hypsipyle" (I., 896). So Medea says to Jason, "Remember the name of Medea, if haply thou return one day to thy home; so will I remember thee when thou art gone" (III., 1068 ff.). Jason replies, "Yea, verily, if I escape my fate, methinks I will never forget thee by night nor yet by day." That Virgil knew this for a commonplace of such scenes is suggested by the words of Aeneas.

It is worth while to compare the love of Dido for Aeneas with her love for Sychaens and to point out the difference between *amare* and *diligere*. Although like most synonymous terms, they

are sometimes used indifferently where there is no advantage to be gained by observing a distinction, yet in general usage there is a well defined difference. Of ordinary affections such as exist between members of a family, including husband and wife, they used *diligere*. It was also the proper word to use of friends. Where excessive love or passion is described, *amare* is the word to use, and of the two it is the one that can suggest an impure thought. In comedy it regularly denotes a love outside of wedlock. Unfortunately there is no noun for *diligere*, and this distinction applies only to the verbs.

Referring to the love of Dido for Sychaens, Virgil uses *dilectus*, "*magno miseræ dilectus amore*." Her love for him was the natural and normal one between husband and wife, that with the ancients came after, not before marriage. Sentimental love was not with them the sanction of marriage as it is in America. It only figured as an obstacle to the prudent plans of parents and in comedy as the plague of fathers. Its sphere was outside the home. The love of man and wife is described by the same terms as that among other members of a family, sisters for example.

Anna refert: "O luce magis dilecta sorori."

—IV., 31.

Love without marriage was celebrated in the elegy. For purposes of more serious poetry it was differently conceived—as a madness (*μανία*, *furor*), a disease (*νόσος*, *pestis*), or a wound (*τραῦμα*, *volnus*). It came from Aphrodite and was irresistible. It made its appearance with suddenness and with violence as it did to Dido. It was too vehement to admit of happiness. It preyed upon the frame and unstrung the mind. Such was Dido's love for Aeneas, an insatiable passion mixed with madness, not in moderation. "When love comes in moderation," says the chorus in the *Medea* of Euripides, "there is no god so gracious, but let passion come in excess and it destroys both the virtue and the good name of men." (629 ff.)

'Ter. Andria, I., 2, 14: Meum gnatum rumor est amare.

CHAPTER III.

AENEAS.

It does not fall within the scope of this study to consider the character of Aeneas as a hero and as a man, nor the Dido episode as an interpretation of human life. This has been excellently done already by Glover, and those who are interested will do well to read his pages about Dido and Aeneas. It is part of our purpose, however, to speak of the latter as a lover and to account for the ignominy which he is felt to have drawn upon himself on the African shores. We shall have to speak, too, of the episode as a part of the Aeneid. It is well known that the different books were not written in the order in which they were published, and that Virgil worked more like a dramatist composing a series of plays than as an epic poet writing a long poem upon a single progressive theme. This is especially true of the first six books, of which all but the first might almost have been published as separate poems, apart from their place in the Aeneid. The other five differ from the fourth, however, because they were all composed upon time-honored subjects of epic poetry, while in the former a way had to be found. Apollonius, it is true, had tried the erotic story as an epic incident, but he encountered a difficulty that was fatal to true success since his love-story was of necessity a romance and not a tragedy. The fourth book is Virgil's greatest triumph as an artist; it was his to see that the tragic erotic story could be employed in the epic. Yet he had to weld it to the rest of his work, and in this he was not so completely successful. We shall see how the piety of the hero made difficulties for the work and how far these difficulties were successfully met.

The fourth book is well placed in the poem. The temptation of Aeneas comes at the strategic moment in his fortunes. There is no Anchises to point out the possible results of yielding. He has himself, for the first time, thoroughly lost heart. The last cruelty of Juno shook his resolution to the point where yielding was easy. His companions were utterly worn out, and as they took possession of the longed-for shore, Aeneas had to simulate hope on his countenance that he did not feel in his heart. The temptation came in its most specious form. A beautiful woman, worthy to be his consort, throws herself upon him. He is aiming to found a city, and she offers him one that is well begun. She is surrounded by warlike neighbors; he is a trained and practised

warrior. All that seemed necessary to complete the disintegration of his resolve, seemed to be the wile of Juno to accomplish a marriage.

Yet Aeneas did not fall nor forget. He made no promises and agreed to no union. Dido talked about wedlock and planned a marriage, but not so Aeneas. Consent he did, to be her paramour, as Odysseus did to Calypso and Circe, and Jason to Hypsipyle, but he never forgot Ascanius nor Italy. The troubled spirit of his father came to him as often as night covered the world with its dank shadows, as often as the stars arose. There was never absent from his mind the wrong that he was doing the little Ascanius in defrauding him of the lands the fates had promised him. He was sorry for Dido. He longed to comfort her and to soothe away the sharpness of her grief, but he could not and did not tell her that he loved her. On the other hand, he declared his love and his country to be the land in prospect. *Hic amor, haec patria est.* (347.)

Virgil has been strangely silent concerning the feelings of Aeneas. This was perhaps a canon of erotic poetry. In the Ariadne episode not one word is said of the feelings of Theseus, and in the Argonautica we are only told that Jason felt love enter his own heart from the love of Medea.¹ His emotions are nowhere described or further mentioned. Besides this, however, there were many reasons for being silent. In the first place, in order to speak of the hero's love we must first have heard of his enamourment, and this must be provided for in the motivation of the poem. But this is impossible from the way the situation is conceived in the first book of the Aeneid. Love can come only from Venus, and she would never have consented to increase the danger of her hero being forever prevented from reaching Italy. Again, it would have been contrary to the canons of epic poetry and shocking to the literary taste of the day to represent the hero as a lover. It was hard enough to dignify the love of a woman by representing it as sent from heaven, and by treating it in tragic fashion as a madness. To attempt this for the man would have brought epic to the level of comedy or the elegy. Love in ancient, heroic poetry was a thing for women. The names famous in erotic stories are almost exclusively those of women. One great exception is bucolic poetry, which idealized the loves of shepherds, and especially the shepherd Daphnis. Another is the elegy which describes the anguish of lovelorn city youths. Yet both of these are far from the heroic world in time and in atmosphere. The heroes often inspire love, but it was not for them to feel it.

¹Argon., III. 1076.

Aeneas was certainly a cold lover. He did not know of Dido's sudden passion for him and was slow to find it out. If he was the first to cause her mind to waver it was because of nothing that he had done. Dido thought of him immediately as a husband. She connected him always in her mind with Syphaeus and did all the wooing. She led him through her city and showed him the walls she had begun. She wandered madly, suffering from her wound: Aeneas was the Cretan shepherd who did not know of the wound he had inflicted. What else could the comparison mean? It was not Venus, but Juno, who involved Aeneas in a sort of marriage with Dido. It was a mock-marriage, the only kind that Juno, without Venus, could arrange, and Venus had smiled secretly at her plan. Aeneas did not love Dido.

Others have not been of the same opinion. Glover assumes without any misgivings, that their love was mutual, and begins a section in one of his chapters with the statement: "One of the most obviously impossible things to explain is why any two people fall in love with one another, and even if in the case of Dido and Aeneas we refer to the plotting of rival goddesses we are not much enlightened."¹ Heinze sees difficulties, but is bent upon having Aeneas desperately in love. "If a hero like Aeneas can for a woman's sake forget his God-given mission even for a little time, how overmastering must his passion be!"² Mr. Nettleship thinks it worth while to say that Aeneas loves the queen, but does not think it worth while to prove it.³ He cites a few passages in corroboration, but the list is by no means complete. In antiquity opinion was divided, and the title of a discussion has come down to us, *an amaverit Didum Aeneas*.⁴ In view of this divergence of opinion it seems advisable to set down the evidence available from the poem or elsewhere, and to interpret it briefly. It is not expected that the conclusion will be final, for the evidence is so simple, but the matter deserves a careful discussion. This may result in no more than the discovery of an unsteady treatment.

To begin with the first book, we have not the slightest indication that the hero was intended to fall in love with the queen, although the meeting is, of course, elaborately planned. Aeneas, in his reply to Venus, ignores the story of Dido she had told, and when he comes to look down upon the rising city, his only comment comes from his weary and pious heart.

O fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgunt!

—437.

The real significance of this description is its obvious application

¹Glover, p. 172.

²Heinze, p. 121.

³Essays in Lat. Lit. p. 104.

⁴Charisius I., 127 K.

to Rome. The long hill, "*collis qui plurimus urbi imminet adversasque aspectata desuper arces*," can be none other than the Janiculum. It was Rome that had lately been a cluster of huts and had been turned into marble by Augustus. For the story of Carthage the "*magalia*" need not have been mentioned, but for Rome it is a telling expression. In "*hic portus alii fodiunt*" we hear, perhaps, of the harbor of Agrippa, which at this time was moving the astonishment of Rome. We have in all likelihood a reference to the great theatre of Marcellus in the lines:

hinc lata theatris
fundamenta petunt alii inmanisque columnas
rupibus excidunt, scenis decora alta futuris.

—427-429.

The streets and the din and the paved ways had been too long the pride of Rome to admit of any other reference. Mr. Heinze, proceeding on the assumption that the love is mutual, finds an elaborate preparation on both sides for the meeting,¹ but the love perhaps is not mutual and the preparation is chiefly for Dido. Aeneas was impressed, but the queen much more; for her the hero was beautified by the goddess. It is equally hard to see in the examination of the pictures in the temple that the hero thinks at all of Dido. Again, it is for Rome that Aeneas speaks, and it is a Roman temple that is described. The fear that he had felt for the ultimate success of his mission is assuaged by the thought that all the world now knows the tale of Troy. "There are tears for greatness that has perished, and mortal misfortunes touch the human heart."

More important for our purpose is the meeting of Aeneas and Dido, for here the working of the god comes in and we learn through her the plan of the poet. The plans of the gods are a counterpart of what happens on the earth, and we must take the poet's statement into strict account. To say that nothing happens by the aid of the gods that could not have happened without it betrays a lack of sympathy for a pleasing heirloom of the epic and is liable to lead into error. Now, in this scene we are told plainly that Dido shall be impressed by Aeneas in a more than human way. The goddess breathes over him the purple light of youth; into his eyes she puts the beauty of joy, and his golden locks against his fair face were like silver set in gold. Why is not Dido similarly beautified? The goddess is sacrificing her to save her hero from the wiles of Juno, just as she sacrificed Phaedra to punish Hippolytus and, if Aeneas loved, why need

¹Heinze, 117 ff.

Juno interfere? Make the love mutual and the revealed motivation is made absurd. The event that Juno most wanted would come to pass, and the worst that Venus feared. A tie would be formed to prevent the completion of the hero's work. Heroes would not have been fit for the charge of Pharaoh's household. They could be paramours, but not lovers. It may shock us, but the Roman public was more accustomed to such things both in poetry and in life. Julius lost nothing of the public esteem by his sojourn at Alexandria, except so far as he, like Aeneas, forgot his country. Heinze thinks it strange that mutual love does not spring up instantly after the elaborate preparation for their meeting. He points out that in the erotic literature the love is always instantaneous.¹ This is true, but it is usually not mutual as it is in the romance. This is the very essence of the tragic erotic story. The subsequent desertion must be prepared for. The heartlessness of the man is essential to the sad end of the woman.

In the fourth book we find the passion of Dido described in the passages that everybody knows, but of the cold lover not one word. Dido certainly must have found him unresponsive. There is in the first part of the book not one word to indicate that the hero was aware of the love of the queen. The hero of the Argonautica, who in many respects reminds the reader of a smart city youth, immediately perceives the malady of Medea and takes advantage of it.² Not so with Aeneas. Juno succeeded in drawing Aeneas into a temporary relationship with the queen, but to engage his heart she was not able. Had not Venus smiled at her wiles, and if not because she knew her rival could not succeed, then why? Virgil tells us plainly that the affair was considered by Aeneas as a *liaison*. Dido called it marriage.

Coniugium vocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam.

—172.

By implication, Aeneas thought it something different. He called it by the name usual to such relationships, *amores*. No words could describe the feelings of a lover withdrawing from an intrigue better than these:

*sese interea, quando optima Dido
nesciat et tantos rumpi non speret amores,
temptatum aditus et quae mollissima faudi
tempora, quis rebus dexter modus.*

—291-294.

This moment, when Aeneas resolves to break off the relationship, is a critical one for his emotional condition. He does not act like

¹P. 120.

²Argon., III., 972.

a true lover. It is not pain that he feels at leaving Dido, but embarrassment concerning the best way of approaching her and "getting round her."

Hen! quid agat? quo nunc reginam ambire furem
audeat affatu?

—283.

Such were his first thoughts, and the next were in keeping. For once he does divide this way and that his swift mind, and he does in the end just what any other guilty man would have done, he puts off the evil hour. There is here only the embarrassment of a lover; no love, no sign of it, and no mention of it. Moreover, when Dido pours out her reproaches upon him she can never taunt him with more than the betrayal of friendship signified by the right hand. Had he ever pretended love he would have heard of it, but Dido had done the courting and she knew it. Aeneas had been discreet. He tells her plainly that he had never consented to their relationship taking another form.

nec coniugis unquam
practendi taedas aut haec in foedera veni.

—339.

The following are the principal passages that refer to the emotions of Aeneas:

- | | | |
|-----|--|-----------|
| (a) | sese interea, quando optima Dido
nesciat et tantos rumpi non speret amores. | —292. |
| (b) | obnixus enram sub corde premebat. | —332. |
| (d) | desine meque tuis incendere teque querellis. | —360. |
| (i) | Italiani non sponte sequor. | —361. |
| (e) | multa gemens magnoque animum labefactus amore. | —395. |
| (c) | magno persequitur pectore curas. | —448. |
| (g) | non aequa foedere amantis. | —520. |
| (f) | demisit lacrimas dulcique adfatus amorem. | —VI. 455. |
| (h) | invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi. | —460. |
| (j) | coniunx ubi pristinus illi
respondet curis aequatque Sychaeus amorem. | —473. |

Mention need scarcely be made of *noster amor* (307), in which *noster* is used for *meus*. This use is common in erotic poetry and is exemplified a few lines below by *fletu nostro*, which cannot be ambiguous. The other passages will now be taken up briefly. Virgil has not spoken plainly and it is impossible to adduce more than two or three lines where the word love is employed. We shall cite first two that seem to be the most unmistakable:

- (g) tum, siquid non aequo foedere amantis
curae munus habet instumque memorque, precatur.

Conington takes the expression of the first line to mean, "Lovers that are not loved in return," and the other commentators, so far as we have access to them, are agreed upon this interpretation. Servius says, "ant certe cui curae est iniquus amor, scilicet ut implicet *non amantem*." (IV. 520.)

The next is from the sixth book (472-474):

- (j) tandem corripuit sese atque inimica refugit
in nemus umbriferum, coniux ubi pristinus illi
respondet enris nequique Sychaeus amorem.

This can only mean that her former husband rendered her equal sympathy for her sorrow and equal love for her love. By implication Aeneas did neither. These two passages inform us with certainty of Virgil's own view of the hero's feelings. As has been said already, Aeneas regarded their relationship from the first as an intrigue. He was not carried away by his passion as Dido was. He was always discreet, in fact, only too discreet to retain our good opinion. That is one thing the world does not forgive in a lover and has never forgiven Aeneas. It only makes matters worse that he felt and confessed a certain affection for her. It infuriated Dido when he said "it would always be to him a pleasure to remember her" (*nec me meminisse pigebit Elissae*). His attitude was the same in the underworld, and all readers feel there the indignation that involuntarily arises at the knowledge of a man's trying to maintain friendship with a woman whom he has deserted. He addressed Dido with tender affection.

- (h) demisit lacrimas dulcique adfatus amore.
infelix Dido, vernus mihi nuntius ergo
venerat extinctum ferroque extremam secentam!
funeris hen tibi causa fui: per sidera iuro
per superos et si qua fides tellure sub ima est.
(i) invitum regina tuo de litore cessi.
sed me iussa deum, quae nunc has ire per umbras,
per loca senta situ cognit noctemque profundam,
imperiis egere suis: nec credere quivi
hunc tantum tibi me discessu ferre dolorem. — VI. 455-464.

There is here only the regret of a kindly heart. The tears of the hero came without effort, and his facility in swearing seems for once ill employed. There is no trace of a lover's remorse, only the maddening apology that deepens wrong.

The sixth line quoted above is imitated from the Coma Berenices of Catullus, and the trifling association thus established

seems to detract greatly from the force of this whole passage. It is the look of Berenice that speaks:

Invita, o regina, tuo de vertice cessi.

—*Coma Ber.*, 39.

Invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi.

—*Aen.*, VI., 460.

It was against his will that he sailed from Africa, but he should have told her that it broke his heart. The wars and hardships that he must endure seem to him to claim more pity than the pain that he causes her. He had coldly told her before.

(d) *Italiana non sponte sequor.*

—IV., 361.

But that was not a lover's speech.

(e) *sese interea, quando optima Dido
oesciat et tantos rumpi non speret amores.*

Concerning *amores*, it is clear, as has already been pointed out, that it means a love-affair. It takes its color from *rumpi*, and from the tone of the passage. The word has its good sense, too, as in line 28:

*ille meos, primus qui me sibi innox, amores
abstulit.*

Yet it seems certain that it bears the worse sense here. In fact, if we were asked to state in the fewest possible words the feelings of Aeneas towards his relationship with Dido, we should denote it by this one word *amores*; Dido would have it *coniugium*, not so Aeneas.

(b) *obnixus curam sub corde premebat.*

—332.

This passage is explained and translated by Heinze,¹ and it is one of the strongest for those who are bent upon making much of the love of Aeneas. The word *cara* is one of the commonest words in erotic poetry to denote the pain that disappointed or anxious love experiences, but it may just as well express the grief that Aeneas feels from the necessity of being cruel, as he certainly is, and from repressing the tender pity that he is elsewhere seen to cherish for the unhappy queen. Her suffering is a bitter thing to him, and he dreads the thought of witnessing her misery. To him parting is a sweet sorrow, and he will ever delight to think of her (*nec me meminisse pigebit Elissae*). Manlike, he dreads a scene and hates to think that the parting should mean more to

¹P. 17. footnote.

her than to himself. "Spare us both the pain that you kindle by your reproaches," he says.¹ Aeneas seems simply to have been severely tempted as a man and to have yielded; once his mind was made up to go, there was no struggle of love and duty, only the shrinking from an unpleasant scene that might have been a melanoly pleasure could only Dido take it as he did himself. Virgil has made a new woman for his erotic story, but his hero is drawn to an older model. It was a sorrow to Hypsipyle to part from Jason, but she created no scene. She asked Jason to remember her when he was far away, but she did not kill herself any more than did Calypso or Circe. Aeneas tells Dido that he will always remember her with pleasure, and he would have liked her to do the same. Erotic poetry had not elaborated the description of the hero's passion, and Virgil on the side of Aeneas has not essayed to go beyond his predecessors. The attitude of Aeneas towards Dido is one of brooding affection. He could not believe that his departure could cause her such anguish. Yet he still delights to think of her, and when all his paternal tenderness was moved within him at the death of Pallas, he can think of no tribute to convey his feelings so fittingly as one of the garments which the Sidonian Dido had woven for him with his own hands. It became the shroud of Pallas.²

There is another line that throws light upon the "obnixus curam sub corde premebat," namely:

- (f) *haut secus adsiluis hinc atque hinc vocibus heros
tunditur et magno persentit pectore curas;
mens inmuta manet, lacrimae volvuntur inanes.*

—447-449.

It is the entreaties of the queen, not his own heart, that pains him. His merit was not to have mastered his own passions, but to have resisted her pleas. He conquered his compassion, not his love. At least Virgil has so stated it here. This seems, too, on the whole, the best light in which to view uncertain expressions.

- (e) *At pius Aeneas, quamquam lenire dolentem
solando cupit et dietis avertere curas
multa gemens magnoque minum labefactus amore,
iussa tamen divom exsequitur classemque revisit.*

—393-396.

¹*Desine meque tuis incendere teque querellis.*—p. 360. I take *incendere* in its general meaning. Mr. Glover takes it in an erotic sense. "Once, in the parting with Dido, feeling seems to surge up and demand expression, but it is instantly repressed—*Desine meque tuis incendere teque querellis*. The word *incendere* shows his thought. Dido's words must rouse passion, and passion, he feels, helps nothing forward, and he dreads it."—p. 194.

²XI., 74.

This third line can well be taken as a positive assertion of the love of Aeneas, and it is usually so understood. Bowen translates it, "shaken in all his soul with his passion," and the commentators usually make no mention of a difficulty. Servius rather timidly suggests that *amorem* may mean Dido's love, and much can be said for this interpretation. The moment is that when Dido was carried away by the servants. Aeneas longed to comfort her grief and to assuage her sorrows with his words; often he groaned and *his heart was broken at the sight of her great love*. It seems at least as easy to take the line in this way as to defend it as the only one that represents the hero as mastered by his passion. His usual attitude to the queen was one of pity. In fact, it seems at times as if his only emotions are pity and the desire for pity. He is surely a poor lover. It may be mentioned that Ribbeck brackets the third line.

It is not likely that the Roman public would expect the Roman hero to be enamoured. No one would suppose for a moment that Odysseus was in love with Circe or Calypso, although it might be insisted that the case was different with them, being goddesses. This objection would have, however, no force in the case of Hypsipyle, and yet none would think that there was love between her and Jason. With Medea it was otherwise. In order for Medea's passion to run its course and issue as the legend demanded, it was necessary for the man either to love in earnest or to pretend it. It was equally so in the Ariadne story. The erotic interest depends upon the deception and desertion.

This brings us to an interesting feature in these erotic incidents. The treatment of the woman conditions the treatment of the man. In spite of its place in the Aeneid as the temptation, the fourth book from an artistic point of view, exists for Dido's sake. For the treatment of her part the important things are erotic poetry and tragedy. The portrayal of Aeneas is conditioned by the character of Dido and the course of her fortunes, though at the same time his duty as the national hero must be remembered. As the legendary founder of Rome, embodying the national virtues, he must be protected. Hence he could not flee as Theseus did, although Dido's accusation of his intention to flee assimilates the stories to no small extent and made possible a similar treatment. Aeneas must, however, submit to a test. He must stand his ground and be buffeted on this side and on that by the appeals of love, and after all depart. Virgil has made a determined effort to rescue Aeneas from the blame that the part entailed upon him by the erotic story involved. Dido was mad. Her love was sent by the goddess and was irresistible. Aeneas never perjured himself

nor made any promises. If he consented to play the part the queen demanded he did so by acquiescence, and she knew it. As he said in the world below, he did not think he could be the cause of her death. He felt for her. It pained him to see her grief, yet he could not remain. Duty called him elsewhere.

Virgil chose to model his erotic story upon a type that made his hero's part a very difficult one to handle. Theseus was a villain of the deepest dye, a perjurer, a betrayer and a deserter. In our story the blame, for blame there must be, has to be laid elsewhere, and it is actually transferred to Dido and the gods. Venus inflicted the love. It was Juno contrived the temptation. Dido herself rushed madly to her ruin. She knew all the time the uncertain tenure of her happiness. She knew she was doing wrong.

coniugium vocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam. —172.

It was strong love that forced her on.

improbe Amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis? —412.

When she reviewed her own lot on that last night, she seemed to herself worthy of death.

quin morere, ut merita es, ferroque averte dolorem. —547.

At the last, the temporary passion for revenge and the feeling of anger against Aeneas were mingled with a sense that she had committed a fatal sin.

nunc te facta impia tangunt?
tunc decuit, cum sceptrum dabas. —596, 597.

The only blame attached to Aeneas is that which he shares with the queen of neglecting his good name;

Obliti famae melioris amantes. —221.

he is accused of uxoriousness and forgetting his duty.

*“Tu nunc Carthaginis altae
fundamenta locas pulchramque uxoris urbem
extruïs hen regni rerumque oblite tuarum?”* —IV., 265.

So far from Aeneas coming off with a blot upon his piety, he is held up for our admiration in a striking simile, which offers a picture of the hero buffeted on this side and on that by the entreaties of love.

Talibus orabat, talisque miserrima fletus
 fertque refertque soror, sed nullis ille movetur
 fletibus, haut voces ullas tractabilis audit:
 fata obstant, placidasque viri deus obstruit auris,
 ac velut annoso validam cum robore quereum
 Alpini boreae nunc hinc nunc flatibus illinc
 eruere inter se certant; it stridor, et altae
 consternunt terram concusso stipite frondes;
 ipse haeret scopulis et quantum vertice ad auras
 aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit.
 haut secus adsiduis hinc atque hinc vocibus heros
 tuuditur et magno persentit pectore curas:
 mens immota manet, lacrimae volvuntur inanes. 437-449.

To sum up, we may say that the fourth book is, from one point of view, well knit into the poem, yet the tragic erotic story necessarily set the hero in a bad light, which was especially unfortunate for the *pious Aeneas*: that the latter was not defended with complete success from the charge of deception; that his emotions are usually referred to in ambiguous terms, but on the whole it is safer to think of a triumph of piety over pity rather than of piety over love. Aeneas was prone to tears.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DIDO EPISODE AS A TRAGEDY.

Regarding the form of the Dido episode it is sufficient to say that it is an erotic story, treated partly in the manner of tragedy and partly in the manner of the epic. There is nothing in this conception of a threefold origin that is inconsistent with the forms of poetry here named. The epic is the most capacious in its content of all kinds of poetry, and quite capable of expansion to receive episodes of any dignified nature, even if they have a considerable compass. Both the erotic story and tragedy are themselves episodic in character, although they may contain episodes within themselves. The former was usually brief, employed the hexameter verse or the closely related elegiac couplet, and so its insertion in the epic was especially easy, once the ancient public was ready to find it there.

Tragedy was not so easy to handle, yet there is much common ground between it and the epic as Aristotle has brought out in his *Poetics*. Both go for their subjects to that mythological or legendary world whose remoteness leaves the poet opportunity to draw his figures large and imposing. Of course, it must be observed that the same man in the same version of the legend could not be the subject of an epic poem and of a tragedy, because the fortunes of the hero in the two are different. The one represents him as finally triumphant, no matter how much he may have endured and suffered. The other represents him as at last overthrown by destiny or fate. This is well illustrated by the *Aeneid* itself, where the hero must be denteragonist for a time while the leading role is taken by Dido. One part of a man's life, however, might well be proper material for a tragedy, and another for epic. Of this Agamemnon is an example, for an epic poem could be made on his life down to the fall of Troy, but his fate after his return is, of course, the subject of the drama of Aeschylus. It is conceivable, too, that the fate of Aeneas after the establishment of his kingdom in Italy might have been made a sequel to Dido's curse and worked up for presentation on the tragic stage.

But, apart from the difference of their fortunes, the heroes of the epic and of tragedy are alike. They must be men cast in an heroic mould, superior to ordinary humanity in power and capacities, in outward rank and station. Yet there is again a

divergence, since in the former the chief interest is in the man as a man, doing and suffering, while the latter has a tendency to become speculative, or at least reflective; great problems of life are broached, such as the contradiction between a good man's merits and his lot. Thus epic poetry is more likely to appeal to the pride of a nation, while tragedy has a meaning to all mankind. This can be seen in the case of the *Aeneid*, which doubtless thrilled the heart of Rome, while the Dido episode, being more universal in its significance, has been more popular in all ages than the rest of the work. In this connection may be pointed out a peculiarity of the *Aeneid* compared with other epics, such as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*: they were the pride and the heritage of a race that was widely scattered and never became a nation, while the former was the property of a race whose national pride was its strongest bond, and its hero bore on his shoulders the fate and the fortunes of a people. Thus Virgil has succeeded in adding the force of tragedy to epic, since Dido and Aeneas are both national figures, and the former at the same time a woman whose sad career has furnished food for serious thought to all the world. This was a great achievement, and is still a unique thing in literature.

Now the end or aim of tragedy is to produce certain painful emotions under conditions to give pleasure. In Greece this was attained by the use of music and dancing and costumes, as well as acting. Tragedy was a show and a spectacle as well as a story of suffering and disaster. The Greek expected his eye and his ear to be equally delighted with his emotions, and a drama that did not run its regular course through episode, choric song and exodos would have been shocking to his taste and scarcely conceivable to his imagination. Even Aristotle would have the chorus play an essential part, and he criticises Euripides for diminishing its importance.¹ Now we will agree with the Greeks that the maximum pleasure obtainable from tragedy is to see a good one acted upon the stage, but, on the other hand, we know that the chorus was a legacy from the dithyramb, and although often with proper music it may have been a powerful aid, yet often, too, it was an embellishment and belonged to the spectacle, not to the drama.

Aristotle was in doubt whether the audience should be taken into account in judging of the excellence of a play, which implies very clearly that he knew an estimate could be reached by reading without seeing.² Even in Greece tragedies must have found many readers, and in times since they have certainly found myriads of readers, for their thousands of spectators in antiquity. It is true

¹Poetics, 1456a, 27.

²Poetics, 1449a, 7; 1453b, 3.

that the pleasure gained by reading may be less, yet we have so trained ourselves in the habit of reading the tragedies that our capacity for enjoying them in this way has grown to an extent which perhaps would astonish Aristotle or Shakespeare. There is this also to be said, that the enjoyment often is greater with each repetition and is each time different also. Words take on a significance not before observed, and by and by we are able to write the tragedy over again with the author. It is perhaps only after we have worked it over in this way that we take the keenest pleasure in seeing it well acted.

Observing that tragedy is still tragedy without its trappings, it can at once be seen that the effect proper to it can be produced by an epic. The meter is no hindrance, for the only virtue of the iambic senarius was its nearness to the colloquial speech, and the hexameter is only one remove farther away. Its possibilities for dialogue were well known as early as Homer, and although the speeches in his poems are usually long, the hexameter had been tried in the amoebæan idyll, and Virgil had himself employed it in the eclogues. However, the speeches in the *Aeneid* are as long as in the *Iliad*, and we may pass over this possibility of the hexameter without further notice. There may, perhaps, be a positive advantage in this measure for the use of tragedy since its tone is eminently noble and in a way compensates for the cothurnus and other appurtenances of the stage. There is indeed no valid reason why tragedy should not use the same meter as the epic, especially when it is to be read and not acted. The same meter is employed for both in English.

Now setting aside the accessories of representation, which may be of the most elaborate kind, as they were at Athens, or of the paltriest, as they were in the Elizabethan drama, we may consider the plot and characters, which are the core of tragedy and contain the whole secret of success when a play is to be read and not seen. A plot may be good and the characters indifferent, or the characters good and the plot poor, but the best tragedy has both of these good. We shall try to show that the tragedy of *Dido* is of this kind. We shall speak of its length, of the unities, of the treatment of the element of time, of tragic irony, and of other features that are likely to induce tragic associations.

In the first place, that part of the narrative that falls in the first book is no more dramatic than the epic may at any time become, but the entrance of Venus into the plot may suggest the prologue of the *Hippolytus* of Euripides and cast the tragic gloom over the reader. Dido herself is yet acting merely from motives of hospitality, entertaining visiting royalty. From the

beginning of the fourth book we have the tragedy proper. The beginning and the end of this are dramatic, the middle epic. The struggle between love and pride is made dramatic in the colloquy between Dido and her sister. The wooing of Aeneas, the meeting of Juno and Venus, the hunt, the account of Fama, the prayer of Iarbas and the coming of Mercury are all epic. On the other hand, the evening scene between Dido and Aeneas could be put upon the stage, without alteration, with great opportunities for fine acting. It will further be recognized as an example of the tragic *ἄγων* familiar in the plays of Euripides. The messages sent to Aeneas by the hand of Anna will inevitably suggest the *ἄγγελος* of the stage. The introduction of witchcraft and the funeral pyre take us to the domain of erotic literature where these are frequently recurring features, but suicide in itself is by no means rare in tragedy. The Ajax and the Hippolytus are most likely to be remembered.

The plot is one not known in Aristotle's day, but was perfectly developed in erotic poetry. Except for the ending, it is a close counterpart of the Ariadne episode in the poem of Catullus on the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, and will be discussed in another chapter in that connection. In the version before us we have recognized the following parts: the prologue, the enamourment, the struggle between love and pride, the mock marriage, the desertion, the curse, and Dido's death.

The turn of fortune from good to bad (*μετάβασις*) is precipitated by the visit of Mercury to Aeneas, or, if we leave out the action of the gods, by the sudden resolution of Aeneas to depart for Italy. This turn of fortune may be regarded as an example of Aristotle's *περιπέτεια*, but Virgil has not chosen to treat it in the usual way. The true *περιπέτεια* is accompanied by a surprise, as in the case of Oedipus, who thought to find comfort by investigating the secret of his birth, and found ruin instead. A good example in English is the Merchant of Venice, where Shylock laid a scheme to get revenge which nearly proved his own undoing. In Virgil, however, there is not only no effort to secure a surprise, but this is carefully guarded against, both for Dido and the reader. From the moment of the arrival of Aeneas she is the "infelix Dido, doomed to ruin in days to come." She drank too deep of love ever to be happy. The course of her passion was too violent, and, as we expect in tragedy, there was too much of madness in it ever to let us foresee a happy issue. Her brief felicity was for herself not unmingled with dread, and even before impious rumor brought to her the cruel news of the arming of the

fleet, "she was a victim to every dread, even where there were no grounds for fear" (*omnia tuta timens*).¹ It does not belong to an erotic plot of this kind to plan a surprise. The interest of the story lies in the heart of the heroine, in the struggle against love, but still more in the anguish of desertion as is seen in both the *Ariadne* and in the *Dido* episodes. The proper effect is that which St. Augustine felt in reading the fourth book: he tells us that he wept over "poor Dido, who killed herself for love,"² and this is an effect that is best attained by a gradual approach. It is, of course, possible to elicit pity and tears without drawing characters to a tragic scale. *Ariadne* is little more than a tender child. It is *Dido's* position as a great woman and a queen that turns our erotic story into a tragedy.

The power of the piece lies largely in the fact that we sympathize with every move of Dido, but at the same time know that she cannot succeed. The coming of the Trojans could appear to her only as a special providence, both for her and for the city, and to her as the queen belonged the right to invite them into the kingdom and to offer the sceptre to Aeneas. She showed a manlike energy in the work. From the moment that Aeneas appears she determines his conduct. She plans the banquet, asks for the tale of Troy, and asks for it again and again. Once resolved upon the marriage, she sets about the wooing; she leads him through the city, shows him the walls begun, and the Sidonian wealth. She took his sword and gave him a Tyrian sword in its place. She gave presents to Ascanius. She arranged the hunt, and, last of all, she dressed Aeneas in Tyrian fashion in garments woven by her own hands, and set him to superintending the building of her walls. It was partly this energy of hers that carried Aeneas away, and it is partly this that carries the reader away, and it makes the tragedy too. The same vehemence that drove her madly on to reach the goal she held in view, swept her on to destruction. She is a good tragic heroine for this very reason. She was capable only of great things, great success or awful ruin. Yet, with all her activity, the reader must concur in all her plans. What she sought for herself was for the best advantage of her city, and for herself she wanted no more than the world grants to a woman, and especially to a good woman and a queen. Virgil would have us believe that it was against the inexpugnable piety of Aeneas that the imperious nature of Dido dashed itself in vain. Whether we are really convinced of this, or it seems rather that the heart of the hero was incapable of being equally moved with hers, we, at any rate, cannot help feeling that she deserved and had earned a

¹IV., 298.

²Conf. I., 13, 20.

great happiness to crown her life, but fate at the last moment cast her down.

Virgil has succeeded in maintaining the high tension of interest required by tragedy. The interest of the reader of epic is alternately stimulated and relaxed, but the drama must claim our attention for once and all, holding it under an ever-increasing strain, until at last the emotions of pity and terror exhaust themselves. This cannot be attained unless the plot is rapidly and uninterruptedly unfolded, which is here done. There is no book of the whole poem that seizes the attention so instantly and holds it so continuously as the fourth. With the surrender of her cherished resolution the sympathy of the reader is unreservedly given to Dido, and the queen is felt to be a woman too. Soon comes that brightest morning which ended in the darkest day, the brilliant pageant of the hunt followed by the awful mockery of a marriage. The long description of Fama and her work furnishes a brooding spell until the gathering storm shall break. The cold rebuttal of Aeneas' speech is a cruel contrast to the vain fervor of the queen pleading wildly for life and happiness. After that parting scene the attention is strained to the highest pitch, and from it there is no release until the drama is over and we find ourselves reading that bit of occult lore that closes the piece with some inexplicable appropriateness.

The action of tragedy and the epic should be serious (*σπουδαίος*), and something has already been said of this in the introduction, yet a little remains to be added. Dido plays a dual role as tragic queen and a national heroine. Her adventure with the legendary founder of Rome is made to account for the bitter hatred that existed between the two nations, and thus an ingenious employment is made of the lover's curse taken from erotic poetry, and at the same time the action is lifted to a level of seriousness that the fortunes of two individuals, however exalted by rank and power, could never attain. It was an original conception of Virgil's, perhaps, to make an erotic tragedy of the story of Dido and Aeneas, which was bound to give it an eternal interest, but to seize the patriotic motive as well, was a brilliant thought. There is no other piece of epic or tragic literature that meets the requirement of seriousness in so peculiar a way with double power.

Virgil follows neither the epic nor tragedy exclusively in his treatment of the element of time. In Homer the succession of day and night is clearly and regularly indicated with the purpose of reminding the listener at intervals of the passage of time. Much happens in one day. Sunset and sunrise are events of the narrative.

¹Cf. Heinze, p. 336, on time. He points out the compression of time.

In the drama, actions are not placed in time at all, and if they are of such extent that they could not have taken place in twenty-four hours the fact is simply ignored. Time is not only compressed; it is almost eliminated.

The first part of the fourth book is more Homeric in this regard, the latter and the larger part dramatic. The book opens on the morning following the banquet. Dido is already possessed by love; the colloquy with her sister and the sacrifices follow; then she displays her city to Aeneas and seeks the banquet once more when evening comes. The hunt may occur the following day. The description of Fama serves to divert us from Dido and Aeneas and creates the impression that much time has elapsed between the storm and the moment when Mercury finds Aeneas superintending the walls. Virgil, too, now confirms our feeling that time has gone by in the interval. Things have been happening. Aeneas now has accepted his position as Dido's husband. He wears the sword that she has given him and the Tyrian cloak that her own hands had made.¹ This passage about Fama may be compared to the long chorns at the beginning of the Agamemnon, which engages the minds of the spectators and takes them far afield during the interval between the discovery of the signal-fire by the watchman and the arrival of the hero.

In general it may be said of Virgil that when time is mentioned it is because it is necessary or appropriate for the action. An illustration is the hunt, which very naturally took place in the morning. Another striking case in point is the last dawn when Dido looked forth from her tower and saw the fleet of Aeneas peacefully sailing out into the deep. Morning is the time for setting sail, and crime is more awful committed at that hour. Again, Virgil describes night, but it is for the sympathy of the hour with the scene. It is of no consequence whether it is the ensuing night; it is very important that it is night. One will then recall the famous passage beginning *nox erat* (522); and the strange noises from the tomb of Sychaeus, *nox cum terras obscura tenebat* (461).² This will be recognized for a lyric quality.³ In so far as time is otherwise ignored, the treatment is dramatic, and this applies especially to the last four hundred lines, in which no care is taken to mark the succession of day and night. This is also in other respects the most tragic portion of the poem.

Virgil had, in the first six books, to maintain at the same

¹IV., 261.

²Cf. *Tempus erat, quo prima quies mortalibus aegris.*
and, *Nox erat, et terris animalia somnus habebat.*

—II., 268 ff.

—III., 147 ff.

³Aleman, 65, in Hiller-Crusius.

time the unity of the epic and the unity of the tragedy, and the former was of more importance than the latter. Beginning with Book I., the first even lines contain no mention of piety and are the poet's preface to the whole poem. The invocation, consisting of the next four lines, has reference only to the first half of the *Aeneid*, of which the subject is piety, and in the seventh book comes a fresh invocation for the remaining six. The rest of the first book prepares for the recital of the fall of Troy and the wanderings of the hero, and is also the prologue of the tragedy. This ingenious plan results in a chronological arrangement of the whole narrative beginning with the second book. So far as we are concerned with it, this order will then be: the legacy to piety, the theme of the second book; the trials of piety, the theme of the third; and the temptation of piety, the fourth. The unity of the epic becomes by this order admirably clear, and the history of the hero proceeds regularly to the end of the poem. At the same time the poet is enabled to consecrate a whole book to that part of the Dido episode which forms the tragedy proper, and its unity is secured without in the least straining the capacity of the poem.

The drama itself is, to the greatest possible degree, concentrated and coherent. It has a definite beginning, as the laws of poetics require, and also a definite ending. All that stands between these, the banquet scene and the death of Dido, stands in close consequential relationship. At the opening of the fourth book Dido is acting from the motive that led up to her death. The drama opens with the struggle between love and pride; then comes her decision and the wooing of Aeneas; after that the temptation and her fall; then the debate with Aeneas, and finally despair and death. Yet with this coherence it still possesses the requisite magnitude that Aristotle insists on for the drama. This can be seen by comparing it with the story of Ariadne in Catullus, which has a certain artistic merit because it has a definite beginning and end and a rational development, but it is too short to produce deep emotions. The emotions appropriate to tragedy are pity and terror, which are not lightly or soon aroused. They must have a certain period of preparation from which they progress to a climax. Looking at it again from an artistic point of view, a small scale does not suit the most serious kind of poetry, and it is from this point of view, perhaps, that Aristotle insists upon a certain magnitude. The fourth book contains 705 lines, and if we make allowance for hexameters against iambic and lyric meters, it is as long as tragedies usually are. The *Nicestis* of Euripides contains less than 1,200 lines, and the *Heracleidae* less than 1,100, while the *Resus*, which is not a very good tragedy, to be sure, has scarcely

a thousand. If the last part of the first book, from the interposition of Venus, is to be included, we have 800 hexameters, which is quite sufficient to sustain the dignity of a story drawn to the tragic scale.

Of the hero of tragedy, it is required that he be human like ourselves, but raised above us in rank and fortune, in powers and capacities.¹ All of these requirements are eminently fulfilled in Dido. She is no less noble in rank and birth than she is illustrious for power and for character. She is the sister of a king and a queen herself, and has the queenliness of nature. She is, with all her power and force, a true woman, as the affection of all posterity has proven.

In the *Aeneid* she is claimed to be the daughter of Belus and the descendant of Agenor, from whom the famed Europa also traced her lineage. The story ran that Jupiter loved Europa and carried her off to Crete, where she became the mother of Minos. Minos was the husband of the unhappy Pasiphaë, sister of Acetes and Circe, and of Pasiphaë were born the two victims of unhappy love, Ariadne and Phaedra. Virgil's heroine belongs, therefore, by right of birth, to the company in which she wanders in the under world,² and to the great family whose women seemed condemned by destiny to forbidden or hopeless love. She will be also kindred of the daughters of Danaus, who was — the line of Belus and Agenor, and the Danaids, too, were famous among victims of unhappy love.

If Dido has the claims of a famous origin, she possesses queenly beauty too, and all the accessories of royalty. She was most beautiful in form; she bore herself like Diana, and had the stature of a goddess. She was surrounded with all the signs of rank. Her progress to the temple was in royal state. The magnificence of the banquet hall reminds us strongly that she is a queen, while we there feel no less that Aeneas is a prince among men. Passing to the day of the hunt, we have the glittering cavalcades, the impatient horse caparisoned in purple and gold, and Dido, with all her retinue, clad in the embroidered Sidonian habit; her quiver is of gold, her hair is confined in gold, and the golden brooch fastens her scarlet cloak. Gold is here mentioned three times in two lines and five times in fourteen; for the glitter of metal and of color we should have to go to Pindar for a parallel.

But even if we omit the claims of birth and omit all the pageantry of the court, Dido is still a queen. She has power. Men and women obey her. Anna is her slave. The nurse hastened to do her bidding with aged haste. Dido had been in sorrow and in danger and had conquered them. She knew how to rule and

¹Aristotle, *Poetics*, 1453a.

²*VI.*, 442 ff.

did not shrink from the severest measures; her soldiers had orders to burn and kill. She defied her enemies and scorned her suitors. Moreover, she had a queenly pride. Best of all, for the tragic effect, her pride had a touch of egoism in it. The hero of tragedy may well be conscious of his greatness as Dido was. She speaks of "the city that I am founding." In her dying speech there are no words so pathetic in contrast to her situation as the proud lines:

et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago,
ultra virom potans inimico a fratre recepi.
urbem praeteritum statui, mea moenia vidi. —654-6.

There is something pitiful in the use of *mei* for *mea*, and in the first person of the perfects, *recepi*, *statui*, *vidi*. The world loves a true queen all the more for her pride, and a touch of egoism is only the perfection of pride.

Dido's name is mentioned for the first time in the Aeneid side by side with the proudest word in the Latin language:

*Imperium Dido Tyria regit orbe profecta
germanum fugiens.*

The "dux femina" of the same passage became a classic, and recurred to the mind of Tacitus when he wrote of the British warrior queen, Boudicca.¹ The word "regina" in Latin carried with it only ideas of power and magnificence and was wholly free from the sinister connotation of the masculine "rex." Virgil insists upon calling her by this name, and it shares an ugly frequency with the oft-recurring "infelix Dido." In these two designations is contained the whole tragedy, the pitiful and awful contrast between her fortune and her fate. But exalted as Dido is by regal eminence and by illustrious birth, the woman is not lost in the queen, and she remains to the end intensely human. The great and immediate success of the Aeneid and the preference that antiquity felt for the Dido episode, as well as its popularity to the present day, are the best evidence that she was a true woman, yet certain feminine traits may be pointed out as conspicuous in her portraiture. She cast down her eyes with shame as she excused to Ilionens her cruel treatment of strangers. She contended with rising tears when love struggled with her cherished resolution never to marry. It was a feminine way of hers to keep the cavalcade waiting on the day of the hunt, and it was like a woman to swoon away after loading Aeneas with reproaches. We perceive her womanhood most, however, in the love she lavishes

¹Agricola, 16, 1; 31, 5.

upon the little Ascanius, and it is from a childless woman's heart that the words come,

Saltem siqua mihi de te suscepta fuisset
ante fugam soboles, siquis mihi parvulus aula
tuleret Aeneas, qui te tamen ore referret,
non equidem omnino capta ac deserta viderer.

—327 30.

Dido was pre-eminently a person of action. She assumed a man's role in life and played it well. She acted with decision against her husband's murderer, she led a migrating people, and founded a city. It has been pointed out in connection with the plot how the action from her first appearance moves at her initiative, and how, before her masterful and imperious nature, even the great hero gave way for a time. But power of action does not usually go with power of reflection, and this is so with Dido. Her energy and her passions usurp her nature. Her strongest capacities are for pride, a womanly quality, and revenge and love. Doubt is an agony to her. Decision restores her to herself. She gapes breathless over the steaming entrails of the victims. Whether she read them aright or not we are not told, but, at any rate, once done with them she set about winning Aeneas as people of action usually do. Once she resolved to die, the way and the means were soon found and the preparations made. Her violent death was a fit close to her life.

Yet there is another side. It seems strange that we should be told that Barea was the nurse of Sychaeus and that her own had died in her former home (IV., 633). It may have been so in the legend, but this could hardly justify the mention of it at a moment when our feelings are so completely absorbed in the fate of the heroine. It must be felt to contribute in some way to the tragic effect at which he aimed, and, if so, it may be intended to suggest to us the utter loneliness of Dido's position. She has no confidant. All her own had been taken from her. In the story of Medea, as told in the *Argonautica*, we find a sister, a brother, mother and father, and Medea herself is only a girl. In the story of Ariadne, in Catullus, there is a father and a mother, and the sympathy we feel for the child is not due to any isolation, but to her childish innocence. In the play of *Hippolytus* Phaedra is a wife and a mother. Her husband is alive and has been happy with her. Her nurse still cares for her and calls her "my child," while her helplessness and dependence are prominently brought forward.

On the other hand, Dido is absolutely alone. Her father is dead and her mother is not even mentioned. Her sister Anna is

under the spell of the queen's superior force and is not capable of going far with her sympathy. There is no Tyrian in her company who might aspire to her hand; all her suitors were either left behind or are barbarians. The men of her own race are nameless, except the old bard Iopas and the sot Bitias, who drank the great bowl of wine at one draught. There is no counsellor on whom she may lean. In the first book she is pictured as an absolute sovereign, giving laws and work to her subjects. She speaks to Hienus of Carthage as "the city that I am founding," and on her funeral pyre she said, "I have founded a great city, I have seen my own walls." To herself, as to Venus, she is the "*dux femina facti*." No *laudatio funebris* could be more eloquent than the two lines of Anna's lament.

Extincti te meque soror, populumque patresque
Stolonios urbemque tuam.

682-3.

Carthage was her city. She had no partner in her deed, and it might well be feared that with her the city, the people and the fathers would pass into nothingness. Virgil tells us much by his silence, and none knew better what could be as well suggested as told. Dido was haunted by her own isolation. With foes around her and a threatening enemy at home hating her with the hate of a brother, and that towards one whom he had wronged, she felt a fear that she would acknowledge to none, and scarcely to herself. Aeneas seemed to have been specially sent by heaven to be her stay and to ensure the continuance of her city. He could do what she had never hoped, make her happy and rescue her from her dread. When he was about to go, her old fears returned. She dreamt always that she was being left alone and going a long journey by herself, and she sought the Tyrians in a desert land. The dream may be borrowed from Ennius, but it gains in charm from its new setting and its suggestiveness is endless.

Dido was a leader of men and became a type for great women. The words, "*dux femina*," fastened themselves in the mind of Tacitus as we have already said, and twice he uses them to describe the British warrior queen, Boadicea. In later times Zenobia would have herself to be of the same lineage as Dido, and imitated her in her dress. Like these great women, Dido stood alone and was overmastered by fate. If Aeneas was honoured by the spite of a goddess he had also a goddess to protect him. But the friend of Aeneas and the foe alike were indifferent to Dido, and through their machinations her fair name, her happiness, and her life were ruined. She was able to master human foes, but

"Trebellius Pollio, *Tyranni Triginta*, 27, 1; 30, 2.

with the gods no mortal can contend. At least one critic has looked for the tragic flaw or frailty in Dido's character and it is not far to seek. Dido fell as any woman may fall. As a woman she was specially tempted. Advantage and love drove her irresistibly in the same direction, but even then she might have endured had not Juno planned that unlucky storm.

Dido had been intensely proud, not only with the pride of the great that have the power to achieve and know it, but also with a pride that was absolute and uncompromising. She could not, like Queen Elizabeth, play for time with suitors whom she intended to reject. She rejected the Libyans in a way that made them enemies. She preferred to stand alone before them rather than to delude them. Her nature was brave, and, as brave natures usually are, it was simple. Hers was a character so rare and so honest and intense that there was one man in all the world that was fit to be her lord and he could not be hers. Thus both her nature and her lot were lonely.

In addition to the artistic proportions and the dramatic unity of the work, the nobility and strength of the character of Dido and the tragic ending, other features can be pointed out that contribute to the tragic effect. The scene of the action in all the dramatic parts of the episode is in the palace. Aeneas returned no more to the ships after reaching the palace on that first day. He became Dido's guest and remained such until the day of her discovery of his intention to flee. In order not to arouse her suspicions he had not gone in person to start the preparations for sailing, but summoned to himself Mnestheus and Sergestus and Serestus, to whom he gave his instructions. After the rupture with Dido he left the royal residence and was seen there no more, yet this remains the scene of action. Anna's messages are like those carried by the messenger on the stage. The interest remains in the queen, and her part is always given in dialogue or in soliloquy. In Homer the scene is often crowded with actors. In Virgil the characters are few as in the earlier drama of the Greeks. The companions of Aeneas are little more than names; Dido's companions have not even the distinction of being named, and we feel that she is surrounded by a people, but not with men. It is to be pointed out in this connection that in the dramatic parts of the fourth book we have at no time more than two actors upon the scene. The first dialogue has the additional dramatic feature that the sister of the heroine is a stock character of the stage, as is also the nurse who appears at a later time. We need only recall the Antigone, for example, to bring before us a sister occupying a place very similar to that of Anna. The more

conventional minds of Anna and Ismene serve the purpose of making the isolation and the strength of the heroine stand out in clear relief. This parallel alone would be sufficient to bring up tragic associations.

In the colloquy of Aeneas and Dido we have likewise two persons only, and, as was remarked before, this scene is in the form of a tragic *ἀγών*. The rhetorical elements in the speech of Aeneas are not too prominent, but there is no mistaking the mould in which it is cast. Like Jason in Euripides' *Medea*, where there is also an *ἀγών*,¹ he had to justify himself in a situation where the superior rights of affection had been ignored. Both alike resort to sophistry. The reply of Aeneas begins with the forensic "pro re pauca loquar," and one by one he answers the reproaches of Dido. He creeps out of blame on technical grounds. He had never held out the marriage torch nor formally entered into a treaty, yet he had consented in act, and he knew it. Dido had propounded to him the question, what would he do if Troy yet remained? Would he brave the wintry seas to seek it? This was seemingly an unanswerable appeal, but the sophist finds a way. He denies all exercise of personal choice in the direction of his life. Could he follow his own inclination, he would devote himself to his beloved Troy and a new Pergama would arise for the conquered people. None can here fail to feel an effort after arguments to refute the points of the opponent, and this is suggested in Dido's reply, "*neque te teneo neque dicta refello*," yet we know well that reasoning will not convince the one nor alter the decision of the other. There is considerable similarity between this passage and the corresponding one in the *Medea*, yet Jason's pleas are infinitely less convincing than those of Aeneas, cold as these may be. At any rate, the association is with tragedy.

Regarding the closing part of the poem, it has been said already that the pyre has been taken from erotic literature; the same may be said of the curse, which has a parallel in the *Ariadne* of Catullus, but suicide upon the stage is well known from the *Ajax* of Sophocles, and Ajax was also the victim of a god-sent madness. Thus the conclusion of the story, including Anna's lament, is quite in the manner of tragedy and is worthy of Euripides, who was considered the most tragic of the poets on account of his preference for this ending. The part of the chorus is represented once at least in the words at the end of the passage describing the sacrifices:

heu vatum ignarae mentes! quid vota furentem,
quid delubra iuvant?

—65, 66.

¹*Medea*, 446 ff.

It comes, too, at the moment when we should expect the chorus to speak.

The mind of the reader who knows the story may be unduly sharpened for forebodings of the end, but the gifts of Aeneas to Dido seem intended to contain omens of unhappiness. Servius says, "they were suitable for a woman about to marry, yet they seem to contain an omen of coming trouble." The feeling that what has belonged to an unlucky person brings like misfortunes to subsequent owners is not unknown in these days, and was probably current in antiquity. Among the love stories of Parthenius is one of a certain woman who received from her lover much gold and a necklace that had once belonged to Eriphyle.¹ After she had worn it for some time almost the same fate befell her as Eriphyle, for the younger one of her sons became mad and set fire to the house, which was destroyed, together with the mother and most of her treasures. So the garment of Helen was an omen of the ill-luck that attended all the women of her house, like that which followed those of the line of Behus and Agenor, to which Dido belonged.

However this may be, whether the gift was ominous or not, certainly the coming of Cupid casts the tragic gloom over the piece. Dido is from this time on the "infelix Dido," "doomed to ruin in days to come," "she does not know how great a god is plotting against her happiness." Across the brilliant banquet falls the shadow of coming darkness. The queen takes the great and costly bowl. She calls upon Jupiter the god of guests, and by her guest to whom she drinks she was to fall. She invokes Bacchus the giver of joy, and for her joy was so soon to pass away. She prays also to kindly Juno, who proved so unkind to her. This is surely tragic irony. It is notable, too, that while the first book ends with this banquet, at which Dido prays that Jupiter may make the day a joyous one for Tyrians and for Trojans, and memorable for their descendants, the fourth book ends with the curse for Aeneas and the legacy of everlasting hatred and enmity for their posterity. Thus, to one who reads the story often, the toast of the banquet scene becomes a mocking premonition of the future. There is indeed no effort to conceal the future, but clear signs are manifested of the ensuing gloom. It was especially necessary for Virgil to fill the reader with forebodings. The spectator going to the theatre knew that he would see a tragedy, and his attitude was involuntarily taken, but the reader must be prepared, and Virgil has taken pains to do it. The "infelix Dido" of the first book is entirely anticipatory, but it orients the reader's emotions and predisposes his heart for the unhappy

¹No. 25.

issue of the drama. Tragic irony has been pointed out in the fourth book by Mr. Nettleship.¹ Dido sacrifices to Ceres, Apollo and Lyaens, the gods that preside over the foundation of cities and the arts of peace, while she was so soon to forget her city and in the end bequeath war and hatred to their descendants. Yet this is scarcely more striking than the irony of her toast and her curse. They represent truly the *περιπέτεια* or irony of fate.

Dido is more of a tragic than an erotic heroine. In power and energy she reminds us of Clytemnestra and Medea. Her suffering is equal to that of Orestes or Pentheus. Only in tragedy did ancient literature know women of that type. Homer gives us good but passive women like Penelope and Andromache. The erotic heroines are tender children almost. Even Phaedra is a helpless victim. Ariadne is represented as taken from her mother's embrace. Dido, on the other hand, while her ideal was the wild, unsullied life of Daphne,² was as proud and imperial as the greatest queen of the tragic stage. It is curious that Virgil has twice taken characters Daphne-like in their purity, and has made a tragic queen of the one, a warrior maiden of the other—Camilla.

We may conclude by calling attention to the exquisite bit of occult lore with which the fourth book ends. These lines are like an elegy over the departed queen and seem to contain the final reflections of the poet upon her life. We are told that this was broken off in the middle, that she died not by fate, but unhappy and before her day. Her death was not in keeping with her merits and her end was due to a madness. These thoughts remind us of Aristotle's description of the ideal tragic hero,³ and perhaps this is a good piece of evidence that the dramatic ideal was before the poet.

¹Essays in Latin Lit., p. 127.

²IV., 550.

³Poetics, c., XIII.

CHAPTER V.

VIRGIL AND APOLLONIUS RHODIUS.

Among other absolute statements Macrobius says that Virgil has taken his whole fourth book from Apollonius.¹ This has been often quoted, and, if not always accepted in its entirety, yet it has been a factor in creating an impression that Virgil was a greater borrower than he was. As an epic poet using the erotic motive, he invites comparison with Apollonius, but he is really far more in debt to Catullus, or at least to the technique of that erotic poetry to which the Ariadne episode in the Marriage of Peleus and Thetis belongs. The three have told similar stories of women who became enamoured of visiting heroes and assisted them, but it was only Ariadne and Dido that were deserted. Jason remained a true husband as far as the narrative is carried in Apollonius, so that the parallel with Virgil fails completely here. The last book of the *Argonautica* reads like a Greek romance of the adventures of two lovers, and it suggested to Virgil nothing of consequence except the form of the marriage, which he adopted and used with conspicuous effect, without getting the secret of the effectiveness from Apollonius. On the other hand, the Dido episode resembles the story of Catullus in its compactness, its coherence and its dramatic unity. Especially the latter part of it has been modelled upon Catullus. That the topics, their arrangement and the stylistic form are due to him will be shown in the succeeding chapter. So far as suggestions from the *Medea* are concerned, we shall be reduced to the enamourment, the struggle of love with pride, the progress of the passion and the marriage: these are all in the first part of the episode. The comparison will serve to show a vast difference in style and tone between the *Aeneid* and the *Argonautica*, and that the two are not commensurable, the one being essentially a romance, so far, at least, as the lovers are concerned, and the other a tragedy. The entertainment of Aeneas by Dido has been compared to that of Jason by Hypsipyle, but the resemblance is slight.² As a matter of fact, this episode in the *Argonautica* comes near being a case of unexcusable immorality, and it was surely a sad condition for the heroes when they had to be recalled to their duty by a companion like Hercules. Hypsipyle

¹Satur., V., 17, 4. ²Conington, Introduction, p. xxxvii. Argon., I., 774 ff.

was a queen and invited Jason into her kingdom as Dido invited Aeneas, but the essential parts of an erotic incident are entirely lacking. The queen is not even represented as being enamoured of Jason, which makes the matter worse.

Two poets could scarcely be more unlike than Virgil and Apollonius. The one is stately and uniformly serious; the other is mean and mediocre. The gods of Virgil may talk like Roman senators, but those of Apollonius gossip like Alexandrian ladies. The one is original in invention, the other is ingenious and copious but commonplace. The former seems in numerous passages to be delightfully novel and unexpected; the latter, after a certain amount has been read, can always be anticipated. Last of all, Virgil has all to himself an endless suggestiveness and a power of speaking by silence. Apollonius communicates his every thought unless it be such that an ordinary mind could as well infer it as read it. He must let us see every detail and does not know the difference between what is awful and what is merely shocking or disgusting. For example, when the Argonauts came to Libya they found that only the day before Heracles had killed the dragon that guarded the golden apples; there lay the great body writhing its tail, while the flies hovered about its festering wounds.¹ Now Virgil suggests the visit of Heracles to Africa by the use of a tense. The sorceress whom Dido called to her aid had been priestess in the temple of the Hesperides and gave food to the dragon.

Hinc mihi Massylae gentis monstrata sacerdos,
Hesperidum templi custos epulasque draconi
quae dabat et sacros serrabat in arbore ramos. —483 ff.

Here it is implied that the dragon had lately been slain.

Virgil possessed, too, an extraordinary skill in adapting what he borrowed from others or chose from common belief for his own use. An example of this is the enamourment, for which the boy Ascanius suggested a novel form. He speaks of Dido's "wound" and the "fire in her veins" just as if she had been wounded by Cupid's arrows. He hints at the latter also by the simile of the doe wounded by the shepherd as he tested his weapons in the woods (IV., 69 ff.). Everywhere he avoids expression where suggestion will serve. In Apollonius there is nothing to read between the lines. He possesses a fertile mediocre mind. As an instance may be quoted, the enamourment which is brought about in the most commonplace way. Eros comes with his bow and arrows, sent by his mother at the instance of Hera and Athene.

¹Argon., IV., 1400 ff.

He is the ordinary mischievous boy of Alexandrian literature and decorative art, only a little more mischievous than usual.

To understand the boy properly it is necessary to see the whole scene. Hera and Athene come to the home of Aphrodite and find her at her toilet.¹ The hostess says her callers are "quite strangers," and offers them chairs, while she hastily does up her hair. In reply to their request for assistance, she says "she will do all she can," but "Eros is such a naughty boy, he even threatens!" Hera and Athene look at each other knowingly and presently take their leave. After some search Eros is discovered just at the moment of having cheated Ganymedes out of all his dice. Not seeing his mother, he is laughing derisively, when all at once she seizes him and reproves him for cheating with an undisguised pride in his cleverness. Then she offers him a bribe to do her errand. She will give him a wondrous red ball if he will go and wound Medea with an arrow. He wants it at once, but is persuaded to earn it first, and hastily takes up his weapons and makes off. This passage reminds us of nothing in Greek literature so much as the fifteenth idyll of Theocritus, about Gorgo and Praxinoe going to the festival of Adonis. Surely these creations of Apollonius are not goddesses, but gossipy Alexandrian women, and if ever the spoiled child of a city woman has been described in books it is this Eros of Aphrodite. He despatches his business without delay, as a small boy usually does when a bribe is awaiting him, and hastens back to his reward. There is in this picture nothing peculiar or original. It is the same Eros that we meet everywhere in erotic literature, only exaggerated.

We do not mean to deny all merit to Apollonius. This picture of the goddesses is one of the most entertaining things of its kind in literature. One cannot fail to recognize a racy description of contemporary Alexandrian life that is just as good as Theocritus or Herondas, but the merit is not that of epic poetry. It is highly amusing, but neither noble like Homer nor grand like Virgil. The latter brought into the epic the dignity of Roman public life. He wrote for Roman aristocrats, for grave senators and for an Emperor who loved stately formality. The audience of Apollonius was at a gay court and in the drawing-rooms of Alexandria. Nothing characterized that age so much as the absolute lack of morality. Morality for that age simply did not exist. Poetry existed largely for the courtesan. In this atmosphere epic poetry is scarcely possible. A people can scarcely be heroic in their tastes and erotic at the same time. Virgil felt this. The old Roman prejudice against second marriages is voiced in Dido's long-

¹Argon., III., 36 ff.

²Ib., 90 ff.

cherished resolution. Her motives were pure and noble from the first. It has already been mentioned that she thought of Aeneas from the first as a husband, and connected him in her mind with Sychaeus. She insisted on calling their relationship a marriage, and her childlessness was a keen pang to her. Thus the tone of the book is highly moral. Without this strict moral background Dido could not have been what she was. It is partly this that gives to the fourth book its reality and vividness that all have felt, so far, at least, as the part of Dido is concerned. Indeed, her part has been handled with such success that Aeneas was doomed to ignominy. This book is, above all others, the work of a "divided genius." Apollonius is not even a divided genius in this respect. In general, he is simply unconscious of morality; at times there is a thinly disguised pretence.

Virgil's account of Dido's enamourment was suggested by the form of his story, and the relation of Cupid to his mother is due not to convention, but to a trait of his own nature. Virgil seems to have been bound to his own father by an unusual love, and more often than anything else he has chosen to describe filial or parental affection. We may recall Daedalus and Icarus at the beginning of the sixth book, in the latter books Pallas and Evander, Mezentius and Lausus, Metabus and Camilla, to say nothing of Anchises and Aeneas and the omnipresent Ascanius. It seemed impossible for Virgil to conceive of the divine family being discordant, and even Venus and Cupid are loving mother and son. Like the Eros of earlier Greek literature and art, the latter is no mischievous small boy, but a youth bordering on manhood, large enough to take the place of Ascanius, who rides to the hunt and leads the Trojan games at his grandfather's anniversary. He obeys his mother because he loves her; he has grieved with her over his brother Aeneas. Gladly and without a word he carries out her plans. He doffs his wings, but there are no arrows. Dido is enamoured through her eyes. With gazing she catches the fire (*ardescit tuendo*). She drank in long draughts of love (*longumque bibebat amorem*).

One detail in which Virgil is thought to have followed Apollonius is the description of Dido's passion, and we shall see to what extent this is true. Apollonius is often commonplace; here he is almost ridiculous. Medea is pierced by the shaft on the occasion of Jason's first entrance into the palace, and immediately the flame sprang up in her heart, "like a fire in a heap of chips which a poor woman starts in her cabin." Setting aside the ludicrous, the progress of Medea's love is supposed to have sug-

¹Argon., III., 291 ff.

gested the first two lines of the Aeneid, book IV., and the double figure of the wound and the fire are certainly there.

At regina gravi iam dudum saucia cura,
vulnus alit venis et caeco carpitur igni.

To return to Medea—after receiving the wound her cheeks grew pale and blushed. For this there is nothing in Virgil, nor is there anything to correspond to her dreams. Dido is sleepless and has thoughts of the hero. "To her mind recurs the great worth of the hero and the great honor of his race; his looks and his words are planted in her heart and ceaseless thought denies her frame the peaceful sleep."¹ With these lines contrast the following from a similar situation in the Argonautica. "Medea had many thoughts, all that the loves stir up to be a care, and before her eyes the whole scene reappeared; what he was like, what clothes he wore, what words he spoke, how he sat upon his chair, and how he went towards the door. She seriously thought there was no other man like him, and all the time in her ears arose his voice and the sweet words that he spoke."² That Virgil received a suggestion from these lines is more than likely; it may be considered certain. But what a contrast between the few dignified thoughts of the Aeneid and the school-girl sentimentality of Medea! One more passage may be referred to in order to show the nature of her feeling, although this has no parallel in the Aeneid. Medea dreams on that first night.³ She thought that Jason had come, not for the fleece, but to take her away and make her his wedded wife. She helped him yoke the oxen herself, but her parents interfered and then a strife arose. It was left to her to decide, and she chose the stranger. Then her parents cried in anguish and she cried aloud and awoke. "Ah, woe is me! how have fearful dreams affrighted me! I fear this voyage of the strangers is bringing some awful calamity. My heart is in suspense for the stranger. Let him woo some Achaean maiden, far away among his own people: let my virgin state and my parents' home be my care." The dream is well conceived in its way, but it is not up to the epic level. So far from being queenly, Medea is very youthful and very sentimental. Apollonius might have succeeded well in the romance.

We come now to a motive that both poets have treated, shame, *pudor* or *αἰδώς*. After the dream above mentioned, Medea resolved to ask the advice of her sister Chalciope, and with this plan she crossed the room. But there she stopped. A girlish shyness held her back. Three times went she to and fro, and then she

¹IV., lines 3, 4, 5.

²Argon., III., 452-458.

³Ib., 616 ff.

threw herself upon the bed. There she lay moaning like a young bride bereaved, shrinking from curious eyes. Soon came her sister, warned by a maid, and asked the cause of her grief. Even then she dissembles from shyness¹ and pretends anxiety for her sister's sons, who are in Jason's company, and in like danger with him. Now it happened that Argus had come to ask his mother, Chalciope, to obtain Medea's aid. This is soon arranged, and Medea, all the while dissembling, promises on the morrow to carry drugs to the temple to charm the bulls. But she had yet no peace. Fear of her father filled her with dread. She was afraid that Jason might fall before the mighty strength of the bulls. Her heart fluttered like the shadows of sunlight on wavering water in a basin; the pain wasted her, smouldering through her body and especially at the back of the neck,² where the pain is keenest when the love-god strikes his tortures in the heart. So she goes on suffering and doubting. One moment she thought she would not give the drugs but would die herself; then she thought she would do neither, but would endure her sorrow. At last she says, "Away with shame!"³ but even then her mind was not made up until Hera put it in her heart to decide.

In this long outdrawn picture of a maiden's hesitation, we can recognize no peculiar trait, nothing individual. Her "sham" is a maidenly shyness that prevents her from speaking of her love to others, even to her sister. If anyone has the heart to mention in this connection Dido's "pudor," it lies at hand to observe how peculiar a feeling this is and how intimately connected it is with Dido's past. She shares it with no other woman, except so far as it voices the Roman prejudice against second marriages and the honor shown to the "univira." It is rather to be looked upon as an idiosyncrasy of Dido's. She had given her promise to the ashes of Sychaeus and had cherished it until the thought of any other love seemed sin to her. It was only when the great cold hero came, with no thought of wooing, that insidious love found the way into her heart. Her resistance was due to no ordinary feeling, no ordinary shame. It was a real obstacle to her love, while Medea's shyness only made it hard to speak of hers, and was such as any girl might feel. Apollonius surely has given Virgil little here. The one has used an ordinary emotion in an ordinary way, the other has given to a stock term of the erotic poetry an extraordinary meaning.

Both Apollonius and Virgil make use of a cloud to conceal their heroes. This is really an epic device, but since Virgil has used it to bring Aeneas into the presence of Dido, it becomes a part of the

¹ Argon., III., 681, αἰδώς παρθενίῃ.

² Ib., 762.

³ Ib., 784, ἐπέτω αἰδώς.

erotic story and lies properly within the scope of this study. In the *Argonautica* it is used in a mechanical way that is in striking contrast to the rich ingenuity of Virgil. The latter has by means of it produced what is perhaps the most splendid passage in the *Aeneid*. There is no other in the whole work so full of the stateliness of Roman public life as this pageant enacted in the temple, that evolves itself so naturally out of the story that few or none have suspected the working of consummate art. It is hard here to praise or to analyse. Nothing can be touched without disturbing the whole picture, but the keystone of it all is the concealment of Aeneas in the cloud. Without that he could not have entered the city and the temple alone with Aechates, but he would have been followed by a mob as were Ilioneus and his men. He would not have had the opportunity to peruse the paintings which for the first time gave him hope, and the poet would not have been able to describe them for us through the hero's eyes. Standing with him we see the triumphal approach of Dido in royal state; we see her in Roman kingly fashion, giving laws and tasks to her subjects. At the same time all is naïvely prepared as if for an embassy, and it comes. Ilioneus is admitted and speaks the praise of the leader, who is standing by. Dido replies, and scarcely has she spoken her regret that the king himself is not present, when the cloud dissolves and before the queen of Carthage on her throne is revealed the only man of all men in the world who could and could not be her lord. His face and shoulders were like a god's, a glad light was in his eyes, and his golden locks about his pale face shone like gold around the Parian stone.¹ Aeneas never was more courtly and perhaps at no other time would we have consented to his beautification. The grandeur of this pageant is continued in the magnificence of the banquet scene. For the royal throne we have the royal couch. The troops of hurrying slaves replace the statuesque guard of honor. The suppliant people become the guests, and the story of all that the hero had done and suffered seemed to Dido a new revelation and the dissolution of a second cloud. After this the lines of Apollonius seem dull and vulgar. The cloud melts away from Jason as he enters the courtyard of the palace of Aetes. Then follows a description of the building which serves no observable purpose. Men are chopping wood and others are tending the balls. The family drop in one after another.² This is only poor imitation of Homer. It stands against one of the most original parts of the *Aeneid*.

It would be invidious to compare the conference of Medea and Jason at the lonely temple of Hecate on the plain with the first

¹I., 589 ff.

²Argon., III., 210 ff.

meeting of Dido and Aeneas. It will be sufficient to say that Jason perceives her love at once and at this first conference proposes marriage to her. He flatters her and she has all the symptoms of the emotion of love in a tender heart. Two figures of speech that may recall "the pain at the back of the neck," are worthy of repetition. "The two stood facing each other without sound or word, like two oaks or lofty pines which stand side by side upon the mountains when the woods are still; but, lo! there comes a breath of wind, and sighs that none can number steal therefrom. Even so those two were soon to tell their tale before the breath of love." This borders on the humorous, but a few lines below is something worthy of a cheap humorist. "Forth from her fragrant girdle she drew the drug ungrudgingly, and joyfully he received it in his hands. And now she would have drawn her whole soul farth from her breast and given it to him at his desire eagerly."

It remains yet to speak of two features that come to the Aeneid from the Argonautica. When Jason and Medea had come to the land of the Phaeacians, they were overtaken by the Colchians in pursuit, and Alcinous said that if she were yet unwed, she should have to return to her father. So, by a stratagem of Arete, they were married in the famous grotto where Maeris had tended the infant Bacchus. Upon the ground was spread the golden fleece, which threw a blaze of golden light upon the nymphs, who brought sweet flowers in their bosoms. The heroes with their spears kept guard, and wreathing their heads with leafy boughs they sang a marriage hymn to the clear music of Orpheus. On the following day the people brought them gifts as they were wont to do to married folk and the nymphs sang in choros a joyous wedding hymn, and others sang alone as they circled round in the dance in honor of Hera.¹

The marriage of Dido and Aeneas is told in four lines. Dido and the Trojan leader find their way to the same cave. Primeval Earth and Pronuba Juno give the signal. For torches they had lightning, and the guilty sky was all aflame, while from the mountain tops the nymphs did wail.²

The common elements are the cave and the nymphs. The situation in Apollonius is planned with an eye to the romantic, in Virgil with a view to depict the terrible. The day that should be one of joy, to them was the beginning of death and the cause of all her troubles. In Apollonius the cave was chosen for sentimental reasons and was not the result of necessity. In Virgil an extraordinary situation has been made to conform perfectly to

¹Argon., III., 966. ²Ib., 1012. ³Argon., IV., 1139 ff. ⁴Aen., IV., 166 ff.

the law of probability. The Roman poet set before him a far more difficult task than the other, and accomplished it.

Both poets have essayed a description of night. The occasion in the *Argonautica* is the first night. Medea has promised her sister to give Jason drugs to tame the bulls, but even yet her mind is not made up. "Then did night spread darkness o'er the earth, and they who were at sea, the mariners, looked forth from their ships toward the bear and the stars of Orion; and now did every wayfarer and gatekeeper long for sleep; and o'er every father, weeping for her children dead, fell the pall of deep slumber; no more did dogs howl through the town: no more was heard the noise of men, but silence wrapped the darkling glade. Yet not at all did sleep shed its sweetness o'er Medea."

This is a scene made up mostly from city life, but it is not entirely consistent. The mariners and gatekeepers are not resting. By negative expressions much noise is suggested. Virgil, on the other hand, has confined himself to nature, and gives a consistent picture. His sympathy with nature guided his thought in choosing the details of his scene. The occasion is the night before the departure of Aeneas and the death of Dido. The contrast is between the restfulness of nature and the wild storm that raged in Dido's heart. In Bowen's version the lines run:

Now was the night. Tired limbs upon earth were fabled to sleep,
Silent the forests and fierce sea-waves; in the firmament deep
Midway rolled heaven's stars; no sound on the meadows stirred;
Every beast of the field, each bright-hued feathered bird
Haunting the limpid lakes, or the tangled briary glade,
Under the silent night in sleep were peacefully laid:
All but the grieving queen.²

The very language is restful. There is not a word that suggests sound or motion, except the noiseless progress of the stars. Instead there is night and weariness and peaceful sleep. Below is reproduced the Latin with the suggestive words in italics. Almost every word of the language that denotes rest or silence is here present:

*Nox erat, et placidum carpebant fessa soporem
corpora per terras, silvaeque et saeva quierant
aequora, cum medio volvuntur sidera lapsu,
cum tacet omnis ager, pecudes pieque volucres,
quaeque lucis late liquidos quaeque aspera dumis
rura tenent, somno positae sub nocte silenti.*
at non infelix animi Phoenissa.

-522-529.

This is all harmonious. There is no jarring thought, no mention of barking dogs, of the noise of men, or the weeping of women.

¹*Argon.* III., 743 ff.

²*Aen.* IV., 522 ff.

It is followed by an antistrophe depicting the storm in Dido's heart. The raging seas were still, but "love rose once more and raged in her heart." The force of the following lines depends largely upon the power of repeated words, or contrary ideas.

At non infelix animi Phoenissa, neque equum
 elevatur in *spectator* oculisque aut pectore *notum*
 cepit ingendunt eurae, rursusque *resurgens*
antistrophe *arsis* *fl.* *ant.* *dest.* 5 57

Virgil had a special fondness for the night and the dark, which is suggestive of his sympathy with the mystics in general. He describes another night in the same book:

hinc exaudiri voces et verba vocantis
 vis viri, nox cum stras obscurior, leti tot,
 neque pulminibus feraci carere ne bul-
 saepe queri et longas et beatam diem

The secret of this is the startling effect of sound in the darkness. Virgil is not in the same sense as Apollonius when we come to the world of nature. The author of the *Argonautica* knows only city life and the live men move in a sphere where all can follow him, but Virgil is himself nor lift men's thoughts. He is most at home in the poem and the story of Jason and Medea is the best part of his work.

Now to resume what has been written, we may say that Virgil seems to have been extremely familiar with Apollonius and to have distantly reproduced some features of the *Argonautica*, but in the essential treatment he has followed tragic models and in the last four hundred lines, an exotic story of a varied type. In this portion of the episode the technique of a kind exemplified in the poem of Catullus. It is to recall, too, that the Medea story is so common far as the *Argonautica* is concerned as is similar to the story of Dido only down to the marriage. Now the portion of that previous part, the enamourment, the love's loss, the marriage, are precisely those parts which Apollonius, like Catullus, lightly and briefly touched, and consequently the main portion of the poem, which makes more of the whole we must find other prototypes. Yet in the latter part the depiction of night similar in motive to one of Apollonius, remembered also is the bourgeois tone of Apollonius, and this is his great merit as an amusing picture of contemporary society lies very near to this quality, but Virgil is grave and dignified, reflecting a strict morality that Roman society continues to demand.

The next chapter is devoted to Virgil's debt to Catullus.

CHAPTER VI.

VIRGIL AND CATULLUS.

The Dido episode, so far as its composition is concerned, may be considered as an example of "contaminatio." Down to the end of the first part, that is, down to the description of Fama, Virgil owes most to the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius; for the rest of the fourth book his chief debt is to the Ariadne episode in the poem of Catullus on the marriage of Peleus and Thetis (LXIV.). He has followed the former also in making his erotic story an integral part of the epic, while the Ariadne episode is an undisguised digression from the theme of the poem. On the other hand, the resemblance to Catullus is striking in the greater condensation and compactness of the story. The adventure of Aeneas is a real episode. The fortunes of the hero are by no means different in the sequel because of the sojourn in Africa. That chapter in his career began with his arrival on its shores, and ended with his departure. Save for a few lines in the sixth book, and a passing mention in the fifth, ninth and eleventh, of presents she had given, we hear no more of the queen. On the contrary Apollonius has the lovers to take care of to the end of the story, and the latter part of the Argonautica reminds one of a Greek romance, like the Cleitipho and Lencippe of Achilles Tatius, for example. The visit of Aeneas to Carthage is therefore more like that of Theseus to Crete than that of Jason to Colchis. He is like Theseus, a deserter, and in the chapter on Aeneas it has been shown how Virgil has had to take pains to exonerate his hero from the aspersions that his conduct invited upon him. Even this care was not entirely successful and most readers of the Aeneid still feel the unhappy resemblance of the hero to Ariadne's betrayer. This almost universal feeling against Aeneas is an indubitable trace of the influence of the Ariadne story upon Virgil. In the chapter on language will be found a list of striking resemblances on the side of style which serve to show how familiar he was with the work of his predecessor. It remains to make further comparisons in the matter of treatment.

The Ariadne episode is an elegant exercise in the Alexandrian style,¹ and dragged into the poem because the author wished an opportunity to display himself in a field where he could

¹Reitzenstein, *Hermes*, XXXV., 86 ff.

display his skill to the best of advantage. He could not expect to arouse much fresh interest in the love-story itself, which was ancient and hackneyed. He does not conceal his haste to be through with the first part of it, and even the interesting occasion of the enamourment, where the erotic poet loves to linger, is quickly passed over. Their love and their conferences are entirely neglected and their flight is merely mentioned. It soon appears that the moment to which he was hastening is the desertion. The exercise he had set before him was to give expression to the dismay and the suffering of the poor child when she should find herself deserted. Here was an ideal condition for the display of his art. Ariadne is alone on the deserted island. Her lover's ship is visible in the distance. Father and mother have been abandoned. There is no refuge, no one to whom she may flee. She is represented as standing upon the shore or peering into the distance from the cliff, like Dido from her tower after her lover's vanishing ships. She breaks into complaint and expresses herself in a long monologue which makes one-third of the whole piece.¹ It is for this monologue that the poem exists, and it is this that Virgil has followed in the utterances of Dido. If Dido's four speeches were brought together they would be found to depict the same feelings and moods, coming in the same order as in Catullus. Certain features are, of course, lacking; for example, the moralizing tone that is characteristic of Alexandrian poetry. This would not suit Dido, and, for a different reason, does not suit Ariadne. Dido's nature was too intense to descend to this habit of petty minds, and Ariadne was too young. It would not have suited the epic either, and was wisely omitted.

The monologue begins with an outburst of anger against Theseus which takes the form of reproaches for his perfidy and impiety, his cruelty and lack of pity. These passionate attacks all take the rhetorical interrogative form. These are now developed more at length, as if they were topics of a discourse. His perfidy consisted in promises of happy wedlock. She moralizes on the worthlessness of lover's vows; they have no fear for what they say and no care for what they swear. In contrast to this is her own fidelity which led her to shed her brother's blood for him in his hour of need, while her reward is death among birds and beasts and the loss of a tomb. Surely he was not human, but born of a lioness or the Syrtis, Scylla or Charybdis. He had offered marriage, but she would have been content with less. He might have taken her into his house to wait upon his couch

¹Cat., LXIV., 131-201.

and be his slave. She expatiates upon her misery. There is none to whom she may complain. Fortune even begrudges her ears to hear her plaint. Would that the faithless guest had never made fast the cable of his ships in Crete! She reviews her helpless condition. There is for her only death, yet before death she can curse her betrayer, and she prays to the furies that as Theseus deserted her, so may he bring death and sorrow on himself and on his own.

Catullus runs the whole gamut of the sentence, rhetorical interrogative, indicative of fact, the indignant or angry question, the wish, the subjunctive of helplessness, and, lastly, the imprecation. It is the same with Virgil, and generally the correspondence is perfect. One curious device, that of answering a question by a question, is especially noteworthy. It occurs in both authors in similar situations.

An patris auxilium sperem? quemne ipsa reliqui
respersum iuvenem fraterna caede secuta?
coniugis an fido consoler memet amore?
quine fugit lentos incurvans gurgite remos?

—Cat., LXIV., 180-184.

It occurs twice in this passage of Catullus, only once in Virgil

Iliacas igitur classes atque ultima Teucrum
iussa sequar? quine auxilio invat ante levatos
et bene apud memores veteris stat gratia facti? —537-539.

The opening attack of Dido is like that of Ariadne, and takes the same indignant interrogative form.

Siccine me patriis avectam, perfide, ab aris,
perfide, deserto liquisti in litore, Theseu?
Siccine discedens neglecto numine divum,
inmemor ah devota domum periuria portas?

—Cat. LXIV., 132-136.

Compare Virgil, 305-308.

Dissimulare etiam sperasti, perfide, tantum,
posse nefas tacituque mea decedere terra?

The rest of Dido's speech follows the same form, but a difference in the story appears. The conditions of Virgil's problem were slightly different. Dido was to be a deserted woman, but her deserter was still in the land, and had only deceived her in concealing his intention to flee. Besides, he had been discreet and had made no promises. This alters the form of the piece, which

becomes a dialogue instead of a monologue, and the list of crimes that can be hurled against Aeneas is reduced. The outburst of anger changes to entreaty and she recites all the considerations that are likely to touch his heart and move his pity. After the unfeeling speech of Aeneas the situation becomes the same as that of Ariadne, and the similarity of thought reappears. The opening words of Dido in her reply to Aeneas have long been compared to those of Ariadne:

Quaenam te genuit sola sub rupe leaena,
quod mare conceptum spumantibus expuit undis,
quae Syrtis, quae Scylla rapax, quae vasta Charybdis,
talìa qui reddis pro dulci praemia vita?

—Cat., LXIV., 154-157.

Nec tibi diva parens generis nec Dardanius anctor,
perfidè, sed duris genuit te cantibus horrens
Caucasus Hyrcanaeque admorunt ubera tigres.

—Vir., 365-367.

Dido dwells further upon his cruelty and ingratitude, which, as in Ariadne's case, contrast with her benefits. Anger changes to scorn and threats, and with that she swoons away.

The epic and dramatic form of the Aeneid results in resolving Dido's thoughts into dialogue and soliloquy, and we find her communing with her own heart on that last sleepless night (534 ff.). Both form and style are identical with Catullus (177 ff.). She reviews every possibility and resolves, like Ariadne, that there is nothing for her but to die. The curious parallel indicated by the italics has been referred to before as an especially convincing sign of conscious influence.

Cat., 177-187:

Nam quo me re. . .? quali spe perdita nitor?
Idoneos petam montes? a gurgite lato
discernens ponti tridentum dividit aequor.
An patris auxilium sperem? quemne ipsa reliqui
respersum iuvenem fraterna caede secuta?
coniugis an fido consoler memet amore?
quine fugit lentos incurvans gurgite remos?
praeterea nullo litus, sola insula, tecto,
nec patet egressus pelagi cingentibus undis:
nulla fugae ratio, nulla spes: omnia muta,
omnia sunt deserta, ostentant omnia letum.

Vir., 534-547:

En quid ago? rursum me oculos intrisa priores
experiar, Nomadumque per am conubia supplex,

quos ego sim totiens iam dedignata maritos?
 Hiacas igitur classes atque ultima Teuerum
 iussa sequar? *quiane* auxilio iuvat ante levatos
 et bene apud memores veteris stat gratia facti?
 quis me autem, *vae* velle, sinet ratibusve superbis
 invisam accipiet? nescis heu, perdita, needum
 Laomedontae scotis periuria gentis?
 quid tum? sola fuga mentes comitabor evantis?
 an Tyriis omniq[ue] manu stipata meorum
 inferar et quos Sidenia vix urbe revelli
 rursus agam pelago et ventis dare vela iubebo?
 quin morere, ut merita es, ferroque averte dolorem.

If Virgil has used Catullus for his model in this situation, he seems to have followed no one in the last. When the morning light revealed the departing ships, Dido was seized by a wild desire for revenge, and after ranging all the possibilities that were no longer in her power, she has recourse, like Ariadne, to the curse. Yet, instead of a simple imprecation addressed to the Enmenides, we have a whole array of responsible gods. As in tragedy, the Sun is invoked, witness of all deeds upon the earth: Juno the accomplice and agent of her sorrow, Hecate goddess of the night, the avenging furies and the gods of the dying Elissa. Yet even here we find a reminiscence of Catullus.

Aen., 612: nostras audite preces.

Cat., 195: meas audite querellas.

The *deotio* is worded in precise language. Let it be granted all the gods demand, yet even then he shall be cursed.

It is quite possible that the curse was suggested by Catullus, but it was beyond doubt a common feature in erotic poetry. One of the authorities cited in the titles of Parthenius is the *ἀπαί* of Moero.¹ This may, of course, be later, but it is an indication of a taste for this form of revenge that is doubtless older. Parthenius tells of a certain Dimoetes who was cursed by a woman he had wronged and fell in love with a woman already dead; finding no relief from his suffering, he killed himself upon her grave.² Virgil has elaborated this feature of his story to an unusual extent. The gods she invokes are all known in Greek tragic or erotic literature except the *gods of the dying Elissa*, which calls up a Roman conception. The whole invocation seems more appropriate to a sorceress than to a queen. The curse itself is made up from the prophecies of Jave, from the future history of Aeneas in Latium as Virgil was intending to write it, or had

¹Parthenius, 27.

²No. 31.

already written it; and, lastly, from variant legends of the death of Aeneas that are not elsewhere suggested in the Aeneid. Thus the curse implied its own fulfilment and the poet was not obliged to digress too far from his theme to bring it about. The last part of the Ariadne story tells of the home-coming of Theseus and his father's death, which takes the reader far afield and yet gives him nothing new. The legacy of hatred that follows in the Aeneid should not be confounded with the curse. It is not addressed to any gods, but to the Tyrians and their posterity. It is this that, more than anything else, nationalizes the Aeneid. It connects the fortunes of Aeneas and Dido indissolubly with history, and is a more than sufficient excuse for carrying the fourth book past the departure of the hero. For both patriotic and artistic reasons it was a brilliant idea.

In conclusion we may say that the influence of Catullus is proven by many linguistic parallels, by the use of similar sentence forms in similar situations and by the order of thought; that Aeneas has not been saved with complete success from the ill-repute of Theseus; that the monologue has been replaced by dialogue and soliloquy; that the moralizing tone has been dropped, and that the last part, that is, the curse, has been greatly elaborated. If it should be objected that Virgil's obligations are to the technique of that erotic poetry which must have been familiar to both of them, the reply must be made that the striking verbal parallels quoted in the chapter on language prove an immediate use of Catullus. Doubtless if we had more of the Alexandrian erotic poetry we should be able to point out reminiscences of other works, but as it is there can be no doubt that Catullus was, in the mind of Virgil, quite as much as Apollonius.

CHAPTER VII.

LANGUAGE.

Virgil has necessarily used in the Dido story the language of the erotic poets. At the end of this chapter will be found a list of the more conspicuous terms that belong to this vocabulary, and some others that have taken on an erotic sense not usual to them. In most instances where they occur in the Ariadne story in Catullus, this has been noted. For the elegiac poets, the work of R. Pichon, *De Amatorio Sermone apud Latinos Elegiarum Scriptores*, is valuable for comparison.

The language of erotic poetry has two evil tendencies which lead to excessive sentimentality on the one hand, and obscenity on the other. It is from these points of view that the diction of Virgil appears to the best advantage. It will be found that he has carefully avoided both these vices, which make the work of Apollonius Rhodius at times disgusting and the elegists so wearisome. Virgil's keen feeling for the dignity of words comes out clearly by comparison with the elegists and with Catullus. The latter was too reckless and the former too sentimental. Catullus has, for example, in his Ariadne story such words as *suavis*, *miserescere*, *languescere* and *suspirare*, none of which occur in the Dido episode. Again, the suggestion of such words as *praegestire*, *satiare*, *lubido*, *fallax*, is too low for Virgil, though all are used by Catullus. The word *fallax*, for example, has trifling associations chiefly with slaves and swindlers, yet Catullus applies it to Theseus. Virgil has *gemitus*, but not *singultus*, which was appropriate enough for the little Ariadne but not for Queen Dido. Instead of *satiare* we find in the Aeneid *explere* and *implere*, which are less liable to sinister connotations. The elsewhere omnipresent *puella* is replaced by the proud *regina*, which points suggestively to the transformation of the erotic story into a tragedy.

Nowhere is the difference of diction between the erotic poets and Virgil more apparent than in the use of diminutives. Catullus has *munuscula*, but Virgil *munera*; the latter has *lectus*, but the former refers to the couch of Ariadne as *lectulus*. Nothing can be found in the Aeneid like the *labellum* or the *frigiduli singultus* of Catullus. A favorite word of the elegists is *ocelli*, but we have in the Aeneid only *oculi*. There is one instance of the elegiac word *querellae* (IV., 360). The rare use of the diminutive gives a pathetic force to the *parvulus Aeneas* of IV., 328; it is only a

mother's love that speaks in the form of the adjective. Love of mothers for children is rare in erotic poetry.

Virgil has resorted to a number of euphemisms that assist in maintaining the serious tone. Such is the fiction of the marriage that may be traced under the words *coniunx*, *conubium*, and *hymenaeus*. He even speaks of the *lectus iugalis*, while the dignified word *torus* contrasts strangely with the *lectulus* of Catullus. Almost all the youthful readers of the Aeneid pass over without suspicion of its real meaning, the line,

ille dies primus leti primusque malorum
causa fuit,

—169-170.

and instances are not wanting where grown people have been deceived. Plain speaking is not obscenity, and Virgil has spoken plainly with great effect in the well-known lines,

saltem siquo mihi de te suscepta fuisset
ante fugam suboles, siquis mihi parvulus aula
luderet Aeneas, qui te tamen ore referret,
non equidem omnino capta ac deserta viderer.

—327-330.

Dido must be protected from the name of courtesan, and care has been taken to do it. Anna says,

O luce magis dilecta sorori,
solane perpetua maerens carpere iuventa,
nec dulcis natos Veneris nec praemia noris?

—31-33.

Another euphemism and a pathetic paradox is *lectus iugalis quo perii*.¹ The worst words that were said against the lovers were those put in the mouth of Fama, who utters alike what is true and what is not true, which partly removes the reproach.

nunc hiemem inter se luxu, quam longa, fovere
regnorum immemores turpique cupidine captos.

—193-194.

Even here the meaning is carefully concealed in the words *luxu* and *fovere*, which are both very hard to translate because they are used in no ordinary sense; it is the connotation and not the superficial meaning that is significant.

Other features of the language belong to erotic poetry in general. A wronged and angry lover often runs to exaggeration and hurls accusations both deserved and undeserved. Such are *perfidus*, *dissimulare*, *infandum caput*, *nefandus vir*, *periuria*, and *impius*. A conspicuous class of words have reference to love conceived of in different ways. Most frequently it is thought of as a fire, which accounts for such terms as *ardere*, *ardescere*, *flagrans*, *flamma*, *flammare*, *ignis*, *urere* and *incendere*. At other

¹V., 496.

times the reference is to the arrows of Cupid, and we have *saucia* and *volnus*. More rarely it is thought of as a poison, and we find *venenum*. This may be referred to a fancy that the arrows were poisoned. In Euripides' *Medea*, 634, they are said to be dipped in desire. Frequently love is a madness, and to this we owe *malisana*, *demens*, *furans*, *furibunda*, and *furor*; or a sickness or a disease that consumes, which underlies the use of *aeger*, *carpere*, *edere*, *pestis*. Lastly, it may be a frenzy described by *bacchari*, *effera*, or *sacrire*.

The character of Virgil's erotic vocabulary is illustrated by the following words, which are not quoted by Pichon for the elegists:

ardescere	desueta corda	effera	expers
explere	furibunda	labare	laxus
inops animi	implicare	inrisa	meditari
inorare	perire	pertaedet	resides animi
species			

For all these expressions references are given in the word-list.

Some of these are used in the elegists, but not in the same sense. Such are *species* and *implicare*.

The language of Virgil has been largely colored by that of Catullus, as is borne out by the references given at the end of this chapter in the word-list, and still more by the following more or less striking parallels. Among these are noticeable metrical equivalences and verbal similarities.

Cat. 195. meas audite querellas.
Aen. 612. nostras audite preces.

Cat. 250. volvebat saucia curas.
Aen. 1. iamdudum saucia cura.

Cat. 253. inoque iaceus amor.
Aen. 697. subitoque accensa furor.

Cat. 181. respersum iuvenem fraterna caede seenta.
Aen. 21. sparsos fraterna caede penates.

Cat. 62. magnis curarum fluctuat undis.
Aen. 532. magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu.

Cat. 69, 70. ex te * * * pendeat.
Aen. 79. pendetque iterum narrantis ab ore.

Cat. 141. sed conubia laeta, sed optatos hymenaeos.
Aen. 316. per conubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos.

Cat. 91. flagrantia lumina.
Aen. 1, 710. flagrantis dei voltus.

The following is a metrical reminiscence depending upon the same word in the same place in the line:

Cat. 171, 172. *utinam ne tempore primo*
 Gnosia Cecropiae tetigissent litora puppes.

Aen. 656, 657. *si litorn tantum*
 numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae.

The equivalence of *Cecropiae* and *Dardaniae* and of *puppes* and *carinae* is also to be observed.

Cat. 91. *non prius ex illo flagrantia declinavit*
 lumina.

Aen. 185. *nee dulci declinat lumina somno.*

Cat. 180. *aut patris auxilium sperem? quemne ipsa reliqui*
 respersum iuvenem fraterna caede secuta?
 coniugis an fido consoler memet amore?
 quane fugit lentos incurvans gurgite remos?

Aen. 537. *Ilincas igitur classes atque ultima Teucrum*
 iussa sequar? quanc auxilio invat ante levatos
 et bene apud memores veteris stat gratia facti?

Cat. 154. *quaenam te genuit sola sub rupe leaena,*
 quod mare conceptum spumantibus expuit undis,
 quae Syrtis, quae Scylla rapax, quae vasta Carylbia,
 talia qui reddis pro dulci praemia vita?

Vir. 365-7. *nee tibi diva parens geueris nec Dardanus auctor,*
 perfile, sed duris genuit te cantibus horrens
 Caucasus Hyreanaeque admorunt ubera tigres.

In Aen., 441 ff., the simile of Aeneas, buffeted by the appeals of love, may possibly be elaborated from Catullus 105-111.

nam velut in summo quatientem braccia Tauro
quercum, aut conigeram sudanti cortice pinum,
iudomitus turbo contorquens flamine robur
eruit (illa procul radicitus exturbata
prona cadit, lateque et cominus obvia frangens),
sic domito saevum prostravit corpore Theseus
nequequam vanis iactantem cornua ventis.

Of course the application of the comparison has been reversed, but that is quite in Virgil's manner. The passage from the Aeneid is quoted in full on page 37.

Epic poetry felt an ancient disdain for the erotic motive which, on account of Roman morals, was probably felt more strongly in Italy than in bourgeois Alexandria. Interesting traces of this feeling are evident in the language of the fourth book.

The word *femina* is used three times, and in each instance with a touch of contempt.

inagnum et memorabile nomen,
una dolo divom si femina victa duorum est. —IV., 95.

Especially famous are the lines 569 and 570:

varium et mutabile semper
femina.

and it is remarkable that this epigrammatic fling at the gentle sex should come from the pen of him who had just told a fascinating story of a woman's love. Virgil had a like appreciation of the old and the new in literature, and this account of Fama is a tribute to the feelings of the golden age of epic poetry. The scorn of Iarbas is conceived in this spirit, and the historic reproach of the effeminate Phrygian is timely remembered.

Femina, quae nostris errans in finibus urbem
exiguam pretio posuit, cui litus araudum
cuique loci leges dedimus, conubia nostra
reppulit ac dominum Aeneas in regna recepit
et nunc ille Paris cum semiviro comitali,
Maeonia mentum mitra erinemque madentem
subnexus, raptu potitur. —IV., 211-217.

Especially good is the use of *dominus* with a sinister implication. The same scorn displays itself with more restraint in the speech of Jupiter, in the ironical description of Aeneas superintending the walls, and again in the words of Mercurius. There is something almost pitiful in the thought of the huge Aeneas wondering how he could "get around" the infatuated queen (*reginam ambire furem*). From this point of view, old to mankind but new to the poem, the attachment that the poet had described with such feeling and insight becomes a mere unfortunate *liaison* (*amores*, 292). Fama is more than a personification like Eris in the *Iliad*. Down to her coming the atmosphere of the poem is that of erotic poetry. Venus is the queen of heaven. After the prayer of Iarbas, Jupiter is once more supreme. Aeneas shakes off delay and is all for his mission once more. Cupid had not left the poison in his bones. His only care for Dido now is to spare her pain, and that he cannot do. She was left to her fate as Circe and Calypso to their sorrow.

WORD-LIST.

References are to the fourth book, unless otherwise indicated.
References to Catullus are to the poem on the marriage of Pelens
and Thetis.

- Absens—83: illum absens absentem auditque videtque.
Aditus—293, 423: mollis aditus et tempora noras.
Aeger—I., 351; IV., 35, 389: sick on account of love.
Aestus—532: magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu.
Amans—I., 352; IV., 101, 221, 296, 429, 479, 520.
Ambire—283: reginam ambire.
Amor—I., 663, 689; IV., 412: God of love.
Amor—I., 344, 674, 716, 721, 750; IV., 17, 38, 85, 171, 307, 347, 414, 532.
Amores—I., 350; IV., 28: affection. 292: *laison*, tantum rumpi non speret
amores.
Amplexus—I., 687: cum dabit amplexus atque oscula dulcia figet.
Animi—414: pride, animos summittere amori.
Ardere—101: Ardet amans Dido traxitque per ossa furorem. Cat., 124, 197.
Ardescere—I., 713: Expleri mentem nequit ardescitque tuendo.
Audire—83: see *abacus*. 439, haut voces ullas tractabilis audit.

Bacchari—301: saevit inops animi totamque incensa per urbem bacchatur.
Bibere—I., 750: longumque bibebat amorem.
Blandus—I., 670: nunc Phoenissa tenet Dido blandisque moratur vocibus.

Caecus—2: caeco carpitur igni.
Captus—84, 194, 330: genitoris imagine captus. 194: turpique cupidine
captos. 330: capta ac deserti.
Carmen—487: ineantation, example under *curae*.
Carpere—2: caeco carpitur igni. 32: solane perpetua macrens carpere
juventa.
Complexus—I., 715: complexu Aeneae colloque pependit.
Coniugium—172: coniugium vocat. 431: non in coniugium anticum quod
prodidit oro.
Coniunx—324. Cat., 123, 182.
Conscius—167: conscius aether. 608: conscia Iuno.
Conubium—126: pl. 168, 535, 316: per conubia nostra per inceptos
hymenaeos. Cat., 141, 158.
Cor—I., 722: desueta corda.
Crimen—550: sine crimine vitam degere.
Crudelis—311, 661: used of Aeneas. Cf. Cat., 136.
Cubile—648: notumque eubile.
Culpa—19: succumbere culpa. 172: hoc praetexit nomine culpam.
Cupido—I., 658, 695: God of love.
Cupido—194: turpique cupidine captos.
Cura—5, pl. 488, 531, 551, 608, 639, 652. Cat., 62, 72, 250: a favorite
word in erotic poetry. 488: haec se promittit carminibus
solvere mentes quas velit ast aliis duras immittere curas.

Decet—597: tum decuit cum sceptrum dabis.
Decipere—17: deceptam morte.
Dedignatus—536: dedignata maritos. Cf. *despectus Iarbas*.
Demens—78.

- Deserta—330: capta ac deserta. Cat., 57.
 Despectus—36: despectus Iarbas.
 Desueta—L., 722: desueta corda.
 Dilectus—L., 344; IV., 31: This word is used of Dido's love for Sychaeus and Anna's for Dido; never of Dido's for Aeneas. It denotes a pure and moderate affection.
 Dissimulare—291, 305.
 Dolere—434.
 Dolor—419, 474, 547: a lover's grief.
 Dolus—L., 673, 682, 684; IV., 95, 128, 296. Usually in pl.
 Dominus—214: dominum Aeneas in regna recepit.
 Dubius—55: spemque dedit dubiae menti.
 Dulcis—L., 687; IV., 31, 318, 651: dulces exuviae. Cat., 120, 157, 175.
 Durus—428: duras demittere in auras. 488: duras immittere curas. Cf. VI., 442: durus amor.
 Edere—56: est mollis flamma medullas.
 Effera—642: effera Dido.
 Evicta—evicta dolore—474.
 Expers—550: thalpi expertem.
 Explere—L., 713: expleri mentem uequit.
 Exuviae—496, 507, 651: dulces exuviae.
 Fama—91, 221, 170: neque enim specie famae movetur.
 Fallere—L., 688; IV., 17, 85, 296.
 Femina—Always with contempt. 95: una dolo divom si femina victa deorum est. 211: femina, quae nostris errans in finibus urbem exiguum pretio posuit. 579: varium et mutabile semper femina.
 Fides—552: non servata fides cineri promissa Sychaeo.
 Flagrans—L., 710: mirantur flagrantisque dei vultus. Cat., 91.
 Flamma—L., 673; IV., 23: veteris vestigia flammae. Cat., 92.
 Flammare—54.
 Electere—35: esto, aegram nulli quondam flexere mariti.
 Fletus—sg. 369; pl. 437, 439.
 Fluctuare—see *aestu*.
 Foedus—pl. 339; sg. 520: siquod non aequo foedere amantis carae numen habet.
 Fovere—193: huncem inter se luxu fovere.
 Fuga—328 and 338: A lover's desertion.
 Furens—65, 69, 283, 465, 548. Cat., 124.
 Furibunda—646.
 Furor—91, 101, 453, 697, pl. 501. Cat., 197, pl. 94.
 Furtivos—171: nec iam furtivom Dido meditatur amorem.
 Furtum—337: abscondere furto fugam.
 Gemitus—409.
 Gremium—L., 685, 718.
 Haerere—L., 719; IV., 4. A frequent word in erotic poetry. Cf. Prop., I., XIX, 5: non adeo leviter uoster puer haesit ocellis.
 Hymeneus—Sg. 127, pl. 99, 316. Cat., 141.
 Iguis—L., 660, 688; IV., 2.
 Immemores—194: regnorum immemores.
 Inops—300: inops animi. Cat., 197.
 Impius—496: of Aeneas. 596: infelix Dido, nunc te facta impia tangunt.
 Implicare—L., 660: inceudat reginam atque ossibus implicet ignem.
 Improbus—386: dabis improbe, poenas. 412: Improbe Amor!
 Incendere—L., 660; IV., 54, 309. Cat., 97, 253.
 Infandum—613: infandum caput.

- Infelix—1., 749; IV., 68, 450, 529, 596: always of Dido.
 Infectere—22: solus hic inflexit sensus.
 Inrius—534.
 Intactus—1., 345: *eni pater intactum dederat.*
- Labare—22: solus hic inflexit sensus animamque labantem impulit.
 Lacrimae—30, 449.
 Lactissima—1., 685: lactissima Dido. Such an epithet is rare for Dido.
 Lectus—496: lectus ingulis. Cat., 88: lectulus.
 Letum—169.
 Limina—369: num limina flexi? The *ven* were the seat of love.
 Luxus—193: hiemem inter se luxu—*lovere*. The context has given it a meaning not usually felt.
- Maerere—82.
 Mala—169. n. pl.
 Maritus—103; 35, 536: proleptically.
 Meditari—171.
 Medullae—66: Seat of love. Cat., 93, 196.
 Membra—5: for *corpus*.
 Miserari—370.
 Miser—1., 344, 719; IV., 315, 429: of Dido always. Cat., 57, 71, 140.
 Miserrimus—117, 437.
 Mollis—66, 423. Cat., 88, 129.
 Mollissimus—293: mollissimum fuit tempus.
 Monumentum—pl. 498.
 Morari trans.—1., 670: num Phoenixissa tenet Dido blandisque moratur
 vocibus. IV., 325: qua spe munera in gente moratur.
 Movere—1., 714: pariter puero domisque movetur IV., 138: sed nullis
 ille movetur fletibus.
 Munus—263: dives quae munera Dido fecerat. 429: extremum hoc miserae
 det munus amanti. 647: non hos quaesitum munus in neus.
- Nefandus—497: nefandi cuncta viri monumenta. Cf. VI., 26: veneris
 monumenta nefandi.
 Noster—307: noster amor. 369: num fletu ingemunt nostro? Same as *meus*.
- Oblitos—221: oblitos famae melioris amantis. 267.
 Obortus—30: lacrimis implevit obortis.
 Oculi—1., 717: haec oculis, haec pectore toto haeret IV., 530.
 Oscula—1., 687: Never *basia*.
 Ossa—1., 660; IV., 101. Seat of the passion of love.
- Parvulus—328: parvulus Aeneas. Expresses a mother's and not a lover's
 love.
 Pectus—1., 717: toto pectore. IV., 4: haerent iuxta pectore voltus. Cat.,
 69: tota pectore. 138.
 Pendere—79: pendetque iterum narrantis ab ore. Cat., 70.
 Perdita—541. Cat., 177.
 Perfidus—305, 366, 421. Always of Aeneas. Cat., 132, 133, 174.
 Perire—497: lectumque ingalem quo perii. A euphemism.
 Periuria—542: Laomedontae sentis periuria gentis? Cat., 135, 148.
 Pertaeedet—18: si non pertaesum thalami taedaeque fuisset.
 Pestis—1., 712; IV., 90. Love. Greek *rócar*.
 Placere—38: placitane etiam pugnabis amoris?
 Praemia—33: nec dulcis natos Veneris nec praemia noris? Cat., 157.
 Praetegere—172: doc praetexit nomine culpam.
 Precari—413: iterum temptare precando cogitur.
 Primus—17: primus amor.
 Procus—534.

Prodere—431: coniugium quod prodidit. Cat., 190: prodita.

Pudor—27, 55, 322.

Puer—I., 714: Cupid in the guise of Aescanius.

Pugnare—38: placitone etiam pugnabis amanti?

Querellae—360: desino meque tuis incendere teque querellis. One of the few words in the episode that are characteristic of the erotic elegy. Cat., 130, 195.

Questus—553: tantos illa suo rumpebat pectore questus. Cat., 170.

Quies—5: nec placidam membris dat cura quietem.

Reddere—479: quae mihi reddat enim vel eo me solvat. A technical word in the magic of love.

Relinquere—82: stratisque relictis.

Repellere—214: conubia nostra repulit.

Reses—I., 722: resides animi.

Rumpere—292: tantos rumpi non speret amores.

Saevire—306: saevit inops animi. 532: saevit amor. Cf. 523.

Sanus—8: male sana.

Saucius—I. As if by an arrow of Amor. Cat., 250.

Solvere—479, 487. See *reddere*.

Species—170: neque enim specie famave movetur.

Succumbere—19: succumbere culpae.

Taedae—18, 339.

Tangere—551: tangere curas. 596: nunc te facta impia tangunt.

Tenere—I., 575: teneatur amore. IV., 380: nequo te tenes neque dicta refello.

Thalamus—18, 550.

Timere—298: omnia tuta timens.

Torus—650: incubuitque toro.

Tueri—I., 713: ardescit tuendo.

Turpis—194: turpique cupidine captos.

Urere—68: uritur infelix Dido.

Uxorius—266: in a bad sense, keeping up the fiction of the marriage.

Vacuus—82: sola domo maeret vacua. Cat., 168.

Venenum—I., 658: love is a drug; the arrows are dipped in passion. Euripides, Medea, 634.

Venia—435: extremam hanc oro veniam.

Venus—13: Veneris praemia.

Vieta—434: dum mea me victam doceat fortuna dolere.

Videre—83: see *absens*.

Volnus—2, 67. As if wounded by an arrow of Cupid.

Voltus—4.

