Summary of narrative, Carthage/Colchis

Aen. 1.157–756	**Arg. 2.1260–3.395**
Arrival in fjord	Arrival in Phasis
Venus-Jupiter	Hera-Athena-Aphrodite
Sending of Mercury	Sending of Eros
Dawn-Fleet hidden	Dawn-Argo in hiding
Departure of Aeneas	Departure of Jason
Venus; bird omen	Mist-Arrival in Aea
Mist	Arrival in palace
Arrival in Carthage	Ecphrasis of palace
Arrival in temple	Jason sees Medea
Ecphrasis of wall-paintings	Medea sees Jason
Aeneas sees Dido	Preparations for feast
Dido-Diana (Simile)	Arrival of Eros
Ilioneus>Dido (Speech)	Meal
Dido>Ilioneus (Speech)	Argus>Aeetes (Speech)
Dido sees Aeneas	Aeetes>Argus (Speech)
Aeneas>Dido (Speech)	Jason>Aeetes (Speech)
	Aeetes>Jason (Speech)
	Jason>Aeetes (Speech)
	Jason leaves palace
Aeneas enters palace	**Arg. 3.540–1147**
Preparations for feast	Bird omen-Aphrodite
Venus-sending of Cupid	Medea-Artemis (Simile)
Banquet	Meeting in temple

meets Odysseus at *Od.* 7.19f.

CHAPTER FOUR

DIDO

I. Dido and Medea

Chapter 3 attempted to elucidate the wider narrative setting in which the links between Dido and Medea must be understood, arguing that the Trojan voyage to Libya corresponds to the Argonauts' journey to Colchis and that Vergil's entire Carthage episode reworks events in Aea. It emerged too that from the first mention of Dido in *Aeneid* 1 she plays a role corresponding to that of Medea in *Argonautica* 3. This chapter will exploit these findings to offer a reading of *Aeneid* 4 in terms of its Apollonian background.

i. Hunting Imagery

Traditional love imagery is introduced at the start of *Aeneid* 4.[1] Much attention has been paid to the imagery of the hunt, creating a unified pattern of scenes linking books 1 and 4,[2] and to the related motifs of the wound and the flame.[3] Vergilian scholarship has traced the origin of these images and motifs in earlier poetry, and Apollonius has been seen as the source of isolated elements in Vergil's thematic patterns.[4] But although the importance of *Argonautica* 3 in this area is generally

1 See Pease (1935) on 1f.
2 von Duhn (1952) 7–35, Otis (1964) 75f, Dunkle (1973), Briggs (1981) 694–7, Lyne (1987) 193–200, Cairns (1989) 31, 46, 142f, Thornton (1996); see also Hardie (1991b) 33f on Aeschylean influence.
3 Kosthorst (1933) 45–8, Pöschl (1977[3]) 103–5, Newton (1957), Otis (1964) 70–76, Ferguson (1970–1), Cairns (1989) 148, Lyne (1989) 179–81, Miller (1989), (1995).
4 Conrardy (1904) 14, Otis (1964) 72–6, Briggs (1981) 964, Moskalew (1982) 166 n.70.

recognised, Apollonius' use of highly complex and unified patterns of erotic imagery, particularly involving hunting, has not been made apparent. A very brief discussion of archery in the *Argonautica* will reveal how Apollonius uses fire and the hunt in telling the story of Jason, Medea and the Golden Fleece. It will soon become clear that the whole complex of hunting motifs which runs in a consistent pattern through the Dido story is Apollonian in origin. Vergil's careful reading of the *Argonautica* made him aware of how Jason, Medea and Eros are linked in an evolving series of metaphors and similes, and he creates a similar network of motifs in *Aeneid* 1 and 4.

At *Argonautica* 1.307–9 Jason leaves home to set out on his journey in search of the Golden Fleece and is compared to Apollo. The point of the comparison seems to be Apollo's youthfulness and impressive physical appearance, but no particular feature is mentioned. Apollonius simply says that Jason leaves his home as the deity leaves a temple. Jason, then, is like Apollo, but what is Apollo like? In Greek art he is most often represented as the ideal of youthful beauty. The bow and the lyre are his commonest attributes, and he is depicted in numerous representations with one or the other. He may be the plague-bringer who shoots arrows from afar, but he may also be the god of poetry and music.[5] Because Apollonius does not specify the god's physical appearance, this ambivalence becomes a crucial aspect of the simile; the reader cannot know whether Jason is likened to Apollo as the classic kouros figure, or as the archer, or as the musician. Of course, since Jason has ordered his weapons to be picked up and carried to the ship just a few minutes earlier at *Argonautica* 1.266f, and since he is departing on a dangerous enterprise, Apollo as archer is most likely to spring to mind; and, when Jason is compared to Apollo a second time at *Arg.* 3.1283 it is specifically to χρυσαόρῳ Ἀπόλλωνι. But Apollonius' failure to describe the god remains significant, and a precise reason for his strategy can be given.

A consistent thematic pattern runs through the *Argonautica* related to the question of the methods Jason will use to win the Fleece. Will he, as he approaches Colchis, use force of arms and military prowess or will other means, such as diplomacy or deception, be more appropriate?[6] This issue is raised in a number of ways, as Apollonius explores the nature and boundaries of epic heroism; for example, Jason's *aristeia* in Colchis is two-fold, as he both flatters and woos

[5] Burkert (1985) 145f, Detienne (1998) 20f, 42f.
[6] Nelis (1992), Clauss (1993) *passim*, Byre (1997); see above ch. 3 pp.105–7.

Medea and faces up to the fire-breathing bulls. Similarly, the figures of Orpheus and Heracles in the catalogue, Amphion and Zethus on Jason's cloak or the cosmic forces of Love and Strife evoked in Orpheus' song relate to the same question; will Jason use βίη or μῆτις? Coming as it does at the crucial moment of the hero's departure from home to set out on his great quest, the Apollo simile must be seen as integral to this thematic pattern; is Jason like lyre-playing Apollo, *i.e.* like Orpheus and Amphion and those who favour a pragmatic approach, even to the extent of relying on a young girl for help, or is he like far-shooting Apollo, *i.e.* like Heracles and Zethus and those who rely on the force of their weapons alone?

Elsewhere Apollonius lets the reader know how the god is to be imagined. At *Argonautica* 1.88 Apollo Ἑκηβόλος gives a bow to Eurytus, who then challenges the god in archery and is killed for his presumption. Later, Jason addresses Apollo as Ἑκηβόλος (*Arg.* 1.420). Soon after, Idas insults Jason and blasphemes against the gods (*Arg.* 1.462–71). Idmon warns the impious warrior by recalling that the sons of Aloeus who blasphemed in a similar way were killed by the arrows of Apollo (*Arg.* 1.481–4). On the cloak of Jason Apollo is depicted in the act of shooting an arrow at Tityos (*Arg.* 1. 759–62). Later still, he appears to the Argonauts on the Isle of Thynias (*Arg.* 2. 674–80). Apollonius on this occasion gives us a detailed description of the god, with his flowing, golden locks, and his bow and arrow. This passage directly recalls the Jason–Apollo simile: there, Apollo was leaving a temple and setting out towards Lycia (*Arg.* 1.309); here, he is on his way from Lycia (*Arg.* 2.674) to the land of the Hyperboreans. The god's journey mirrors that of Jason.[7] After the vision of the god and the offering of sacrifices, Orpheus celebrates the deity in a hymn recalling how Apollo, still a youth with long hair, the classical figure of the ephebe, killed Python at Delphi with his bow. Finally, the divine action of the poem ends when Apollo appears once again in order to save the Argonauts from a terrifying darkness, his bow sending forth a flashing light in all directions (*Arg.* 4.1706–10). These passages show that it is as the archer god that Apollo is most often represented in the poem. The numerous references to this aspect and the way in which the detailed description of Apollo at Thynias explicitly recalls the earlier simile, strongly suggest that it is with bow and arrow that we should imagine Apollo when Jason is compared to him.[8]

[7] Hunter (1993) 83–5.
[8] On archery in the *Argonautica*, Peschties (1912) 8f.

When Jason finally arrives in Colchis it is an arrow fired by Eros (*Arg.* 3.275–98) which leads to Medea's love and ensures success in winning the Fleece. This arrow, which burns deep into Medea's heart and lights a fiery passion,[9] is shot from right beside Jason (*Arg.* 3.281f) as Eros crouches at the hero's feet. This detail suggests that the scene may be read in two ways. On one level the god descends to inflict love on the maiden; on another the arrow comes in some sense from Jason himself,[10] that is, Jason is the arrow and the figure of the hero inspires these reactions in the young girl. This suggestion takes on added significance from the earlier comparison of Jason to Apollo, the archer-god. Jason is portrayed at the start of the poem as a traditional hero, warlike (*Arg.* 1.349) and armed for the trials ahead (*Arg.* 1.266f). During the voyage victory often comes through an arrow-shot, whether by the god Apollo on the cloak or by Heracles killing the Giants (*Arg.* 1.989–1002). Jason's victory, however, will be thanks to Eros' arrow. Just as Heracles was unable to defeat the Stymphalian birds with his arrows and had to rely on an alternative μῆτις (*Arg.* 2.1050; 1058), so Jason relies on μῆτις, the δολόεσσαν ἀρωγὴν/ Κύπριδος (*Arg.* 2.423f) and Eros' dart to win the Fleece.[11] The figure of Eros the archer, therefore, is closely related to the nature of Jason's heroism and fits into a pattern of references to archery in the work as a whole.

Further echoes of the archery theme occur later in the poem. At *Arg.* 3.773f the virgin Medea in her agony over her love for Jason says that she would have preferred to have been killed by the arrows of Artemis before ever setting eyes on him.[12] She has, of course, been hit by a very different kind of arrow.[13] Soon after, at *Arg.* 3.876–84, as she makes her way to the temple of Hecate to meet Jason, Medea is compared to Artemis in a companion simile to the Jason–Apollo simile of the first book.[14] Medea, struck by the arrow of Eros rather than by that of Artemis, is compared, just before her climactic meeting with Jason, to the goddess of the hunt. On one level, this brings out the tension between the contrasting powers of Aphrodite and Artemis in Medea's

[9] On Apollonius' fire imagery here, Nyberg (1992) 37–43, Campbell (1994) on 286bf, 287, 291.

[10] Vian (1961) on 281, Lennox (1980) 68; on the handling of Eros in general, Feeney (1991) 81–4, Albis (1996) ch. 4.

[11] Feeney (1986) 60.

[12] The arrows of Artemis were thought to bring sudden death to women, often, but not exclusively, in child-birth; see Wernicke (1895) 1348.

[13] Hunter (1989) on 774.

[14] Nelis (1991) 102f.

character.[15] The opposition thus created is a potentially tragic one, as Euripides' *Hippolytus* demonstrates. On another level, the comparison proposes Medea–Artemis as a counterpart to Jason–Apollo. Later, another simile illustrates the result of this encounter between Jason the would-be archer and Medea the huntress. At the beginning of the fourth book a frightened Medea flees home, τρέσσεν[16] δ' ἠύτε τις κούφη κεμὰς ἥν τε βαθείης/ τάρφεσιν ἐν ξυλόχοιο κυνῶν ἐφόβησεν ὁμοκλή (*Arg.* 4.12f). Medea as a fleeing κεμάς cannot but recall her earlier comparison to Artemis ranging over the hills followed by κεμάδεσσι (*Arg.* 3.879).[17] The huntress has become the hunted. A final reference to hunting unites Jason and Medea at a crucial moment. They set out to take the Golden Fleece, the narrator says, at the time before dawn when hunters get up to follow the fresh tracks of their prey (*Arg.* 4.109–13).[18] Here they are acting in unison and the moment of success for Jason, the actual winning of the Fleece, recalls the activity of a hunter. Once lifted, the Fleece is likened in size to the hide of a heifer or a stag (*Arg.* 4.174–7), and with this comparison Apollonius rounds off the series of passages in which the relationship between Jason and Medea and the love which makes this success possible have been illustrated by hunting motifs.

The passages in which Vergil uses hunting motifs in *Aeneid* 1 and 4 are well known. At 1.180–94, after the landing in Libya, Aeneas hunts stags with bow and arrow (187) to feed his comrades. Soon after, as he explores the country, his mother Venus appears to him disguised as a bow-carrying huntress (1.314–24), looking, in fact, much like Diana.[19] At her first appearance (1.498–502) Dido is compared to Diana carrying a *pharetram* (500). Thus both Aeneas and Dido are presented as hunters, although of different kinds. Aeneas hunts for food and survival, as a leader who looks after his men.[20] The comparison of Dido to Diana is more problematic. The simile closely imitates Apollonius' comparison of Medea to Artemis,[21] and, exactly as in the model, Vergil

[15] Hunter (1989) on 883f.

[16] On the meaning of this word (= fled), Nelis (1991b), Reitz (1996) 103; note, however, Green (1997) 293.

[17] Rose (1985) 37, Hunter (1987) 136, Reitz (1996) 104. Relevant here also is the simile describing Eros at *Arg.* 3.276f as a gadfly attacking heifers, with Medea as the heifer; see Hunter (1989) ad loc.

[18] On the further associations of this reference to hunting, Hunter (1988) 451f, (1993) 16f. For the whole question of epic narrative and initiation, Graf (1990) 358–60.

[19] In trying to identify her Aeneas asks, *an Phoebi soror?* (1.329). On similarities between the disguised Venus and Diana, Austin (1971) on 320.

[20] Cairns (1989) 31.

[21] See above ch. 3 § I.v for a full discussion of the links between these two similes.

hints at a similarity with Venus.[22] Both poets are playing with the tension between different aspects of the woman's character. In some ways the comparison between the queen and the chaste goddess of the hunt is inapt. Dido is a widow, not a virgin and, like Medea, is falling under the power of Venus. The Dido–Diana simile thus calls to mind the thematic ramifications of the Medea–Artemis simile within the overall presentation of her relationship with Jason.[23]

Near the end of the first book Venus intervenes again, sending Cupid to inflame Dido with love for Aeneas (*incendat, ignem*, 1.660). Here begins the combined use of hunting and fire imagery to describe Dido's love. Venus says, *capere ante dolis et cingere flamma / reginam meditor* (1.673),[24] and tells Cupid, *occultum inspires ignem* (1.688); this is exactly what he sets about doing (710, 713). Unlike the Apollonian Eros he does not fire an arrow such as that which burned like a flame in Medea's breast (*Arg.* 3.286f) and set off, in secret (λάθρῃ, 296), a raging fire of passion (*Arg.* 3.291–8). But the effect is the same. In the opening lines of book 4 Dido is, metaphorically, wounded (*saucia, vulnus*) and, secretly,[25] on fire (*caeco ... igni*) (4.1f). Instead of a flaming arrow fixed in her breast (Eros' arrow burns ὑπὸ κραδίῃ, *Arg.* 3.287, 296) there are the image and words of Aeneas, *haerent infixi pectore vultus/ verbaque* (4.4f), recalling how she herself earlier clung to Cupid, *haec oculis, haec pectore toto/ haeret* (1.717f). Thus the image of the wound and the flame at the start of book 4 inevitably recall the flaming arrow of Eros fired into Medea, itself a figure for the physical effect of Jason on the young girl.[26]

[22] Cairns (1989) 131.

[23] Otis (1964) 72–6 discusses Vergil's use of the similes which Apollonius applies to Medea and Jason but he consistently underestimates the complexity of the *Argonautica*.

[24] The phrases *capere dolis* and *cingere flamma* are generally taken to refer to the image of an attack or siege against a city (Newton (1957), Fenik (1959), Estevez (1978–9), Lyne (1987) 18–20) but they also suggest the related image of the hunt. See *TLL s.v. capere*, 335.70 and Pease (1935) on *cingunt* at 4.121, adding Apuleius, *Met.* 4.20 and Claudian, *De Bello Gildonico* 356, *pace* Hall (1985) who prints Heinsius' conjecture *stringere* instead of *cingere*.

[25] Lyne (1989) 172.

[26] Heyne and Wagner (1832–3[4]) on 4.1–5, Henry (1873–92) on 4.1f, Negri (1984) 313–16, Clausen (1987) 41. Here the wound and flame are mingled in the recollection of Eros' fiery arrow, *pace* Servius on *saucia: et bene ad Cupidinis tela, ut paulo post ad faculum, ut 'et caeco carpitur igni': nam sagittarum vulnus est, facis incendium.* However Servius' distinction is interesting, as the torch motif will be important for Allecto's action on Turnus in book 7. The opening lines of *Aeneid* 4 also apply to Dido other erotic motifs used by Apollonius of Medea and this increases the force of the Apollonian reference here. The way in which memories of Aeneas haunt Dido as she sees his face and hears his voice (3–5, cf. 4.11–14, 83) recalls *Arg.* 3.453–8 where

Hunting imagery makes a more obvious reappearance when Dido's feelings intensify after her meeting with Anna and sacrificing (4.6–66). In a passage highly reminiscent of the opening of the book,[27] she is compared to a wounded deer (66–73):

> est mollis flamma medullas
> interea et tacitum vivit sub pectore vulnus.
> uritur infelix Dido totaque vagatur
> urbe furens, qualis coniecta cerva sagitta,
> quam procul incautam nemora inter Cresia fixit
> pastor agens telis liquitque volatile ferrum
> nescius: illa fuga silvas saltusque peragrat
> Dictaeos; haeret lateri letalis harundo.

Once again the motifs of the secret wound and flame illustrate Dido's passion, and reference is again made to Eros' arrow-shot, *sub pectore* (67) alluding to ὑπὸ κραδίῃ (*Arg.* 3.278).[28] And Apollonius is imitated in another way: the arrow which was so strikingly absent earlier, both at the end of book 1 when Cupid was sent to Dido and at 4.1–5, finally makes its appearance, transposed from narrative to simile,[29] as the arrow stuck in the flank of the wounded deer. The consistent linking of the motifs of fire and wound in books 1 and 4 allows the reader to appreciate the Apollonian origin of Vergil's imagery. The developing passion is repeatedly described in terms which recall a single passage of Apollonius, Eros' arrow shot. This technique of distribution is fundamental to the imitation of the *Argonautica* throughout *Aeneid* 1 and 4.

The Dido–deer simile must also be placed in the broader context of the whole series of hunting and archery motifs in Apollonius and

Jason has the same effect on Medea; Scaliger (1561) 251, Conrardy (1904) 15, Pease (1935) on 3. Interestingly, Vergil adds Dido's awareness of Aeneas' *virtus* and the *honos* of his ancestry to the qualities of Jason which attracted Medea. Dido is, unlike the young girl, a queen and leader of her people; Bertrand (1898) 202, 206f, Kosthorst (1933) 45–8, Hügi (1952) 90 n.1, Monti (1981) 32, Cairns (1989) 43 n.54. Cf. also Dido and Medea unable to speak of their feelings, 4.76 and *Arg.* 3.683–6 and Pease (1935) on 76; both weep bitterly on beds or couches, 4.82f and *Arg.* 3.654–64 and Pease (1935) on 82. For imitation of Ennius, Lucretius and Catullus also, Clausen (1987) 40f.

[27] *flamma, uritur = ignis, vulnus = vulnus, caeco = tacitum, pectore = pectore, fixit = infixi, haeret = haerent*. See Newton (1957) 37f, Moskalew (1982) 166.

[28] Pease (1935) on 67, Campbell (1994) on 287. On the motif of the secret fire in each poet, Rütten (1912) 66, Hügi (1952) 91, Campbell (1994) on 296.

[29] Lyne (1987) 194–6, (1989) 77–9; O'Hara (1990d) 336f, (1996) 129 notes that *Acidalia* (of Venus, 1.720) is an etymological allusion to ἀκίς = dart, thus highlighting the absence of Cupid's arrow in book 1. On Vergil's habit of turning narrative into simile, Briggs (1980).

Vergil. On one level it corresponds to the Medea–deer simile at *Argonautica* 4.12f.[30] Just as Medea was first likened to the huntress Artemis and then, in a dramatic transformation, to a hunted deer, so Dido first appears like the huntress Diana but is soon hunted by Venus and Cupid and ends up like a hunted, wounded *cerva*. Vergil follows closely the linked similes of Apollonius. But the connections go considerably further than this and involve the roles of Jason and Aeneas as well. Jason is a potential archer, as the Apollo simile suggests, but in the end it is Eros who fires the all-important missile. Aeneas hunts *cervos* (1.184) on the shore and kills them with his arrows (1.187), *agens telis* (1.191), and is sent towards Carthage and Dido by a Venus who is described as a quiver-bearing huntress. Later, however, Venus sends Cupid to Carthage and, although he ostentatiously fires no arrow, Dido is like a *cerva* wounded by a *pastor* described as *agens telis* but unaware (*nescius*, 4.72) of the effect of his action. It is surely impossible not to link Aeneas to the *pastor* of the simile.[31] As Aeneas resembled Apollonius' Eros when Venus sent him towards Carthage and Dido's threshold in book 1, so, in this simile, he is linked indirectly, via the figure of the arrow-shooting shepherd, to Eros the archer. As shown above, the hero's effect on Dido is the same as that of the god on Medea.

Both Jason and Aeneas are thus clearly presented as at least potential archers in terms of the motif of the amatory hunt, symbolised above all by the arrow shot by Eros in *Argonautica* 3 and the arrow in the deer simile in *Aeneid* 4. Neither Apollonius nor Vergil presents the love as inflicted solely by the god of love, but Jason and Aeneas are both subtly depicted as having an erotic attraction which helps to explain the feelings of Medea and Dido on the purely human level, without, of course, relegating the god to the status of a mere symbol for human psychology.[32] This highly elusive handling of the male role is quite in keeping with that sense of epic decorum which balks at presenting the hero as a lover.[33] In both Apollonius and Vergil it is the woman's feelings which are made explicit while those of the man must be pieced together from hints and allusions scattered throughout the text. Both men react to emotional situations rather than taking the lead.

[30] Otis (1964) 73f, Briggs (1981) 964–6.
[31] Lyne (1987) 195.
[32] On the whole debate concerning the gods and human motivations Feeney (1991) is fundamental.
[33] Heinze (1915[3]) 123 n.12, Cairns (1989) 49f, Horsfall (1995) 125.

Apollonius in no way suggests, at least in the early part of book 3,[34] that Jason sets out to attract Medea. Vergil's *pastor* is explicitly and prominently, thanks to careful word placing, *nescius*.[35]

When Aeneas hunts stags after his arrival in Libya he is modelled on Odysseus hunting on Circe's island. This activity, as already noted, is the act of a good king caring for his people.[36] The amatory hunt follows. A very different kind of hunt takes place on the fourth day of the Trojans' stay in Africa —the hunt as royal sport. But in this episode Vergil recalls in many ways the earlier hunting motifs and here again the three central characters in this thematic network reappear, Dido, Aeneas and Ascanius/Cupid. Dido comes first (4.136–9) in a manner reminiscent of her first appearance, when she was compared to Diana; then Aeneas makes his entrance, looking like Apollo (4.143–50), in a simile which is a close counterpart to the Dido–Diana simile:[37]

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

Vergil is imitating Apollonius' linkage of Jason and Medea through parallel Apollo and Artemis similes, although in reverse order.[38] The Apollo of the Vergilian simile is, however, explicitly an archer, and an ominous one as his weapons ring on his shoulder, *tela sonant umeris* (4.149) in an echo of the pestilential arrows of Apollo at *Iliad* 1.46.[39] (Dido's love is a *pestis* too (1.712; 4.90).[40]) These arrows, absent in the

[34] His words later in the temple of Hecate are more problematic. See Hunter (1989) on 997–1004, (1993) 14f, Goldhill (1991) 301–5. Comparison with Jason here tends to cast Aeneas in a good light; see below § vi.
[35] von Duhn (1952) 29f, Horsfall (1995) 130; Lyne (1987) 196, (1989) 78f uses the hunting imagery to argue that Aeneas actively 'hunts' (= courts) Dido; on which see Horsfall (1995) 124f.
[36] Cairns (1989) 31.
[37] Pöschl (1977[3]) 91f, Austin (1955) on 142.
[38] Otis (1964) 73f.
[39] On Apollonius' reworking of this Iliadic passage see Feeney (1991) 75f, Hunter (1993) 76. The setting of the Dido–deer simile of 4.69–73 in the woods of Crete (*Cresia*, 70) hints at the tradition that the Cretans used poisoned arrows; Horsfall (1995) 124 n.13. The detail must pick up Venus' *fallasque veneno* at 1.688. For the cure, Morgan (1994).
[40] Lyne (1987) 123–5. Note also the use of νοῦσος of Medea's symptoms at *Arg.* 3.676 with the comment of Hunter (1989).

Apollonian model simile, relate to the arrow of the deer simile applied to Dido and so indirectly to Eros' arrow. Again, Vergil follows remarkably closely Apollonius' play on the theme of archery and the roles of Eros, Jason and Apollo.

Ascanius rejoices in the hunt (4.156–9); meanwhile (*interea*, 4.160) the Junonian storm is gathering which will drive Dido and Aeneas together into the cave. Ascanius here cannot of course be his substitute, Cupid, since Venus intended Cupid's disguise to last only one night (1.683). Nevertheless, since Vergil has not actually described the boy's return and Cupid's departure for Olympus, a certain blurring of the distinction between the child and the god may occur, if only for the second it takes to read 4.156, *at puer Ascanius mediis in vallibus* .... Or perhaps for slightly more than a second, since Ascanius is here joyfully hunting and hoping to come across a boar (*spumantemque ... aprum*, 4.158f), a detail which recalls the disguised Venus whose companion is *spumantis apri cursum clamore prementem* at 1.324. The real hunting of Ascanius thus recalls the motif of the erotic hunt involving Venus and Cupid in book 1 (esp. 1.673–5). Vergil has arranged a chilling juxtaposition: the boy's delight in his sport, and Aeneas and Dido making their way towards the cave on what is the *dies primus leti primusque malorum* (4.169). The meeting in the cave marks the culmination not only of the process which has drawn the queen and the hero ever closer together but also of the nexus of hunting motifs which has illustrated that process.

But this episode does not end the exploitation of the imagery of wound and flame. As has been well discussed elsewhere, the fire that illustrates Dido's love represents also her blazing hate when she sees her love spurned,[41] and on the pyre the flames and her wound (*infixum stridit sub pectore vulnus*, 4.689) will be tragically real.[42] The primary reference of *vulnus* and its position *sub pectore* — a motif whose Apollonian origin, the arrow of Eros burning in Medea's breast, has been illustrated above — is now to earlier passages in *Aeneid* 4 (4.1, 4, 67). Once borrowed from the *Argonautica*, the image takes on a life of its own within the thematic patterns of the *Aeneid*. When Aeneas later meets Dido in the Underworld the same idea is used to describe her; she is still *recens a vulnere Dido* (6.450).

The above discussion traces the Apollonian model underlying the progression in the *Aeneid* from hunting for survival, the motif of the

[41] Newton (1957), Ferguson (1970–1).
[42] Otis (1964) 71f, Ferguson (1970–1), Lyne (1989) 179–81.

erotic hunt and the metaphorical wound, to the hunt as royal sport, and finally to Dido's very real wound. Throughout, Dido is modelled on Medea. This is most obvious in the Diana and deer similes, but the whole complex of related motifs woven throughout the story into a coherent structure supplements such individual instances of close similarity and constantly relates the experiences of the queen of Carthage to those of the Colchian princess. The last word here, however, will go to Aeneas. The Aeneas–Apollo simile refers to the Jason–Apollo simile at *Argonautica* 1.307–9, and also to related passages of the *Argonautica* which mention the god.[43] When the Argonauts leave Pagasae they beat the waves with their oars as youths dancing in honour of Apollo at Pytho beat the ground with their feet (*Arg.* 1.536–41); Pytho and Apollo recall the simile applied to Jason as he left home, another moment of departure. Vergil notices this link and alludes to it by including dancing: cf. *instauratque choros* and χορὸν ... στησάμενοι (4.145 and *Arg.* 1.536–8); *altaria circum* and περὶ βωμόν (4.145 and *Arg.* 1.538). Vergil also refers to the epiphany of the god at Thynias (related to the Jason–Apollo simile through mention of Lycia, as noted above), taking from it the physical description of the god — his clothes, his hair, his beauty — and his leaving Lycia (4.143, *Arg.* 2.674) rather than going there as in the Jason–Apollo simile. As he passes over Thynias Apollo is *en route* from Lycia to the land of the Hyperboreans (*Arg.* 2.674f). Vergil's Apollo leaves Lycia and Xanthus (*Xanthique fluenta*; cf. Ξάνθοιο ῥοῇσι, *Arg.* 1.309, in each case at the end of the line) for Delos (4.143f, *Arg.* 1.308f). Vergil subtly alludes to the god's Apollonian destination, however, when he describes the *Agathyrsi* (4.146) dancing in his honour. Servius, on 146, says of this tribe, *populi sunt Scythiae, colentes Apollinem Hyperboreum*.[44] Vergil adds the detail that Apollo leaves *hibernam Lyciam*, making his spring return to Delos. The variation is significant and must be related to the fact that both the Apollo similes imitated here are placed at moments of departure. The point is obvious. Aeneas' stay in Carthage will be temporary and he too will depart. Aeneas' clanging weapons reinforce this hint, alluding as they do (see above) to an Iliadic description of Apollo the plague-bringer, a passage which Apollonius had inverted when he described the glorious apparition of Apollo on Thynias.[45]

[43] Conrardy (1904) 31f, Pease (1935) on 143,145 and 147, Paschalis (1986) 59f, Clausen (1987) 22f demonstrating Callimachean influence, Formicola (1989) 272–84, Unte (1994) 226–9.
[44] Clausen (1987) 133 n.31.
[45] Hunter (1993) 76.

ii. Anna

Much attention has been given both to the relationship between Dido and Anna,[46] and to Vergil's indebtedness for it to Apollonius.[47] Nevertheless, much has been missed. Dido and Anna meet four times in *Aeneid* 4 and in each case Vergil reworks the single meeting between Medea and her sister Chalciope in *Argonautica* 3. A detailed reading of the distribution of this influential Apollonian scene reveals important aspects of the structure of the Vergilian narrative and the development of Dido's relationship with Aeneas.

After listening to Aeneas' narration of his adventures Dido's sleep is troubled by dreams. At dawn, she goes to see her sister, Anna (4.6f). Her first words, *Anna soror, quae me suspensam insomnia terrent* (4.9), refer directly to *Argonautica* 3.636 where Medea, waking from a dream-filled sleep a few hours after seeing Jason for the first time, exclaims, Δειλὴ ἐγών, οἷόν με βαρεῖς ἐφόβησαν ὄνειροι (*Arg.* 3.636).[48] Medea decides to go to see her sister Chalciope (*Arg.* 3.646f) because of her frightening dream,[49] but she hesitates, and finally it is her sister who comes to visit her. The meeting between the two women (*Arg.* 3.669–743) leads eventually to Medea's decision to help Jason win the Fleece. The struggle between her love for Jason and her devotion to her family, so vividly illustrated in the dream, is at least temporarily (*Arg.* 3.741–3) settled by the conversation with her sister. Soon, however, anguished indecision reappears and leads to a second passionate soliloquy (*Arg.* 3.771–801). Vergil makes Dido the victim of a similar struggle and allots the same function to the meeting between the two sisters. The queen is torn between her growing love for Aeneas and her vow of fidelity to her dead husband Sychaeus (4.15–29), just as

[46] Suerbaum (1980) 220f, D'Anna (1984), Castellani (1987).

[47] On the similarities between Anna and Chalciope, Heyne and Wagner (1832–3[4]) on 9f, Conington and Nettleship (1883–4[4]) on 4.8, Bertrand (1989) 203–6, Rütten (1912) 67, Kosthorst (1933) 79–82, Williams (1972) on 4.1f.

[48] Scaliger (1561) 251, Conington and Nettleship (1883–4[4]) on 4.9, Conrardy (1904) 15. Unlike Apollonius, Vergil does not reveal the exact content of the dream, only that it involves Aeneas; Perutelli (1994) 37–40. For comparable scenes involving dreams in epic and tragedy, Bongi (1946), Bühler (1960) 60f, Skutsch (1985) 193f, Krevans (1993), Perutelli (1994), Goldberg (1995) 96–101. Ennius' Ilia is a particularly important model here; on Ennius and Apollonius, Bongi (1946), Krevans (1993), Perutelli (1994) 36f. For another example of imitation linking Apollonius, Ennius and Vergil, see von Albrecht (1969), Skutsch (1985) 684f. The fragmentary state of the evidence makes it impossible even to guess the influence of Apollonius on early Roman epic. Note, however, Delage (1935), Nelis (2000).

[49] On which see Kessels (1982) 158–61.

Medea is torn between love of Jason and loyalty to Aeetes.[50] Each feels shame (cf. *pudor*, 4.27, 55 and αἰδοῖ, *Arg.* 3.649 and also 652f, 659, 681, 742) because of her feelings for the stranger,[51] and each contemplates suicide (cf. 4.24–9 and *Arg.* 3.798–801, both at the end of a speech).[52] Medea conceals her love from Chalciope and lies about her dream, cunningly pretending (δόλῳ, *Arg.* 3.687) that it foretold dangers for the sons of Chalciope (*Arg.* 3.688–92).[53] Chalciope has already been asked by Argus to persuade Medea to help the Argonauts (*Arg.* 3.475–88; 667f), and sees that something is seriously troubling Medea, although she does not know that it is love for Jason (*Arg.* 3.674–7); but she pretends in turn that concern for her sons is the real reason for her visit (*Arg.* 3.701–3), and asks Medea to find ἢ δόλον ἤ τινα μῆτιν (*Arg.* 3.720) to help Jason. Both women are guilty of deception, and Chalciope's actions, encouraging Medea to get involved on the side of the Argonauts and Jason,[54] will have terrible consequences. The situation with Dido and Anna is in important ways similar and the outcome of the meeting with the sister will be equally tragic. Dido, unlike Medea,[55] does not conceal her emotions from her sister, but frankly declares her feelings and misgivings. Anna, more aware than was Chalciope of her sister's state of mind, replies with a speech which recommends Dido to give way to her love, and offers good reasons, practical and political, for doing so (4.31–53), even (like Chalciope) proposing deceit, *causas innecte morandi* (4.51). Anna is here guilty of a tragic lack of judgement.[56] Like Chalciope, who cannot know the turn events will take as she urges Medea to help the Greeks, Anna underestimates the strength of Dido's feelings and of her moral

[50] Bertrand (1898) 202f, Conrardy (1904) 16, Otis (1964) 77, Phinney (1965).

[51] Dido's *pudor* may be deeper, more complex, and profoundly moral (Heinze (1915[3]) 125f, Pease (1935) on 27, Moles (1987) 155, Otis (1964) 77f; on αἰδώς in general, Cairns (1993)) but its motivating role in her emotional turmoil corresponds exactly to that played by Medea's maidenly shame. Naevius' Dido and Anna are surely relevant to this context but the influence of Apollonius is obvious nonetheless. Hügi (1952) 92 wrongly argues that Naevius alone is the model. If Naevius did use Apollonius as a model (see Mariotti (1955) 13–16, Barchiesi (1962) 274–7, Häussler (1976–8) 99–106, D'Anna (1975) 23f = (1989) 185f, Nelis (2000)) the *Bellum Punicum* and the *Argonautica* might be often linked as models of Vergil; cf. note 48 above on Ennius and Apollonius.

[52] Pease (1935) on 4.24. Note also the clear verbal reference linking the end of these two speeches: *sic effata sinum lacrimis implevit obortis*, 4.30 and δεῦε δὲ κόλπους/ ἄλληκτον δακρύοισι, *Arg.* 3.804f; Conington and Nettleship (1883–4[4]) on 4.30.

[53] Vian and Delage (1995[2]) 24 on Medea's deceit here and elsewhere.

[54] Campbell (1983) 43, Hunter (1989) on 671 and 678–80.

[55] D'Anna (1984) 180.

[56] Moles (1987) 154f, Cairns (1989) 44f.

scruples and, by emphasizing the political advantages of involvement with Aeneas, rushes Dido into taking a (for her) morally wrong decision.

In urging Dido to yield to her love Anna, unknowingly, helps cause her sister's death. As has often been noted,[57] her role is that of the nurse or confidante in a tragedy who gives plausible and attractive but ultimately disastrous advice.[58] In fact, Chalciope in *Argonautica* 3 is modelled on the same figure.[59] So here, as elsewhere, Vergil's debt to tragic sources in the Dido episode is closely related to his use of Apollonius, who in turn is much indebted to Greek tragedy for the action of the third book.[60] But in the passage under consideration, Vergil has yet another Apollonian model for Anna, also with origins in drama: Polyxo in the Lemnos episode in *Argonautica* 1. The Lemnos episode itself borrows many motifs from tragedy,[61] and Polyxo may have played a role in Sophocles *The Lemnian Women*.[62] She is the aged counsellor who encourages Hypsipyle to ask the Argonauts to stay on the island after the queen has tried to persuade her companions to keep them away from the city. Polyxo (*Arg.* 1.675–96) concentrates on the political and practical reasons for inviting Jason into the city, and begins her speech by reminding the Lemnians of the danger of violent attack from the Thracians or some other enemy (*Arg.* 1.677–80). Anna's speech opens with the sexual and personal aspects of Dido's feelings for Aeneas (4.31–8), but goes on to stress the dangers which surround her kingdom, unconquered Gaetulians, violent Numidians and wild Barcaeans (4.39–42), and adds, *quid bella Tyro surgentia dicam/ germanique minas?* (4.43f). As shown earlier when the similarities between Carthage and Lemnos in *Aeneid* 1 were discussed,[63] Dido and Hypsipyle are in the same situation, both reigning queens facing possible revenge attacks as well as danger from other sources. Polyxo and Anna play on this fear of attack when they recommend the

[57] Heinze (1915[3]) 126, D'Anna (1984) 180.

[58] Cf. especially Phaedra in Euripides' *Hippolytus*, a play both Vergil and Apollonius have in mind; Cairns (1989) 135.

[59] Herter (1944–55) 374f, Campbell (1983) 41f, Hunter (1989) on 674–80, 734.

[60] Herter (1944–55) 309, 344–8, Campbell (1983) 39–48, Vian and Delage (1995[2]) (1980) 3–5, Hunter (1989) 18f. Sophocles' *Colchian Women* must have been particularly influential; Hunter (1989) on 616–824. On tragedy in Apollonius and his mediating role between Vergil and Euripides in particular see Cairns (1989) 135, 149f.

[61] Vian and Delage (1976) 25f.

[62] Vian and Delage (1976) 21, Radt (1977) on fr. 387, Campbell (1983) 111 n.26, Lloyd-Jones (1996) 205. For a list of the plays on this subject, Radt (1985) 233.

[63] See above ch. 3 § II.

advantages of a ensuring the presence of a male protector.[64] Both end their argument with the idea of political union.[65] Polyxo advises that the Lemnians should confide their homes, their belongings and their whole city to the care of the Argonauts as a solution to their problems (*Arg.* 1.695f). Anna goes further (4.47–9):

> quam tu urbem, soror, hanc cernes, quae surgere regna
> coniugio tali! Teucrum comitantibus armis
> Punica se quantis attollet gloria rebus!

To the idea of security Vergil adds the increase in Punic power if the armed strangers are recruited —a variation with special force for Roman readers.

Anna is therefore a fusion of Polyxo and Chalciope, perhaps suggested to Vergil by the similar function the two women have in the model, as the advisers who encourage Hypsipyle and Medea to become involved with Jason, Polyxo showing how the hero can help Hypsipyle, Chalciope urging Medea to help the hero.

Anna's words take effect and fan the flames of Dido's love (4.54): *spemque dedit dubiae menti solvitque pudorem* (4.55). After speaking with Chalciope Medea says, ἐρρέτω αἰδώς (*Arg.* 3.785), as she decides to help Jason. In each case the meeting with the sister has played an important role in overcoming *pudor*/αἰδώς and in deciding the course of action to be followed. Although Medea's terrible fears persist after the conversation with her sister, Chalciope's words help tilt the balance. After her meeting with Anna, Dido receives apparently favourable omens from her sacrifices, and her love finally runs riot, *totaque vagatur/ urbe furens* (4.68f). When night falls Medea is unable to sleep while all around her enjoy peaceful rest, and her torment enters a new stage (*Arg.* 3.744–824). Dido is unable to sleep during the quiet calm of night (4.81f) as her love deepens.

It is at this point that Juno and Venus intervene to plot the wedding in the cave (4.90–128), when Dido will yield to the force of her passion. The conversation between Medea and Chalciope similarly prepares the way for the meeting in the temple of Hecate, when Medea

[64] Kosthorst (1933) 79–82 underestimates the importance of the similarities between Polyxo and Anna.

[65] Anna's words recall Dido's at 1.572, *vultis et his mecum pariter considere regnis?* On this see Horsfall (1989) 19–22, many of whose comments about the situation in Carthage and stories of colonisation are applicable to Lemnos and a number of other episodes of the *Argonautica*; cf. Dougherty (1993) 38, Palombi (1993) 164, Braund (1994) 32–9; on Apollonius as an author of κτίσεις and on the Argonautic voyage rationalised as a tale of colonisation see above ch. 2 p. 24 and n.12 and below ch. 10.

will give in to her feelings for Jason and offer to help him carry out the task set by Aeetes. Both meetings are replete with wedding imagery:[66] Jason offers Medea marriage if she goes to Greece (*Arg.* 3.1128–30) and Dido (mis)calls her encounter with Aeneas a *coniugium*. Apollonius precedes the meeting with a little scene in which a crow (a mouthpiece of Hera) mockingly addresses the seer Mopsus, telling him that he is ignorant in matters of love, and that Jason should go alone to his rendezvous with Medea in the temple (*Arg.* 3.932–7). Vergil likewise introduces the concept of the useless seer at a corresponding stage in the narrative, between the meeting with Anna and the union in the cave, when Dido sacrifices (principally to Juno) in a temple, and the narrator exclaims *heu vatum ignarae mentes! quid vota furentem,/ quid delubra iuvant?* (4.65f, cf. ἀκλειὴς ὅδε μάντις, *Arg.* 3.932); and again ignorance of love is the crucial point.[67]

The scene of Dido and Anna's meeting at the start of *Aeneid* 4 and its Apollonian models are reworked later in the book when Aeneas has decided to depart and love begins to give way to despair and hatred in Dido's heart.[68] Dido now speaks to Anna for the second time and sends her to persuade Aeneas to stay in Carthage, at least for a while longer. The attempt fails: Aeneas maintains his decision to obey the command of the gods and sail for Italy (4.413–49). Dido returns to the altars (cf. 4.453, recalling 4.56–63 and Medea's visit to the temple),[69] but this time ghastly ill-omens result (4.452–65, recalling 4.63f).[70] She now fearfully remembers the *vatum praedicta priorum* (4.464, *vatum* recalling 4.65 and *Arg.* 3.932), and suffers another frightening dream (*in somnis*, 4.466, recalling *insomnia*, 4.9 and Medea's dream) in which she is pursued by Aeneas (4.465f); and she is compared to Pentheus and Orestes on the tragic stage (4.469–73). Vergil recalls here, through the reappearance of the flight-motif, the Dido–deer simile (and so indirectly its model in the Medea–deer simile of *Argonautica* 4.12f). There, the *pastor* (to be linked with Aeneas and Cupid) chased the deer (*agens*, 4.71); here, Dido dreams that Aeneas pursues (*agit*, 4.465) her.

66 For wedding ritual in the Medea–Artemis simile and surrounding narrative, Campbell (1983) 58f, Hunter (1989) on 869–86. Beye (1993) 210f sees Apollonius hinting at sexual intercourse between Jason and Medea in his description of their passionate encounter in the temple; Vergil may have read it in the same way since he imitates it with the encounter in the cave; on which see further § iv below.

67 Conrardy (1904) 18; see also O'Hara (1993) on this passage.

68 On the reworking of motifs from the opening scenes of *Aeneid* 4 in the later parts of the book, Otis (1964) 68, 84f, 95, Moorton (1990).

69 von Duhn (1952) 48f.

70 Otis (1964) 68, 84, Moorton (1990) 158.

Orestes flees the Furies (*scaenis agitatus … fugit*, 4.471–3) just as the deer takes flight (*fuga*, 4.72; cf. τρέσσεν at *Arg.* 4.12). Once again too, as at 4.5–8 (cf. *Arg.* 3.616–80), the dream leads on to a meeting with her sister.

Dido approaches Anna, now for the third time (4.476),[71] seeking help of a very different kind. She has decided to kill herself (4.475). This time (in contrast to the first meeting with Anna) she hides her true motives (4.474–7), just as Medea, driven by frightening dreams, deceived Chalciope (*Arg.* 3.686–92, see above). Dido deceives her sister by concealing her suidice plans, saying that she has found a way either to bring Aeneas back to her or to cure her of love (4.478f).

Dido's plans for suicide involve magic and provide one of the best known examples of imitation of the *Argonautica* in *Aeneid* 4, that of Apollonius' description of the magical powers of Medea, the priestess of Hecate.[72] Vergil's debt to Apollonius here, however, has not yet been explored fully. When Dido decides to use the powers of magic, she enlists the aid of a *Massylae gentis … sacerdos* (4.483) whose description (4.478–91) shows her to be closely modelled on the figure of Medea, the Colchian priestess of Hecate.[73] She comes from the western edge of the world near Atlas (4.480–82) just as Medea comes from the far eastern edge of the world,[74] and her charms (*carminibus*, 4.487) correspond to Medea's magic chants (*Arg.* 4.147, 157). Both can stop the flow of rivers and turn back the courses of the stars (cf. 4.489[75] and *Arg.* 3.532f). Vergil's priestess has control over the powers of the Underworld (*nocturnosque movet Manes: mugire videbis/ sub pedibus terram*, 4.490f), emphasising the menacing atmosphere surrounding Dido's involvement in the world of magic; Dido is of course already planning her death. Medea invokes Βριμὼ νυκτιπόλον … (*Arg.* 3.862) before cutting the Titan's root, and as she does so Prometheus groans and the earth roars, μυκηθμῷ δ' ὑπένερθεν ἐρεμνὴ σείετο γαῖα … ἔστενε δ' αὐτὸς/ Ἰαπετοῖο πάις (*Arg.* 3.864–6).

71 In each case Dido's speech to her sister is 21 lines long, 4.9–29, 416–36, 478–98.

72 Heyne and Wagner (1832–3[4]) on 4.478ff, Heinze (1915[3]) 141–3, Conrardy (1904) 21, Pichon (1909), Rütten (1912) 72f, Cartault (1926) 327, Hügi (1952) 95, Tupet (1970), (1976) 232–66. On other sources, especially Theocritus, *Id.* 2 and Vergil, *Ecl.* 8 see Pease (1935) on 478–521 *passim*. See also Macrobius, *Sat.* 5.19.8–11 citing Sophocles' *Rhizotomoi*, a play almost certainly imitated by Apollonius also in describing Medea's magic rituals; Hunter (1989) index *s.v.* Sophocles.

73 Conington and Nettleship (1883–4[4]) on 485f, Conrardy (1904) 21f, Rütten (1912) 72f, Cairns (1989) 145.

74 For Libya and Colchis as the ends of the earth see *Arg.* 1.83–5, Hunter (1989) on 161f, Nelis (1990) 143.

75 For much information on these traditional magic powers, Pease (1935) on 489.

One last detail in Vergil's description of the Massylian priestess should be mentioned, since it involves imitation of another section of the *Argonautica*. Before coming to Carthage she had been (4.484–6):

> Hesperidum templi custos, epulasque draconi
> quae dabat et sacros servabat in arbore ramos,
> spargens umida mella soporiferumque papaver.

This alludes to the well-known story of the Golden Apples guarded by the Hesperides and a dragon in the garden of Atlas.[76] Understanding of these lines depends on knowledge of a scene in *Argonautica* 4. In his Libyan episode Apollonius tells how Heracles killed the dragon and carried off the apples of the Hesperides (*Arg.* 4.1395–449. Heracles' actions have of course made the priestess redundant, which is why Vergil uses the past tense (*dabat*, *servabat*).[77] Now, in the *Argonautica* the taking of these Golden Apples by Heracles is a doublet for Jason's taking of the Golden Fleece. Typically, therefore, Vergil fuses aspects of the two scenes here.[78] The description of the priestess sprinkling honey and sleep-bringing poppies cannot but recall Medea drugging the serpent at *Argonautica* 4.156–9.[79]

It is generally and correctly remarked that by turning to magic Dido resembles Medea. But it is actually the Massylian priestess who is most closely linked to Medea here. Dido does exploit the power of magic, but reluctantly (as she claims, *invitam*, 4.493; note, however, 517f), and through the intermediacy of a practised helper rather than alone. She is thus not quite like Medea and never herself becomes a witch figure.[80] In fact, the priestess advises Dido much as Medea informs Jason about the magic rituals he must perform in order to survive his encounter with the fire-breathing bulls of Aeetes. Both Jason and Dido resort to a Hecatean priestess and her magic when all other options seem hopeless.

Further perusal of *Argonautica* 3 reveals additional Apollonian influence on this section of *Aeneid* 4. After her meeting with Chalciope, Medea's anguished indecision drives her to contemplate suicide and she opens a box of drugs to find a poison, but Hera

[76] Pease (1935) on 484.

[77] Cf. *sacros servabat arbore ramos* and παγχρύσεα ῥύετο μῆλα (*Arg.* 4.1397); cf. Hesiod, *Th.* 335. Rütten (1912) 72, Hügi (1952) 66 n.4.

[78] Pease (1935) on 486, Williams (1972) on 4.484f. The fusion of the two sources is marked by the line *spargens umida mella soporiferumque papaver* (4.486) which coheres badly with the priestess' role as protector of the Golden Apples but sits well with the list of her Medea-like magical powers. The problem has caused much discussion from Servius onwards; Pease (1935) on 486, Newman (1990) 413f.

[79] Rütten (1912) 72f.

[80] Tupet (1970) 234f.

intervenes and rekindles her desire for life. Medea is now at last determined to help Jason and the drugs will be used to that effect (*Arg.* 3.798–824). At dawn she takes the Prometheion, the drug which will enable Jason to defeat the bulls and the earthborn men. Both it and the magic ritual Medea performed while gathering it (*Arg.* 3.851–66) are described in great detail, thereby emphasizing Medea's magic powers which will ensure Jason's success. At least for an instant, however, when Medea thought of poisoning herself, Apollonius had linked magic and suicide. What is in Apollonius a momentary possibility averted by divine intervention is central to the action of the *Aeneid*.

In other ways Vergil closely follows this section of the Apollonian narrative. Ritual preparation of the pyre is undertaken by the priestess accompanied by Dido (4.504–21). Among the gods invoked by the *sacerdos* is *tergeminamque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianae* (4.511), also invoked by Medea as Brimo (*Arg.* 3.861f).[81] The Massylian priestess sprinkles herbs gathered by the light of the moon, cut by bronze sickles (4.513) and containing a milky black poison (*pubentes herbae nigri cum lacte veneni*; 4.514). The juice which Medea gathers[82] on a moonless night (*Arg.* 3.863)[83] is said to be like the black liquid of a mountain oak (*Arg.* 3.858).[84] Medea chooses a drug capable of rendering Jason invincible for a short period. Dido uses magic rites, so she tells Anna, for a very different purpose: either to possess Aeneas, or to free herself from love of him (*inveni, germana, viam (gratare sorori)/ quae mihi reddat eum vel eo me solvat amantem*, 4.478f). The inclusion of magic ritual at this point in the narrative imitates Apollonius, although its ostensive purpose is closer to that of the rituals employed by Simaetha in Theocritus' second *Idyll*, already imitated by Vergil in the eighth *Eclogue*.[85] But Dido's use of magic may go further than pulling the wool over Anna's eyes. Her suicide, the culmination of the whole process of magic rituals performed by the priestess, may be intended to be a revenge-suicide, a means of inflicting punishment on

[81] On Brimo as Hecate, Vian and Delage (1995²) 136f on 862.

[82] Hunter (1989) on 858f.

[83] Hunter (1989) on 863.

[84] On these similarities, Rütten (1912) 72f, Pease (1935) on 514, Preshous (1964–5) 12, Briggs (1981) 960.

[85] On Theocritean influence, de La Ville de Mirmont (1894) 154, Tupet (1970) 234–9, (1976) 257. Tupet notes also the imitation of *Eclogue* 8; Vergil's reference to both this poem and *Id.* 2 is a good example of two-tier allusion involving self-reference. Cairns (1989) 144–6 compares the role of erotic magic in elegiac love poetry. For similar magic in later epic, Gordon (1987).

Aeneas, as detailed in her curse on the pyre.[86] Magic ritual, curse and suicide would all thus be closely linked in a sacrificial act of tremendous power. On this reading the inversion of Apollonian material is complete. Medea uses magic to help Jason, Dido to destroy Aeneas. It should not however be forgotten that the Massylian priestess more than Dido equates to Medea, and that, while Dido resorts to magic, she is no witch or magician. This distancing of Dido from Medea is curious given the constant links between them traced thus far: perhaps it is due to the fact that Dido is a queen and never completely loses her royal dignity, even as she prepares her suicide.[87]

A resumé is now in order. Medea, after seeing Jason and being fired with love by Eros, has a frightening dream which sets off a torment of indecision: should she help Jason carry out the dangerous tasks set by Aeetes, or remain aloof out of respect to her father? A meeting with her sister Chalciope, in which she lies about her true motives, helps her choose to follow her feelings of love for Jason and assist him in surviving the dangers he will face. To this end, having first thought of killing herself by means of her magic powers, she takes her drugs to the temple of Hecate[88] to give to Jason.

This brilliant episode of *Argonautica* 3 clearly had a profound effect on Vergil's imagination. It is distributed (sometimes with elements inverted) over three sections of *Aeneid* 4:[89]

1) Dido dreams of Aeneas and a struggle begins in her heart between her feelings for the Trojan and her loyalty to her dead husband. She discusses her plight openly and honestly with her sister Anna, who strongly advises giving in to her love. Dido makes ritually correct (*de more*, 4.57) sacrifices, and receiving apparently favourable signs, begins to fall deeper in love, the narrative position of her sacrifices corresponding exactly to Medea's preparation of the magic drugs for Jason. Because of her love for Aeneas Dido visits temples (Anna says *posce deos veniam*, 4.50, and of both women Vergil says, *pacemque per aras/ exquirunt*, 4.56f) of the appropriate civic gods, Ceres, Apollo, Bacchus, and most notably Juno (*Iunoni ante omnis, cui vincla iugalia curae*, 4.59). Her efforts, despite their ritual correctness

[86] Tupet (1970), (1976) 232–66. For such a revenge suicide in Apollonius, that of Cleite, see Vian and Delage (1976) 263 on 1069, (1995²) 131 on 704; in general, Delcourt (1939).

[87] Cairns (1989) 149, Horsfall (1995) 131 n.50.

[88] On the links between the temples of Juno and Hecate in *Aeneid* 1 see above ch. 3 p. 83f.

[89] See diagram 4.

(and the worrying note created by her attention to Juno), are misguided and lead to the meeting in the cave and disaster.

2) Later in book 4, when Aeneas says he must leave, Dido again seeks Anna's help in persuading him to stay, or at least to delay his departure. Anna's efforts are in vain (*lacrimae volvuntur inanes*, 4.449). Dido, realising she has been abandoned, returns to the altars. This time, however, the omens are disastrously bad and there is no further indecision on her part.

3) Dido now forsakes the Olympian deities, approaches Anna for a third time, this time lying to her, and turns to the world of Hecatean magic for aid. With this third use of the model it becomes clear that Dido's earlier visits to the altars after her first two meetings with Anna (4.56–66, 452–65) were inversions of Medea's preparation of her magic powers after her meeting with Chalciope.

The distribution of this model even extends beyond Book 4. It also involves Dido's first appearance in book 1 as she enters the temple of Juno — explicitly the same temple that she visits during the first sacrifice scene in book 4, and probably the same as in the second, *turicremis cum dona imponeret aris* (4.453).[90] Vergil replays the scene from book 1 in the two scenes in book 4, and in each case he has in mind Medea's visit to the temple of Hecate (*Arg.* 3.802–24). The reworkings of the model chart Dido's decline. First she goes to the temple as a queen actively engaged in the administration of her city, and meets Aeneas. Later, when she invites him into her palace, she orders sacrifices to be made in the temples of the gods (1.632). The next day, already in love, she returns to Juno's temple (4.59) to sacrifice mainly for personal reasons. Some time later, distraught, she goes to the altars again and on this occasion the result completes her slide from imposing ruler to mad lover and pushes her towards the powers of Hecate.

As for Anna, modelled on both Polyxo and Chalciope, comparison and contrast with Apollonius has well illustrated her role as confidante and adviser. It is fitting then that she should be present at the very end as Vergil once again adopts some details from the meeting between Medea and Chalciope.[91] Medea tries three times (τρὶς μὲν ἐπειρήθη, τρὶς δ' ἔσχετο, *Arg.* 3.654) to go to Chalciope but is prevented by her feelings of shame; when she fails a fourth time she returns to her bed.

[90] Cairns (1989) 45.

[91] Conington and Nettleship (1883–4⁴) on 4.691, Rütten (1912) 76, Williams (1972) on 690f.

Finally, a servant sees Medea's distress and alerts Chalciope, who goes to see her sister and finds her weeping on her bed, her cheeks torn in a gesture of grief and despair reminiscent of a mourner.[92] Dido, before striking her death blow, sends a servant to fetch Anna. When Anna arrives, terrified by the screams in the palace,[93] she finds Dido dying in her bed on the pyre. In her suffering she three times (*ter .../ ter ...*, 4.690f) raises herself, only to fall back each time on the bed; then Anna witnesses her death.

iii. Juno and Venus

The first meeting with Anna adds fuel to the flames of love in Dido's heart. As she succumbs to her passion, her people, reflecting their ruler's distraction, stop their busy work of city-building (1.423–36; 494–508) and construction comes to a halt (4.88f). Juno seizes this moment to intervene once again and, in collaboration with Venus, arranges a wedding between Dido and Aeneas (4.90–123). In creating this scene Vergil imitates *Iliad* 14 where Hera visits Aphrodite to ask for her help so that she may seduce Zeus and divert his attention from the war.[94] Apollonius uses this same Homeric model in describing the visit of Hera and Athene to Aphrodite at the start of *Argonautica* 3, and Vergil again imitates both Homer and the corresponding passages of the *Argonautica*. Having already employed different aspects of the Olympus scene which opens *Argonautica* 3 in describing Venus' meetings with Jupiter, Aeneas and Cupid in *Aeneid* 1, Vergil returns to it for his description of Venus' final interference in Dido's fate.[95] This time, Juno, with Venus' consent, plots the wedding of the lovelorn Dido (4.101) and Aeneas, an imitation of Hera asking Aphrodite to send Eros to inflame Medea with love for Jason.

The opening reworks Homer and Apollonius closely. Juno approaches Venus, as Hera goes to Aphrodite in both Homer (*Il.* 14.187–9) and Apollonius (*Arg.* 3.25–37), and suggests *pacem aeternam pactosque hymenaeos* (4.99) between Trojans and Tyrians,

92 Hunter (1989) on 672.

93 Anna runs towards the pyre *unguibus ora ... foedans* (4.673), an imitation of Medea's grief at *Argonautica* 3.672 (see Rütten (1912) 76) where she tears her cheeks in her suffering. Vergil thus read δρύψεν (scratched) and not κρύψεν (hid); on the textual problem, Vian and Delage (1995^2) 78 n.4.

94 Knauer (1964) 386, Kühn (1971) 63f. On Euripidean influence on this and related scenes of divine intervention, Fenik (1960) ch. 7.

95 Conington and Nettleship (1883–4^4) on 4.90, de La Ville de Mirmont (1894) 413, Rütten (1912) 31–3.

Aeneas and Dido. The speech of the Iliadic Hera (δολοφρονέουσα, *Il.* 14.197) is full of deception as she attempts to ensure the seduction of Zeus. The Apollonian Hera too is interested in finding a δόλος (*Arg.* 3.12) to aid Jason — by provoking an erotic passion in Medea's heart. Vergil's Juno displays her awareness of Venus' earlier *dolus* (4.95) in sending Cupid to Dido,[96] before proposing one of her own (*dolis*, 4.128).

At this point, however, an important Vergilian variation begins to emerge. In Homer and in Apollonius,[97] Hera has the upper hand and is in complete control as she manipulates Aphrodite. Vergil's Venus is only too well aware (*dolis ... repertis*, 4.128) of Juno's plan to keep the Trojans from reaching Italy (4.105f), and her reply to Juno slyly doubts whether Jupiter will agree to a union between the Trojans and the Carthaginians (4.110–12, ironically recalling Jupiter's prophecy at 1.257–96 which clearly states that the Trojans will reach Italy). Venus' speech ends, *tu coniunx, tibi fas animum temptare precando./ perge, sequar* (4.113f). This refers both to Aphrodite's reply to Hera at *Iliad* 14.213, Ζηνὸς γὰρ τοῦ ἀρίστου ἐν ἀγκοίνῃσιν ἰαύεις, and to the Apollonian Athena's reaction to Hera's plan when, saying that she herself has no experience of love, she adds, εἰ δέ σοι αὐτῇ μῦθος ἐφανδάνει, ἦ τ' ἂν ἔγωγε/ ἐσποίμην, σὺ δέ κεν φαίης ἔπος ἀντιόωσα. (*Arg.* 3.34f).[98] Juno confidently retorts, *mecum erit iste labor* (4.115), and presents her plan: a hunting trip during which a storm will drive Dido and Aeneas for shelter to the same cave; *hic hymenaeus erit* (4.127). Venus agrees: *non adversata petenti/ adnuit atque dolis risit Cytherea repertis* (4.127f). At *Iliad* 14.222f Hera smiles having successfuly deceived Aphrodite, herself described as φιλομμειδής at 14.211. At *Argonautica* 3.51 Aphrodite smiles as she sarcastically greets Hera and Athena, but by line 107 it is the smiling Hera who is in command and comforts Aphrodite, perturbed by her uncontrollable son Eros and discomfited by having to seek his cooperation.[99] In Vergil, however, it is Venus who enjoys the smile of triumph and resembles the deceitful Hera of *Iliad* 14 and the scheming Hera of *Argonautica* 3 as she agrees to the plan which will lead to the death of Dido.[100] Venus'

96 On the deception motif in *Aeneid* 1 see above ch. 3 p. 93 and n.95.

97 Campbell (1983) 7–18.

98 Rütten (1912) 32.

99 Campbell (1983) 12 and 16. Hera addresses Aphrodite as Κυθέρεια at *Arg.* 3.108, to which *Cytherea* at 4.128 refers.

100 On Venus' smile and the complexity of the agreement between the two goddesses see Konstan (1986).

sole interest is in protecting Aeneas, just as the Apollonian Hera aims to help Jason and the Iliadic Hera wants to support the Greeks at Troy.[101] In the immediate context, therefore, Juno's destructive intentions in *Aeneid* 4 invert Hera's supportive role in both the model texts. It should be remembered, however, that Vergil's Juno must also be seen in terms of the epic tradition as a whole;[102] and in the *Iliad*, the *Argonautica*, the *Bellum Punicum* and the *Annales*, she is essentially a malevolent deity.

iv. *Coniugium*

The plotting of Juno and Venus leads inevitably to the hunt, the storm and the union of Dido and Aeneas (4.129–72). It has long been noted that the encounter in the cave is modelled on the marriage of Medea and Jason in a cave on the island of the Phaeacians (*Arg.* 4.1128–69).[103] The points of similarity may be briefly rehearsed. In the *Aeneid*, the marriage, as it is called by Dido (*coniugium vocat*, 4.172), is accompanied by strange phenomena (4.166–8):

> prima et Tellus et pronuba Iuno
> dant signum; fulsere ignes et conscius aether
> conubiis summoque ululârunt vertice Nymphae.

In Apollonius, nymphs are present,[104] and the Golden Fleece on which Jason and Medea lie throws off flames of light (*Arg.* 4.1143–6). In each case strange fires replace the traditional wedding torches,[105] and both marriage songs are unusual, in Vergil represented by the shrieks of the nymphs,[106] in Apollonius sung by the armed Argonauts standing guard before the cave (*Arg.* 4.1155–60). Apollonius brings the wedding scene to an end with a downbeat commentary (*Arg.* 4.1161–9): both Jason and Medea would have preferred to marry after their return to Greece,

[101] As in the Venus-Cupid scene, Venus, plotting on Aeneas' behalf, shows a complete lack of concern for Dido; see above ch. 3 § I.vii and, on the book 4 scene, Thome (1986) 291–4.
[102] Konstan (1986) 23–5, Feeney (1991) 62f, 116f, 125–8.
[103] Henry (1873–92) on 4.160–68, Heinze (1915[3]) 131f, Conrardy (1904) 18, Rütten (1912) 69, Williams (1983) 86, Clausen (1987) 23–5, Cairns (1989) 46–9.
[104] For the shrieking of the nymphs Vergil looks to both *Arg.* 4.1196f, the nymphs singing on the morning after the wedding, and *Arg.* 3.1218f (see Heyne and Wagner (1832–3[4]) on 4.168, de La Ville de Mirmont (1894) 705f, Rütten (1912) 69, Hügi (1952) 93) where the howling of nymphs accompanies the sacrifices of Jason in honour of Hecate. The reference to the latter scene suits the frightening atmosphere surrounding the events described by Vergil.
[105] Pease (1935) on 167 and Vian and Delage (1996[2]) 186 on 1148.
[106] Servius and Pease (1935) on 168.

but necessity dictated otherwise;[107] human joy always goes hand in hand with bitter care; the lovers must marry in haste, their union accompanied by fear. Vergil is even more gloomy: *ille dies primus leti primusque malorum/ causa fuit* ... (4.169f); Dido's death is now inevitable. Both narrators are deeply pessimistic about the events they have just described.[108]

There are also, of course, important differences between imitation and model. The union of Aeneas and Dido is not brought about by external human pressure, as is the case in Apollonius, where the competing claims on Medea of the Colchians and the Argonauts are settled only by Alcinous (*Arg.* 4.1098–109). Apollonius describes the preparations for the wedding in much greater detail than Vergil, who uses stunning brevity for an event which will have such disastrous consequences. Similarly, Vergil does not adopt Apollonius' two-part wedding ceremony,[109] with the night-time union in the cave followed the next day by a public celebration (*Arg.* 4.1170–2000). In the *Aeneid*, the only 'public' aspect of the union of Dido and Aeneas is the report spread by Fama.[110] Vergil in no way tries to hide the fact that what takes place in the cave is no real marriage.[111] The event is accompanied by a terrible storm and is witnessed by the elemental powers,[112] a cosmic reference not in the model, while the baleful presence of Juno as *pronuba* explicitly defines this as a terrible parody of a true wedding. Apollonius' narrative is, on the surface, lighter in tone, with flower-bearing nymphs and a beautiful setting in the cave. As a result, the Vergilian gloom has often been seen as a variation on the joyous atmosphere of the model, the wedding of Dido and Aeneas a hideous inversion of the happy, ritually correct union of Jason and Medea.[113] The downside of the Apollonian model should not be underestimated, however. There can be little doubt that the marriage in the Phaeacian cave is not straightforwardly joyous, as the negative comments of the narrator suggest, and the whole episode ends with fear accompanying the wedding. Furthermore, the union in the cave marks the end of the process, initiated by the goddesses at the start of the third book, which unites Jason and Medea; and Apollonius has consistently shadowed this

[107] The home plays an important role in marriage ritual and a wedding held elsewhere is most unusual; Vian and Delage (1996[2]) 49.
[108] Clausen (1987) 24f and 134 n.9.
[109] On which see Vian and Delage (1996[2]) 50–52.
[110] Hunter (1993) 73 n.111.
[111] Horsfall (1995) 128.
[112] Pease (1935), Hardie (1986) 318.
[113] de La Ville de Mirmont (1894) 48, Williams (1983) 86, Cairns (1989) 46–9.

story with reference to the *Medea* of Euripides and the tragic outcome of the relationship whose origin he is narrating.[114] Even the nymphs are not purely a positive feature of the celebrations. Apollonius carefully describes the different kinds present in the cave, nymphs of river, mountain and forest (*Arg.* 4.1149–51). He thus recalls an earlier episode attended by the three nymph-types, the rape of Hylas (*Arg.* 1.1222–9).[115] The encounter between Hylas and the nymph who seized him is presented by Apollonius as a bizarre kind of wedding, one which means death for the boy at the very moment the nymph fulfils her passion.[116] Recollection of this episode therefore bodes ill for Jason and Medea. Apollonius' wedding scene provides no simple resolution of the relationship between the lovers; and the reader of the *Aeneid* who is aware of the sense of menace and unease underlying the Argonautic union in the cave will have no great hope for the future of Dido and Aeneas when they meet in a cave near Carthage.

The link created by the two wedding scenes between the land of the Phaeacians and Carthage picks up on the connections established between these two places in book 1,[117] and it permits further similarities between the two weddings to come to light, particularly in the ways in which they are engineered by the gods. As Jason and Medea leave the house of Circe (*Arg.* 4.752f) Hera intervenes and arranges a calm, safe voyage for the Argo to the island of the Phaeacians; there she carefully orchestrates the wedding. In Hera's speech asking Thetis for protective help for the Argonauts (*Arg.* 4.783–832), marriage is clearly on her mind. She speaks first of Thetis' refusal of the advances of Zeus, goes on to the wedding of Thetis and Peleus and finally predicts the marriage of Medea and Achilles in Elysium.[118] Once Jason and Medea have safely passed the Planctae and arrived in the land of the Phaeacians, Hera takes a hand once again. It is she (*Arg.* 4.1197–200)[119] who arranges for Arete to make known to the Colchians Alcinous' decision not to return Medea to them if she has slept with Jason, and the announcement of this news leads directly to the hasty night-time wedding. Hera is thus responsible for the entire chain of events leading up to the union in the cave, which is thus not merely an

[114] Hunter (1989) 18f, (1993) 73f, Knight (1991).
[115] Vian and Delage (1976) 108 n.3.
[116] Bremer (1987) 424.
[117] See above ch. 3 § III.
[118] Knight (1995) 299f.
[119] On the technique of delaying the announcement of divine influence, Hunter (1989) on 818, Feeney (1991) 89.

expeditious reaction to Alcinous' decision. Hera has been plotting it from the time that Jason and Medea were ritually freed from pollution by Circe.

In *Aeneid* 4 Juno raises a storm so that Aeneas and Dido can meet in a cave.[120] The storm, which she promised along with its outcome to Venus at 4.120–24, takes place at 4.160–66. Juno's storm-raising here, like the closely-linked storm released by Aeolus at Juno's request in book 1,[121] is a direct inversion of Hera's calming of the winds in *Argonautica* 4.[122] The earlier storm had led to the landing in Libya and eventually, with Venus' help, to the initial meeting of Dido and Aeneas in Carthage; the second, with Venus again involved, leads to their wedding.[123] In both cases Vergil imitates the same Apollonian model, Hera's guidance of the Argonauts to Phaeacia and her presiding at the wedding of Jason and Medea; his distribution is accompanied in both cases with a striking inversion of the model. The Hera who once calmed the sea to help Jason becomes the Juno who twice causes a storm to harm Aeneas.

It was argued above (§ ii) that in terms of Vergil's imitation of *Argonautica* 3 the meeting of Aeneas and Dido in the cave corresponds to the meeting of Jason and Medea in the temple of Hecate. How does this fit in with the link to the wedding in the Phaeacian cave? Quite typically Vergil is fusing an Apollonian doublet. §§ iii and iv above have demonstrated that the scene involving Juno and Venus at 4.90–128 corresponds to both the Olympus scene at the start of *Argonautica* 3 and the later intervention of Hera in *Argonautica* 4 — the only two full-scale Olympus scenes in the *Argonautica*. Vergil's fusion of two Apollonian models in which Hera seeks to support Jason is facilitated by the links already unifying them in the *Argonautica*. The opening of Hera's second intervention, οὐδ' ἄλοχον Κρονίδαο Διὸς λάθον, ἀλλά οἱ Ἶρις/ πέφραδεν, εὖτ' ἐνόησεν ἀπὸ μεγάροιο κιόντας (*Arg.* 4.753f) echoes that of her first, αἱ δ' ἐνόησαν/ Ἥρη Ἀθηναίη τε (*Arg.* 3.7f). The first scene leads to the descent of Eros, the second to that of Thetis. The former triggers Medea's love for Jason and culminates in the scene in the temple of Hecate, while in the latter Thetis' help leads eventually to their wedding. Hence the scene in the cave rounds off the series of

[120] de La Ville de Mirmont (1894) 411 and Williams (1983) 86 compare the role of Hera and Juno in relation to the two weddings without noting the link between Hera's calming of the winds and Juno's use of a storm.
[121] Moskalew (1982) 75–80.
[122] See above ch. 3 § III.
[123] On the interacting roles of Juno and Venus, Wlosok (1967) 112–16.

events begun when the couple first met in the temple.[124] Aware of these links, Vergil draws from both scenes in *Aeneid* 4, to make Juno and Venus engineer the Dido–Aeneas encounter in the cave, as Hera and Aphrodite were ultimately responsible for the meeting in the temple of Hecate in *Argonautica* 3, and as Hera plotted the wedding in the cave in *Argonautica* 4.

v. Fama and Mercury

Most of the remainder of this chapter will concentrate on demonstrating how the events leading up to Dido's death and her suicide on the pyre closely rework Medea's departure from Colchis and the reasons for it, as narrated in the closing scenes of *Argonautica* 3 and the opening section of *Argonautica* 4. This pattern of imitation, which follows smoothly and logically from the reworking of the first half of *Argonautica* 3 in *Aeneid* 1 and the opening 172 lines of *Aeneid* 4 traced thus far, begins with the intervention of Rumour.

Following Jason's victory over the fire-breathing bulls and the earthborn men, Aeetes, sensing that his daughters have plotted against him, rages in anger against the Argonauts (*Arg.* 4.6–10). Soon after, he receives definite news (it is not said how) of Medea's love and help for Jason (*Arg.* 4.212f). Invoking the Sun and Zeus to witness the wrong done to him, his hands outstretched, he orders his people to pursue the Argonauts and bring back his daughter, threatening punishments if they fail (χεῖρας ἀείρας,/ … Ζῆνα … / κέκλετο, *Arg.* 4.228–30). After the 'wedding' of Dido and Aeneas in the cave Rumour spreads the news that they are spending the winter together in Carthage (4.173–95). One of Dido's former suitors, Iarbas, gets wind of this story and complains bitterly to Jupiter (4.196–218). Iarbas is said *multa Iovem manibus supplex orasse supinis* (4.205) and his speech sets out why he feels himself wronged. The main reason for his anger (*rumore succensus amaro*, 4.203) is that Dido *conubia nostra/ reppulit ac dominum Aenean in regna recepit* (4.213f). Aeetes and Iarbas, then, both feel betrayed on hearing of a woman's love for another man, complain of their treatment and rage, invoking the king of the gods with hands outstretched.[125] With Iarbas' angry prayer the action speeds up towards

[124] Cf. *Arg.* 4.1119f and *Arg.* 3.1128–30; both encounters rework *Odyssey* 6–8 and the potential match between Odysseus and Nausicaa; Hunter (1993) 68–71, Knight (1995) 241, 254. Both also recall Jason's relationship with Hypsipyle (Knight (1995) 241, 254) and the rape of Hylas (above p. 150 and Knight (1995) 236).

[125] Rütten (1912) 69f, Preshous (1961) 68f.

its tragic conclusion. From it follows Jupiter's sending of Mercury, Aeneas' departure and Dido's suicide. It is Medea's fear of Aeetes (3.742 and 4.1–23), mingled with her love of Jason, which leads to her flight from Colchis. The reactions of both Iarbas and Aeetes thus have far-reaching consequences, Dido's death and Medea's flight respectively, events which themselves closely correspond, as will be shown later.[126] These similarities of detail between Iarbas and Aeetes may seem slight, but against the broader context of the much more explicit imitation of the first section of *Argonautica* 4 in the remainder of the *Aeneid* 4 it will become clear that they do play corresponding roles.

For the moment, further Apollonian detail in the description of Fama merits attention. Vergil provides his personification of rumour with a complete and elaborate genealogy (4.178–80) modelled on that of Typhoeus in Hesiod's *Theogony* 820–22:[127]

> illam Terra parens ira inritata deorum
> extremam, ut perhibent, Coeo Enceladoque sororem
> progenuit pedibus celerem et pernicibus alis.

This also refers to *Argonautica* 2.38–40, a passage similar to the Hesiodic model[128] comparing Amycus to none other than Typhoeus:

> ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἢ ὁλοοῖο Τυφωέος ἠὲ καὶ αὐτῆς
> Γαίης εἶναι ἔικτο πέλωρ τέκος οἷα πάροιθεν
> χωομένη Διὶ τίκτεν·

Vergil's *ira inritata deorum* alludes to χωομένη Διί.[129] Rumour's credentials as a chthonic monster and close relative of the Titans are impeccable.[130] And another chthonic monster comes to mind. At *Argonautica* 2.404–7 Phineus explains to Jason the dangers awaiting him in Colchis, describing the serpent guarding the Golden Fleece:

> ἄλσος τε σκιόειν Ἄρεος, τόθι κῶας ἐπ' ἄκρης
> πεπτάμενον φηγοῖο δράκων, τέρας αἰνὸν ἰδέσθαι,
> ἀμφὶς ὀπιπτεύει δεδοκημένος· οὐδέ οἱ ἦμαρ,
> οὐ κνέφας ἥδυμος ὕπνος ἀναιδέα δάμναται ὄσσε.

Later the seer's words are picked up by Argus (*Arg.* 2.1207–10):

[126] See § viii below.

[127] Hardie (1986) 274.

[128] Cuypers (1997) 72.

[129] de La Ville de Mirmont (1894) 33.

[130] Hardie (1986) 276–9 for a full discussion of the implications and the gigantomachic background; the Apollonian material sketched here reinforces his arguments.

οὐ μὰν οὐδ' ἀπάνευθεν ἐλεῖν δέρος Αἰήταο
ῥηίδιον· τοῖός μιν ὄφις περί τ' ἀμφί τ' ἔρυται
ἀθάνατος καὶ ἄυπνος, ὃν αὐτὴ Γαῖ' ἀνέφυσεν
Καυκάσου ἐν κνημοῖσι Τυφαονίῃ ὑπὸ πέτρῃ,

Like this hellish serpent on its tree-top, *Fama* is a child of Earth and enjoys many of the physical attributes of her sibling; its sleeplessness (ἄυπνος, *Arg.* 2.1209 cf. ἀύπνοισι προϊδὼν ὄφις ὀφθαλμοῖσι, *Arg.* 4.128 and οὐδέ οἱ ἦμαρ,/ οὐ κνέφας ἥδυμος ὕπνος ἀναιδέα δάμναται ὄσσε *Arg.* 2.406f), its hissing which terrifies all who hear it (ῥοίζει ... ῥοίζῳ, *Arg.* 4.129–38) and its role as guardian (εἴρυτο, *Arg.* 2.1208, 1269f; cf. *Arg.* 2.404–7). Compare *Fama* perched on the roof-tops at 4.184–7, hissing, on the look-out, frightening all around:

nocte volat caeli medio terraeque per umbram
stridens, nec dulci declinat lumina somno;
luce sedet custos aut summi culmine tecti
turribus aut altis, et magnas territat urbes.

Thus Carthage and Aea harbour similar monsters. For further details Vergil draws on Homer's personifications of Rumour (*Il.* 2.93f, *Od.* 24.413; cf. Hesiod, *Op.* 761f) and Strife (*Il.* 4.442f).[131] At the same time, he models *Fama*'s action on another passage of Apollonius.[132] On the morning after the wedding of Jason and Medea the people of Phaeacia gather from all around to celebrate the occasion, ἐπεὶ νημερτέα βάξιν/ Ἥρη ἐπιπροέηκεν (*Arg.* 4.1184f).[133] This true report which leads to the celebration of a wedding is inverted: Vergil's *Fama* spreads a mixture of truth and lies (4.188–90) and sets in motion the chain of events which will bring Dido's *coniugium* to an end. Vergil thus continues the narrative pattern based on events in the Apollonian Phaeacia: Juno and Venus, the storm, the wedding in the cave and the spread of the news throughout Libya are modelled on Hera, the calming of the sea, the marriage in the cave and the report of events which Hera sends out among the Phaeacians.

Once Rumour has done her job and spread her news, Jupiter's reaction to Iarbas' complaints is swift (4.219–37). Mercury is

[131] Knauer (1964) 386.

[132] de La Ville de Mirmont (1894) 35, Williams (1983) 86.

[133] It is tempting, with Livrea (1973), Vian and Delage (1996²) and Paduano and Fusillo (1986) to translate θρόος at *Arg.* 4.1173 as 'rumour', Hera's influence being felt before it is stated explicitly that she is at work (*Arg.* 4.1199f). But the parallel with the description of night at *Arg.* 3.744–50, where θρόος (749) means simply 'noise', seems to argue against this interpretation. Hunter (1993) translates 'in the streets there was a busy din', Green (1997) 'the streets were loud with voices'.

dispatched to order Aeneas to leave Carthage and resume his journey towards his true goal in Italy (4.238–78). Aeneas, terrified by the god's visit and message, immediately begins to prepare his departure and his comrades set happily to work as he ponders how best to approach Dido (4.279–95). The rapid unfolding of these events increases their tragic impact: the reversal in Dido's fortunes follows at once upon the consummation of her love. Vergil draws both on Homer and Apollonius and reworks passages in *Aeneid* 1 in creating the scenes which prepare for Aeneas' departure.

Jupiter's intervention and his dispatch of Mercury to effect Aeneas' departure from Carthage rework the earlier scene in which Jupiter sent Mercury to ensure a friendly reception for the Trojans in Carthage. Vergil uses the same narrative pattern and characters but inverts the divine motivation. For the mission of Mercury in book 4 it has been demonstrated that Vergil has in mind Zeus' sending Hermes to secure Odysseus' departure from Calypso (*Od.* 5.1–262).[134] Apollonius imitates this same Homeric model in describing two linked descents from heaven in the *Argonautica*,[135] Thetis' descent to visit Peleus in order to prepare the Argonauts' departure from the island of Circe, Aeaea,[136] and Eros' flight down to Colchian Aea.[137] Vergil refers to both these Apollonian imitations of Homer. The first and penultimate lines of Hera's speech when she sends Iris with a message to Thetis, respectively, Ἶρι φίλη, .../ εἰ δ' ἄγε λαιψηρῇσι μετοιχομένη πτερύγεσσιν (*Arg.* 4.757f) and Ζεφύρου γε μὲν οὖρος ἀήτω (*Arg.* 4.768), are referred to at the beginning of Jupiter's speech, *vade age,*

[134] Knauer (1964) 209–14, 386f; also Harrison (1982) stressing links with the Hermes of *Iliad* 24, Feeney (1998).

[135] On this typical epic scene, Arend (1933) 54–61, Greene (1963), Richardson (1974) 279–81. For the full Homeric background to Apollonius' two Olympus scenes, Knight (1995) 291–305.

[136] Cf. *Arg.* 4.757–69 and *Od.* 5.29–42, Hera speaking to Iris and Zeus to Hermes; in each case the hero must leave a place to get to the land of the Phaeacians. Next, Hera sends Thetis to Peleus. Thetis' journey recalls Hermes' flight to Ogygia, cf. *Arg.* 4.842f, 849, 851 and *Od.* 5.50f, 55, 58 (Campbell (1981) 77). Cf. also *Arg.* 4.810 and *Od.* 5.97f, Hera speaking to Thetis and Hermes to Calypso (Campbell (1981) 76). Then Thetis arrives on Aeaea and Hermes on Ogygia (*Arg.* 4.848–52 and *Od.* 5.55–8). Apollonius also imitates *Il.* 17.165–202 where Hera sends Iris to Achilles and 11.24 where Iris is sent to summon Thetis to Zeus and Thetis subsequently visits Achilles (cf. *Arg.* 4.770–72 and *Il.* 24.77–9, Iris' departure from Olympus, *Arg.* 4.783–832 and *Il.* 24.104–19, Hera/Zeus speaking to Thetis) ; Campbell (1981) 75–7. See also Feeney (1998) 107–109 on Apollonius' use of Homeric messengers.

[137] Cf. *Arg.* 3.156f and *Od.* 5.44–9. For further imitation of the Calypso episode, Campbell (1983) 17f, Hunter (1989) on 215–41, 220f, 221–7. On Apollonius' use of other models here see Hunter (1989) on 158. Inversion is involved: Hermes ends Calypso's relationship with Odysseus, Eros starts Medea's love for Jason.

nate, voca Zephyros et labere pennis (4.223).[138] Vergil's characters are Homeric, Jupiter and Zeus, Mercury and Hermes (cf. especially 4.238–46 and *Od.* 5.43–9 = *Il.* 24.339–45, giving the scene a distinctly Homeric tone), but the opening of the speech is Apollonian in a particularly neat example of two-tier allusion. The reference is not without poignant significance. Hera is already plotting the wedding of Jason and Medea on Phaeacia, as shown above. The action of Jupiter and Mercury will bring to an end the *coniugium* of Dido and Aeneas. This inversion of Apollonius' Phaeacian narrative is thus consistent with that noticed in the action of *Fama*.

The descent of Eros to Colchian Aea, the model for Mercury's earlier descent in *Aeneid* 1 to ensure a friendly reception for the Trojans in Carthage,[139] is also used for his second visit to Carthage.[140] Mercury's flight brings him to Atlas, *duri caelum qui vertice fulcit* (4.247), whence, after a brilliant description depicting both the mountain and the human figure of the god (4.248–53), he flies on to Carthage. Eros' flight from Olympus to Colchis takes him past the great mountains which hold up the sky at the eastern edge of the world, δοιὼ δὲ πόλον[141] ἀνέχουσι κάρηνα/ οὐρέων ἠλιβάτων (*Arg.* 3.161f). The description of Atlas[142] thus expands a small Apollonian detail. The suggestion of a similarity between Mercury and Eros is full of irony. The role of Apollonius' Eros reworks that of the Odyssean messenger; in contrast to Hermes, who tells Calypso that she must let Odysseus go, Eros brings Medea and Jason together. Vergil, whose action is predominantly Homeric, inverts Apollonius and returns to the Odyssean narrative, Mercury's mission being to end Aeneas' stay with

[138] Servius wonders whether the Zephyrs are to help Aeneas sail away or simply to carry Mercury, see Pease (1935) on 223. The Apollonian model suggests that the former idea is present. The Zephyr reappears at 4.562 when Mercury urges Aeneas' speedy exit from Carthage, asking *nec Zephyros audis spirare secundos?* The departing Trojans are also apparently sent a favouring wind by the gods. The mention of the Zephyr has extra meaning in the *Aeneid* because of the background of the seasons in books 1 and 4. See above ch. 3 p. 100f.

[139] See above ch. 3 § I.ii.

[140] Williams (1983) 84, also noting the Homeric model in the Hermes of *Od.* 5. On Mercury and *Fama* see Hardie (1986) 276–9; his arguments concerning the cosmic and gigantomachic background to their interaction receive strong support from Vergil's use of Apollonius' cosmic Eros (on which see above ch. 3 § I.viii and below ch. 8 § v). See also Feeney (1998).

[141] πόλον is a conjecture here for the transmitted πόλοι which gives poor sense. Vergil's *caelum* strongly supports the emendation. Hunter (1989) on 161f, Nelis (1990) 142f, Campbell (1994) on 159–63.

[142] On this much-debated passage, McGushin (1964), Hardie (1983), (1986) 372–5, Morwood (1985), Paschalis (1985), Formicola (1989).

Dido. Nevertheless Vergil's reference here to the flight of Eros underscores his point that Mercury's mission is to end a love-affair, whereas Eros initiated one. The recollection that the goal of Mercury's earlier mission, to secure a friendly welcome for Aeneas in Carthage, was similar to that of Eros, is thus doubly poignant. The end of the affair replays the beginning. Jupiter, following the action of both Venus and Juno, must interfere a second time. Aeneas was never intended to stay in Carthage and Dido's hopes for love were doomed from the very start.

One important difference between Vergil and Homer in this episode is that, whereas Hermes addressed Calypso rather than the hero, Mercury goes directly to Aeneas. This variation may be put down to Apollonian influence. Vergil here once again refers to the departure of the Argonauts from the island of Circe in *Argonautica* 4. There, Thetis goes directly to Peleus and tells him to leave Aeaea the following morning, in obedience to the will of Hera (*Arg.* 4.856–8). Peleus' reaction on seeing the wife whom he has not set eyes on for a very long time is one of grief (*Arg.* 4.866) and astonishment (τῶ μιν ἀμηχανίη δῆσεν φρένας, *Arg.* 4.880), but he immediately passes on the news to his comrades (*Arg.* 4.880f). Aeneas reacts in a comparable way to Mercury's command that he leave Dido (a separation recalling that of Peleus and Thetis): *at vero Aeneas aspectu obmutuit amens* (4.279), *amens* referring to the ἀμηχανίη of Peleus; and he too relays the command to depart to his colleagues (4.287–91). They happily (*laeti*, 4.295) set about preparing the ships, much as the Argonauts gladly (περιγηθέες, *Arg.* 4.888) sail away from Aeaea. The joy of the Trojans contrasts with Aeneas' more problematic desire to flee (*ardet abire fuga dulcisque relinquere terras*, 4.281).[143] He has been reminded that he has stayed too long in Carthage and has been ordered to resume his voyage to Italy. His first desire is to obey the god, but he knows that he must also explain his action to Dido.

The situation in which Aeneas finds himself here is modelled on another section of the *Argonautica*, as Vergil once again links Carthage to Lemnos. Jason's entry into the palace of Hypsipyle leads to love-making between the Argonauts and the Lemnian women throughout the city. As the days pass and the departure is postponed, Heracles, who had remained aloof and stayed by the ship, violently attacks Jason's action (*Arg.* 1.865–74). He reminds the Argonauts that the purpose of their voyage was not to find wives — they will not win the Fleece by

[143] Horsfall (1995) 132, Fowler (1997) 286.

staying on Lemnos. Let Jason win fame and renown by repopulating Lemnos with male offspring instead, he says, with biting sarcasm. Mercury is less insulting but the burden of his message is exactly the same. Aeneas is described as *uxorius* and addressed as *regni rerumque oblite tuarum* (4.266f). The Trojan hero turned lover is wearing a bright red cloak (*Tyrioque ardebat murice laena / demissa ex umeris*, 4.262f), an allusion to the brilliant red and purple cloak (δίπλακα πορφυρέην ... ἔρευθος ... ἐρευθήεσσα ... πορφυρέῃ, *Arg.* 1.722–8) which the love-hero Jason wore during his visit to Hypsipyle (*Arg.* 1.721–68).[144] Aeneas lingers in Carthage just as Jason dallies on Lemnos and both heroes need to be reminded of their duty.[145] Behind both poets lies Homer, who describes how Odysseus' men remind him that his stay with Circe has lasted too long (one year to be exact, *Od.* 10.467),[146] and that it is time to depart for Ithaca (*Od.* 10.472–4).[147]

To sum up: the swift-moving narrative of the events set in motion by *Fama* marks the inevitable turning point in Dido's fortunes, and when Aeneas is told to leave Carthage he promptly obeys the command of the gods. The main Homeric model for this section of *Aeneid* 4 is obviously Odysseus' departure from Calypso, but reference to his leaving Circe can also be traced. Apollonius, however, had previously modelled Hypsipyle on Calypso and his Circe on her Homeric counterpart and the Argonauts visit and leave both. Thus Vergil draws also on the *Argonautica*: Aeneas is addressed by Mercury much as Jason is criticised by Heracles; and Jupiter arranges the departure from Carthage as Hera organises the departure from Circe's island. The latter link involves large-scale inversion. In describing the events which cause the separation of Dido and Aeneas Vergil uses those Apollonian scenes on Aeaea and Phaeacia in which Hera orchestrates the wedding of Jason and Medea. The previous chapter demonstrated how the Trojans' arrival in Carthage is modelled on the Argonauts' arrival in the land of the Phaeacians. Vergil is thus distributing the same section of the *Argonautica* when he uses this episode once again for Juno's intervention in book 4. The similarity between the storms raised by Juno in book 1 and in book 4 is well recognised, but it has not

[144] Rütten (1912) 79f, Hunter (1993) 179.

[145] On the link between Mercury and Heracles, Levin (1971) 83 n.4, Highet (1972) 261, Lesueur (1975) 203, Cairns (1989) 42 n.52, Feeney (1991) 174 (who subtly discusses how Vergil's substitution of a divine messenger complicates the question of Aeneas' motivation), Hunter (1993) 34 n.98.

[146] On this year with Circe and the Trojans' year with Dido, Knauer (1964) 180, 204f.

[147] Lesueur (1975) 203. The cheerfulness of Aeneas' comrades about leaving (*laeti*) thus also has a Homeric reference in addition to the Apollonian one mentioned above.

previously been noted that both are modelled, in part, on Hera's intervention in *Argonautica* 4. Hera's calming of the sea to provide a safe voyage to Phaeacia and the wedding in the cave is used, with deliberate inversion, to describe both Juno's storm-raising in *Aeneid* 1 and the storm which leads to the wedding in the cave. Where Hera tries to help, Juno attempts to destroy. The same model is then used once more in the chain of events leading to the departure of the Trojans; when Jupiter and Mercury order Aeneas' departure from Carthage, Vergil is reworking the organisation by Hera, Iris and Thetis of the Argonauts' departure from Circe's island and their subsequent voyage to Phaeacia. Where Hera arranges a marriage, Jupiter ends one. Apollonius' Phaeacian episode thus provides, like his Lemnian one, a most important model for Vergil, and the links between Phaeacia, Lemnos and Carthage, established in the first book, carry over into book 4 in a highly complex pattern of imitation. Vergil carefully exploits all those sections of the *Argonautica* in which Apollonius treats amatory motifs. Servius (on 4.1) states the obvious connection between *Argonautica* 3 and *Aeneid* 4, but Macrobius' signalling of Vergil's debt to *Argonautica* 4 has caused surprise. The extent to which Vergil was influenced by Apollonius' Phaeacian episode shows that Macrobius was correct, and the text at *Saturnalia* 5.17.4 should perhaps properly read ... *de Argonauticorum <tertio et> quarto, quorum scriptor est Apollonius, librum Aeneidos suae totum paene formavit* ....[148] In any case, the true importance of *Argonautica* 4 becomes even more obvious when in the following scene of *Aeneid* 4 Vergil recalls the events which take place on the Brygean Isle, the first stage in the development of the relationship between Jason and Medea after their departure from Colchis.

vi. Dido Abandoned

With Aeneas' decision to leave Carthage Dido joins a long line of heroines abandoned by their lovers,[149] and many details of her speeches are commonplaces of this tradition. The scene at *Aeneid* 4.296–392 occupies the centre of the book. It starts with Dido, sensing Aeneas' intention, raging in a frenzy through the city (4.300–303), just as earlier

[148] Collard (1975) 139 n.27, Horsfall (1991) 80

[149] Heinze (1915[3]) 133f, Zielinski (1905), Hross (1958) 72–111, Oksala (1962), Knauer (1964) 212–14, 387, Highet (1972) 220–28, Collard (1975) 146–8, Monti (1981) 37–69, La Penna (1985) 53, R. Fowler (1987), Cairns (1989) 146f, Farron (1993) 97–100, Horsfall (1995) 134.

her passion sent her roaming through the streets (1.68f) — her anger will be as excessive as her love. Speeches are exchanged: Dido accuses, Aeneas tries to explain, Dido complains and threatens (4.304–93). Soon after, Dido makes a final plea through Anna (4.416–36), but it is unavailing. Vergil draws for this on a multitude of sources, some now unrecoverable. Aeneas' situation resembles that of Odysseus, Jason, Theseus and no doubt many others. Dido certainly resembles Calypso, Euripides' Medea and Catullus' Ariadne,[150] and further influence can easily be hypothesised from Ennius' Medea, many abandoned lovers in Hellenistic poetry and Naevius' Dido. But, despite the complex multi-tier allusion, some typically precise verbal references point particularly to Apollonius' Hypsipyle and Medea;[151] and the Apollonian Medea is the central model for Dido as an abandoned lover in an epic poem.[152]

At *Argonautica* 4.355–90, Medea, believing that Jason is about to desert her on the Brygean Isle, makes a violent, angry speech.[153] She begins with a series of questions centred on desertion, asking Jason what he is plotting and, in an almost certain reference to his undertaking to marry her (*Arg.* 4.95–8), whether he has forgotten his oaths and sweet promises (*Arg.* 4.355–9). Dido, in the same situation, also starts with questions (4.305–14): will *noster amor* or *data dextera quondam* not prevent Aeneas' departure (4.307)?[154] She claims that Aeneas' gesture of giving her his hand meant a promise of marriage, which equates her complaint to Medea's.[155] The first words of *Argonautica* 4.389 and *Aeneid* 4.311 are respectively *crudelis* and

[150] For some clear verbal allusions to Catullus 64, the central Latin poetic model, Cairns (1989) 146f.

[151] The similarities between Dido's speeches to Aeneas and their Apollonian models have long been recognised. The most complete collection is that of Pease (1935) on 365–449 *passim* but see also Heyne and Wagner (1832–3[4]), Conington and Nettleship (1883–4[4]), Austin (1955) and Williams (1972) on these same lines; also Monti (1981) 37–69. Appreciation of these links between Dido and Medea probably originates with the first collections of Vergil's *furta* and is almost certainly assumed by Servius and Macrobius in their general statements concerning the influence of Apollonius on *Aeneid* 4. For a complete list of the similarities between Vergil and Apollonius here see index 1.

[152] Hross (1958) 20f, 92f.

[153] Vian and Delage (1996[2]) 162 on 354.

[154] Cf. also Catullus' Ariadne, especially 64.132–42 (see Oksala (1962)), Ariadne's speech imitating the same Apollonian model (see Avallone (1953)). Apollonius, Catullus and Vergil all have in mind Medea's speech at Euripides, *Medea* 465–519 (see Monti (1981) 37–9). On Catullus 64 and Apollonius see Clare (1996).

[155] Henry (1873–92) on 4.307, Sittl (1890) 135f.

νηλεές, both used by the heroine of the hero.[156] Dido continues with a direct appeal to Aeneas not to leave her, recalling, once again, his giving of his right hand (*dextramque tuam*, 4.314), and *conubia nostra* and *inceptos hymenaeos* (4.316). Medea asks Jason to stand by her and not surrender her to the Colchians: δίκη δέ τοι ἔμπεδος ἔστω/ καὶ θέμις ἣν ἄμφω συναρέσσαμεν (*Arg.* 4.372f), words which again refer to Jason's promise of marriage.[157] Both women argue bitterly that the hero is breaking solemn vows.

Dido next complains about the sufferings her relationship with Aeneas causes her, repeating, *te propter ...*, *te propter ...* (4.320–26). Medea laments that because she wished to help Jason when he was in difficulty (σῶν ἕνεκεν καμάτων, *Arg.* 4.364)[158] she now finds herself alone, far from her family. She fears punishment if she is returned to Aeetes, moaning, ἦ μάλ' ἐυκλειής (*Arg.* 4.379).[159] Dido too complains of her lost reputation (*fama*, 4.323),[160] and she too is frightened of her enemies, the Libyan peoples, the Nomad kings, especially Iarbas, and Pygmalion, her enemy in Tyre. Dido has shunned Iarbas in favour of Aeneas much as Medea has deserted Aeetes for Jason and now they both fear punishment from these men if left by the hero. Medea ends with threats (*Arg.* 4.383–90). Dido, in contrast, ends on a note of submission and quiet despair, saying that if only she had had a child by Aeneas she would not seem quite so *capta ac deserta* (4.327–30). For this detail Vergil looks not to Medea but once again to Hypsipyle, who ends her speech to Jason just before his departure from Lemnos, in a situation similar to Dido's,[161] with λίπε δ' ἡμιν ἔπος, τό κεν ἐξ-ανύσαιμι/ πρόφρων, ἣν ἄρα δή με θεοὶ δώωσι τεκέσθαι (*Arg.* 1.897f). Both women mention the possibility of having a child, but in cruelly different circumstances. Hypsipyle's words signal, in a sense, her success: she will have a child by Jason, as she wanted all along. Dido will have no child and Aeneas will leave her nothing. Hypsipyle gained

[156] Henry (1873–92) on 4.311, cf. also Catullus 64.136.

[157] Vian and Delage (1996[2]) 162 on 373, cf. Euripides, *Medea* 492–8 and Catullus 64.139–48.

[158] Cf. Euripides, *Medea* 506–13 and Catullus 64.152f.

[159] Cf. Euripides, *Medea* 502–5 and Catullus 64.177–81.

[160] Hardie (1986) 275.

[161] Within the *Argonautica* Medea's speech to Jason when she fears abandonment parallels and inverts Hypsipyle's farewell speech to the hero. For example, the latter politely asks μνώεο μήν ... (*Arg.* 1.896); Medea, recalling these words and her own earlier plea to Jason, μνώεο δ' ... (*Arg.* 3.1069), says menacingly, μνήσαιο δὲ καί ποτ' ἐμεῖο/ στρευγόμενος καμάτοισι (*Arg.* 4.383f). There is an Odyssean model in Nausicaa's words to Odysseus, μνήσῃ ἐμεῖ' ... (*Od.* 8.462). See Vian and Delage (1996[2]) 163 on 387. Vergil is thus fusing two closely linked Apollonian passages.

from her relationship with Jason by successfully arranging the repopulation of Lemnos through the Argonauts. Dido might have gained political advantage from Aeneas' stay in Carthage, an important motif in book 1 and early in book 4, but his departure leaves her completely alone and, as *capta ac deserta* suggests, her city defenceless.[162] Dido will thus react quite differently from Hypsipyle, who politely bids Jason farewell.[163]

Dido's reply to Aeneas (4.333–61) is one of the most discussed passages in the whole poem. He has attempted to calm her and to explain his situation. His speech corresponds to the replies made by Jason to Hypsipyle at *Argonautica* 1.900–909 and to Medea at *Argonautica* 4.395–409. The conversation between Jason and Medea in the temple of Hecate (*Arg.* 3.975–1145) also contributes something. But the differences between Jason and Aeneas are great. Jason is an eloquent speaker who charms Medea, with words of flattery if necessary. It is impossible to imagine Aeneas deploying comparable eloquence, and indeed the hero is studiedly taciturn (*pro re pauca loquar*, 4.337).[164] He says that he will never forget Dido (4.335f), as does Jason to Medea during their first meeting in the temple of Hecate (*Arg.* 3.1079–81), but defends himself against the charge of breaking a marriage vow: *nec coniugis umquam/ praetendi taedas aut haec in foedera veni* (4.338f). These are crucial words, responding to Dido's two references to the symbolic gesture of giving the right hand; Aeneas, significantly, does not deny making the gesture, but maintains that it did not promise marriage. It is clear that this is true, and there was no true marriage.[165] In the *Argonautica* the touching of right hands occurs in Jason's relationships with both Hypsipyle and Medea. In the latter case at least it seals a promise of marriage and represents the acceptance of an obligation, without symbolising an actual marriage.[166] In Vergil, the phrase *data dextera* (4.307; cf. *dextramque tuam*, 4.314) is deliberately ambiguous. Dido looks on the gesture with the eyes and

[162] Estevez (1978–9), Mackie (1988) 83.

[163] Following on the parallel between the mission of Mercury and that of Hermes in *Odyssey* 5, Dido's speech corresponds also to Calypso's just before Odysseus' departure (*Od.* 5.203–13, Knauer (1964) 212–14, 387), on which Hypsipyle's farewell speech is also modelled (both 11 lines long). Similarly Jason's reply is modelled on Odysseus' (again both 11 lines); see Bahrenfuss (1951) 52–86 on Hypsipyle and Calypso.

[164] Feeney (1983), Horsfall (1995) 131.

[165] Feeney (1983) 204f, Moles (1987) 156, Cairns (1989) 46–9, Horsfall (1995) 128.

[166] Vian and Delage (1996²) 151 on 100; cf. Sittl (1890) 137, Livrea (1973) on 99, cf. esp. Euripides, *Medea* 21f, 496 where mention of Jason's right hand represents his promise of marriage to Medea.

feelings of a lover,[167] taking it as an acceptance of a marital relationship, as it was for Jason in Euripides and Apollonius. But Aeneas, referring to marriage, says that he did not enter *haec in foedera* (4.339). He certainly accepted obligations by making the gesture, but of a different, strictly political kind.[168] Therein lies the gulf between them. Aeneas indeed made no promise to Dido as Jason did to Medea when he promised to marry her if she came to Greece (*Arg.* 3.1128–30). But Aeneas' actions — and therein lie his mistake and weakness — clearly gave Dido reasonable grounds for believing that he had in effect done so, even though she herself knows that their relationship has no legal basis (*coniugium vocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam*, 4.172). Comparison with Jason brings out, to put it bluntly, the legality of Aeneas' position in the face of Dido's charge.[169] Jason can make no such defence in his reply to Medea in *Argonautica* 4. All he can say is that his true intention was to trick Apsyrtus.[170] Aeneas goes on to declare that if he could have decided his own fate he would have stayed at Troy (4.340–44). Similarly, Jason tells Hypsipyle that he would be content to live happily at home (*Arg.* 1.902f). Both men voyage unwillingly, driven by external forces, Jason by Pelias, Aeneas by the gods. Aeneas' last words are *Italiam non sponte sequor* (4.361), which recall that Jason began his reply to Medea by saying that he was acting unwillingly (*Arg.* 4.395), but also recall Jason's final words to Hypsipyle, ἀλλά με λυγροὶ ἐπισπέρχουσιν ἄεθλοι (*Arg.* 1.841),[171] so echoing the end of his first speech to Dido, *quae me cumque vocant terrae* (1.610).

[167] Monti (1981) 1–8 and *passim*, interprets the mention of the right hand purely in terms of the Roman concept of *fides*, arguing that Dido thereby implies a personal political relationship between her and Aeneas. This concept however elucidates Aeneas' reaction more than Dido's.

[168] Monti (1981) 43–5.

[169] Williams (1983) 84–7 discusses the way in which comparison with Jason and Medea can provide a moral framework for judging the actions of Dido and Aeneas.

[170] At *Arg.* 4.404 Jason is plotting a δόλον; at 4.296 Dido believes wrongly (see Horsfall (1995) 131) that Aeneas is preparing *dolos*. The contrast with the real δόλοι of Jason in *Arg.* 3 and 4 is important.

[171] Rütten (1912) 71 here compares Medea's claim to Arete at *Arg.* 4.1020f that she left Colchis unwillingly, but this is more relevant when Aeneas repeats his assertion to Dido in Hades (*invitus, regina tuo de litore cessi*, 6.460), where Vergil refers also to Callimachus and Catullus (see Hunter (1987) 138f). Carthage and Colchis are linked here in a new perspective as the place unwillingly left, but in the *Aeneid* it is Aeneas who will depart, not Dido, who only briefly considers following Medea's example (4.537–43). See also Mühmelt (1951) 122 comparing the scholiasts' reactions to Aeneas' leaving Dido and Jason's leaving Hypsipyle.

Dido's reply in effect continues her earlier speech (4.365–87).[172] The model is Medea's response to Jason's attempt at self-justification on the Brygean Isle (*Arg.* 4.411–20). Like Medea, Dido reminds the hero of the help she has given him (4.373–5 and *Arg.* 4.364–7; cf. also *Arg.* 4.1032–5, Euripides, *Medea* 476–87 and Catullus, 64.149–51),[173] and ends, as is usual in such speeches, with a violent curse (cf. 4.382–7 and *Arg.* 4.383–90; cf also *Arg.* 4.1042–5 and Catullus, 64.200–204).[174] Both women wish that the man will remember them when he finds himself in difficulty (4.382–4 and *Arg.* 4.383f). Dido continues, *sequar atris ignibus absens* and threatens to haunt him after her death (4.384–6), imagining herself as an avenging Fury.[175] This recalls Medea's words in the temple of Hecate, warning Jason not to forget her, but hoping that if he does she will hear of it and be able to pursue him to Greece from Colchis (*Arg.* 3.1111–17;[176] cf. also Chalciope's similar curse on Medea at *Arg.* 3.703f). On the Brygean Isle Medea says to Jason, ἐκ δέ σε πάτρης/ αὐτίκ' ἐμαὶ ἐλάσειαν Ἐρινύες ... (*Arg.* 4.385f), a passage also clearly in Vergil's mind here. Finally, in *dabis, improbe, poenas./ audiam et haec Manis veniet mihi fama sub imos* (4.386f), Dido recalls at the end of her speech the angry, menacing Medea of Apollonius, with the threatening Medea of Euripides in the background.[177] The similarity with Medea intensifies the air of danger surrounding Aeneas now that he has incurred the wrath of this formidable woman; but Dido does not give herself totally up to hate, at least not yet. Vergil's final remark on the scene is, *improbe Amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis*! (4.412). This condenses Apollonius' comment on the outcome of the exchange of speeches between Jason and Medea (*i.e.* the plan to murder Apsyrtus), translating its opening words: σχέτλι' Ἔρως, μέγα πῆμα, μέγα στύγος ἀνθρώποισιν,/ ἐκ σέθεν οὐλόμεναί τ' ἔριδες στοναχαί τε πόνοι τε,/ ἄλγεά τ' ἄλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖσιν ἀπείρονα τετρήχασι (*Arg.* 4.445–7). In terms of narrative

[172] Hross (1958) 93, Monti (1981) 37, Cairns (1972) 131–5.

[173] On this recurrent feature in the speeches of abandoned women, Hross (1958) 73–85, Monti (1981) 38f.

[174] See Monti (1981) 37 on the order in which the traditional motifs occur in the speeches of Medea (both Euripidean and Apollonian), Ariadne and Dido.

[175] Cf. Orestes pursued *facibus ... atris* (4.472) and see Heinze (1915[3]) 134 n.1, Williams (1972) on 384f.

[176] Vergil seems to have understood these lines as a threat to commit suicide and haunt Jason after her death, rather than simply being magically transported from Colchis to Greece. See Vian and Delage (1995[2]) 143 on 1116, Hunter (1989) on 1113f. The similarity with Chalciope's curse against Medea, which clearly involves haunting by the spirit of the dead, supports this reading.

[177] Collard (1975) 146f.

structure both comments occur at exactly the same place, at the end of the scenes involving the angry speeches of Medea and Dido, when both women realise that they are about to be deserted by their lover. In contrast, however, to Apollonius' narrative, in which Medea helps Jason kill her brother, Dido will not be driven to a treacherous murder, but to suicide.

Dido's next step is to try to influence Aeneas through Anna, sending her to beg Aeneas to stay at least a little longer, and so help her adjust to the loss (4.416–36). Aeneas remains unmoved, firm in his resolve to leave (4.437–49). Dido's speech to Anna, as well as reworking Medea's meeting with Chalciope (see above), also recalls another Apollonian model. In Phaeacian Drepane Medea, once again in danger of being handed over to the Colchians, approaches Arete and asks her to seek the help of her husband Alcinous (*Arg.* 4.1014–28). Both Dido and Medea, in fear of being abandoned, make requests for help through a mediator, begging for pity (4.435 and *Arg.* 4.1025f) and exposing all their sadness and desperation. Medea succeeds and her marriage follows soon after; Dido fails. Aeneas' resistance to Anna's pleas is illustrated by a tree simile, the hero resisting like a storm-battered oak (4.441–6). Vergil, remembering that Apollonius applied a tree simile to Jason and Medea at their first meeting in the temple of Hecate (*Arg.* 3.968–71),[178] places his own tree simile at the moment which seals the separation of Dido and Aeneas.

To sum up: the primacy of the Apollonian Medea for Vergil's portrayal of Dido as abandoned heroine is indisputable. In addition to the similarities set out above, the relationship already established between them from the first mention of Dido in book 1 must give the Apollonian Medea a predominant role as model here. The scene on the Brygean Isle when Medea fears that Jason is about to abandon her and hand her back to Aeetes is particularly important for *Aeneid* 4.304–92. Within the *Argonautica*, this Brygean encounter reworks in a number of ways both Jason's departure from Hypsipyle and his meeting with Medea in the temple of Hecate. It is also the first stage of the development of his love affair after the departure from Colchis, and thus is a direct continuation of the Colchian narrative. As such, like the Lemnos episode, it can be easily and economically fused into Vergil's Carthage episode, the central epic model for which is the Apollonian

[178] Pease (1935) on 441 and Otis (1964) 73. Both poets imitate *Iliad* 12.132–4 (see Knauer (1964) 388 and Vian and Delage (1995[2]) 91 n.3) and use a typical epic battle simile in an erotic context. Catullus, 64.105–9 returns the comparison to a martial context in describing Theseus' victory over the Minotaur.

Colchis. Vergil adds tragic and elegiac colour to Dido, but even in this he is expanding on Apollonius' use of these same genres for the story of Medea. Apollonius' debt to tragedy has already been mentioned, in connection with the roles of Anna and Chalciope; his Medea becomes, or in a very real sense already is, the Medea of Euripides. There is also clear evidence to suggest the influence of elegiac poetry on the *Argonautica*.[179] In presenting Dido as tragic heroine and elegiac lover, Vergil is therefore reacting primarily to Apollonius.

vii. Departure

When Anna's pleas to Aeneas fail, Dido determines to kill herself (4.450f). Terrified by bad omens, she makes the necessary preparations, involving the construction of a funeral pyre and the carrying out of magic rituals (4.453–521). Finally, night falls, but she can find no rest while all around her sleep. She is once again tormented by love during a night described by Vergil in a famous passage (4.522–32) which has long been recognised as an imitation of *Argonautica* 3.744–52,[180] Apollonius' description of Medea's state of mind after her meeting with Chalciope. Medea, caught up in a turmoil of passion and torn between her feelings for Jason and her loyalty to her parents, is unable to sleep. As her love intensifies her indecision is voiced in a soliloquy (*Arg.* 3.771–801). Likewise Dido is tortured by a struggle between feelings of love and hate for Aeneas and she too makes an impassioned speech.[181] As her love wells up again, Dido considers her options, one of which is to follow Aeneas (4.537–43). This alternative suggests for an instant the possibility of an exact parallel with Medea, who left her home for love of Jason. But Dido immediately rejects such a solution. Her final decision is to die: *quin morere ut merita es, ferroque averte dolorem* (4.547). At the corresponding point in her trauma Medea too considers suicide. She first plans to help Jason but to kill herself on the day of his victory (*Arg.* 3.785–90). Then she decides

[179] For the variety of love poetry available to Apollonius and his original synthesis of erotic motifs in an epic poem, Couat (1882) 308, Henry (1930), Hügi (1952) 80, Beye (1969), Hunter (1989) 17f, 27f, (1993) ch. 3, Albis (1996) ch. 4. Antimachus' *Lyde* was probably particularly influential; Hunter (1989) 17f. On Vergil's reaction to Apollonius' use of elegy, Cairns (1989) 150.

[180] Scaliger (1561) 251, Heyne and Wagner (1832–3⁴) on 4.522. Otis (1964) 85 notes that Vergil distributes this motif, using it also at 4.80 where Dido passes another troubled, sleepless night. On imitation of similar descriptions of night in other poets, Pease (1935) on 4.522; on the topos, Currie (1993).

[181] Rütten (1912) 75. Both women are again in the abandoned heroine tradition, cf. Euripides, *Medea* 502–504 and Catullus, 64.160–63, 177–83.

to kill herself immediately (*Arg.* 3.798–801), but when she goes to find a poison among her drugs Hera intervenes to make Medea fear death and recall the pleasures of life. At last, her struggle resolved, Medea decides to provide Jason with the help he needs (*Arg.* 3.802–19). Dido will receive no such decisive divine counsel; Juno will merely ease her death agonies at the very end of book 4.

While Dido suffers her lonely night of anguish, Aeneas sleeps. His rest is interrupted by a dream-vision of Mercury, making his third and final intervention to frighten the hero into leaving immediately (4.553–70).[182] At dawn, after a speech to his comrades, Aeneas cuts the mooring ropes and the Trojan fleet sails away from Carthage (4.571–85). Vergil here imitates the departure of the Argonauts from Colchis.[183] After taking the Golden Fleece, Jason returns to the Argo at dawn, Ἠὼς μέν ῥ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἐκίδνατο (*Arg.* 4.183). Vergil's description of dawn adapts a Homeric formula,[184] *et iam prima novo spargebat lumine terras/ Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile* (4.584f). Aurora's departure from Tithonus' bed is perfectly apt in the circumstances, but *spargebat* has no Homeric equivalent. It means the same as Apollonius' ἐκίδνατο, although Vergil uses it transitively.[185] At the moment of his departure from Colchis Jason encourages his men (*Arg.* 4.190–205) before cutting the mooring rope, ὁ δὲ ξίφος ἐκ κολεοῖο/ σπασσάμενος, πρυμναῖα νεὼς ἀπὸ πείσματ' ἔκοψεν (*Arg.* 4.207f). Aeneas makes a brief speech (4.573–9; with *considite* 4.573, cf. ἐξόμενος, *Arg.* 4.200), and then: *dixit vaginaque eripit ensem/ fulmineum strictoque ferit retinacula ferro* (4.579f).[186] In both of these cases the incident has strong symbolic significance; Jason cuts Medea off from Colchis,[187] and Aeneas withdraws from Carthage and cuts all links with Dido.[188] Both men depart in haste. The Trojan crews and the Argonauts are both keen to be away and row swiftly (cf. 4.582f and *Arg.* 4.210f).

As dawn breaks to end Dido's night of torment, she sees the Trojan

[182] Harrison (1982), Feeney (1998) 119–23. Compare Hera intervening to panic Medea into flight at *Arg.* 4.11f, 20–23.

[183] Scaliger (1561) 252, de Saint Denis (1935) 237; Hügi (1952) 96f correctly denies suggestions that Vergil is rather imitating the Argonauts' departure from Lemnos.

[184] Knauer (1964) 388.

[185] Unlike Apollonius, Vergil describes the departure before letting the reader know that it is dawn; sunrise is mentioned as Dido sees the fleet sailing away.

[186] Both poets have in mind Odysseus' departure from the land of the Laestrygonians at *Od.* 10.126f; Knauer (1964) 388, Campbell (1981) 68.

[187] Vian and Delage (1996²) 154 on 208.

[188] Moles (1987) 159.

fleet sailing off and in her anger she voices a violent, hate-filled curse against Aeneas and the Trojan race (4.590–629). This speech once again puts Dido in the role of abandoned heroine,[189] and the similarity with the Catullan Ariadne (64.126f) watching Theseus sailing away is particularly strong.[190] Once again, however, as in her nocturnal soliloquy, Dido's words repeatedly suggest the link with Apollonius' Medea. Dido wants to burn the Trojan ships, *ite, / ferte citi flammas* (4.593f), and later thinks of what she might have done, *faces in castra tulissem/ implessemque foros flammis natumque patremque/ cum genere exstinxem, memet super ipsa dedissem* (4.604–6); at the end of her curse Medea likewise considered burning the Argo, ἴετο δ' ἤ γε/ νῆα καταφλέξαι διά τ' ἀμφαδὰ πάντα κεάσσαι,/ ἐν δὲ πεσεῖν αὐτὴ μαλερῷ πυρί (*Arg.* 4.391–3).[191] Medea's curse invoked Hera and the Furies (*Arg.* 4.382f, 385f; cf. Catullus, 64.192f). Dido invokes the same goddesses, as well as the Sun and Hecate (4.607–10). The latter two deities were called on by Medea in her plea to Arete at *Argonautica* 4.1019f when she again feared betrayal.[192] Dido's hatred now reaches its peak of savagery: *non potui abreptum divellere corpus et undis/ spargere?* (4.600f). This alludes to one version of how Medea killed her brother Apsyrtus,[193] although not the version adopted by Apollonius.[194] The *Argonautica* remains relevant, however: Vergil once again has in mind Medea's angry speech to Jason on the Brygean Isle, after which the murder of Apsyrtus was planned and carried out. Dido is thus starkly presented for a single instant as a Medea-like murderess. The association evokes the depth and violence of her hatred for Aeneas; but in the end Dido does not commit such a horrible crime and this again, as was the case with the magic ritual, differentiates the two women.[195] Dido is neither witch nor murderer.

Dido's speech ends with her great curse calling down cruel punishments on Aeneas and praying for eternal enmity between his descendants and the Carthaginians (4.612–29). Medea's speech too ended with a curse aimed at Jason (*Arg.* 4.383–90), which Vergil exploits here for the second time, having already ended Dido's earlier

189 Hross (1958) 106–8, Highet (1972) 228–30, Monti (1981) 59f.
190 Oksala (1962).
191 Rütten (1912) 75.
192 Rütten (1912) 76. Cf. also *Iliad* 3.277 and Sophocles, *Ajax* 845–9, for invocation of *Sol* (on Dido and Ajax at the end of book 4, Tatum (1985) 445–51, Horsfall (1995) 134) and for invocation of Hecate by Medea, Euripides, *Medea* 395–400.
193 Pease (1935) on 600.
194 Hutchinson (1988) 125.
195 Cairns (1989) 196.

speech to Aeneas with a curse (4.381–7).[196] While the *topos* is clearly traditional and in fact often placed at the end of such speeches,[197] Dido at this point is at her most Medea-like.[198] She has already invoked the *Dirae Ultrices* and the *di morientis Elissae* (4.610),[199] and now hopes that Aeneas, after his arrival at his destination, will yet be *finibus extorris* (4.616), just as Medea says, ἐκ δέ σε πάτρης/ αὐτίκ' ἐμαί σ' ἐλάσειαν Ἐρινύες (*Arg.* 4.385f).

There is another important Apollonian model for this speech of Dido. She is once more in the same position as Aeetes,[200] the angry ruler who sees an enemy escaping her/his city. When she invokes Jupiter and calls in vain for her people to pursue and attack the departing ships (4.590–94), she is repeating the words and actions of Aeetes who, invoking Zeus, in a blaze of anger actually does send ships after Argo (*Arg.* 4.225–40). Earlier Mercury, on his final visit to Carthage, had urged Aeneas to depart quickly: *iam mare turbari trabibus saevasque videbis/ conlucere faces, iam fervere litora flammis,/ si te his attigerit terris Aurora morantem* (4.566–8). The god is lying:[201] Vergil does not say that Dido spent the night plotting punishment for the Trojans, as Apollonius described Aeetes doing for the Argonauts (*Arg.* 4.6–10). Dido only considers such violent alternatives in her fury at seeing the Trojan ships sail off, and in the end she will pursue the Trojans only with the flames of her funeral pyre (cf. 4.384; 661f; 5.1–7).

viii. Suicide

The death of Dido brings the fourth book of the *Aeneid* to its tragic close. Medea contemplates suicide at *Argonautica* 3.798–809, and again at the start of the fourth book (*Arg.* 4.20–23), but on each occasion Hera provokes a change of mind (*Arg.* 3.818, *Arg.* 4.22) and the young girl flees with the departing Jason. Dido, for whom Juno and Venus care little, is a widowed queen with heavy moral responsibilities, both public and personal. She sees suicide as the only solution, no

196 See § vi above.
197 Cairns (1972) 133–5.
198 Moles (1987) 159.
199 See Pease (1935) on 610 for discussion of the meaning of this difficult phrase. Tupet (1970) 243f describes these deities as a kind of personal Erinys, comparing Euripides, *Medea* 1389f where Jason invokes the Erinys of his and Medea's children.
200 de Saint Denis (1935) 237; for the links between the two characters in *Aeneid* 1 see above ch. 3 § I.vi.
201 *Contra* Moles (1987) 159, Horsfall (1995) 132; see Feeney (1998) 121f.

goddess intervenes to change her mind, and so she cannot be like Medea right to the very end. Flight is replaced by death. Fittingly, the account of her suicide recalls models in Greek tragedy.[202] Apollonius, however, already makes use of tragic paradigms in describing the flight from Colchis in the opening scenes of *Argonautica* 4. Not only does Medea contemplate suicide here, she also makes a symbolic act which presents her departure as at one and the same time a death and a wedding. Driven by Hera, she decides to leave her home, and as a final gesture she leaves behind a lock of her hair, as a token of her virginity (*Arg.* 4.28f). The action has a double resonance, since a lock was cut both by young girls at the moment of marriage[203] and from a dying person as a symbol of remembrance.[204] The apparent connection between death and marriage suggested by Medea's action is in no way surprising. The ancient Greek wedding ceremony in many ways resembled funeral ritual,[205] and the tragic poets in particular often play on the links between these two *rites de passage*, creating the topos of the marriage to Death.[206] Furthermore, within the *Argonautica* itself, the death of Hylas, dragged into the water by the nymph, is accompanied by the nuptial associations evoked by the shining of the full moon on the scene. The drowning is at once a death and a wedding. At the beginning of the fourth book, when Medea leaves her home, it is significant that the full moon shines, suggesting that Medea's departure will mean marriage with Jason.[207]

Apollonius' presentation of Medea's departure in terms of both funeral and wedding ritual enables Vergil to use it as a key model for Dido's suicide. This link between the two texts is of course in keeping with, and is in a way the climax of, the whole pattern of imitation linking the departure of the Trojans from Carthage with events surrounding the Argonauts' departure from Colchis. As Dido's death agonies are prolonged, Juno sends Iris to release her from her suffering: *nondum illi flavum Proserpina vertice crinem/ abstulerat Stygioque caput damnaverat Orco* (4.698f). Iris descends and cuts off a lock of her hair as a sacred offering to Dis and so ends Dido's pain (4.702–5).

[202] Clausen (1987) 53–60; on Euripidean influence, Fenik (1960) ch. 3.
[203] On this rite, Sommer (1912) 2106f, Pease (1935) on 698, Livrea (1973) on 27f.
[204] On Apollonius' evocation of wedding and funeral ritual here see Vian and Delage (1996^2) 148, on 29, Hunter (1987) 137. The living also buried a lock of their hair with the dead as a gesture of mourning; Sommer (1912) 2108f, Pease (1935) on 698, Redfield (1982) 190.
[205] Redfield (1982) 188–91.
[206] Seaford (1987), Rehm (1994).
[207] On these nuptial associations of the full moon, Bremer (1987).

A parallel from drama is suggested by Servius (on 4.703; cf. on 3.46 and 4.694) and Macrobius (*Sat.* 5.19.2), who cite Euripides, *Alcestis* 73f, where Death himself cuts off a lock of Alcestis' hair, thus rendering her sacred to the powers of Hades.[208] But Vergil also has in mind Medea's cutting of a lock of hair before leaving home. The funereal associations of the action unite all three passages.[209]

Further details underline the strength of the connection between Dido's death and Medea's flight. Before leaving home Medea kissed her bed, κύσσε δ' ἑόν τε λέχος ... (*Arg.* 4.26),[210] a gesture hinting at the loss of her virginity at the moment of leaving with Jason; thus her departure foreshadows her wedding. She went on to make a short speech (*Arg.* 4.30–33) in which she said αἴθε σε πόντος,/ ξεῖνε, διέρραισεν πρὶν Κολχίδα γαῖαν ἱκέσθαι (*Arg.* 4.32f). Just before she kills herself Dido says that she would have been *felix, heu nimium felix, si litora tantum/ numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae* (4.657f).[211] She then kisses her bed (*os impressa toro*, 4.659). Her death is a tragic parody of her marriage. She dies, accompanied by an effigy of her lover, on the bed in which she made love to him (4.494–7). Their love-making is tragically recalled by the penetration of the sword. The suicide reworks motifs earlier associated with her passion, the metaphorical wound and fires becoming only too real on the pyre.[212] Vergil particularly links the death on the pyre to the 'wedding' in the cave. The former is witnessed by *aether* (167) and accompanied by howling nymphs (*ululatunt*, 169); its timing is explicitly *dies primus leti* (169) and Rumour immediately spreads the news of what has taken place (*it Fama per urbes*, 173). At Dido's death the *aether* (668) resounds with the wailing of women (*ululatu*, 667) and Rumour runs

[208] Dale (1954) xii and on 57f, 74–6, Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) on Hor. *C.* 1.28.20, with the comments of Rauk (1995). On Dido and Alcestis, Fenik (1960) 32–5, Lyne (1989) 110.
[209] The Euripidean and Apollonian passages differ in many ways but are nevertheless related; Sommer (1912) 2106, Pease (1935) on 698. Rauk (1995) minimalises any ritual background and emphasises that Euripides and Vergil alone attribute the cutting of the lock to a deity.
[210] Conington and Nettleship (1883–4^4) on 4.659, Conrardy (1904) 25, Rütten (1912) 76. Hügi (1952) 98 argues that the two incidents are unconnected, beyond recalling the same traditional motif, mostly associated with tragedy; for further parallels, Heinze (1915^3) 137 n.2, Pease (1935) on 659, Livrea (1973) on 26, Clausen (1987) 53–6.
[211] The link with Apollonius has long been noted; Heyne and Wagner (1832–3^4) on 651, cf. Clausen (1987) 59f. See also Euripides, *Medea* 1–6, Ennius, fr. 103.208–16 with Jocelyn (1967), Catullus, 64.170f.
[212] The whole complex of associations linking Dido's love and death is worked out by Moorton (1990).

adventures in Alcinous' palace during the banquet arranged by Alcinous, and Vergil's most direct imitation is Odyssean (books 2–3 corresponding to *Od.* 9–12), but the Apollonian model remains active.[219] Both women look on in growing amorous wonder at the hero. Following directly in the wake of Aeneas' story the description of Dido's love in the first five lines of *Aeneid* 4 corresponds to the description of Medea's feelings at *Argonautica* 3.444–70, immediately after the reception scene. Events during the Trojans' first two days in Libya are thus taken from the account of the Argonauts' first two days in Colchian Aea, as well as Odysseus' first and second days in Scheria.

Second night

At the end of *Aeneid* 1 Vergil makes an important variation on Apollonius' time-scheme. Dido's banquet is at night (1.727), the Apollonian feast and reception scene during the day. Vergil here follows the Pheaacian model, where the banquet at which Odysseus tells his story takes place at night (*Od.* 11.334 (= 13.2), 372–6). The end of Odysseus' narrative brings to a close the *second* day on Phaeacia and this is the model for Aeneas' story ending on the *second* day in Libya. It is during the latter part of the *first* day in Colchis that Medea has her frightening dream and after waking meets with her sister Chalciope. Vergil's chronology is closer to Homer's, but events in Carthage closely resemble those in Aea. Dido, like Medea, is afflicted by frightening dreams at this stage in her passion and she too is prompted by them to see her sister. But they occur at night and she meets Anna the following morning. Vergil's has used night-time settings for scenes which Apollonius places during the day.[220] It is nevertheless clear that Vergil is following closely the development of the Apollonian narrative. In each poem the banquet and reception scene is succeeded by dreams which represent the anguished indecision of the woman (Medea and Jason/Aeetes, Dido and Aeneas/Sychaeus) and the dreams are in turn followed by a meeting with the sister (Chalciope and Anna) whose advice influences the heroine in coming to a decision.

Third day

The events of the third day in Libya (4.6–76) include the meeting with

[219] Knauer (1964) 155.

[220] In Apollonius the narrator describes at length the dream and the meeting with the sister (*Arg.* 3.616–743); Dido's dreams are mentioned briefly, and in direct speech (to Anna, 4.9). The form of narration is thus quite different.

Anna and Dido's visit to the temples. By now her love is rampant (as illustrated by the wounded deer simile, 4.69–73) as she shows Aeneas around her city. There is no Homeric model for these scenes and: "Mit 4.6f ... beginnt in der Aeneis eine andere 'Chronologie' ".[221] The growth of Dido's passion corresponds to that of Medea's, but Vergil expands the chronology and prolongs into the third day the events of one day and night in Aea.

Third night

This period (4.77–89; cf. *Od.* 13.26–8) replays almost exactly the previous night. At a second banquet Dido again asks to hear of Aeneas' adventures and again his departure at the end of the evening leaves her alone, his voice and appearance stuck in her mind. While others sleep Dido suffers in solitude, *luna premit suadentque cadentia sidera somnos, / sola domo maeret* ... (4.81f). The development of Dido's passion here thus recalls earlier scenes and is built on a consistent, unified and repeated pattern of motifs, a technique influenced by Apollonius' handling of Medea. After her meeting with Chalciope Medea returns to her room but is unable to sleep; her torment during the quiet calm of night is described at *Argonautica* 3.744–827. As time wears on, from nightfall (*Arg.* 3.744) to the very middle of the night (*i.e.* the second night of the Colchian narrative), Medea is once more caught up in anguished indecision as her love for Jason is set against her loyalty to her parents and her suffering is again described in terms which closely recall and intensify the preceding descriptions of her love (esp. *Arg.* 3.761–5), Eros' arrow and the flames of passion.[222] Apollonius, therefore, concentrates on two stages of Medea's suffering before she meets with Jason in the temple of Hecate: her terrifying dreams during the afternoon and her sleepless night. Similar struggles in Dido's heart are spread over two nights and the intervening day.[223] Vergil, having already used *Argonautica* 3 in *Aeneid* 1 for the arrival, the reception scene and the banquet, has also put into the first eighty-nine lines of *Aeneid* 4 the famous Apollonian treatment of Medea's

[221] So Knauer (1964) 154, noting, however, that this dawn corresponds to that of Odysseus' last day on Scheria (*Od.* 13.18).

[222] Otis (1964) 62–96 correctly contrasts Vergil's continuous narrative concentrating on Dido with Apollonius' split narrative technique, turning from Medea, to the Argonauts, on to Aeetes and finally back to Medea (*Arg.* 3.439–617). He underestimates, however, the consistency with which Apollonius traces the development of Medea's feelings in a coherent set of images; Hunter (1989) on 446f, 762f, 962f.

[223] On the frequent association between Dido and the night, Pease (1935) on 80.

wild (*bacchatur Fama per urbem*, 4.666).[213] Tragically, *Fama* announces first a *coniugium* which is no true marriage, and then later a suicide, a marriage to death. After the 'wedding' in the cave Jupiter *Omnipotens* (220) sends Mercury, who has the power to send souls to the Underworld (243), to tell Aeneas to depart. At 4.693 Juno *omnipotens* sends Iris to complete Dido's departure to Hades.

These internal links, and the imitation of *Argonautica* 4, both associate Dido's death with marriage. Vergil is perfectly aware of the complexities of the scene in which Medea leaves her home. This act represents her death as far as her family is concerned and it prepares for her wedding with Jason. But it is caused as much by fear as by love and has sinister implications, since the reader of Apollonius' poem knows that this marriage will result in all the tragic deaths which will happen in Euripides' *Medea*.[214] Vergil is thus in a sense able to draw out the latent tragedy of the model when he uses the brilliant description of Medea's flight in his account of the suicide of Dido.

ix. Narrative Structure and Chronology

Such striking imitations of Apollonius as the Diana simile, the role played by Cupid, the wedding in the cave and the description of emotional torment during the calm of night have long invited comparison between Dido and Medea and between Aeneas and Jason. But in addition to these most obvious references to the model, Vergil adopts many other situations and motifs from the Medea story. These have been illustrated in the two preceding chapters in a scene-by-scene reading of the first and fourth books of the poem. Further study of the chronology[215] and the narrative structure in the Dido episode will confirm the dominant, all-embracing and continuous influence of Apollonius throughout *Aeneid* 1 and 4.

First day and night

After the storm, the Trojans land during the day and, following Aeneas' hunting and the preparation of a meal (1.174–222), spend their first night in Libya camped on the shore of an inlet. The time of Odysseus' landing on Scheria is not stated, but he goes to sleep at once (*Od.* 5.486–93) so it is probably near evening. The Argonauts arrive in

[213] This repetition is noted by Moskalew (1982) 211.
[214] Hunter (1987) on 134–8.
[215] For the most satisfying chronology see Pease (1935) on 6.

Colchis at night (*Arg.* 2.1260)[216] and spend this first night on board ship in the River Phasis.

Second day

The following day (cf. the dawn at 1.306, *Od.* 6.48 and *Arg.* 2.1285) Aeneas enters Carthage and goes first to the temple of Juno and, later, to the palace of Dido, just as Odysseus enters the city and palace of Alcinous,[217] and Jason enters Aea and the palace of Aeetes. This is the Trojans' second day in Libya, at this point corresponding to Odysseus' first in Scheria and Jason's first in Colchian Aea. Dido and Aeneas meet on this first day in the city, her first sight of the hero having a considerable effect on the queen (1.613). In Aea, Jason and Medea see each other as the Argonauts enter the palace, Medea being deeply affected by her first glimpse of the hero (*Arg.* 3.247–53), but they do not actually speak. The banquet offered by Aeetes and the reception scene follow, still in the palace. Jason and Medea first meet during the Argonauts' second day in Colchis, in the temple of Hecate. Whereas Apollonius puts the first sighting of Jason by Medea and the banquet and reception scene in the palace on day 1, and their first meeting in the temple on day 2, Vergil describes a reception scene during which Aeneas and Dido first set eyes on each other and then meet in the temple of Juno, followed by the banquet in the palace, all on day 2.

While the banquet is being organised, Eros and Cupid enter the palace and soon the fires of love begin to blaze in Medea and Dido. Medea watches Jason during the meal and the following reception, and her fiery love grows in the process (*Arg.* 3.443–71, esp. 446f).[218] Aeneas watches Dido during the reception scene with Ilioneus, but later it is Dido who watches Aeneas during the banquet as he recounts the story of the fall of Troy and his wanderings at sea in *Aeneid* 2 and 3. As she does so her love grows and at the start of the fourth book she is consumed by passion. When the hero has departed at the end of the banquet both women continue to see his image and hear his voice (cf. 4.4f and *Arg.* 3.453–6). Aeneas' narrative during the banquet thus corresponds in its placing to the banquet and reception scene in Aeetes' palace. The original model for both is Odysseus' account of his

[216] The day-time landing in Vergil, a variation on Apollonius, is due to imitation of Homer (Knauer (1964) 173–7, 373f) and Naevius (see Servius on 198) in the ensuing scenes — the hunting, the meal and Aeneas' speech of encouragement — which are important for the characterisation of Aeneas and the initiation of the hunting motif.
[217] Knauer (1964) 153f.
[218] Hunter (1989) on 446–7.

growing passion.

Fourth day

Dido's fate is now to be decided. Dawn breaks (4.129) and the queen hesitates one last time (*thalamo cunctantem*, 4.133) before setting out to join the fateful hunt and Aeneas. In *Argonautica* 3 Medea impatiently awaits the dawn (*Arg.* 3.819–24) of the day on which she will meet Jason and give him the drugs which will help him win the Fleece. During this period she too hesitates to leave her bedroom (*Arg.* 3.645–55, to see her sister),[224] but she too finally gives in to her love. At dawn (*Arg.* 3.828, the start of the second day in Colchis) she ties up her hair (*Arg.* 3.829f), dresses in beautiful clothes, including a πέπλον/ καλόν, ἐυγνάμπτοισιν ἀρηρέμενον περόνησιν (*Arg.* 3.832f) and sets out for the temple, Artemis-like (*Arg.* 3.869–88). At dawn Dido sets out for her meeting with Aeneas. Her hair is tied up (4.138), she is beautifully dressed in a splendid cloak (*chlamydem*, 4.137) which is held by a *fibula* (4.139, translating περόνη). Furthermore, her description here clearly recalls her earlier appearance in book 1 when she was compared to Diana.[225] Vergil has thus modelled Dido entering the temple of Juno in *Aeneid* 1 and setting out for the hunt in *Aeneid* 4 on Medea setting out for the temple of Hecate and being compared to Artemis. Further connections follow. When Aeneas arrives for the hunt he is immediately compared to Apollo (4.143–9). When Jason appears in the temple of Hecate he is compared to Sirius (*Arg.* 3.956–9). The placing of the two similes is identical, as both Jason and Aeneas appear before a woman who has reached the point of rendezvous first.[226] The point of comparison is also the same; Jason is καλός (*Arg.* 3.960), Aeneas *pulcherrimus* (4.141; cf. 150). The similes share a note of foreboding: Aeneas' arms ring ominously on his shoulder, while Jason

[224] Dido's typically Vergilian and deeply resonant moment of hesitation (see Segal 1990) is thus Apollonian in origin.

[225] Cf. *incessit magna iuuenum stipante caterva* and *progreditur magna stipante caterva* (1.497 and 4.136), *pharetram* and *pharetra* (1.500 and 4.138); von Duhn (1952) 19f.

[226] Compare the earlier imitation of this same Apollonian narrative at 1.494–506 where it is Dido who appears before Aeneas in the temple of Juno; see above ch. 3 § I.v. Vergil's choice of Apollo for the comparison displays his profound knowledge of the unity of Apollonius' poem. The Medea–Artemis simile and the meeting in the temple of Hecate, with its Jason–Sirius simile, form a doublet with the Jason–Apollo simile and the encounter with Iphias, priestess of Artemis, in *Arg.* 1; Nelis (1991). In *Aen.* 1 Dido–Diana = Medea–Artemis as Dido goes to the temple of Juno where she will meet Aeneas; in the doublet in book 4, another meeting between Dido and Aeneas, Aeneas–Apollo = Jason–Apollo, the simile having the same narrative position as Jason–Sirius; see diagram 5.

is like Sirius who brings suffering to flocks. This meeting of Aeneas and Dido is followed by the hunt which leads to the encounter in the cave, corresponding to the meeting of Jason and Medea in the temple of Hecate. The differences are of course great (it is difficult to imagine Dido and Aeneas engaged in the kind of conversation which occurs between Jason and Medea in the temple), but the structure of the two narratives is parallel. Dido and Aeneas undergo a kind of wedding, while Jason promises to marry Medea if she comes to Greece (*Arg.* 3.1128–30). In each poem a decisive meeting brings to an end the first stage of struggle and indecision caused by the onset of love.

Hiems

Vergil now apparently interrupts his carefully built chronological framework. The 'wedding' in the cave leads, according to *Fama*, into the winter of love shared by Dido and Aeneas (4.193f). Time passes with no chronological markers other than *Fama*'s mention of winter, *quam longa* (4.193). The next definite indication of time is at line 522, the start of another sleepless night for Dido. Rumour, it is to be supposed, takes some time to spread its story until finally Iarbas reacts, and his prayer to Jupiter thus initiates the events of the fifth day of the narrative. The essential unity of the fourth book is obvious and the action runs on smoothly without a break, even if the reader must imagine that a considerable period of time has elapsed between the fourth and fifth days of narrative.

Fifth day

By now Dido is claiming to be married to Aeneas, a resolution (as far as she is concerned) brought about by their 'wedding' in the cave, which has thus rounded off the first stage of her love. For Medea, the corresponding moment is her decision to provide Jason with the magic help needed to defeat the fire-breathing bulls and the earthborn men. Simply put, Dido betrays Sychaeus just as Medea betrays Aeetes. Medea's choice means a resolution, of sorts, to her troubles: Jason's successful completion of his task, with her aid, brings some kind of closure to the first great stage of her love, underlined by the fact that it also closes the third book (ἦμαρ ἔδυ, καὶ τῷ τετελεσμένος ἦεν ἄεθλος, *Arg.* 3.1407). It is of course true to say that their troubles are only just beginning for Dido and for Medea, but the narrative function of the two decisive events — the 'wedding' and Jason's victory thanks to Medea's magic — is the same: both mark the end of a night or nights

of anguished indecision brought on by love and secure the temporary fulfilment of the woman's wishes. Dido says she is married to Aeneas; Medea has received a promise of marriage and helped ensure the hero's success in his quest. After this point, it will be a matter of coming to terms with irrevocable choices and decisions, and their consequences.

Iarbas' prayer, Jupiter's reaction, the sending of Mercury, the confrontation between Dido and Aeneas, the sending of Anna to plead with Aeneas, Dido's decision to die and the preparations for suicide — all must be attributed to this single, pivotal fifth day, which may be said to start at 4.196 and end at 521. Here again the narrative of *Argonautica* 3 continues to provide a model. The meeting in the temple of Hecate on day 2 ends with Jason returning to the ship and Medea to her room. There is a formal parallel with Aeneas' return to his ships after the confrontation with Dido (4.393–6; cf. *Arg.* 3.1147f) and Dido's fainting and return to her chamber (4.391f; cf. *Arg.* 3.1149–62 where Medea is in a kind of speechless trance). The dominant model for the speeches of Dido and Aeneas lies elsewhere, of course, in the exchange between Jason and Medea on the Brygean Isle in *Argonautica* 4, but that scene closely recalls their first meeting in the temple, so the two are easily fused.

The third day in Colchis, passed over very briefly (*Arg.* 3.1172–90), is taken up with preparations for Jason's fight with the bulls and the Earthborn men. Jason performs the necessary magic rituals during the third night, and successfully carries out his task on the fourth day, book 3 ending with nightfall (*Arg.* 3.1407, quoted above). There is thus a formal parallel between Jason's magic ritual and Dido's use of magic on day 5, although once more the main model lies elsewhere, this time earlier in *Argonautica* 3, Medea's preparation of the drug. These similarities between day 5 in Carthage and day 4 in Colchis are strengthened by the parallel narrative functions, noted above, of the 'wedding' in the cave and Jason's completion of his task, both closing an important stage in the story. As a result of this parallel, Iarbas' angry reaction to news of Dido's love for Aeneas (4.198–218) corresponds with Aeetes' fury on getting wind of the help given Jason by Medea (*Arg.* 4.212–40), and Dido's suicide-plans recall Medea's suicide-wish (quickly stopped by Hera) at the start of *Argonautica* 4.

Once Aeneas has decided to depart, Dido's experiences begin to recall earlier events in *Aeneid* 4: many of the same motifs are reworked, but to entirely different effect. For example, the earlier apparently good omens which seemed to Dido to legitimise her love give way to disastrous signs which foretell death when Dido next visits the temples (cf. 4.56–66 and 453–65). Correspondingly, the earlier

struggle between love and *pudor* is succeeded by a battle between love and hate in Dido's heart. Finally, the death on the pyre tragically recalls the wedding in the cave. This reduplication of motifs is achieved in the main by distribution of Apollonian models. In book 1 Eros was the model for both Mercury and Cupid creating Dido's love, and Eros is used again in the description of Mercury ordering Aeneas' departure in book 4. Earlier also, the meeting of Dido and Anna was modelled on that between Medea and Chalciope. Different aspects of the same Apollonian scenes are used now for those in which Dido deceives Anna concerning the pyre and enlists the help of a priestess expert in magic to prepare her suicide. The frightening dreams which beset Dido at 4.465–8 recall the dreams about which Dido told Anna at the start of the book. On both occasions the model is Medea's frightening dream at *Argonautica* 3.616–35. The hectic events of the fifth day in Carthage thus draw on material taken from both the first day and second night and the fourth day in Colchis.

Fifth night

The fifth night in Carthage clearly corresponds in terms of the structure of the narrative to the fourth night in Colchis, that of Medea's flight, which starts in the last line of book 3 and is described at the beginning of *Argonautica* 4. Dido's vacillation in her sleepless torment between hate and *resurgens amor* (4.531f) recalls Medea torn between love of Jason and fear of Aeetes (*Arg.* 4.1–25). At the moment of dawn which ends this night the Trojans sail away (4.584f), as the Argonauts also depart at dawn (*Arg.* 4.183). But precise verbal reference is also made to the second night of the Colchian narrative (*nox erat*, 4.522 = νὺξ μέν, *Arg.* 3.744). Earlier, the sleepless second (4.4) and third (4.80–83) nights of the Carthage episode (repeated in the fifth night, 4.522f) corresponded structurally to the first afternoon and second night in Colchis but were not directly linked by clear verbal reference. Vergil is able to fuse the two Apollonian passages and combine imitation of them in differing ways because of their preexisting connections within the structure of the narrative in *Argonautica* 3 and 4. Medea's first afternoon and night of torment (the second night of the whole episode) and her leaving home to journey to meet Jason in the temple are reworked in her second night of suffering (the fourth night of the Colchian narrative as a whole) and her flight from home to flee to

Greece with Jason.[227] Apollonius describes the first of these experiences in great detail in *Argonautica* 3 but treats the second much more briefly at the start of the fourth book. Vergil does the opposite. He devotes little space to the actual description of Dido's night-time torments during the second and third nights of the Carthaginian narrative but gives a detailed account of her pain during the fifth night.

Sixth day

The departure of the Trojans from Carthage on the sixth day is modelled on the Argonauts' fifth-day[228] departure from Colchis. Dido's realisation of Aeneas' plans to depart and her resultant fury correspond to Aeetes' furious realisation that Medea has betrayed him and helped Jason to take the Fleece, and that the Argonauts have escaped his grasp. Dido's suicide is modelled on Medea's departure from her home and flight with Jason. Thus comes to an end the fourth book of the *Aeneid*. Vergil has followed most carefully the Apollonian narrative, not only in points of detail, but in its whole chronology, structure and intricately-patterned unity.

II Dido and Hypsipyle

The opening stages of the Dido episode in *Aeneid* 1 were shown in chapter 3 to be modelled in part on Apollonius' Lemnian episode. So far in this chapter the discussion of Dido's role in the fourth book has uncovered further similarities between Dido and Hypsipyle. It will be useful here first to review the whole series of links between Carthage and Lemnos and then to evaluate how much Vergil owes to the Apollonian Hypsipyle in the character of Dido.

The reception scene involving Ilioneus and Dido corresponds to that between Aethalides and Hypsipyle, as well as referring to the first meeting of Jason and Hypsipyle. In an example of distribution of this latter model, the first encounter of Aeneas and Dido in the temple of Juno is modelled in part on Jason's reception in Hypsipyle's palace. Later, Aeneas' entry into Dido's palace and the banquet held there correspond to Jason's second entry into Hypsipyle's palace and the feasting which takes place thereafter. Anna corresponds to Polyxo as the adviser who encourages the queen to invite the stranger to stay in

[227] Rose (1985) 36f, Hunter (1987) 135f, (1993) 65.
[228] The dawn of this day is described at *Arg.* 4.183.

her city, and Dido corresponds to Hypsipyle in her role as a female ruler who welcomes a stranger into her city and asks him to rule it with her. Both Aeneas and Jason politely refuse this offer but do in fact prolong their stay, and love-making takes place. Finally, however, following angry complaints (Iarbas, Jupiter and Mercury in Vergil, Heracles in Apollonius) the hero is provoked into continuing his temporarily interrupted journey and prepares to depart. Hypsipyle's reaction (modelled on that of Calypso when Odysseus departs, as well as recalling farewell speeches by Circe and Nausicaa[229]) is calm and dignified. Dido's is altogether different, more like that of Medea in a similar situation, containing a mixture of love, anger and hate. But like Hypsipyle Dido talks of the birth of a child as a result of her liaison. Aeneas' reply underlines the fact that he, like Jason, must obey orders and continue a journey which he makes unwillingly, leaving behind the homeland to which he would return if it were possible. Finally, the hero departs, leaving the queen behind.

Hypsipyle in effect gains from her relationship with Jason, having succeeded in ensuring the repopulation of Lemnos. Dido suffers only failure, both in terms of her personal feelings for Aeneas and as ruler of her city, with all the accompanying responsibilities. This fundamentally different outcome does not invalidate, however, the many similarities linking the two women, which are indeed so striking as to suggest that the whole idea for Aeneas' temporary stay in Carthage and love affair with the female ruler of the place originated with a reading of the first book of the *Argonautica*. There is no difficulty about reconciling this view of Dido with her obvious resemblance at many points to Apollonius' Medea. Hypsipyle and Medea fill complementary roles as the two women with whom Jason becomes involved. It is thus easy for Vergil to fuse different features of this Apollonian doublet and to create Dido, who can be presented as both queen and lover, from both Medea and Hypsipyle. It is harder, however, to arrive at a coherent picture of the relationship between Dido as a Hypsipyle figure and the figure of Dido in the pre-Vergilian sources dealing with her legend.

There is evidence to suggest that already in Naevius' version of the story Dido and Aeneas fell in love in Carthage.[230] Hypsipyle cannot thus automatically be assumed to be a primary model for Dido, since Vergil may have been working directly with a Roman source which presented Dido as a ruler who comes into contact with a voyaging hero.

[229] On the latter, Pavlock (1990) 50.
[230] Parroni (1987) 714–16. Feeney (1991) 109 disagrees.

But a full-scale love affair in the *Bellum Punicum*, comparable to the kind of episode created by Apollonius in *Argonautica* 3 and Vergil in *Aeneid* 4, is unlikely. A more restrained treatment of Dido's involvement with Aeneas may reasonably be supposed, and epic paradigms for such a treatment are readily to hand. Homer's Calypso and Circe (the young Nausicaa seems less attractive as a model when compared to the two goddesses) and Apollonius' Hypsipyle could easily have provided precedents for the kind of scene required by Naevius in creating the figure of a Dido who loves Aeneas and who significantly threatens the successful completion of his journey.[231] In this case Naevius may have found Apollonius' Lemnos episode a particularly suitable model; and if Hypsipyle seemed too attractive a character as the basis for characterisation of the queen of Carthage, ruler of the city which was to become the greatest enemy of Rome, he could have blended in some of the more dark and dangerous aspects of Apollonius' Medea. Speculation along such lines comes easily, but the nature of the available evidence means that it cannot be substantiated. It is nevertheless worth considering the role of Dido in the *Bellum Punicum* and the kind of material that went into her making. If Naevius did draw on both Homeric and Apollonian precedent it is possible to imagine a perfectly natural process of Vergilian exploitation of the complete interrelating epic tradition available to him. The Dido of the *Aeneid* would be the sum of the many parts: Homer's Calypso and Circe, Apollonius' Hypsipyle and Medea and Naevius' Dido, would be among the relevant analogues. There would then be no inconsistency in Vergil's imitation of Apollonius' Lemnos episode and his handling of the Dido legend from Naevius and other Latin sources, since the links between the *Bellum Punicum* and the *Argonautica* would already have connected them inextricably.

III Carthage, Phaeacia and the Brygean Isle

Events on Colchis and Lemnos do not account for all of Vergil's imitations of Apollonius in *Aeneid* 1 and 4. Two other places are also important models for Carthage. First, the Brygean Isle. This is where Medea and Jason exchange speeches at the moment when Medea believes she is about to be abandoned, an encounter reworking in many

[231] Mariotti (1955) 38, Horsfall (1973–4) 12f = (1990b) 142f, La Penna (1985) 53, Parroni (1987) 715.

particulars their meeting in the temple of Hecate, and providing the first stage of the development of the love affair after the departure from Colchis. This direct prolongation of the Colchian narrative is, along with the Lemnos episode, economically fused by Vergil in his modelling of Carthage on Colchis and is referred to when Dido reacts to Aeneas' impending departure.

Second is Phaeacia, where in many ways the culmination of the Apollonian love affair takes place.[232] Medea is here again faced with the possibility of separation from Jason as the situation on the Brygean Isle repeats itself, thanks to the determined pursuit of the Colchian fleet sent to bring her back to Colchis. This further section of the Medea-Jason story also contributes significantly to the action of *Aeneid* 4. In chapter 2 it was argued that the voyage from Troy to Carthage corresponds on one level to the Argonauts' return journey between Colchis and Phaeacian Drepane. Furthermore, in chapter 3 the Trojans' arrival in Carthage is shown to be modelled on the Argonauts' arrival on the island of the Phaeacians. In addition, as this chapter demonstrates, Vergil imitates Apollonius' Phaeacian episode yet again in the plotting of Juno and Venus, the wedding in the cave and the whole chain of events leading to the departure of the Trojans from Carthage. In a complex series of inversions of the model, in which Hera and Iris arranged the departure from Circe's island, the safe voyage to Phaeacia and the wedding in the cave there, Juno, with the help of a storm, attempts to organise a permanent union between Dido and Aeneas. But Jupiter and Mercury intervene to order Aeneas' departure from Carthage and the end of the affair. The links between Carthage and Phaeacia established in *Aeneid* 1 thus run over into the fourth book in a coherent pattern of imitation, exactly as in the case of the Lemnos episode.

Study of the similarities between Dido and Medea has been so longstanding that the subject might seem to have been exhausted. On the contrary, this and the previous chapter have demonstrated that many aspects of Vergil's imitation of Apollonius' handling of Medea in *Argonautica* 3 and 4 have escaped notice, and that from the first mention of Dido in the poem to her final suicide Vergil constantly has the Apollonian narrative in mind. The sheer weight of the evidence set out in the two preceding chapters suggests that the Medea of

[232] Perhaps the other two most important episodes in the developing relationship between Jason and Medea in *Arg.* 4 take place on Circe's island and on Crete. The latter, Medea's killing of Talos, contributes to the image of Medea as witch as exploited in *Aen.* 4. The former will be used in *Aen.* 5.

Apollonius is the central model for the creation of Vergil's Dido, within the wider context of a structural pattern which models Carthage on Colchis. All this might seem obvious and scarcely worth repeating; after all, Servius and Macrobius, and most readers since, have seen Medea as Dido's closest analogue. But in the latter part of the twentieth century there has been a tendency to underestimate the influence of Apollonius' Medea on Vergil[233] and even those convinced of her importance have failed to demonstrate it fully.[234] Of course the many differences between the Carthaginian queen and the young Colchian witch cannot be denied, and it is clear that Greek and Roman tragedy, Hellenistic and Latin elegy, the Dido legend and Roman history all contribute heavily to the creation of Vergil's heroine. Dido is not exclusively to be compared with Medea, but Medea is nevertheless the starting point for the character and actions of Dido, consistently on the first tier, as it were, of the multi-layered allusive process running throughout books 1 and 4; and the distance between the two women must always be measured in terms of Vergil's deliberate variations on Apollonius, as he taps the sources which already went into the creation of Medea and draws them out into greater prominence. Vergil found in Medea a uniquely original and fascinating creation. Apollonius' heroine is a subtle fusion of several Homeric characters, Helen, Circe, Calypso, Nausicaa and Penelope, combined with the more self-assertive and passionate Euripidean women such as Medea and Phaedra, and her love is depicted in such a way as to recall the lovers of lyric and elegiac poetry.[235] This complexity makes her capable of bearing the weight of a considerable portion of the action of an epic poem. Hellenistic scholars saw Homer as an erotic poet, given the fundamental roles played by Helen and Briseis in the *Iliad* and Penelope in the *Odyssey*,[236] so that there is a motivating erotic core at the inception of the epic genre. But in what is his greatest original contribution to the development of the genre, Apollonius expands on these hints. By reacting to the example of Euripidean tragedy in particular,[237] he writes an epic in which the action is dominated by the

[233] Hügi (1952) 98f, Abel (1957–8), Collard (1975).
[234] Otis (1964) 62–96 (cf. Briggs (1981) 959f) is probably more aware than anyone of the true extent of Vergil's debt to Apollonius in *Aeneid* 1 and 4 but his relentless criticism of the *Argonautica* and his desire to demonstrate Vergil's superiority vitiates his discussion of the links between the two poems.
[235] Hügi (1952) 80 with the remarks of Feeney (1991) 322.
[236] Lausberg (1983) 235–7, Cairns (1989) 106 n.57, 150, Farron (1993) 16–18.
[237] Knox (1985) 329f, de Romilly (1986) 43–51, March (1990).

love of Jason and Medea.[238] The importance of Medea's love is already clear in Pindar's handling of the Argonautic myth in his fourth Pythian, and it will have been great also in Antimachus' *Lyde* and in other poems on the voyage of the Argonauts,[239] but there will surely have been nothing similar to Apollonius' use of the love theme in an epic poem.[240] The role played by the Dido episode in Vergil's epic must be seen as a direct reaction to Apollonius' experiment.

[238] On Apollonius' originality, Herter (1944–55) 295, Hügi (1952) 81 n.2, Beye (1969), Hunter (1989) 26–8, Pavlock (1990) 19–68, Herter (1973) 39, Cairns (1989) 134f, Margolies (1994) chs. 7–8, Albis (1996) ch. 4.
[239] Braswell (1988) on 213–23, Hunter (1989) 12–18, 26–8.
[240] The view that the Hellenistic period saw the production of an enormous quantity of historical and panegyrical epic (see Ziegler (1966) 15–23, Lloyd-Jones (1984) 58 = (1990) 236, and Häussler (1976–8) 92–210 on Naevius and Ennius) has been strongly challenged by Cameron (1995) ch. 10. On either view, Apollonius stands out as a unique figure.