

Aeneid 4: Notes

Start of *Aeneid* 4: see Book 1 (where Dido falls in love, thanks at least partially to Cupid) + end of Book 3 (Dido has been listening to Aeneas narrating his story; Aeneas finishes > quiet)

1 *At regina*: “But the queen”: again Book 4 at 296 and 504, causing tripartite division (structurally quasi-tragic, befitting tragic engagement in the book); nb her adversative role.

At (“But”): note Aeneas = *at rest* (3.718); contrast line 5. Austin (commentary) suggests movement now to focus on Dido rather than Aeneas and his Trojans and notes antithesis between Aeneas’ sufferings which are past and Dido’s sufferings which are already beginning.

“Queen”: what is the point of reminding us that Dido is queen? Is this the right behaviour? “the focus has shifted from her impressive public persona to her tormented inner self. Yet Virgil’s programmatic use of ‘*regina*’ at a moment when she is, above all, a woman madly in love serves as encouragement to appraise her not just as a desiring individual, but *as a queen*, that is, as someone who has a key social role to perform and may do so well or badly.” (Gildenhard commentary ad loc.)

iamdudum: Austin trans: “all this long while” - Dido has been suffering some time; getting worse?

“wounded” (*saucia*): wound imagery: cf. Apollonius Rhodius’s Medea wounded by the arrow of Eros; cf. deer simile 70-3 > death (689 “wound”). Effect? Sinister foreshadowing? Pathos?

Cura (“care”): of pain of passion; picked up at 5 in ring composition. Cf e.g. 332 (Aeneas); 394 (Dido). “Dido’s real *cura* ought to be the prudent governance of her city’s affairs” (Gildenhard ad loc.).

“Virgil may be alluding to Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura* 4.1120: *usque adeo incerti tabescunt uolnere caeco* (‘in such uncertain state they waste away with a wound invisible’). Appropriately, the line is part of his diatribe against love (‘a romantic delusion’) as opposed to sex (‘a biological necessity’). And he certainly has in mind book 3 of Apollonius Rhodius’ *Argonautica*, which features Medea burning in secret love for Jason after being hit by one of Eros’ arrows” (Gildenhard ad loc.)

2 “wound” (*vulnus*): wound imagery continued

“feeds” (*alit*): impact of word?

caeco: i.e. hidden. Dido’s passion becomes more visible as the book goes on.

“fire” (*igni*): fire imagery (cf. 1.660 (in a passage whose words are reworked here); 1.713) (metaphorical > building of pyre/ sack imagery 669-71/5.4 Aeneas sees “flames” of pyre as he leaves). Effect? NB also Mercury’s words 567 and Dido 594, 604.

3: Note Dido’s interest in (Aeneas’) ancestry (cf. 1.617-18). We know this includes someone (Venus) who is concerned with moving Aeneas on from Carthage.

recursat: a frequentative verb; Dido keeps thinking about this; obsessiveness ominous.

4 *haerent* = “clings”: cf. arrow clinging (*haeret*) at 73 (deer simile). Dido can’t shake this off.

infixi: “Virgil reuses *infixus* with reference to Dido’s suicidal wound at 4.689: *infixum stridit sub pectore uulnus*. The lexical parallel thus constitutes another literalization of a metaphorical image as love turns into death” (Gildenhard ad loc.).

5 Dido does not get rest (*quies*) (contrast Aeneas). Epicurean colouring to language? (Note that Lucretius in *DRN* portrays love negatively, including wound imagery 4.1068-9; Epicurean viewed self-indulgent sexuality as potentially harmful as damaging to *ataraxia*; *cura* cannot allow calmness necessary for happiness). For Epicureanism and Dido, see Dyson, J. T. (1996), ‘Dido the Epicurean’, *Classical Antiquity* 15.2, 203–21.

9-30 Address to Anna: note her later address to get her to persuade Aeneas and Anna’s involvement in the death scene. Anna particularly interesting in light of the mythic tradition in which she had an affair with Aeneas. The sisters are alike (8 “of one mind”, *unanima*). Anna seems to know Aeneas very well (cf. 421-3). Gildenhard comments on the structure: “(a) It comprises 21 lines in all, which fall into two halves of near-equal length (11/10), marked by two direct addresses to the internal audience, her sister Anna: Anna soror (9) and Anna (20). Those who count along and expect the second half to be precisely equal in length to the first half will thus be disappointed. In line 30,

which could have been the 11th line of the second half, Dido has finished speaking and bursts into tears. But this slight imbalance and seemingly premature end to her speech may be an artistic effect designed to convey Dido's emotionally unbalanced condition.

(b) In thematic terms, the structure is tripartite, again in a symmetrical design (6/9/6):

1:9–14: Dido's attempt to articulate in words her thoughts and feelings about Aeneas

2: 15–23: Exploration of a 'what-if'

3: 24–29: Rejection of the 'what-if'"

9-14: note the series of *qui* etc words. Cf Gildenhard: "The opening segment of the speech comprises an attempt by Dido to articulate in words the impression Aeneas has made on her. In doing so, she repeats from a personal, subjective perspective what Virgil has just described from the external, objective perspective of the narrator. She is so overpowered by feelings and emotions (ranging from deep reverence to strong erotic attraction and incipient sexual desire) that she appears to be 'gushing', and her Latin is accordingly palpably out of control. Noteworthy features that underscore that Dido is here venting strong feelings include the sequence of exclamations introduced by *quae* (9), *quis*(10),*quem* (11), *quam* (11), *quibus* (13), *quae* (14); the overemphatic string *quis novus hic* (10); and the contorted expression *quem sese ore ferens* (11). Dido reaches the height of her pathos-dripping outburst with the exclamation *heu* (13), a profound expression of empathy for the trials and tribulations her hero has suffered, but also indicative of the profound yearning and passion-driven anxiety that she is experiencing herself this very moment, before she sobers down to a more measured mode of discourse from line 15 onwards." Gildenhard well adduces Apollonius *Argonautica* 3. See 3.616–18 (Medea) 'As for the girl, deep sleep was furnishing relief from her troubles as she lay in bed. But soon deceptive, baleful dreams began to disturb her, as they do when a girl is in distress.' + 3.636–44 'Poor me! How these dire dreams have frightened me! I fear that this expedition of heroes will indeed bring some great harm—my mind is all aflutter about the stranger. Let him woo an Achaean girl far away among his own people, and let my care be for virginity and the home of my parents. Yet nevertheless, I will make my heart shameless and, no longer remaining aloof, will test my sister, to see if she will entreat me to aid in the contest because she is distressed for her sons—that would quench the terrible pain in my heart.'; "There are, then, clear parallels in plot (a heroine in erotic distress, deciding to seek out her sister after a night of frightful visions), and Virgil's Latin obliquely recalls Apollonius' Greek also on the level of metre and diction." (Gildenhard)

9 dreams (*insomnia*): with the nightmarish visions (playing also on meaning of "sleeplessness"?), cf. Dido's later dream. Hinting at Dido's future problems with loyalty to Sychaeus?

11: see MacLennan. Debate over whether to take *armis* as from *armus* or *arma*. Gildenhard on *quam forti pectore et armis*!: "literally, this part of the sentence means 'with how brave a chest and arms/shoulders!' *pectore* recalls 4.4: *haerent infixi pectore uultus*, but whereas in the earlier passage *pectus* means Dido's heart, here *pectus* seems to be referring above all to Aeneas' musculature, specifically his pects. *Armis* could come either from *armus* ('shoulder') or, more likely, from *arma* ('arms'). While *armus* is a possibility (Dido appreciating the buff chest and broad shoulders of her hero), *arma* yields a better meaning. Dido's diction here (and elsewhere: see above all below on *heu*, *quibus ille/ iactatus fatis! quae bella exhausta canebat!*) recalls the language of the proem: if *armis* comes from *arma*, *forti pectore et armis* chiastically paraphrase Virgil's keynote, which introduces his plot and his protagonist, i.e. *arma uirumque cano* (1.1), with *forte pectus* as a metonym, or *pars pro toto*, for *uir*. Dido's appraisal of Aeneas is thus grounded in the poet's reality, however much her overall picture may be distorted by the influence of Cupid." (Gildenhard)

12: Dido now believes since she has seen Aeneas. Question of Aeneas' trustworthiness later!

13 *degeneres animos timor arguit. heu, quibus ille*: "The gnomic formulation *degeneres animos timor arguit* is a curiously abstract and negative way of making the positive point that Aeneas has shown no fear and hence is not a 'degenerate.' (A *degener* is a person who has fallen short of the standards of excellence shown by his ancestors, indicating a worsening of the blood-line: put differently, Dido assesses Aeneas as living up to his illustrious ancestry.) This negative proof—*arguere*, in its basic sense, means 'to show, demonstrate', then also, in law court settings, 'to

convict, prove guilty’—reinforces Dido’s and Virgil’s obsession with lineage: the theme of noble descent and ignoble disposition recalls *gentis honosat* 4.4 (though the causal link Dido asserts between a show of fear and degeneracy also comes as a bit of a surprise given that a few lines earlier she had confessed to be suffering from a significant amount of fear...)” (Gildenhard) 13–14: cf A. 1.2 and 1.3. “How does Dido know that Aeneas is tossed about by fate, given that she thinks of her own biography as shaped by fortune? She may have picked up a hint from Aeneas’ discourse in Books 2 and 3, where *fata* [the fates] figures prominently as a divine force shaping affairs in the human realm. Yet Dido, while adopting the idiom of historical necessity, remains unwilling to draw the necessary consequences.” (Gildenhard)

14 “what a draining of war’s cup he told” (Austin); Gildenhard suggests *exhausta* (from a verb meaning “to drain”) has sense of ‘down to the bitter end’ and is ironic given “horrid wars” (*Aen.* 7.41) lie in store for Aeneas upon his arrival in Italy and Dido herself will curse the future city of Rome with the prospect of prolonged warfare against her avenger Hannibal (4.621–29).

17: Second love also cheats..

18: *si non pertaesum thalami taedaeque fuisset*: “if I had not been filled with exceeding weariness at the bedroom and torch..”. Note etymological play in *pertaesum* / *taedae* (>emphasizes Dido’s tedium: Gildenhard). For the word *taeda* (the wedding torch, here hendiadys i.e. marriage), see Hersch: ‘In Book Four of Virgil’s *Aeneid*, *taeda* surfaces three times; the first two *taedae* are unequivocally nuptial.” (Hersh 2010, *The Roman Wedding: Ritual and Meaning in Antiquity*, Cambridge, 166–7): i.e. here and (Aeneas’ words) at 4.337–39. The third time is at 4.504 (in pyre), where funereal and evocative of wedding.

19 *culpae*: What is meaning of *culpa* here? (fault/offence/wrongdoing/weakness?).

19 “perhaps” (*forsan*): Gildenhard suggests this “introduces a hedge: Dido confesses to her sister that if matters had turned out otherwise in her past and she had not committed herself to a life of chastity, then, perhaps (*forsan*), she might have given herself up to this one (*huic*)—but this one only (*uni*)—transgression (*culpae*). This, of course, is precisely what will happen: ironically, Dido’s seemingly counterfactual musings prefigure the plot. It is noteworthy that she here acknowledges to Anna, and to herself, that the pull of desire she feels is a guilty pleasure and giving in to temptation an act of transgression or wrongdoing (*culpa*)”; cf. 4.172 *culpam*.

20–22: cf. 1.343–59 (Venus recounts how Dido’s brother Pygmalion killed her husband Sychaeus and caused her to flee her home in Tyre in Phoenicia to Carthage, in North Africa. Dido was giving the facts. Dido’s version is more emotionally presented), esp. 1.348–50. Gildenhard wonders whether the specific reference to the *penates* owes anything to the fact that Aeneas, is world-famous for carrying the *penates* of Troy out of the burning city; both Dido and Aeneas have similar pasts.

22 “this one alone”: Dido had other suitors (we see Iarbas) whom she had rejected (cf. 36–8); she has kept her vow of chastity....

23 “traces of an ancient fire” (*ueteris uestigia flammae*): flame imagery continued from the start of Book 4, here used by Dido; cf. pyre 5.3f.

24–27: *adynata*; “It is a very elaborate way of saying ‘I’d rather die than fail to respect my sense of shame by being disloyal to my murdered husband.’” (Gildenhard). Rhetorical? Calls down destruction on herself?

26: i.e. shades in the Underworld. Discussed by Gildenhard (including in relation to etymological glossing of ‘shadowy darkness’).

27 *pudor*: “the basic meaning of *pudor*, which is here personified and addressed directly in an apostrophe, is a gender-neutral ‘sense of shame.’ It is clearly one of the key themes of the Dido episode: see also 4.55, and 4.322.” (Gildenhard, where see his detailed notes; Anna does not see the problem.). For *pudor*, see further Kaster 1997 ‘The Shame of the Romans’ (*Transactions of the American Philological Association* 127, 1–19) and Collard: ‘Pudor is a concept of moral restraint of far greater meaning than Greek αἰδώς. Its power within Dido increases her stature as a symbolic adversary to Aeneas. She is here invested with a peculiarly Roman quality: her humanity and

sympathy for Aeneas are overlaid with a dignity of personal conduct appropriate to a Roman lady.' (Collard *Prometheus* 1 1975: 145).

28–29 Sychaeus was the first love; will be the last; cf. 16f.; MacLennan suggests 'Dido half wishes this were true.' (MacLennan 2007: 78). Gildenhard argues we are meant to see through verbal architecture how Dido is deceiving herself.

29: Cf. A. 6.473–74.

30 tears are said to well up (*lacrimis ... obortis*): Pease (1935: 113): 'the verb seems to imply that the tears came spontaneously, in spite of her intention, as opposed to the *lacrimis ... coactis* of Sinon (2, 196).' For possible reasons for the tears, see Gildenhard.

31–53: Anna's reply, arguing for a marriage alliance. Gildenhard: "Anna, however, disregards both Dido's personal scruples and the metaphysical obligations her sister has imposed on herself. She gives absolute priority to what she knows Dido longs for deep in her heart. Her reply, which is just slightly longer than Dido's speech, falls into four parts of gradually diminishing length (8/6/5/4)" (cf. his analysis of structure and the tactics)." Tragic confidante (like nurse of Phaedra in Euripides' *Hippolytus*?), which is ominous.

32 'during your entire period of youth.': O'Hara sees the point as being that Dido has not yet had a child which is what an adult woman should do (in the minds of the Roman reader).

33 : Gildenhard comments: "For a fleeting moment, Virgil's design creates the impression that *Veneris* modifies *dulcis natos*, with Anna asking her sister whether she will never have come to know 'the sweet sons of Venus.' Unbeknownst to either her or Dido, Dido of course has come to know both sons of Venus, i.e. Aeneas and Cupid (whom she fondled on her lap in the guise of Ascanius), rather well by now... Virgil thus also plays with the double sense of *Venus*, which may either refer to the anthropomorphic goddess of love or signify, metonymically, the emotion/ experience of 'love' (just like Ceres = 'grain' etc.). Anna most likely has the latter sense in mind, but we, the readers, are surely encouraged to activate the former sense as well. After all, Venus is a powerful presence in Virgil's divine machinery and has already arranged for Dido to receive presents from Love".

34 Epicurean line that there is no feeling after death: Epicurean-style argument (cf. Dyson 1996); but Dido reproaches herself later for failing to preserve her pledge to her dead husband (and note the reunion in the underworld 6.473–4).

35–38: Dido rejected suitors in Tyre (but where was the time? Anna exaggerating to make a point?) and Libya; we think back to tradition of Dido rejecting suitors in tradition (Dido and Aeneas as lovers seems to be a Virgilian innovation).

35 "husbands" (*mariti*): i.e. potential husbands.

36 *Iarbas*: African king who controls land on which Carthage is being built (cf. 196–221).

37–8 "rich in victories" (*triumphis / dives*). Do we think about Roman triumphs (and triumph = Roman victory ritual, involving procession etc) in the time of the Punic wars? Anna is using arguments of strategy, appealing here to Dido as ruler.

38 Gildenhard notes "In her argument Anna silently passes over two rather salient points: (a) in line with her own belief that the dead ought to have no bearing on the living (see line 34), she refuses to reckon with Dido's lingering feelings of loyalty to Sychaeus, making out as if her sister's renewed ability to love would enable her to enter into another marriage freely and happily; (b) Anna takes Aeneas' consent simply for granted, even though Aeneas has not presented himself as a suitor; this is a nice touch in terms of boosting the morale of her sister, but proves the fatal flaw in her approach to the problem. Indeed, in both respects, Anna profoundly (and deliberately?) misunderstands, or begs to differ from, her sister, for whom Sychaeus remains a powerful point of reference throughout and who intuitively knows very well that Aeneas will not, cannot stay for good: even while their affair is in full swing (to the point of Aeneas helping with the construction of Carthage), Dido remains ill at ease: cf. 4.298".

39 indirect question: 'in whose lands you have settled.' 40–44: Gildenhard shows places on a map; argues Anna "begins in the south with the Gaetulian cities, then moves clockwise to the southwest (the Numidians), the east (the Syrtis), and the southeast (the desert and the Barcaeans). At the same

time, this circular motion ... is belied by her use of *hinc—hinc* as a structuring device. It suggests a bipartite division: the Gaetolian cities, the Numidians, and the Syrtis on one side, the desert and the Barcaeans on the other. As the map shows, this does not quite work since the Numidians and the Syrtis are located on opposite sides of Carthage. What are we to make of this geographical imprecision? Are we dealing with another subtle hint that Anna's point of view is not to be trusted in all details?"

40 The Gaetuli live to the south of Carthage, in interior of North West Africa.

41: natives of Numidia are 'unbridled' "because of the way they ride their horses, their ethnic character, and their way of life (true to their name, they lead a 'nomadic' existence)". (Gildenhard).

41 inhospitable Syrtis: i.e. either the two areas of sandy flats between Carthage and Cyrene to the East or 'the whole desert region adjoining the coast' (so the *OLD* s.v. c).

43: The *Barcae* are the people of Barce, possibly chosen to evoke associations with the Carthaginian Barca family (Hannibal!).

44 Dido had taken treasure so vulnerable to brother Pygmalion attacking. Line half-finished.

45-6: "The lines drip with unintended irony and are arguably the most blatant illustration that Anna hasn't a clue what she is talking about: Juno had no intention whatsoever of blasting Aeneas to Africa; she set out to sink his fleet. The arrival of Aeneas at Carthage is thus a complete accident, and not at all the result of purposeful divine planning: Juno (etymologized as 'helper') is here the exact opposite of *auspex* or *secunda*, and the wind that blew Aeneas Dido's way not a favourable (in Latin: *secundus*, implied by Juno's attribute) breeze, but a destructive storm." (Gildenhard).

47-49: "three exclamatory sentences (*quam... urbem... quae... regna! – quantis... rebus!*) designed to entice Dido to yield to her passion by invoking grand prospects of the city and the fame that is bound to ensue for her from the liaison. Overall, the design is chiasmic: Anna begins with Dido and Carthage (*urbem, regna*) before adding a reference to Aeneas (*coniugio tali*); she then proceeds with another reference to Aeneas (*Teucrum... comitantibus armis*) before concluding with Carthage (*Punica... gloria*). The chiasmus ensures that Aeneas ends up at the centre of Carthage and its imperial future." (Gildenhard). Reader would no doubt made connections with future Punic wars and struggle involved.

50 *ueniam* = 'permission'? 'forgiveness'? See O'Hara: 'Anna's phrase *posce ueniam* captures the ambiguity at the heart of this scene, for *ueniam* can mean "leave" or "permission" to do something, with no connotation of wrong, or it can mean "forgiveness" for a wrong done. Anna, who is arguing that there is nothing wrong with yielding to a new love, must be thought to mean, "ask for permission". But the other connotation of *uenia* suggests a different perspective, that perhaps Dido needs forgiveness for even being attracted to Aeneas, or wishing to break faith with Sychaeus.' (O'Hara 1993 'Dido as "Interpreting Character" at *Aeneid* 4.56-66', *Arethusa* 26.1, 99-114: 105-6)

53: some of Aeneas' ships were shattered in the storm.

54-55: Effect of Anna's speech on Dido.

55 *pudorem*: shame again- cf. Dido at 4.27 claiming she'd die before violating *Pudor*: "We have reached a watershed moment, a point of no return: Dido has dissolved her feeling of *Pudor*, she has become 'shame-less.'" (Gildenhard).

56-64: religious activities, first by Dido and Anna (56-59), then by Dido alone (60-64): showing isolation. Cf. 450ff.

56-66: cf. O'Hara 1993 'Dido as "Interpreting Character" at *Aeneid* 4.56-66', *Arethusa* 26.1, 99-114. Dido is 1.299 "unknowing of fate" and unknowing of the grand divine plan. Tragic irony.

56 "from altar to altar" (Austin); "*per* conveys the sense that the sisters are making the rounds of the altars, leaving no stone unturned." (Gildenhard).

58 *patri*: father (MacLennan). Austin notes Roman deities in line (Ceres, Apollo, Bacchus, Juno)

58-59: see Gildenhard on question of why Ceres, Apollo, and Bacchus are singled out and why Venus is ignored. Cf. 45.

60-64: now just Dido, desperately repeating, presumably because not getting the right omens. "This step forward in time and the attending switch from joint to individual action coincide with a shift

from hopeful and orthodox supplication of the gods to the somewhat desperate performance of religious rites in the face of a distinct lack of divine enthusiasm.” (Gildenhard)

60–61 Gildenhard notes moving onto more expensive offering (sheep 57 > white heifer at 61), suggesting initial offerings did not yield the desired results.

63f. “Dido’s anxiety is such that she does herself what the priest would normally do” (Austin).

62 “with the *aut* [or] at the beginning of line 62, any sense of solemn and purposeful procedure starts to break down for good. This seemingly inconspicuous connective speaks volumes, by drawing attention to the increasingly random, indiscriminate, and desperate nature of Dido’s ritual efforts—if the queen, so Virgil thereby suggests, is not trying to identify victims fit for sacrifice, she does something, anything, else, in this case approaching (*spatiatur*) altars that are already laden with offerings (cf. *pinguis*, which refers to the fat and blood of slaughtered victims). Commentators tend to read *spatiatur* straight...But I think the Scholia Danielis (cited by Pease ad locum) has a point when suggesting that Dido’s movements betray an impatience caused by love. It is, to say the least, suggestive that Virgil has inverted normal ritual sequence by moving from a libation at the altar to moving towards altars (*ad aras*; set up by *ante ora deum*), at which, by all accounts, she has already sacrificed previously. Taken as a whole, then, and in context, this line conveys a sense of unfocused drifting from altar to altar (however solemn in gait Dido may be moving about) that contrasts sharply with the deliberate and purposeful *adeunt* in line 56.” (Gildenhard).

63 showing Dido’s desperation. Literally = ‘she renews each day with gifts.’ *instaurare* is a technical term in Rome’s civic religion, signifying ‘to repeat a ritual or ceremony that was not correctly performed.’ but Dido revisits the temples because they did not produce the desired results.

63-4: extispicy (i.e. inspection of the still quivering entrails of a victim to ascertain divine will), done at Rome by *haruspices*.

64 “staring into” (*inhians*). As Austin observes, *inhians* is a very strong word.

65–67: narratorial comment rare in epic. Effect?

65: “alas the ignorant minds of prophets / poets” (*heu, vatum ignarae mentes!*): “It is not immediately obvious whose minds are meant since *uatum* (the genitive plural of *uates*, i.e. ‘prophet-poet’) is syntactically ambiguous: it can depend either on *mentes* (a genitive of possession) or *ignarae* (an objective genitive). The former would mean ‘alas, the ignorant minds of the prophets!’, the latter ‘alas, minds [sc. those of Anna and Dido] ignorant of the prophets!’.” (Gildenhard).

O’Hara (*Cambridge Companion to Virgil*) argues the syntax is deliberately ambiguous: ‘The reader’s difficulty in handling the syntax of the genitive *vatum* parallels the difficulty both Dido and the reader have in interpreting the entrails.... Dido does not learn from the sacrifices that her love for Aeneas is going to lead to a bad end ...the reader does not learn exactly why this happens .

Gildenhard: “it is arguably best to construe *uatum* as an objective genitive with *ignarae*. What Virgil seems to be saying is the following: (a) Anna and Dido wish to pursue a marriage alliance with Aeneas; (b) they approach the divinities to solicit their favour; (c) Dido on her own invests long and meticulous efforts to find some sign of divine approval by means of extispicy—apparently, without success; (d) Virgil steps back from this scene and comments with a tragic exclamation on the ignorant minds of the two sisters: they could only embark upon this course of action and they could only harbour the hope of receiving divine benediction because they are ignorant of *fatum* and the poet-prophets (*uates*) who pronounce it” (Gildenhard). For prophecies, cf. 4.464–65.

65 Dido is raging. How will such a state allow Dido to communicate? Gildenhard comments “This is the first time in the book that Virgil diagnoses Dido as suffering from outright insanity (a diagnosis deftly prepared for by *ignarae mentes*: Dido’s *mens* is not just ignorant, but also addled, *a-mens*), but from now on these and related lexemes (such as *furibunda* or *furiae*) will accompany her till the bitter end: Virgil again calls her *furens* three lines later (68), and drops frequent reminders of Dido’s mental state throughout the rest of the book, at lines 91 (*furor*), 101 (*furor*), 283 (*furens*), 298 (*furens*), 376 (*furiae*), 433 (*furor*), 465 (*furens*), 501 (*furores*), 548 (*furens*), 646 (*furibunda*), and 697 (*furor*).” Cf e.g. Turnus, Juno and Aeneas later.

65: we might think of Dido’s ignorance here too.

66–67: cf. 2; “But there is also a shocking continuity in imagery from the sacrificial victims slaughtered on the altars to find out the will of the gods to Virgil’s depiction of Dido: *mollis medullas* recalls the *spirantia exta* that Dido is inspecting and the opened up chests of the sheep (63–63: *pecudum reclusis pectoribus*) are picked up by the reference to the chest of Dido (*sub pectore*). Put differently, Virgil continues to assimilate Dido to a sacrificial victim. Instead of inspecting the entrails of animals, she ought to inspect herself. He thereby also turns himself into a *haruspex* who performs extispicy on his character, inviting us to join him in his exercise of invasive *ethopoeia*: the same surgical operation that Dido performs on the innards of the *uaccae* she sacrifices to learn about her future, the narrator performs on the innards of Dido for his audience. What does he show and what do we learn, not least about us? Are we just as eager as Dido (cf. *inhians*) to find out what the future (of the narrative) holds? Or do we rather adopt the know-it-all posture of the omniscient *uates* for whom the future holds no secrets?” (Gildenhard).

67 “lives” (*vivit*): nb later, fatal wound...

68 “burns” (*uritur*): fire imagery; now open.

68 *infelix* “unlucky” perhaps even “accursed”; epithet: cf. 1.712, 749; 4.650, 529, 596; 6.456. She was called “most beautiful” (*pulcherrima*, 60).

69–73: wounded deer simile. Captures movement: cf. *uagatur* (68)/*peragrat* (72). Dido similarly wounded, from afar. On the simile, see e.g. Boyle, *The Chaonian Dove* (Mnem. Supps. 92–4, 1986) who notes that Aeneas kills 7 deer (A. 1.184–193) and that there are three developed images of deer: 4.69–73 (Dido); 12.749–55 (Turnus); slaying of stag (7.483), cause of war (other brief refs: 5.253, 6.802, 10.725; ref at 4.154–55 prob signif given simile 4.69–73). The deer passages recall/foreshadow: Dido/Turnus/stag emphasises Trojan destruction of what is beautiful, vulnerable, free; individual is helpless and annihilated by history. Meaning escalates by relationship and also because of of Aeneas’ killing in 1 (harbinger of tragedy). See also Pöschl (*The Art of Vergil: Image and Symbol in the Aeneid*, Ann Arbor.1962: 81): ‘the deer simile has a threefold function: (1) It makes the queen’s roaming more explicit (this is the original function of a simile in Homer—clarification of an exterior event); (2) it reveals Dido’s state of mind (clarification of an inner event); (3) it foreshadows her tragic end (symbolic prediction) through content, key, and pathos of the movement.’”. For the shepherd, cf. Anderson (‘*Pastor Aeneas: On Pastoral Themes in the Aeneid*’, *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 1968 99, 1–17: 9) “It might seem odd that Vergil used the word *pastor* here rather than a noun like *venator*, for the shepherd shooting arrows is an unexpected image. However, the word-choice, I believe, is deliberate, designed to recall the simile of the shepherd in 2.304ff. No longer the unwitting spectator and victim of fiery fury, Aeneas has now become the unwitting perpetrator of the same, the innocent agent of all that he abhors. Entirely against his will, half-ignorant to the very end, he destroys the woman he loves, leaving her to the agonies of the fury he has caused, ultimately to the suicide which is implied in this very simile. After he abandons Carthage and looks back from the sea at the flames that rise from the pyre, where she lies pierced by his own sword, he does not know the reason for the fire (*causa latet* 5.5), but he has heavy forebodings. How far he has moved into the bitter world of reality from that pastoral innocence! How little he understands the destructive consequences of his actions!”

70 adjective in predicative position (‘which, unwary, [*incautam*]...’). Relevance to Dido?

72 shepherd is unknowing (*nescius*): Gildenhard asks what is the shepherd ignorant of?: “Here is Lyne [*Further Voices in Vergil’s Aeneid*, Oxford. p196], taking issue with Austin among others, who have the tendency to exculpate the shooter: ‘Our hunting shepherd is not, as is often implied, totally “ignorant”, “nescius”, of his actions (how could he be?). He has, Vergil tells us, been vigorously and purposefully hunting the hind: “quam... agens telis” [“which, hunting with darts”]. What he is ignorant of is that one of his shafts has struck: that he has hit the “cerua”, that the “cerua” in fact carries a lethal wound inflicted by him.’” Is Virgil thereby suggesting that Aeneas has been preying on Dido, while at the same time failing to realize that he is affecting her profoundly? To what extent do the two verbs *fixit* (he pierced her) and *liquit* (and left her) mirror Aeneas’ arrival at and departure from Dido’s Carthage? (One important difference is that the shepherd does not pursue the

hind because he does not realize that his arrow has hit the mark; Aeneas, of course, leaves Dido knowing full well the extent to which she has fallen in love with him. As 5.5–7 shows, he and his men had a good idea of how far she might go: *duri magno sed amore dolores/ polluto notumque, furens quid femina possit,/ triste per augurium Teucrorum pectora ducunt*; ‘but the harsh pains once great love has been profaned and knowledge of what a woman can do in frenzy, lead the hearts of the Trojans amid sad forebodings.’.”

69 “like a deer after an arrow-shot” (Austin, who notes it does not imply that the deer has been aimed at).

70 “Cretan” (*Cresia*): relevance of Cretan? (Note also *Dictaeos* 73: Mt. Dicte =in Crete). Just because Cretans were famous archers (Austin)? Because Cretans notorious for using poisoned arrows? (Horsfall, *A Companion to the Study of Virgil*, Leiden, Boston, Cologne. Pp 123–34: ‘Aeneid: Book 4: Love, and ethics’: p124 n13). Because reminds readers of animals who there find a herbal cure (dittany) for poisoned arrows (thought to have the power to draw poisoned and barbed arrows from a wound)? See Morgan (Morgan, G. 1994, ‘Dido the Wounded Deer’, *Vergilius* 40, 67–8): ‘Vergil’s readers are going to be reminded of this potency when Venus herself culls the herb from Crete and gives it invisibly to Aeneas where he lies wounded. The arrow slips easily from his flesh, pain vanishes, and strength is restored. (12.423).’ Gildenhard comments “In the context of *Aeneid* 4, of course, the invocation of a possible cure inevitably highlights the terminal nature of Dido’s condition.” And/or because recalls Cretan Ariadne (and Phaedra and Pasiphae)? (R. Armstrong, *Cretan Woman* 106); see further Gildenhard. Aeneas has previously detoured at Crete; like Carthage, this is not a place he ought to stop.

73 description of the fatal arrow sticking in the deer’s side: “The wound is fatal, but the process of dying will be prolonged, an ominous image that stands in poignant parallel to what will unfold with Dido in the rest of the book. After *sagitta*, *tela*, and *ferrum*, *harundo* is the fourth term Virgil uses to denote the fatal arrow.” (Gildenhard).

74ff.: “The switch from simile back to narrative is abrupt, especially since the creature hunted in the simile (the hind/ Dido) has turned into a huntress of sorts: after performing the rites, seeking in vain to ascertain a promising future and wandering aimlessly through the city, Dido now pursues her object of love with great purpose—and does so rather successfully.” (Gildenhard).

74 walls? MacLennan translates as “the area within the fortifications” (*moenia*). As Gildenhard observes, there is the sense that Aeneas should be working towards founding the walls of Rome, not sightseeing the walls of another city. He also suggests thus reinforces the notion that Dido/ her city is about to fall: “Aeneas has infiltrated the protective walls, he is inside her defences, in her marrow (*media/ medulla*) and she is now trying to get inside his, making him part of her, turning his-story (Rome) into her-story (Carthage).” (Gildenhard ad loc).

75 Sidon was a city in Phoenicia. Cf. *Aen.* 1.363–64. Gildenhard speaks of Dido’s “sales- pitch” (wealthy city; city implied to be ready for him).

76 “the same gathering”: cf. Book 3. Obsessive and repetitive.

78–79 Dido wants to hear the story of Troy’s fall over again. Her actions will lead to the fall of Carthage..

78-9: MacLennan suggests taking “again” (*iterum*) with both “she hangs” (*pendet*) and “of him narrating” (*narrantis*) “Again she hangs from his lips as again he tells the story”; Gildenhard cfs. Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura* 1.36–7: *pascit amore avidos inhians in te, dea, uisus/ eque tuo pendet resupini spiritus ore* (‘he [sc. Mars] pastures on love his greedy sight while gazing on you, goddess [sc. Venus], and the breath of him, as he is reclining, hangs from your lips’).

82 “she alone”: refers to Dido. NB isolation.

82 Gildenhard comments: “Dido’s practice of lying down on the couch recently abandoned by her beloved Aeneas is a poignant articulation of her yearning for his presence and for intimate, physical contact.”

83 “Although she is not with him and he is not with her, she still both hears and sees him” (MacLennan); obsessive.

84 Dido is “captivated by this perfect likeness of his father” (MacLennan), regarding Aeneas’ son Ascanius (AKA Iulus) (whose age is somewhat fluid in the *Aeneid*: A. 1.717-22 he is on her lap whilst in Book 4 he is able to hunt, albeit minor prey). Gildenhard suggests “the phrase *genitoris imago* resonates powerfully within the memorial culture of republican and early imperial Rome. *Imago*, or, in the plural, *imagines* were the wax masks of deceased former magistrates that hung in the *atria* of noble houses and were donned by actors during the funeral processions of deceased members of the family who had held public office. This was one of the most remarkable rituals of the Roman republic, designed to celebrate family-achievement and lineage.”

85 *infandum si fallere possit amorem* “if she were able to cheat an unspeakable love”: cf. 4.296 *quis fallere possit amantem?* (“who could deceive a lover?”). Gildenhard cites OLD definition of *infandum*: ‘too horrible or shocking to speak of, unspeakable, monstrous, accursed’ and wonders about focalization: Dido? Narrator? He also asks what does *fallere* refer to? “MacLennan argues that Dido here tries to delude herself: ‘... in fondling Ascanius she wants to persuade herself that she is merely expressing maternal affection for her friend’s child, which is something acceptable and mentionable.’ This downplays *amor* as an independent force, which O’Hara maintains when suggesting that ‘Dido tries to cheat her love by displaying affection for his son Ascanius as a substitute for Aeneas.’ But in what way does Dido think she can deceive her love by cuddling Ascanius in her lap, especially since she is attracted to the child in the first place because of his strong resemblance to his father? Both the ‘incubation’ of Aeneas’ couch and the cuddling of his son are, in the first instance, strategies of getting closer to the man himself. One could consider reading *amorem* with a capital A (*Amorem*)... It is as if Dido is keen on another dose of Love. Conversely, one could argue that the scene in Book 4 is an attempt to invert the deception: whereas in Book 1 Cupid/ Amor impersonates Ascanius to push Dido towards Aeneas, in Book 4, Dido tries (of course unsuccessfully) to cheat Amor by channeling her affection away from Aeneas towards Ascanius. If that seems too contrived, one could understand *fallere* in the sense of ‘to conceal the nature of, to disguise’: rather than referring to Dido’s attempt to deceive herself or her love, the clause would then refer to her attempt to displace her (seemingly compulsive) ‘public display of affection’ onto the boy to keep her true passion a secret” (Gildenhard).

86-9: effects on Carthage: building works stopped (cf. 1.437 reference to walls rising) because of her love. The queen is neglecting her responsibilities to her people. As Gildenhard notes, idea that two sets of walls have ceased to make progress: the future of Carthage and Rome lie forgotten. Gildenhard also notes: “The emphasis is almost exclusively on the development of the cityscape (including the harbour and fortification) rather than the civic community, with the exception of *non arma iuuentus/ exercet*”; compare and contrast Latium.

88 *pendent*: “they are waiting, in suspense”; lit. “they are hanging in mid-air” (MacLennan); “in ironic analogy to 79, where Dido hangs (*pendet*) on the lips of Aeneas narrating” (Gildenhard).

89 crane is raised to the “sky” (*caelo*) “raised sky-high” (MacLennan). *machina* elsewhere of wooden horse (cf. 2.237-40 *machina .. minans*). Gildenhard suggests *caelo* “serves as pointer to where the narrative will continue at 90.”

90-128: Love and Marriage. Gildenhard discusses time scale: just about possible to cram the action of *Aeneid* 4.1-89 into three days (Day 1: conversation between Anna and Dido; initial sacrifices / Day 2: renewal of sacrifices; raging through the city; sightseeing with Aeneas; second evening banquet; Dido being left behind alone/Day 3: cuddling time with Ascanius) but suggests this does not account for the atmosphere of indefinite drift: nb abandoned building works in 86-89 implies that more time has elapsed than a three-day period. NB Aeneas both arrives and departs during the same non-sailing season.

90-128: Venus and Juno intervene; striking collusion between goddesses of erotic love and marriage, both with different long term aims. NB for Venus’ intervention (intervening into *hospitium*), see Book 1. Juno (patron goddess of Carthage [Tanit] and goddess of marriage) has previously caused the storm which led to Aeneas landing at Carthage. She will later be involved in the cave “wedding”. Events will lead to the destruction of Carthage. “The two scheming divinities, one more deceitful than the other, engage in a battle of wits. Each one walks away in the belief to

have fooled the other. Only Venus, of course, is right: whereas Juno dominates the conversation (she gets two speeches), the goddess of love knows that she will emerge victoriously in the end. She has, after all, been briefed in the workings of destiny by none other than Jupiter ... and uses this privileged insight into the plot to play cat and mouse with Dido and her divine patron Juno.” (Gildenhard). Nb tactical speaking: e.g. stress on equality; speech discussed by Panoussi in *Virgil's Aeneid and Greek tragedy* p94 where she argues that Juno tries to persuade Venus that Venus gets the better deal but in fact, a marriage would be under Juno's sphere and would mean Rome is never founded. Contractual and legalistic language used.

90 language of disease ruin in *peste*: “*pestis* is a very strong term: it signifies a fatal disease of epidemic proportions, but can also refer by way of personification to a baneful individual (Cicero uses it of Catiline, for instance) or ruin and destruction more generally. Here it refers either to Dido's love-sickness or Cupid ... or both. The wording recalls 1.712 where the phrase *pesti deuota futurae* ('doomed to impending ruin'), in apposition to *infelix* no less, turns Dido metaphorically into a sacrificial victim about to be slaughtered—just before she unwittingly embraces Cupid disguised as Ascanius.” (Gildenhard).

91 *famam*: concern for her reputation (“or, indeed, the reputation she has hitherto enjoyed in the historiographical accounts” Gildenhard); cf. 170 and 173ff. For *fama* (rumour, renown, fame, reputation...) in the *Aeneid*, cf. Hardie, *Rumour and Renown: Representations of Fama in Western Literature* (2012).

93–104: Juno's first speech: “93–98 comprise a disapproving commentary on what Venus has been up to; 99–104 follow this up with a proposal of peace and alliance.” (Gildenhard).

93–95: 93 contains the main clause (apodosis); 94 elaborates the subject implied in *refertis*; 95 contains the *si*-clause (protasis). Gildenhard discusses textual issues. See Hall (“‘And Cytherea Smiled’: Sappho, Hellenistic Poetry, and Virgil's Allusive Mechanics’, *American Journal of Philology* 132, 615–31. 2011 p625): ‘Juno's mocking description of Venus' psychological conquest of Dido in martial terms thus not only insults Venus for directing her powers against an overmatched opponent but also reminds her of her earlier failure on the literal battlefield.’

93 “outstanding” (*egregiam*); sarcastic line.

94 “that boy of yours” (MacLennan who sees contemptuous tone); i.e. Cupid.

94 “power” (*numen*): see Gildenhard for *numen*, who suggests that Juno's words here specifically recall Virgil's address to the Muse at 1.8–11: “Ironically, Juno, who was the object of theological commentary by Virgil in the proem, has now turned into the commentator: she grudgingly concedes that Cupid has usurped what ought to be her narrative. Whereas Virgil is asking the Muse to recount the memorable reasons for Juno's hostility towards Aeneas (1.8: *memora*), Juno here recognizes that what Cupid did to Dido is at least as memorable (cf. *memorable*). There is also the additional irony that the issue of theodicy, which Virgil raises in the proem (the implication of his question to the Muse is that Juno's actions are not just, given Aeneas' outstanding *pietas*), here recurs in a slightly different key, insofar as it registers negatively. Juno does not seem interested in justice at all. For her, this is a matter of power and the pursuit of selfish interests. She does not remonstrate with Venus that Dido suffers unfairly. Rather, she mocks her counterpart for a cheap victory. The difference between the human and the divine perspective is telling: mortals have much at stake in the justice of the gods; the gods themselves, however, arguably nothing.”

95 contrast between 1 and 2 and woman and deities.

95 reference to trickery/deceit (*dolo*). A theme in the *Aeneid*, including Book 4. Here of the gods.

98 *modus*: i.e. end. We might think of this when we get to the reconciliation scene between Juno and Jupiter in book 12 (cf. 12.793).

98 “These are good questions, as Juno here picks up on a potential flaw in Venus' machinations: what precisely is Venus trying to achieve by driving Dido into erotic insanity? Yes, ensuring a friendly welcome for Aeneas was important; but one would have thought that Venus' ultimate goal (getting Rome underway) would have been better served by a more reserved type of hospitality so that Aeneas and his men could be back on their way to Italy soon. As it turns out, the reduction of Dido to a state of hopeless passion is now derailing the founding of two great cities: Carthage and

Rome. Juno, for her own selfish interests to be sure, tries to offer a way out of the deadlock. (More generally speaking, Venus has seemingly gained very little from unleashing the powers of her son to the fullest extent or even caused significant damage: not only has she further delayed Aeneas on his travels; the tragic break-up and ensuing hatred, resulting in a vicious curse further empowered by Dido's suicide, cause much suffering for Aeneas and Rome in the future. She of course knows, after her consultation with Jupiter, that matters will turn out well in the end: *imperium sine fine* ["empire without end"] and all that. But in the form of Hannibal especially, Dido's wrath will continue to haunt her Romans, almost bringing them to their knees.)" (Gildenhard).

100–101 "Juno pretends that Venus' scheming does not extend beyond making Dido fall madly in love with Aeneas and that she therefore has achieved everything she ever desired." (Gildenhard).

101 "has drawn the madness in all through her bones". It has taken her over; nb language of passion earlier and fire; madness like a disease, through body. Cf. 2 *venis* and 66 *medullas*.

102–3 "let us rule this nation shared between us" (MacLennan). Can this be the case?

102–103 *communem hunc ergo populum paribusque regamus/ auspiciis*: "The two phrases indicate how Juno intends to rule with Venus, namely 'together and sharing power equally', with *communem* identifying the basic principle ('jointly') and *paribus auspiciis* specifying the precise terms ('equally'). What looks like a generous proposal is in fact both insidious (*communem*) and deeply problematic in terms of practical arrangement (*paribus auspiciis*). The Scholia Danielis .. put the finger on the problem by asking whether *communem* means that Juno offers Venus joint rule of her city Carthage or that Tyrians and Trojans will have merged into one *populus*. The former of course all but implies the latter: a joint rule of the two goddesses will ultimately result in a joint people. Juno never spells this out (she only mentions marriage of their two princely and principal charges), but in effect she here suggests for Carthage what has been pre-scripted for Italy: the ethnic merging of the Trojan refugees with the indigenous population. In other words, she here again plots to derail *fatum* and the founding of Rome." (Gildenhard).

103 "Phrygian" (*Phrygio*): Austin notes epithet often a term of contempt used by enemies of Troy; see Gildenhard for use as stock Roman term for 'slave'. Cf. Iarbas; and Turnus: 12.75; 99.

105–114: Venus' reply (in Gildenhard's structure: 107–109: a conciliatory opening which, however, already introduces a touch of reservation in the *si*-clause; 110–112 explicit articulation of doubts: Jupiter may not be willing to go along with Juno's proposal; 113–114: exhortation to Juno that it is her responsibility to solve that problem; reiteration of her willingness to go along with Juno's plan). Gildenhard explores the Homeric intertext of *Iliad* 14 where Hera approaches pro-Trojan Aphrodite to borrow her girdle of erotic desire in order to aid Greeks: "Venus' references to *factum*, *fortuna*, ... 'Hera, reverent goddess, daughter of great Cronos, speak what is on your mind; the heart bids me to fulfil it, if fulfil it I can, and if it is something that has fulfilment.'

telos, which means 'end', 'purpose', or 'final cause' (from which comes teleology), is a Greek equivalent to *fatum*. After Hera has taken up this invitation to speak and has voiced her request, Aphrodite replies in language that has affinities with Venus' conciliatory opening gambit at *Aeneid* 4.107–09 as well as her subsequent point that Juno is Jupiter's husband and ought to put the case to him. See *Iliad* 14.211–13:...

Laughter-loving Aphrodite answered her: it is not to be nor is it seemly that I say no to your speech; for you sleep in the arms of Zeus the mightiest.

Bear in mind Aphrodite's ornamental epithet 'laughter-loving' (φιλομειδής). She will do it justice in Virgil at 128 below; and unlike in Homer, she is not to be deceived."

109 "Venus knows very well that what Juno here plans will never become a *factum*." To some degree Virgil, the retrospective prophet, has eliminated contingency from his literary universe, tracing a story that is in outline historically predetermined—which in this case means that Juno will not be able to shape history the way she wants. With her maliciously double-layered and disingenuous gesture to *fortuna*, Venus reminds Juno that the successful execution of her scheme is not entirely up to them, but also secretly mocks her antagonist in the full knowledge that her scheming will be in vain." (Gildenhard).

110 “I am carried along, uncertain, by the fates” (MacLennan’s translation of *fatis incerta feror*): disingenuous.

111 Gildenhard explores the theme of merging.

114 guileful. Venus capable of approaching Jupiter (*Aen.*1). Makes Juno carry the responsibility.

115–27: Juno’s second speech.

115 Gildenhard comments: “Her use of the future tense (*erit*) is telling. She has absolutely no intention to consult with Jupiter any time soon. Far from clearing her plan with her husband beforehand, she clearly intends to let him know only after the liaison between Dido and Aeneas is already a *fait accompli* (if at all: in the end he finds out about what is going on from his son Iarbas).”

117: Gildenhard wonders what is the force of *miserrima*: “Is it an expression of pity (‘my poor, love-sick Dido’)—or contempt (‘that Dido, love-sick to the hilt’)? Is it accusatory, directed against Venus (‘Dido, whom you have reduced to such a sorry state of wretchedness’)? Or is it proleptic, as the Scholia Danielis would have it: ‘Dido—most wretched in that she is about to lose her reputation for chaste loyalty to her dead husband and has to enter into wedlock with that Phrygian cast-away of yours’?”

117–119: “Usually it is the narrator who establishes the setting with evocative descriptions (cf. 4.6–7 above), so this underscores Juno’s powers: she is here taking control of Virgil’s narrative. What follows is *her* plot: here she outlines what she will then proceed to put into practice, in what amounts to giving Venus (and Virgil’s readers) an advanced ‘performance script’ that allows us to appraise later on how well she manages to execute her plan.” (Gildenhard).

125 *adereo*: “I will be there” (MacLennan, who notes irony of second meaning “I will be at their service”)

126 “I will unite them in lasting wedlock and assign her to him as his own” (MacLennan); cf. 1.73. NB *dicare* is a religious technical term. Cf 1.73 (Juno promises one of her nymphs to Aeolus, in return for winds)

127 *hic hymenaeus erit*: “This will be the wedding”. MacLennan discusses oddity of singular use for wedding. Also Gildenhard: “does she mean ‘Hymenaeus [i.e. the god of wedding] will be here [*hic*=adverb]’? Or does she mean ‘This [*hic* = demonstrative pronoun] will be their marriage’? The former reading seems feeble; but if the meaning is supposed to be the latter, the use of the singular *hymenaeus* is unusual. (In the singular, *hymenaeus* tends to mean ‘wedding song’.) The lack of precision may be Virgil’s way of having Juno drawing unwittingly attention to the dodginess of her plan.” (Gildenhard).

128 “because she had detected Juno’s plot” (MacLennan’s translation of *dolis repertis*); probably abl. Abs. 127–128: “Recent commentators (Pease, Austin, MacLennan, O’Hara) are unanimous in taking *dolis... repertis* to mean something akin to ‘after Juno’s guile had been discovered’ (ablative absolute) or ‘(she smiled) at Juno’s guile discovered’ (as ablative object with *ridere*). But this interpretation yields a feeble sense: already after Juno’s first speech, which ended with the proposal of marriage, Virgil tells us that Venus was not fooled for a second (105: *sensit* [sc. Venus] *enim simulata mente locutam...*), so why would he repeat this point here, as if Venus had not seen through Juno all along and only discovered her treacherous intentions now? True, Juno’s second speech lays out her precise strategy, but that in itself is a problem: what Venus has just learned is not so much that Juno is deceitful, but how she intends to put deceit into practice. And this is exactly what makes Venus smile: she laughs at the trickery that Juno has devised (for *reperio* in the sense of ‘to make up, devise, intent’, see *OLD* s.v. 6). Why should she? Well, the goddess of erotic desire can hardly keep a straight face when the goddess of lawful marriage engineers a romp in a cave that is to be dressed up as a legitimate wedding (though it will be anything but). Moreover, Venus knows full well that this sexual encounter may just prove disastrous for Dido (as it does)—and thus further Aeneas’ destiny, getting him back on the road to Rome.” (Gildenhard). On the smile, cf. Konstan, D. (1986), ‘Venus’ Enigmatic Smile’, *Vergilius* 32, 18–25.

128 *Cytherea*: Venus was worshipped in Aegean island of Cythera.

129-72 hunting expedition; cave: cf. AR; consider location (movement from palace into wild); marriage: nb Roman wedding rituals (for perversion, see MacLennan).

129 *Aurora*: goddess of Dawn; see Gildenhard for significance of dawn references within Book 4 ("Virgil thus uses Aurora three times in *Aeneid* 4 to indicate the beginning of a day: the first day is Dido's first day in love; on the second day, the fateful encounter in the cave takes place; and on the third day, Aeneas departs"; sees cosmic correlation with Dido's tragedy).

130-139: The Carthaginians get themselves ready for the hunt.

131: see MacLennan for discussion of hunting technique (nets with wide mesh; nets of close weave); relevance of nets for trapping in light of Dido as prey?

132 The Massylians are a North African tribe; Gildenhard traces a link with king Massinissa and his wife, the Carthaginian princess Sophonisba who committed suicide.

133-4 Dido is lingering in her bridal chamber; cf. delay (*mora*) within Book 4; consider movement within Book 4 and how like a ruler Dido is being. Everyone else waiting and horse impatient. Choice of term for chamber potentially loaded (wedding chamber; does Dido already conceive of herself as a bride? Is it authorial, in view of what happens? Is lingering a sign of sex on her mind or reluctance to leave? See Gildenhard) and is there a hint at the Roman wedding ritual? Gildenhard notes the reluctance of the bride to enter into the house of her husband on the day of her marriage, as a preliminary step towards her first experience of sexual intercourse, is a key theme of Catullus' wedding poems.

134 "conspicuous in purple and gold" (MacLennan); Carthaginian decadence? See Gildenhard for expensive Tyrian purple.

136 a great crowd pressing round Dido; MacLennan sees Roman forum scene.

137 "wearing a Phoenician riding-cloak with an embroidered border" (MacLennan). Dido in wealth and beauty, height of power.

138 Dido has a quiver made from gold. Unsuitable for hunting! As Gildenhard points out, the quiver recalls her special association with the goddess of the hunt, Diana (cf. 1.500-01, part of the simile which has resonances in this passage). Gildenhard links gold back to her husband: "So in essence, Dido is here wearing the treasures of her dead husband to impress her would-be new consort".

138 *nodantur*: "are plaited into (a) gold(en) ring" (MacLennan); golden line (adj/adj/verb/noun/noun): effect? Gildenhard cfs two passages in Callimachus, in which the Alexandrian poet describes the golden regalia of Artemis (Hymn 3.110-12) and Apollo (Hymn 2.32-5); note Dido as Diana/ Artemis and Aeneas as Apollo; 'The queen of Carthage proceeds to the hunt resplendent in finery from various corners of the Callimachean wardrobe, matched with consummate skill by her Roman dresser.' Reed (1995), p. 95.

141-2: MacLennan sees sense of theatre; words of entering (*incedunt ... infert*) appropriate to a stage entrance. We recall the entrance of Dido (why blurring between Aeneas and Dido?) and simile in Book 1: e.g. 1.496-97: *regina ad templum, forma pulcherrima Dido/ incessit*, 501: *gradiensque deas supereminet omnis* (of Diana), and 503: *talem se laeta ferebat*

141 "most handsome" (*pulcherrimus*): as Gildenhard suggests, a gesture to motif of divine intervention increasing the beauty of a hero (cf. Odysseus before his encounter with Nausicaa and Jason before his encounter with Medea).

143-50: Apollo simile. Companion simile to *Aen.* 1.494-504 (Dido as Diana, Apollo's sister...; which reworks *Od.* 6.102-9); cf. Apollonius' comparison of Jason to Apollo (*Argonautica* 1.307-09) and Medea to Artemis (=Diana) (3.876-84).

143 "as when" (*qualis ubi*): Gildenhard notes temporal emphasis new, setting up reference to winter (note winter as setting eg 4.193 and Aeneas will leave during winter season, despite dangers of sailing, cf. 309-11): he quotes Weber explaining that Lycia is the place in Asia that in winter the god leaves behind for Greece and that it is unusual to visualize Apollo leaving in winter (we would expect Dionysus); note emphasis on desertion fits Aeneas.

143 "Lycia in the winter" (MacLennan's translation of *hibernam Lyciam*). Apollo had shrine at Patara in Lydia; comes to Delos (site of birth from Leto: hence *maternam*) for spring festival.

hibernam Lyciam Xanthique fluenta reworks *Argonautica* 1.300: ἡ Λυκίην εὐρεῖαν ἐπὶ Ξάνθοιο ῥοῆσι (instead of εὐρεῖαν ‘broad’, there is *hibernam*).

145 “renews the dance” (*instauratque choros*); another possible link with Dionysus who returns after absence to set votaries dancing.

146: MacLennan describes as a group of obscure, backwards and remote peoples (cf. Weber *Classical Philology* 2002 who notes Dionysiac touches).

147 Cynthus= hill on Delos.

148 shaping; the god presses his hair with wreath and twines into golden clasp/band. MacLennan links to statues. NB Apollo is unaware- like Aeneas (and shepherd in simile).

148 “the arrows sound on his shoulders” (*tela sonant umeris*): sinister recollection of *Il.* 1.46 (plague-bearing Apollo; nb disease imagery for Dido). Gildenhard remarks: “In Virgil, the reference to the arrows of destruction rattling in the quiver on Apollo’s shoulders comes as an unpleasant surprise after the peaceful scenes of dancing and hair-dressing — a dark reminder that both the god and the hero he is meant to illustrate may have a baleful impact on those around them. Specifically, it recalls the deer-simile at 4.69–73, where a *pastor* [shepherd], who represents Aeneas, mortally wounds a deer with his arrows. The sudden switch in theme from celebration to death in the simile thus mirrors on the micro-level the progression from what is supposed to be a wedding (127: *hymenaeus*) but actually is the beginning of a tragic plot that leads to misery and death (169–70: *ille dies primus leti...*).”

149 “no more slothful than him” (*haud illo segnior*) i.e. just as vigorous; also compared on level of beauty.

158 vows “*uotis*”: Gildenhard comments: “in the dative, with *dari*: ‘... may be granted to his vows.’ *Votum* is a technical term of Rome’s civic religion and usually involves a promise to a god in return for his or her aid, especially in situations of military crisis. Here the term ironically ennobles Ascanius’ day-dreaming and wishful thinking.”

159 “And he longs for a foaming boar to be offered among these feeble cattle” (MacLennan); suggestive of his youth and father’s protectiveness? Gildenhard sees *iners* as something akin to ‘unadventurous’ or ‘harmless’, i.e. not suited to test the mettle Ascanius thinks he has. nb Ascanius in battle later (shoots and then hauled off; too precious an heir); also his shooting of Silvia’s stag is one trigger for war in Italy. *optat* introduces indirect statement.

160-5: cf earlier plotting.

160–164: cf. 120–24 (explored by Gildenhard)

160–161: see Gildenhard for links with cave of winds in Book 1.

165–166 Dido and the Trojan leader come to the same cave. A cave setting appears at Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 4.1128–69 (Jason and Medea union) (NB in Apollonius, legal marriage: Alcinous decides not to send Medea back if she is not a virgin: hence quick ceremony/consummation 4.1128–69).

166 *prima Tellus*: MacLennan i) ‘Earth the First of All Things’, ii) “Earth and Juno were first to give the signal” (MacLennan). Earth not normal in marriage.

166-8: Assessments e.g.: Austin (1963), p. 69: ‘Virgil thus makes the wedding ritually correct, as one would expect him to. But it remains a supernatural ceremony, and an uncanny one for all its seeming correctness.’; Moles (1984), p. 52: ‘For her own purposes Juno desires the union of the two lovers to be a permanent marriage: this does not amount to an objective statement of the nature of their union. While the divine responses to the “wedding” are indeed ritually correct the emotional effect is of a ghastly parody of the norm, suggesting rather that this marriage presided over by Juno is not a true marriage at all.’; O’Hara (2011), p. 38: ‘Vergil’s passage suggests either a wedding or a parody of a wedding, and the event is described in such a way that it is hard to know what is really happening.’

168 “howled” (*ulularunt*), a loaded word: i.e. ‘to howl in religious excitement’: *OLD* s. v. 2C (but also used for howling of lamentation cf. 4.667–68: foreshadowing).

166 *pronuba Iuno*: a *pronuba* = ‘a married woman who conducted the bride to her bridal chamber’ (*OLD* s. v.). Gildenhard: “Here the term is used as an epithet of Juno, clearly in her self-assigned

role as assistant in the wedding she plans, stages, but arguably fails to execute properly. Juno is thus portrayed as present during the cave-encounter in her ritual function as goddess of marriage.

Intriguingly, however, *pronuba* is not attested as an attribute of Juno before our passage This raises the question: 'does Virgil use the epithet *Pronuba* in an ironic sense?'" (cfs Hersh).

168 cf. 4.126 (Juno claiming she will join them in stable marriage/union)

169–170: "that day first of all was cause of death and misfortunes" (MacLennan, *ille dies primus leti primusque malorum/ causa fuit*). Gildenhard: "Virgil stresses that his narrative has reached a tragic turning point (in Aristotelian terms: *peripeteia*) through the reiteration of *primus*, which is perhaps best understood adverbially and indicating 'degree rather than chronology', i.e. 'that day before all others.' For the encounter in the cave clearly has a prehistory: it is not that Dido's condition changes; rather, the physical consummation of her passion entails a change in her behaviour, which has tragic consequences."; what is the end of the misfortunes?

170 *specie*: "appearance"/"how her actions seem to others" (MacLennan): importance of reputation/appearance.

170 *fama*: key in Book 4; here prepares for personification. See Hardie.

170-2: language implies Dido feels guilt.

172 *praetexit*: Gildenhard links with occurrence of verb at 4.500.

172 *culpam*: Gildenhard cites the discussion of Moles ('Aristotle and Dido's Hamartia', *G&R* 31, 1984 51-2) on suggestions e.g. *culpa* lying in her disloyalty to Sychaeus regarding her oath of eternal faithfulness. Moles argues, 'this makes no sense in context. To defend herself against criticism Dido calls her "culpa" a "coniugium". Her "culpa" cannot be disloyalty to Sychaeus, for any association with a man, whether licit or illicit, necessarily involves abnegation of her oaths to Sychaeus and to protest that her association with Aeneas was a "coniugium" does nothing at all to meet that charge, as indeed Dido herself has already recognized (*Aen.* 4.15–19).' Moles argues that the *culpa* 'consists in the *illicit* nature of her love-making with Aeneas, which Dido, to defend her reputation, tries to present as proper "coniugium".' Gildenhard comments: "This generates a powerful split in perceptions (or versions) of reality. Dido may be dishonest in trying to cover up her sexual misdemeanour, but Juno certainly is of the considered opinion that the act of intercourse that took place in the cave represents a proper marriage (see *Aeneid* 4.99, 103–4, 125–27), for which she has even solicited the agreement of Venus. So what is missing? Most importantly, as Moles makes clear, the consent of the supposed groom. Even if one were to assume that the sex-act could serve as substitute for the speechact (the equivalent of the 'I do' in a modern wedding), for it to be felicitous would seem to require mutual consent. And Aeneas himself never regards his fling in the cave (and whatever commingling and cohabitation comes after) as a *coniugium*. See esp. 4.338–39..."

172 *culpam*: cf 19; whose perspective?

173ff: see Hardie, *Rumour and Renown: Representations of Fama in Western Literature* (2012) + Lucretian Reflections (2009 e.g. 108 "For the modern reader *Fama* seems to spring from the poet's head as the first circumstantially elaborated personification set to work within the action of a human narrative."; p67 "The personification of *Fama* in Book 4 of the *Aeneid* (173–97) is a Hellish female monster, the embodiment of the unattributable and irresponsible voices of the multitude, the manyheaded beast, who thrives on distortion and defamation, as she spreads a malicious version of the behaviour of Dido and Aeneas. At the same time *Fama* is a figure for the ambitions of the male epic poet and for the fame that he confers on his subject-matter and on himself."; on modelling on *Religio* (i.e. superstition) in *De Rerum Natura*: turning abstract concept into active supernatural deity which Epicureans rejected). Think about fama/Fama (personification here; allegory elsewhere?; how translate?). Dido's unblemished reputation (needed for effective rule) has been harmed; Aeneas' future fame as founder of proto-Rome is at risk. Note *Fama* reporting Aeneas' intention to leave; 556–59 (gives news of Aeneas' impending departure to Dido in a dream); 666 reports Dido's suicide. Gildenhard notes precedents at *Iliad* 4.439–43 ("The Trojans were urged on by Ares, and the Greeks by flashing-eyed Athene, and Terror, and Rout, and Discord that rages incessantly, sister and comrade of man-slaying Ares; she at first rears her crest only a little, yet

thereafter plants her head in heaven, while her feet tread on the earth”) and Hesiod *Works & Days* 760–64 (Rumour is explicitly identified as a pernicious goddess: “Act this way. Avoid the wretched talk of mortals. For talk is evil: it is light to raise up quite easily, but it is difficult to bear, and hard to put down. No talk is ever entirely gotten rid of, once many people talk it up: it too is some god.”). One model is Lucretius’ description of the thunderbolt: compare *De Rerum Natura* 6.177 (wind in clouds creating thunderbolt) *mobilitate sua feruescit* ‘it grows hot through its own motion’, 340–2 (thunderbolt) *denique quod longo uenit impete, sumere debet mobilitatem etiam atque etiam, quae crescit eundo* | *et ualidas auget uiris et roborat ictum*: “‘Allusively ... Fama is a natural force, translated to the theatre of human actions and words.’” (Hardie).

175: Hardie (2009) 71–2 suggests allusion to Lucr. 6.340–2 (Lucretius’ account of thunderbolt, from passage rationalizing lightning; cf. A. 4.208–10). Mix of myth and rationalizing.

176–7: description of size link to mention of giants? See Hardie 2009 88–93 and 2012 99–100.

178: “anger against the gods”; Hardie (2009: 72 n13) sees ambiguity in “of the gods”, *deorum*.

179 “as they say” (*ut perhibent*); appropriate given subject Rumour.

181: cf. 3.658 of the Cyclops.

188 “Grasping at what is false and perverse as much as telling the truth” (MacLennan); subject is *Fama*; misleading utterances.

191ff.: Hardie (2012: 89) sees three stages in evolution: 191–2 more or less uncontroversial account of the “facts”; 193–4 (arguably) distorted description of the couple’s behaviour; 212–17 increasingly fictitious/slandering version of events.

191: “originating from” (*cretum*); see Gildenhard on the importance of blooddescent.

192 “And to him as a husband beautiful Dido thought fit to join herself” (MacLennan); “*dignetur*, in nice assonance with Dido, slyly refers to her earlier refusal to entertain proposals of renewed wedlock; that she deems the foreign cast-away proper husband-material must grate with the local dignitaries who suffered the indignity of rejection when they went wooing” (Gildenhard).

193 *luxu*: “*luxus* refers to ‘soft or extravagant living’, or ‘(over-)indulgence’: OLD s. v. 1. It is a life-style often associated with effeminacy and the perceived decadence of the East. At Rome, the term had a stellar career in stories of decline that set in over the last centuries of the republic, with the influx of wealth and the apparent loosening of the martial-marital ethos that supposedly made Rome great... The theme of luxury certainly plays a key role in Iarbas’ reaction” (Gildenhard).

194 “forgetful of their kingdoms” (*regnorum immemores*): “that this is not simply *Fama*’s point of view becomes manifest at 221, where Aeneas and Dido are described in the authorial voice (or perhaps through the eyes of Jupiter) as *oblitos famae [sic!] melioris amantis* (‘lovers forgetful of their better reputation’).” (Gildenhard).

198–278: Iarbas episode: cf. 36 for reference to the suitor. An explanation for his outrage is provided. MacLennan discusses Roman legend concerning this figure. See Hardie (2012), 88ff.

Hardie 2009 traces links with *Fama*.

198: “sprung from Hammon” (*Hammone satus*); = Amun and identified with Jupiter. Iarbas is thus descended from a myth figure and speaks like an Epicurean (Hardie 2012: 90).

203 *amens animi et rumore accensus amaro*: *amens animi* (*animi* = either a locative or a genitive of reference or specification) is seen by Hardie (2009: 72) “as a Virgilian response to Lucretius’ phrase *mens animi* (*De Rerum Natura* 3.615, 4.758 etc.), in which *mens* designates ‘the intellectual rather than the emotional side of *animus*.’ If that is the case, it would imply that Iarbas, whose *animus* has lost (a-) its *mens*, is now ruled entirely by his passions. *Accensus* picks up the metaphors of fire from 197: *incenditque animum*. This is the first of a series of revelations that cause the recipient to lose his/ her mind and burst into fiery passion. See below 279 (Aeneas in shock at Mercury’s epiphany and reacting to his message): *obmutuit amens* and 281: *ardet abire fuga*; and 300–01 (Dido reacting to *Fama*’s news that Aeneas is getting his fleet ready): *saeuit* [sc. Dido] *inops animi totamque incensa per urbem/ bacchatur*.” (Gildenhard).

204: cf. 4.62 Dido pacing the altars.

204 *dicitur*: Iarbas is caught up in *fama* (Hardie 2012: 89).

206-18: Iarbas' prayer to Jupiter; challenge since either Jupiter is aware (and doesn't deserve to be worshipped) or isn't (and doesn't deserve to be worshipped). Gildenhard comments: "Jupiter will react to Iarbas' prayer, but not out of a concern for Iarbas, but for Aeneas and his destiny! In other words, Iarbas, just like Anna, is a minor character who thinks about the gods and engages in religious activities while being shown up by the poet as profoundly misunderstanding the supernatural realities that apply within the narrative universe of the *Aeneid*."

208-10: Gildenhard comments: "Instead of considering lightning (*ignes*) and thunder (*murmura*) the result of divine action (Jupiter throwing his thunderbolts for a reason), Iarbas gives a 'natural' explanation: they become meteorological occurrences that are devoid of intention (cf. *caeci*) and purpose (cf. *inania*). (The breaking apart of *fulmen*, i.e. thunder-bolt, into bolt (*ignes*) and thunder (*murmura*) hints at a quasi-scientific approach to a phenomenon often endowed with religious import. Virgil/ Iarbas here use/ s the idiom of Epicurean physics as elaborated by Lucretius in the *De Rerum Natura*.)"

211ff: as Gildenhard notes, parallels with Dido's words at 4.371-3; 373-5.

211-2: disparaging language; contrast 1.365f. and 4.88f.

212: "established for a price" (MacLennan's translation of *pretio posuit*); gesturing towards reputation of Phoenicians/Carthaginians as traders?

214: "as her master" (MacLennan's translation of *dominam*); 4.103. queen Dido acts as slave.

215 "that Paris": i.e. Aeneas (in Iarbas' view, a wife-stealer); cf. 7.321; 363; 9.138f. (but cf. Quint: replay with a difference in the second half: Aeneas > victor Achilles).

215 "with his company of half-men"; allusion to cult of (castrated priests) Galli.

216-17: "propped up at his chin and scent-soaked hair with a Lydian turban" (MacLennan). Sneering; accusations of easternism and effeminacy.

217 "enjoys stolen property" (MacLennan) [i.e. Dido!]

218 MacLennan suggests Jupiter is falling into the same error as Dido and Aeneas, abandoning his *fama*. Hardie (2012) says the primary narrative gives no grounds for believing any of the lurid details in Iarbas' words; he is an example of how erotic jealousy can fuel rumour and slander.

"Iarbas thereby continues his Epicurean/ Lucretian deracination of divinely animated nature into atmospheric phenomena. Put differently, he is supplying the Epicurean physics to match Dido's pseudo-Epicurean ethics. (*inane* is the technical term for the void through which Epicurus' atoms move; Iarbas had already used the adjective at 210 above: *inania murmura*.)"

219ff.: cf. Hom. *Od.* 5.28–42 where Zeus, following visit by Athena pleading on behalf of Odysseus (captive of Calypso on the island of Ogygia), addresses Hermes with the order to visit Calypso to get Odysseus' voyage home kickstarted. "This section is also in part a re-run of the narrative sequence in *Aeneid* 1 that unfolds after the storm. There, too, Jupiter's attention is drawn to what is going on in Libya (see 1.226: *Libyae defixit* [sc. *Iuppiter*] *lumina regnis*); Venus appears in order to remonstrate with him on behalf of her son; and Jupiter, after unscrolling the scripts of destiny for the benefit of Venus, sends down Mercury to ensure that fate takes its course (1.223–304)." (Gildenhard).

221 *fama*: i.e. "fame"; focalized through Jupiter and more positive sense than at 218 (Iarbas).

221 Gildenhard comments "apparently, there is *fama*, in the sense of rumour, and then there is *fama melior*, i.e. fame. Aeneas' *fama melior* is the equivalent to the *fama* (in the sense of 'good reputation') that Dido begins to disregard after the encounter in the cave (170: *neque enim specie famaue mouetur*)."

223-7: Jupiter's speech to Mercury.

223: "Off with you now" (MacLennan's translation of *vade age*); note presence of imperatives: urgency, Jupiter roused (to get Aeneas back on track, rather than help Iarbas).

226 *Dardanium ducem* = "Trojan leader" (Dardanus was founder of Troy) (note provocative placing next to *Tyria Karthagine*).

224 delay(*mora*) theme.

227–231: Gildenhard traces engagement with Venus/Jupiter conversation in Book 1.235–37.

228 twice rescued- Venus saved her son from Diomedes (cf. Il. 5.311–18) and intervened in fall of Troy (*Aen.* 2.620, 665).

230–231: blood-descent again (see Gildenhard).

231 send the whole world beneath its laws: cf. *A.* 6.847–53, esp. 851–53.

232–4: Jupiter paints Aeneas as unRoman and not caring for his son (fair?). Gildenhard notes engagement with the language of the (extended) proem: cf. 1.10–11 (...*tot adire labores/ impulerit*); *molitur*, together with *tantarum* and *Romanas*, echoes 1.33): *tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem*.

235cf. 1.522–41 (initial hostility from the Carthaginians).

235 *moratur*: delay motif.

235 Aeneas is working at the wrong settlement

235 reference to hostile race: cf. 1.302–303; hint at danger of Dido's wrath? Looks to Punic wars.

236: "the fields of Lavinium", *Lavinia ...arva* (town will be named after Lavinia); cf. *A.* 1; reminder for reader of his future wife....

236 lots of language of looking in *Aeneid* 4.

238–58 Mercury flies to Carthage, via North African Mount Atlas (nb cf. Aeneas as descendant and usually rock-like). Gildenhard traces engagement with *Iliad* 24.339–48 (Hermes sent to escort Priam to Achilles' tent: "So he spoke, and the messenger, the slayer of Argus, did not disobey. Straightway he bound beneath his feet his beautiful sandals, immortal, golden, which were wont to bear him over the waters of the sea and over the boundless earth together with the blasts of the wind. And he took the wand wherewith he lulls to sleep the eyes of whom he wishes, while others again he awakens out of slumber. With this in his hand the strong slayer of Argus flew, and quickly came to Troy and the Hellespont") and *Odyssey* 5.43–54 (Hermes sent to inform Calypso that she has to let Odysseus go: "So he spoke, and the messenger, the slayer of Argus, did not disobey. Straightway he bound beneath his feet his beautiful sandals, immortal, golden, which were wont to bear him over the waters of the sea and over the boundless earth together with the breeze of the wind. And he took the wand wherewith he lulls to sleep the eyes of whom he wishes, while others again he awakens out of slumber. With this in hand the strong slayer of Argus flew. On to Pieria he stepped from the upper air, and swooped down upon the sea, and then sped over the wave like a bird, the cormorant, which in quest of fish over the dread gulfs of the unresting sea wets its thick plumage in the brine. In such fashion did Hermes ride over the multitudinous waves."). Cf. Also *Aen.* 1.297–304 (Mercury sent down to interfere at Carthage: "This he says and sends the son of Maia down from the sky that the lands and towers of newly-built Carthage may open in welcome to the Teucrians and Dido, ignorant of fate, may not keep them away from her realm. He flies through the wide air on the oarage of his wings and quickly stands on the shores of Libya. At once he carries out the orders and, with the god willing it, the Punic people lay aside their savage hearts; above all the queen receives a gentle soul and friendly mind towards the Teucrians."). Hardie (2009), p. 75 sees Mercury as "Fama's good double"; (2009: 78) 'Fama and Mercury are related as two divinities of the word: both fly freely through the air on the horizontal and vertical axes, both easily span the gap between heaven and earth, and reach still further into the underworld (Mercury as psychopomp, *Fama* through her chthonic origin). There is a strong polarization between *Fama* as a divinity of the perverted word, and Mercury as the embodiment of the rational *logos* of Jupiter, but this is a dichotomy that is not in the end maintained. Mercury's final message to Aeneas is a defamation of Dido as tendentious as *Fama*'s initial report of her and Aeneas' behaviour, 4.569–70 *uarium et mutabile semper / femina*".

239–241: see Gildenhard for reworking of *Odyssey* 5.44–46.

242f. "he summons up some souls from the world below, others he sends.."; *Orco* = an ablative of separation; do we think of Dido's death? Gildenhard explores engagement with two formulaic lines from Homer: *Iliad* 24.344–345; *Odyssey* 5.47–48; *Odyssey* 24.1–5): "And he took the wand wherewith he lulls to sleep the eyes of whom he wishes, while others again he awakens out of slumber."

244: ref to Roman custom of opening up eyes on pyre which had been closed at death? Gildenhard comments: “it is unclear what the phrase *et lumina morte resignat* means. There are three options: (i) ‘and he unseals eyes in death’; this would imply a reference to the Roman custom of opening the eyes of the dead on the funeral pyre: see Pliny, *Natural History* 11.150. (ii) Conversely, Servius believes that *resignat* here has the same meaning as *claudit*, i.e. that it refers to the custom of *closing* the eye-lids of the deceased. (iii) ‘and he unseals eyes from death,’ taking *morte* as an ablative of separation. As O’Hara notes, ‘the rendering “unseals from death” would return to the idea of 242 *animas ille euocat Orco*, or refer mysteriously to some aspect of existence in the underworld.’ [O’Hara (2011), p. 47]. Recent translators and commentators show a marked preference for (i), but I think (iii) deserves serious consideration, not in least in the light of *Aeneid* 6.748–51 (the end of Anchises’ account of reincarnation)”:

246ff. “Overall, Virgil has created an anthropomorphic landscape that plays on correspondences between Atlas the man, and Atlas the mountain. While Atlas certainly is a geological formation to begin with, it is possible to identify humanoid parts, which come gradually into focus, without Atlas ever ceasing to be also a mountain: *vertex*, *caput*, *umeri*, *mentum*, and *barba*. Virgil also calls Atlas a *senex*. Austin notes the progressive personification: ‘from using *vertex* and *caput*, which suit the mountain as well as the human figure, Virgil passes to purely human features in *umeros*, *mento*, *barba*, while the mountain has become a *senex*.’ [Austin (1963), p. 87]. For the wider significance of Atlas in the set passage see Hardie [Hardie (1986), p. 278] “Mercury’s descent is interrupted by the striking picture of the man mountain Atlas. This apparent digression may also be integrated into the wider context. Atlas is the measure of the vertical distance between heaven and earth that Mercury has to cover; he occupies the space which *Fama* threatened to infect. He, like *Fama*, is a giant, and, like *Fama*, he has his head in the clouds, but, unlike *Fama*, he reaches beyond the clouds to touch and support the heavens themselves. Atlas is a giant who has been immobilized and rendered safe; from hubristic sky-reacher he has been transformed into a stable prop of the established order, a guarantee of cosmic cohesion. ... The descent of Mercury thus represents a reversal of the ascent of *Fama*, the reimposition of Olympian order in a space which has been threatened by an evil chthonic power.” (Gildenhard)

247 Atlas = the mountain/ giant holding up the sky. Cf. Gildenhard: “Atlas, one of the first of the Titans (see e.g. Hesiod, *Theogony* 507–511), just as *Fama* was the last (179: *extremam*) of the Giants, belonged to the generation of primordial, and often monstrous, divinities that preceded the Olympian order. After the so-called Titanomachy (the battle between Titans and Olympians), Atlas was forced as punishment to support the vaults of heaven on his shoulders, stationed in Northwestern Africa. In certain versions, he was said to have been petrified into the mountain range, which Virgil here (re-)personifies. Titanic and Olympian lineages of course intersected in complex ways, and Aeneas himself happens to be a distant descendant of Atlas — as we learn in Book 8, where Aeneas draws on this ancestral connection to plead kinship bonds with Euander,

247 nb Atlas as the “enduring one”: play on personification (hard/long-suffering).

250–251: frozen rivers hanging from Atlas’ chin.

253–255: reworking *Odyssey* 5.50–53 (Hermes): “On to Pieria he stepped from the upper air, and swooped down upon the sea, and then sped over the wave like a bird, the cormorant, which hunting fish over the dread gulfs of the unresting sea wets its thick plumage in the brine. In such wise did Hermes ride upon the multitudinous waves.”: see Gildenhard for details and see MacLennan.

258: i.e. Atlas (Maia daughter of Atlas who was transformed into a mountain; grandson visits).

259–78: Mercury and Aeneas in Carthage. Cf. *Od.* 5 (Hermes goes down to Calypso: parallels between Calypso and Dido?). Gildenhard remarks: ““Mercury displays notable independence in his address to Aeneas: far from repeating Jupiter’s discourse virtually word for word (as some characters in Homer are wont to do who act as messengers), he gives his speech an idiosyncratic spin. In part, he is reacting to the shocking scene he encounters at Carthage. For far from being idle, as *Fama* had it, Aeneas is in fact hard at work at building a city — just not the one he is supposed to. Mercury takes in the proceedings in lines 259–265a; bursts into speech (and Aeneas’ sight) in

lines 265b–276a; and abruptly disappears again at lines 276b–278”. Nb cf. epiphany of Venus to Aeneas in Book 1 (she had disguised herself and is revealed by her departure).

259 *magalia*: used of Carthaginian dwellings (oblong with curved sides); idea of temporary huts.

260–261: as Gildenhard notes, Aeneas is doing Dido’s work (and building city which will be future enemy of Rome).

261–264: what do we make of Aeneas’ extravagant clothing? How useful to have sword with jasper and cloak of purple with gold thread? As Gildenhard notes, cloak at 11.72–75 used by Aeneas to cover the corpse of Pallas said to be one made by Dido and there is reference to gold thread. “The death of Pallas fulfills part of the curse Dido utters before her suicide where she wishes Aeneas to see the shocking deaths of his friends (4.617–18: *uideatque indigna suorum/ funera*). That Dido’s garments should reappear at this moment of utter despair hints at the efficaciousness of her imprecation.”

262 *laena* = “a thick woollen cloak; depending on design it could be used in a military context or for representational purposes; here it is clearly an Eastern luxury item that assimilates Aeneas to Dionysus (and Antony)” Gildenhard.

266 *uxorius*: Gildenhard translates “too much beholden to his woman/ wife.” and cites a passage in Dio Cassius which suggests that accusations of enslavement to a foreign woman formed an important theme in Octavian’s propaganda warfare against Mark Antony and Cleopatra in the run-up to the battle at Actium in 31 BC (50.26.5–27.1): “Mercury, in other words, joins in the ethnic abuse that Aeneas suffers from several other characters in the poem (notably Iarbas and Turnus), who cast him as an effeminate Easterner who lacks proper virility and heroic stature. In contrast to the human characters, however, who believe to have pinpointed ‘the essence’ of Aeneas, Mercury knows that his present condition is simply a momentary aberration: Aeneas has slipped into ‘un-Roman’ behavioural patterns, prefiguring in myth the historical liaison between Mark Antony and another African Queen, i.e. Cleopatra. This wider horizon endows Mercury’s wake-up call with special urgency, at least for Virgil’s readers: Aeneas, the ancestor of Octavian, is running the danger of turning into a prototype of Mark Antony.” (Gildenhard).

267 “you who have forgotten” ; cf. 221 where the lovers are described as forgetful of their better fame/reputation.

272–276: Gildenhard explores changes Mercury makes to Jupiter’s words: “Specifically, Mercury drops Jupiter’s invidious speculations about the psychology behind Aeneas’ dallying with Dido (some sort of resentment over his son’s future career in Italy) and takes exactly the opposite approach: he presents the filial prospects (*spes heredis Iuli* more likely refers to the hopes Iulus harbours, rather than the hopes others have invested in him) as a prime motivating factor... These departures from Jupiter’s script also enable Mercury to streamline Jupiter’s rhetorical questions (*inuidet? respicit?*) into one imperative: *respice!* Overall, Mercury’s version is much more economical and to the point ... Mercury thereby neatly turns Jupiter’s somewhat idle rhetorical questions into a powerful image of the future and a command.”

275: see MacLennan for theme of united Italy.

277: doesn’t finish: cf Aeneas later to Dido.

279ff.: Aeneas is in shock: “the effect of Mercury’s first message on Aeneas had been similar in its incendiary emotional effects to the effect of *Fama*’s words on Iarbas’ (Hardie 2009 78). Gildenhard also compares the effect of *Fama*’s words on Dido (cf. *amens* 279; *ardet* 281). What do we think of Aeneas’ actions? Perkell (in *Reflections of Women in Antiquity* ed. Foley, 1981) argues that Aeneas is not shown as genuinely torn: he immediately decides to leave. Poet wants reader to consider manner of dept. She points to references to deceit/guile+ argues *ambire* and *exordia* imply deceit; “My hypothesis is that this collocation of departure, female casualty, denied responsibility, and *pietas* is intended to reflect an incomplete humanity in Aeneas and in the *pietas* which he exemplifies.” - his *pietas* is a flawed ideal which doesn’t require humane virtues which don’t serve political/military goals (love for Anchises and Iulus consistent with Roman political goals).

281-2 flight is described as sweet: summing up tension within Aeneas. Aeneas' flight is necessitated by Fate: "What looks like running away is actually an imposition to move history forward." (Gildenhard).

283-4: "by what form of words" (MacLennan, *quo ... / ... adfatu*); various words connected with *fari* in Book 4, esp. *fama*.

283 *ambire*: Gildenhard: "*ambire* means, literally, 'to go around, to surround', 'to approach', but is also a technical term for 'going around and canvassing (or, indeed, buying) support before elections.' The Romans had laws *de ambitu*, designed to punish excessive use of this practice. From early on, some readers have therefore felt that Virgil's use of the term here is meant to present his hero in an unfavourable light. Others disagree. See e. g. Austin: 'literally, "to canvass", a good word here, but Page is wrong in thinking that it "hints at cunning and treachery"; the sense of pleading or persuading is uppermost.' [Austin (1963), p. 93] In turn, O'Hara reverts to Page's view, taking it for granted that *ambire* 'hints at cunning and treachery.' [O'Hara (2011), p. 51] Etc. Whatever the precise semantic charge — and this is a great topic for debate! — Aeneas is thinking of ways to get Dido to see matters from his point of view, knowing full well that he is embarking upon a mission impossible."

284 "raging" (*furentem*): probably proleptic (Dido will go mad)

285-6 "He turned his thoughts in quick succession now this way, now that, driving them to one idea after another and turning over every possibility" (MacLennan); *alternanti* = dative present participle (sc. *ei*) after *visa est*. Cf. Gildenhard: "What are the two alternatives? His subsequent instructions to his men make it clear that Aeneas ponders whether he should (a) just approach Dido, come clean, and try to reason with her (cf. *ambire*); or (b) do this, but not before telling his men to get everything ready for an immediate departure. He opts for the latter course of action, though as it turns out he never gets the chance to break the news to Dido first: she cottons on to what is afoot and, enraged, goes for him."

288 Note that references to ancestral Romans could add urgency to need to press on with mission (Mnestheus was thought ancestor of the gens of the Memmii; Sergestus (cf. 1.510; 5.121–122 etc) was thought ancestor of the gens Sergia (play in Book 5 with L. Sergius Catilina/Catiline in wrecking ship (of state)). Again at 12.561 (proto-civil war). Perkell suggests Aeneas retreats to male world: see men's names and epic epithets.

290: debate over whether tackle/equipment or (more sinisterly) weapons (and if we think of this anyway).

290 *rebus sit causa nouandis*: Gildenhard comments: "The formulation *res nouare*, 'to alter circumstances radically' recalls the phrase *res nouae*, which in the conservative society of ancient Rome did not possess a positive ring. It meant 'revolution', i.e. the destruction of the traditional socio-political order. The radical touch is appropriate in the situation: Aeneas' about-face could not be sharper and causes Dido's world to collapse. As 292 (*tantos rumpi non speret amores*) makes clear, nothing in his behaviour towards Dido hinted at the threat of departure, much less a headlong flight; everything pointed to a permanent union. What Aeneas plans, in other words, is a 180° turnaround, out of the blue — and he knows it. The lines have given rise to different readings, more or less favourable to Aeneas. Here, for instance, is Horsfall [(1995), p. 131]: 'the balance of 291 shows that this secrecy is not so much aimed at Dido as (unsuccessfully) at town gossip (cf. 296f.). Aeneas himself, since *optima Dido*... has no idea of what is up, will try to find the right moment to break the news (293–94).' This interpretation brings out well how Aeneas presents his plans to his men. But we may wonder whether Virgil's ethopoia is as innocuous as all that — does use of a verb that implies dissimulation not also capture an inherent ambiguity in his actions towards Dido? Sure, he tells his men that he will approach her when the moment is right; but what would a right moment look like? And would Aeneas have found it? His plan anyway goes awry: Dido, so *Fama* ensures, gets wind of events, quite apart from the fact that Aeneas turns out to be stunningly naive in his assumption that Dido harbours no suspicion (see below on 296–98). Moreover, the *dolos* in line 296 is most naturally taken as an *authorial* comment on Aeneas' plans for the departure, so

irrespective of his intention of breaking the news gently at an opportune moment, he is tainted with treachery.”

291 nb dissimulation at A. 1.209 (to keep up spirits); motif of deceit in Book 4.

291–294: indirect speech.

293 Gildenhard notes ironic reflection in Dido’s plea to Anna to seek out Aeneas again 4.421–423.

291–292: but Dido has worries/suspensions (298); also Fama’s power underestimated (298–299) and how easy would it be for whole of Trojans to make departure preparations? What does this say about Aeneas and the relationship?

291 *optima Dido*: does the epithet “excellent” suggest Aeneas’ feelings or does it suggest formality/distancing which accompanies emotional distancing? Cf. later strained speech.

Gildenhard comments: “Aeneas has been strangely absent from the narrative so far: we have seen him resplendent during the hunt, obliquely active in the cave, mentioned by *Fama* and Iarbas, but ‘Aeneas the man’ has remained elusive. We get no insight into the mind of the hero while the affair is on; Aeneas only re-enters the narrative when, for him, the affair is over. There is, then, a narrative gap that could presumably be filled with volumes.”

294–295: speed, urgency. It seems Aeneas’ men are keen to leave (interesting that their view have been elided over during the affair: why?). Austin (1963), p. 95: ‘Note how uneasy Aeneas’ men have plainly been in Carthage, and compare their simple alacrity with his worried indecision: they have no problems like his to complicate their little world.’ Gildenhard argues for contrast between simple life of people and difficulties of leader.

296 *At regina*: “the phrase introduces the middle section of the book. It echoes 4.279: *At uero* Aeneas, harks back to the keynote of the book (4.1: *At regina*) and points forward to the third occurrence of the phrase at 4.504.” (Gildenhard).

296–392: Dido and Aeneas come in confrontation, to no avail (arguing like characters from tragedy?). Dido speaks at 296–330 and 365–87. Cf. Euripidean Medea’s speech and Apollonian Medea (when she fears abandonment) (both married); also Ariadne Cat. 64.132–201. See e.g.: Perkell (1981); Feeney, D. C. (1983), ‘The Taciturnity of Aeneas’, *Classical Quarterly* 33, 204–19 (reprinted in Harrison 1990); Starr, R. J. (2003), ‘Aeneas the Rhetorician: *Aeneid* IV, 279–95’, *Latomus* 62, 36–46; Schiesaro, A. (2008), ‘Furthest Voices in Virgil’s Dido’, *Studi italiani di filologia classica n.s.* 6, 60–109, 194–245..

296 “tricks” (*dolos*): motif of deceit again. Focalized by whom? Note that Carthaginians had reputation for deceit. See e.g. Starks ‘*Fides Aeneia*: The Transference of the Punic Stereotypes in the *Aeneid*, *Classical Journal* 94.3 (1999), 255–81.

298 Dido was fearing everything even while it was still safe: suggestive of internal conflict? (‘Virgil thus makes it clear that Dido in her inmost heart was never free from self-blame.’ Austin (1963), p. 96). Or relationship not quite right?

298 i.e. same Fama as spread report of affair.

300–1: Dido becomes in grip of passion over reason.

300–301 word related to being a Bacchant (*bacchatur*): later Amata is connected to a bacchant (7.385–91); also note Fama 4.666. Nb fire imagery continued. Gildenhard comments: “the image of Dido in torment raging through her city collapses the boundary between wilderness and civilization: the queen exhibits the savage, out-of-control, and insane demeanour of a Maenad in the city itself.”

302–303 Gildenhard comments: “The revels and the mountain do not bother to spur on or call this particular Thyiad; rather, they constitute a force field into which the Thyiad is attracted like a magnet, losing control of her ego and rational agency.”

303 *Cithaeron*: mountain range between Boeotia and Attica. Significance in that it is where Pentheus was ravaged by Dionysiac females? NB Dido as Pentheus at 4.469. Tragic evocation.

304 Dido doesn’t wait for Aeneas, putting him on the back foot.

305–30: Dido’s speech, discussed by MacLennan.

305–6 *dissimulare etiam sperasti, perfide, tantum / posse nefas tacitusque mea decedere terra?*: Perkell (1981) notes this echoes *dissimulent* (291), *taciti* (289), *fuga* (281); argues we question

Aeneas' moral and emotional courage and honesty. For *perfide*: see below 366. Do we think of Theseus/Ariadne (Cat. 64.132-3)?

305-6: cf. *dissimulent* 291 with notes above.

307 *data dextera*: "your promise once given" (MacLennan). Nb 338-9; action of a husband? (nb handclasp in Roman wedding).

308 "about to die", *moritura*: how seriously does Aeneas take Dido's assertion that his departure will have fatal consequences? See his claim in underworld 6.463-4. Cf. 4.318 *domus labentis*; 4.323 *me moribundam*).

309-11: Aeneas plans to depart in sailing season (dangerous) which is taken as evidence for his savage disposition towards Dido; cf. 4.430 (Dido to Anna on winds).

311 see MacLennan on connotations of Aquilo wind. Aeneas must be desperate to travel at this time. Cf. 52-3.

316 *per conubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos*: reworks Ariadne at Cat. 64.141 (effect?); note Dido's use of marriage words (deceived? Self-deluded?).

317: O'Hara cfs Sophocles *Ajax* 520-1 (Ajax's wife) "But remember me too. A man should remember if he has experienced anything pleasant".

318 falling house: physical and metaphorical? Do we think of city sack simile (and future of Punic wars)?

321 reference to Tyrians being hostile. If = Carthaginians, suggests Dido's people have not been happy (like Aeneas').

322 *pudor*: see previously.

322f: Dido will be unable to gain the immortality of chaste reputation; Aeneas will get immortality (1.259). Ariadne's crown becomes a constellation (Cat. 66.59-61).

322 "prior reputation/fame", *fama prior*: esp. that of loyalty to Sychaeus.

324 this name – i.e. name of guest.

324 delay.

327-30: Gutting 268 (Gutting, E. (2006), 'Marriage in the *Aeneid*: Venus, Vulcan, and Dido', *Classical Philology* 101.3, 263-79) explores Catullan intertext: 'The phrase *parvulus Aeneas* is striking because it is a rare use of a diminutive adjective in Vergil's epic. The diminutive recalls the *parvulus Torquatus* of Catullus 61. There, the *parvulus Torquatus* exemplifies perfectly the use of children as tokens of the conjugal bond. Catullus explains that the child should be a replica of his father in order to serve as a sign to all of his mother's *pudicitia* (61.209-18). But in Dido's case, the typically conjugal desire for a child who looks like his father has become a facet of erotic desire.' Gildenhard adds "And yet: if we take the genre Catullus is writing in seriously, then Dido is thinking of a wedding first of all, a proper and joyful union blessed with offspring—the problem is that she infects this Roman model of wedlock and procreation with the warped and disturbing desire worthy of a Cleopatra, who did indeed give birth to such a child, Caesar's ill-fated son Caesarion. Roman readers who pursued the implications of this intertext, then, would have ended up in uncomfortable territory." Dido childless; cf. 32-3. Hypsipyle wonders about pregnancy by Jason (and has twins) *Arg.* 1.897f.

327 *parvulus*: diminutive of "little" (only one in poem) adds pathos; cf. Cat. 61.209.

330 "captured", *capta*: as MacLennan notes, Dido sees herself as a city captured by the enemy.

330 "deserted", *deserta*: cf. Cat. 64.57 (Ariadne).

331 "because of warnings of Jupiter". Aeneas is being dutiful on one level.

331f: unmoving eyes in contrast to Dido's eyes darting about (363).

332 emotion there; suppressed (cf. 1.208f).

332 "a last", *tandem*: suggestive of struggle to gain composure.

333-361: Aeneas' speech: see MacLennan ad loc. Cf. Jason to Hypsipyle (*Arg.* 1.900-9) and Jason to Medea (*Arg.* 4.395-409). Perkell (1981) sees his last speech as unsympathetic and not wholly honest: although Aeneas realises he must be gentle (4.291-294; 393-386), his words are inflammatory (expresses no love, sympathy, regret and tries "to exonerate himself with superficially

correct but substantively false legalism that he never actually married her” Perkell). Dido recognizes humanity missing: 4.365-367, hurt by lack of care/sympathy.

335 Elissa: Dido’s Phoenician name

337 formal tone.

337–38 Aeneas responding to charge of dissimulation. Aeneas admits his departure is a flight (cf 281 *fuga*), but says that he didn’t want to depart in secret (true if we take a literal reading of 291–94: though hiding preparations..): seems he wanted to get everything ready for quick getaway when news broken.

340-1: Perkell (1981) suggests we expect affirmation of care BUT says he would seek Troy. Speaks of love for Rome not Dido (4.345-357). Tries to discredit Dido’s feeling by suggesting she is motivated by malice or envy (4.347-350). Only when Aeneas speaks of son, father and Jove does his speech have genuine power and pathos (351-9).

345 Apollo had a temple at Grynium. Apollo consulted when Aeneas visited Buthrotum. Dido would have heard of the prophesied destiny in Aeneas’ narrative.

347 i.e. my love is not you.

347f. “if the towers of Carthage and the view of a city in Africa charm you, a Phoenician...” (MacLennan). Aeneas counters 311.

351-3 vision of Anchises not previously mentioned; cf. claim of frequent appearances at 6.695-6. Will Dido believe him?

355 “whom I am cheating of his kingdom” (MacLennan, *quem regno ... fraudo*); refers to Ascanius; language of deceit.

360 *incendere*: fire imagery.

362: “turned away”, *aversa* (i.e. Dido looking at him over her shoulder). Cf. Dido’s reaction to Aeneas in the underworld 6.469.

363 “darting her eyes this way and that” (MacLennan). Contrast 331f.

365-87: Dido’s speech.

361 “I do not follow Italy of my own accord”, *Italiam non sponte sequor*: half-line. MacLennan discusses uses of verb. What do we make of Aeneas’ claim? Does it exonerate him?

365 Venus was Aeneas’ mother. Contrast 4.12. Dardanus was the founder of his race: cf. 8.134.

366 “perfidious one”, *perfide*: as 305; cf. 373 “nowhere is trust safe”, *nusquam tuta fides*; 421. Note Dido’s breaking of *fides* (552).

366-7 Caucasus; note Aeneas’ association with rocks is usually positive. The topos goes back to Il. 16.33ff.; note esp. presence in Cat. 64.154ff.

375: cf. 1.562-78.

378: “awe-inspiring” (*horrida*). Dido is sceptical as has no knowledge of these things.

379: “of course!” (*scilicet*): sarcastic.

379 “This is the gods’ labour” (MacLennan). Has Epicurean overtones (Epicureans thought that gods were apart from the human world and not troubled),

382 *pia*: i.e. righteous. Theme of *pietas* (roughly piety but broad meaning) in the book. Dido throwing Aeneas’ *pietas* back at him.

384 “Though not with you, I shall follow you with black fire” (MacLennan); we think of the torch-carrying Furies...

387 “news of this” (MacLennan, *haec ... fama*:). *fama* again...

388-9: “she broke off their conversation half-finished” (MacLennan).

389: eyes again.

391: Change from our first picture of Dido.

391: Lyne (1989: 41-2) notes verb *conlapsa* usually used for collapsed buildings.

393 *pius*: how pious is he being? Epithet appears for first time in 4; first time since 1.378. Perkell (1981) suggests that in leaving Dido, Aeneas affirms his *pietas*. Vergil suggests emotional cost of becoming imperial people.

395: Aeneas does feel “love”: see *amore*.

397-449: MacLennan describes as a short mirror-image of Aeneas’ arrival in Carthage.

399: oars are “leafy” (*frondentis*) which suggests haste to leave.

402-7: ants/ Trojans, suggestive of discipline, industry. Note that Dido has been looking from on high so would have seen the Trojans as small. Cf 1.430-6 (Carthaginians as bees) (MacLennan notes loaded change in watcher). Disturbing reference to plunder?

407: “and they punish delays” (MacLennan, *castigantque moras*); theme of delay again.

408 emotional apostrophe to Dido.

412 “Love”. *Amor*: ancient readers wouldn’t have to decide between *amor/Amor* as we do. Do we understand Cupid? (who had been involved in making Dido fall in love in Book 1).

414 Dido goes “in prayer”, “humbling herself” (MacLennan, *supplex*): a marked change.

416-436: Dido’s speech to her sister Anna. See e.g. Schiesaro (2008).

418 “happy” (*laeti*): further evidence of Trojan disquiet at Carthaginian stay.

419: Dido could and did expect.

420 Do we believe Dido? Is she trying to reassure everyone she is ok when she has darker thoughts?

422 If Aeneas was accustomed “to make [Anna] alone his friend”, what does that say about the healthiness of the Dido/Aeneas relationship and is there an allusion to the myth of the Anna-Aeneas relationship?

423: cf. 293-4

424 “enemy”, *hostem*: further downward slide in relations from “guest”, *hospes*. Aeneas is (in her view) acting like an enemy (and thanks to curse, his race will become the enemy).

424 Dido, the queen who had helped the Trojans, reduced to trying suppliance (*supplex*).

425ff: Dido explaining she hasn’t prompted hostility. 425f refers to the gathering of Greeks at Aulis to swear allegiance to attempt to get Helen/sack Troy.

427 Dido hasn’t committed any sacrilege against Anchises (who was buried in Sicily). Nb myth of Diomedes’ mistreatment. See Schiesaro 2008.

428 “hard”, *duras*: elegiac engagement? Nb Aeneas as *durus* /rock-like elsewhere.

429 “Where does he rush”, *quo ruit?*: see MacLennan for possible ambiguity. Note speed previously (after “mora”).

429 “wretched”, *miserae*: Dido = *infelix* etc

430: see previously on stormy sailing season.

431: question of status of relationship again.

433 *furori*: cf. Dido previously as *furens* (“raging”) etc.

435-6: discussed by Casali *Classical Journal* 1999-2000 (‘Staring at the pun : *Aeneid* 4.435-6 reconsidered’, *CJ* 95: 103-18) and argues for allusion to retraction of Dido’s previous curse (Aeneas doesn’t grant delay and so curse not retracted).

437 Dido begging; change from former proud queen (was supplicated in Book 1!).

438-9: Aeneas is unmoved now that he is resolved to fulfil his destiny (illustrated by oak simile).

438 Anna “brings and brings again”; suggestive of desperation?

440 “peaceful”, *placidus*: proleptic: his ears are blocked so they are untroubled; contrast the cares of Dido.

441-4 oak simile in which sturdy oak weathers storm (fits association of Aeneas with stability ; suggestive of Dido’s passion and that Aeneas is affected); understand a main verb. O’Hara (2012) lists parallels in which trees do fall: the contrast is striking.

447: i.e. Anna presents the case from every angle.

448 “cares”, *curas*: evidence of Aeneas’ feelings.

449 “tears”, *lacrimae*: the tears of Aeneas (so *inanes* indicates that they are empty in that they do not lead to action) or Dido (so *inanes* indicates unavailing)? Deliberately left unclear?

450 *fatis*: i.e. doom but do we also think of the fates involved in Aeneas’ mission?

450 turning point in making definite plans for suicide.

453ff: we think back to her sacrifices at the start of Book 4, there in hope of the affair. Then there were signs that the gods were not favourable; here the signs are explicit and foreboding.

457marble shrine/chapel to dead husband is a manifestation of Dido’s ties to him.

459: “wondrous honour” (*miro ...honore*): suggestive of Dido’s devotion. As MacLennan notes, the commemoration of Sychaeus has previously been a joyful one.

462 We are given Dido’s viewpoint. Nb adynata expressed by Dido at 4.24-9.

463: owl was omen of death.

464: “prophecies of seers of old” (MacLennan, *vatum priorum*); Dido only just realises their import.

465-6: pursuit picks up deer/hunter simile. Dream (cf. Ilia’s dream in Ennius’ *Annales*) evokes Dido’s isolation. See e.g. Schiesaro (2008).

465: “hunts” (MacLennan, *agit*).

465 *furentem*: cf. e.g. 69 (before deer simile); 283; 298.

466-8: “She seems to herself always to be being abandoned, always to be walking unaccompanied down a long road..” (MacLennan). What is effect?

468 “Tyrians”, *Tyrios*: Dido cannot stop thinking of her people.

469-73: Dido is compared to Pentheus and Orestes (for myth details, see MacLennan). The passage gestures to tragic nature of Book 4. Cf Pentheus seeing double, Eur. *Bacchae* 918-9. Note 471 *scaenis*: cf. 1.164 and cothurnus reference.

469 “in his madness” (MacLennan, *demens*).

471 *scaenis*: see MacLennan’s discussion of whether it means on or from “the stage”.

472: Clytemnestra is armed with torches and snakes, like a Fury figure. Dido becomes mapped onto an avenging Fury in her curse scene.

474-503: death-plan/pyre deception (note that *pyra* would not necessarily indicate funeral pyre): see discussion by MacLennan; on the magic, see e.g. Schiesaro; note similarities with Apollonius’ Medea (a witch; Dido dabbles in magic, which would have roused Roman disapproval, but the magic is associated esp with the priestess figure). The pyre idea looks to the pre-Vergilian myth tradition: Timaeus told of Tyrian princess who flung herself onto pyre she had built under the guise it was part of ritual to free herself from obligations to her former husband.

475f.: “she works out the exact time and manner” (MacLennan, *tempus secum ipsa modumque exigit*). Rational plotting: cf. *furens*.

480ff.: mystical, distant land of far west where ocean and land were thought to meet.

483 “(Coming) from here a priestess of the Massylian nation has been pointed out to me” (MacLennan). Real?

484f: the Hesperides were guardians of the tree with golden apples. The priestess is painted as looking after the dragon which helps guard. Odd detail of soporifics may look to story of Medea who sent dragon to sleep when stealing Golden Fleece.

495 *viri*: see MacLennan on whether “husband” or “man”.

495 “arms which he left fixed (to the walls)” (MacLennan); what is the effect of this? Aeneas settling down? Conquering Dido? Note Dido uses sword to kill herself.

496 “wedding couch”, *lectumque iugalem*: focalized from Dido’s perspective.

503: unfinished line.

504 *At regina*: phrase again (cf. 1;296), introducing third “act”.

505 Gildenhard on 4.18 “The three times in *Aeneid* 4 that Virgil uses the term *taeda*, the wedding torch, mark three important stages in the plot... The third time Virgil uses *taeda* in Book Four, he does so in what appears to be a simultaneous wedding, suicide, and funeral: at the end of the book, Dido commits suicide surrounded by the trappings of an elaborate anti- wedding. Dido decorates the space with foliage and makes her pyre “huge with torches (perhaps pine-torches are meant here) and cut oak” [4.504–08].”

508 what is the purpose of the effigy? MacLennan provides parallels for attempt to win back lover and torture...

509-21: MacLennan discusses the three stages of the ritual and ambiguity of offerings (is Dido torn even at this stage?).

511 three-form goddess Diana/Hecate (chthonic deity, associated with witchcraft)/ Luna.

515-16: subject= *amor* (i.e. hippomanes, growth on heads of foals at birth)

516 unfinished line.

519 “about to die”, *moritura*: again...

519-20 MacLennan takes *conscia fati* as proleptic “she calls on the gods and the stars to be aware of her fate”.

520 *foedere*: picking up military imagery: see MacLennan.

522: Ceremony over; as MacLennan observes, only here in the *Aeneid*, do we receive no sign as to how the prayers were received.

522ff.: sleep for everyone (note Aeneas) except Dido. Cf. Apollonius Rhodius 3.744ff (mapping Dido onto Medea): effect?

529 *infelix animi*: “heartbroken” (MacLennan); Dido *infelix* elsewhere e.g. 4.596 (referring to herself); 6.456.

534-52: Dido’s speech: cf. speeches of other abandoned heroines weighing their options (Ariadne, Medea...)

534: Dido has previously had to contend with the suitors: see the beginning of Book 4. She asks if she should find out only to be “laughed at” (*inrisa*).

535 *supplex*: Dido has been suppliant to Aeneas but this is too far.

539 “and the favour of a former kindness remains with those who remember it well” (MacLennan); sarcastic as Dido doesn’t feel they are showing gratitude.

541: “the woman they hate” (MacLennan, *invisam*); Dido’s interpretation of the Trojans’ happy departure.

542 Laomedon was the king of Troy who refused to honour his promises to pay for the construction of the city walls.

543 sailors “rejoicing” because leaving? As if taking Dido as captive spoil?

546 Dido is still thinking of her responsibilities as ruler.

548-52: addresses/blames Anna (fairly?) for causing her to enter relationship with Aeneas; recalls language at start.

553 *fides*: i.e. loyalty.

553 *Tantos ... rumpebat ... questus*: Dido brings “such great complaints bursting out”.

555: contrast Aeneas’ ability to sleep with Dido’s insomnia.

556-7: Mercury (or avatar or Aeneas’ guilty conscience...) appears again; MacLennan suggests the vagueness adds to sense that it is a malicious visitation. Appropriate for Mercury’s actions to lead to suicide of Dido given his psychopompic function: so Fratanuono ‘Lethaeum ad fluvium: Mercury in the *Aeneid*’ in *Pallas* 99: 2015).

560 “goddess-born”, *nate dea*: Aeneas was born of Venus (and Anchises); way of getting Aeneas to remember his importance.

563 *dolos*: deceit/fraud again: here of Carthagian.

564: suggestion that suicidal Dido has nothing to lose.

565-6: Lovatt sees as in epic register: “*Quis nesciat* itself signals a reference to poetic tradition, and the description of the Trojans as *genus Aeneadum* signals not just her awareness of Aeneas, but also high epic style, reinforced by the repetition of *que* in 566, a Virgilian imitation of the Homeric repeated *te*. The metaphor in *incendia belli* equally marks these lines as self-consciously poetic. There is a metaphor too in the next line (*obtunsa pectora*, ‘our hearts are not so blunt’)” (Lovatt in Dictynna 10 (2013) ‘The eloquence of Dido: exploring speech and gender in Virgil’s *Aeneid*’)

566-7: apparent threat of Dido firing the Trojan ships: she wishes to do this when hears of death (593-4) but would she? Note 5.4 of the flames shining: of pyre...

569 *rumpe moras*: motif of delay; possible play with *roma/amor*? Cf. Reed (‘*Mora* in the *Aeneid*’).

569-70 “A woman is always an inconsistent and unreliable thing” (MacLennan, *varium ... femina*). How true is this of Dido? How far is instability a feature of her throughout? She has not kept her *fides* to Sychaeus. What about Mercury’s agenda?

571ff: note emphasis on speed. The *mora* is over.

577 “again”, *iterum*: see previous appearance of Mercury.

579 swords gain importance in *Aeneid* 4. Here Aeneas uses a sword to leave.