

Aeneid 4.1-128: some 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: *Sic pater Aeneas intentis omnibus unus / fata renarrabat diuum cursusque docebat./conticuit tandem factoque hic fine quieuit.*)

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

At : note Aeneas= *quievit* (3.718); contrast line 5. Austin 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.

regina: 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 ad loc.).

iamdudum: has been suffering some time; Austin "all this long while"; getting worse?

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

cura: OLD sv *cura* sense 5: Solitude, concern: (especially on the part of a lover). nb ablative (goes with *gravi*); 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 *vulnus*: wound imagery continued. See OLD sv *uulnus* sense 1d (poet.): a wound of love.

alit: "feeds": impact of word?

venis: 'in her bloodstreams' or 'with her bloodstreams'? Austin says probably instrumental.

caeco: i.e. hidden (ablative, agreeing with *igni*). Dido's passion becomes more visible as the book goes on.

carpitur: See OLD sv *carpō* sense 7c (of love, passion; also, of other cares) to consume.

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

3 *multus ... multa*: see MacLennan. 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.

virī virtus: "figura etymologica"; *virtus* ("excellence"?) is what a *vir* should have.

animo: See OLD sv *animus* sense 5: The mind as the organ of thought.

recursat: See OLD sv *recursō* sense 2: To keep recurring to the mind. Frequentative; Dido keeps thinking about this; obsessiveness ominous.

4 *haerent*: cf. arrow clinging (*haeret*) at 73 (deer simile). Dido can't shake this off.

infixi: See OLD sv *infigō* sense 4: To fix in the mind or memory, impress, implant (ideas or similar). "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.).

pectore: ablative without preposition "in her breast".

vultus: (plu) "features", take with *verba* as subjects of *haerent*.

5 Dido does not get *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.

dat: See OLD sv *dō* sense 12: To cause to have, impart.

6: take *Phoebea* with *lampade* (refers to the sun: See OLD sv *Phoebēus*: Of or associated with Phoebus). Second "e" long as transliterated from the Greek.

6-7 *postera... Aurora*: ="the following dawn". See OLD sv *posterus* sense 2: Next (in succession of time), following.

lustrabat: primarily "passing over" but with senses "purify" and "illuminate" behind. OLD sv *lustrō* cites under sense 4 *lumine ~are*, *luce ~are*, To spread light over or around, irradiate: (also without ablative).

7 *polo*: "from the heavens".

8 Austin ad loc discusses rhythm: suggests elision at the end of the second foot and absence of a third foot caesura give metrical picture of urgency.

cum: with indicative (purely temporal).

male sana: "beside herself" (Austin who notes *male* has force of a negative and is a colloquial usage).

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 *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 *suspensam*: proleptic; in a state of anxious uncertainty or suspense/on tenterhooks (OLD 9 sv *suspensus* sense 2 (of persons): In a state of anxious uncertainty or suspense, on tenterhooks).

insomnia: See OLD sv *insomnium* sense 2: An apparition seen in a trance or dream, a vision, dream. 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?

terrent: See OLD sv *terreō* sense 2: (especially of facts, circumstances) To fill with violent fear, to alarm, terrify.

10 *quis*; introducing an exclamation (*what ...!*). *quis nouus hic* agrees with *hospes*. “The use of *quis* as an exclamation together with the demonstrative pronoun *hic* makes a literal translation difficult: ‘What an unforeseen guest, this, who has entered our house!’..As Conington points out, Dido here quotes herself. See 1.627 (Dido speaking to Aeneas and his men): *quare agite, o tectis, iuuenes, succedite nostris* (‘Come therefore, young men, enter our halls’).” (Gildenhard)

novus: probably “strange”. OLD cites under sense 12c (of persons): newly arrived (in a place); fresh (to an activity).

11 *quem sese ore ferens, quam forti pectore et armis!*: “syntactically, the line continues in apposition to *hospes*, giving two further specifications in different constructions: a present participle (*ferens*), followed by ablatives of quality (*forti pectore et armis*). The phrase *ore ferre* means ‘to exhibit or display in one’s features or expression’ (OLD s.v. *ferre* 9c). A painfully literal translation of *quem sese ore ferens* would go something like: ‘as whom (*quem*) displaying (*ferens*) himself (*sese*) in his mien (*ore*)!’” (Gildenhard)

armis: See OLD sv *armus* sense 2 (poet.) The shoulder (of a man).

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: *nec vana fides*: sc. *est*. See OLD sv *uānus* sense 3: (of assertions, predictions, etc.) Containing no truth or substance, false, groundless. See OLD sv *fidēs* sense 12: Belief, conviction, credence. Dido now believes since she has seen Aeneas. Question of Aeneas’ trustworthiness- *fides* - later! Gildenhard comments “*credo* introduces the indirect statement *genus esse deorum*, with *nec uana fides* ... inserted as a parenthetical exclamation.” See her change of mind at 4.365–67.

13 *degeneres animos timor arguit. heu, quibus ille*: See OLD sv *dēgener* (*ris*, adj.) sense 1: Of inferior stock, low-born. See OLD sv *arguō* (*uere*, *uī*, *ūtum*, *tr.*) Sense 1: To show, reveal, demonstrate, prove. Gildenhard comments “a ‘breathless’, dactylic line. 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* 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 *quae canebat*: “what a draining of war’s cup he told” (Austin); OLD sv *exhauriō* cites under sense 7: To see through to the end (an event, situation, etc.). Gildenhard suggests *exhausta* has sense of ‘down to the bitter end’ and is ironic given *horrida bella* (*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).

15–19: “Lines 15–19 contain one long conditional sequence. The protasis consists of two asyndetic *si*-clauses (15: *si... sederet*; 18: *si... pertaesum fuisset*). The first is in the imperfect subjunctive (a present contrary-to-fact), the second is in the pluperfect subjunctive (a past contrary-to-fact). They share the apodosis, i.e. *potui*, which is in the perfect indicative (rather than the subjunctive) since it is one of those verbs that ‘contain within themselves a subjunctive type of meaning (e.g. “could”, “should”).’...Scholars are divided on the meaning of the change in tense from imperfect to pluperfect subjunctive. Here is Gutting: ‘Dido’s first protasis is a statement that precludes infidelity to Sychaeus at the present time, but the second protasis only precludes infidelity in past time. The possibility of present infidelity is left open. Thus the change in tense reflects the incremental *paulatim abolere Sychaeum* begun by Cupid at 1.720. The apodosis, *huic uni forsā potui succumbere culpae*, leaves no doubt of the cracks in Dido’s fidelity.’...Contrast MacLennan, who offers a more innocent reading: ‘The strength of feeling in this sentence is worth setting out. Dido could say in routine language, using the imperf. Subj., *si non me taederet succumbere possem*—“If I were not weary, I could yield”. Virgil gives her the intensive prefix *per-*; he suggests that the matter is over once and for all by using the pluperf. subj., intensifying that idea by *pertaesum fuisset* rather than *esset*.’..” (Gildenhard)

15 *mihi*: ethic dative.

fixum: See OLD sv *fixus* (a, um, adj.) sense 1: (of ordinances, fate, decisions, etc.) Firmly established, unchangeable, irrevocable, etc.

sederet: See OLD sv *sedeō* (ēre, sēdī, sessum, intr, (tr.)) sense 11: (of a course of action) to be settled or decided on.

15–16: “The *ne*-clause, which is the subject of the first *si*-clause with *fixum immotumque* as a predicative complement (‘if it were not planted in my mind as fixed and immovable that...’), specifies what Dido thinks she will remain unconditionally committed to. (*ali*)*cui* (*ali-* dropping out after *si*, *nisi*, *ne* and *num*) is the dative object, *me* the accusative object of *sociare*, which is a complementary infinitive with *uellem*. The generic reference to a comprehensive *aliquis* (‘anyone’) already prepares for the exception.” Gildenhard (who also notes Dido from a Phoenician root=‘Wanderer’...).

16: Austin notes the slow heavy spondees of the first three feet, marking Dido’s measured purpose.

16 *uinclo*: See OLD sv *uinculum* sense 6: A force or impulse uniting people, a link, bond (especially of friendship, kinship, and similar).

iugali: See OLD sv *iugālis* sense 3: Of or belonging to marriage, matrimonial.

17 *postquam*: See OLD sv *postquam* sense 2: From the time that, ever since, after.

deceptam: See OLD sv *dēcipiō* sense 3: To cheat (one’s relatives, etc.) of their hopes or expectations by one’s death.

sc. *me*; *morte* goes with *deceptam* and *fefellit*. Second love also cheats..

18: *si non pertaesum thalami taedaeque fuisset*: “if I had not been..” (contrary-to-fact); nb impersonal verb (pluperfect subjunctive of *pertaedet*, ‘to fill with exceeding weariness or disgust.’); sc. “me”; objects in the genitives. Note etymological play in *pertaesum* / *taedae* (>emphasizes Dido’s tedium: Gildenhard). For the word *taeda* (the wedding torch, here hendiadys i.e. marriage:

OLD sv *taeda* (A pine torch) sense 2b: a torch used at and symbolizing a wedding), see Hersch: ‘In Book Four of Virgil’s *Aeneid*, *taeda* surfaces three times; the first two *taedae* are unequivocally nuptial.’ (Hersch 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: *huic uni forsā potui succumbere culpae*: *culpa* goes with *huic* and *uni*; see Gildenhard for the temporarily ambiguous syntax arguably reflecting the movement of Dido’s thought. What is meaning of *culpa* here? (fault/offence/wrongdoing/weakness?). *potui*: possibility (can use indicative in the apodosis of condition where we might expect subjunctive).

19 *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 (*culpa*). 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: *Anna (fatebor enim) miseri post fata Sychaei/ coniugis et sparsos fraterna caede penatis/ solus hic inflexit sensus animumque labantem/ impulit*: 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: *ille Sychaeum/ impius ante aras atque auri caecus amore/ clam ferro incautum superat*. 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.

20 *fatebor... fata*: a *figura etymologica*.

20–21 *miseri post fata Sychaei/ coniugis*: enjambment: effect? Reluctance on Dido’s part to acknowledge her status as widow sworn to chastity or (MacLennan) underlining him as her “husband”, as means to self-persuade?

20-2 *post fata... et sparsos fraterna caede penatis*: *penatis*=acc. plu. *sparsos* clause goes into more detail about the fate of Sychaeus. *fraterna caede*= an instrumental ablative going with *sparsos*. Gildenhard suggests mimetic word order (Dido’s household torn apart) and links with hyperbaton (disjointed word order).

22 *solus hic*: picks up *huic* (19); Dido had other suitors (we see Iarbas) whom she had rejected (cf. 36-8); she has kept her vow of chastity.... *Hic* (short I) = nom. Masc. s of the demonstrative *hic*, *haec*, *hoc*.

22–23 *inflexit sensus animumque labantem/ impulit*: “Overall, the phrase works up to a climax in three stages: (a) *infecto* in its primary sense signifies ‘to bend, curve’; here it means ‘to cause to turn from one’s purpose, principles, or mode of life’ (OLD s.v. 3); (b) this sense of turning from what is right is picked up and reinforced by the attributive participle *labantem* (*labo*: to be unsteady, waver, falter); (c) then comes the finale (*impulit*): Aeneas has indeed overthrown the mind that was already faltering” (Gildenhard). ‘The run-on to *impulit*, followed by a strong pause, is characteristic of Virgil (cf. 72, 83, 261, 624 etc.) and very effective...; Dido draws a deep breath before her explicit admission that she is in love.’ (Austin 1963: 31).

inflexit: See OLD sv *infectō* sense 3: To cause to turn from one's purpose, principles, mode of life, or similar, bend, change.

labantem: See OLD sv *labō* sense 6a: To waver in opinion or resolve, hesitate, falter: (also of opinions).

23 *impulit*: See OLD sv *impellō* sense 6: To impel along a particular line of thought or action.

ueteris uestigia flammae: flame imagery continued from the start of Book 4, here used by Dido; cf. pyre 5.3f. See OLD sv *flamma* ((fig.) A burning passion, fire, heat) sense 8a: (usu., of love) (concrete) the object of one's passion.

24-27: *adynata*; “The syntax of the period is as follows: the potential subjunctive *optem* (24) introduces a wish-clause that specifies two things that should happen (*uel dehiscat; uel adigat*) before she breaks her vow: the *prius* in line 24 is picked up by *ante... quam* (note the tmesis, effected by the direct address to *Pudor*) in line 27. 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?

24 *mihi*: a dative of disadvantage.

optem: See OLD sv *optō* (*āre, āuī, ātum* tr.) (To express a wish for, desire, pray for) sense 1c: (with accusative and infinitive or noun clause).

25 *pater omnipotens*: i.e. Jupiter, commonly described thus.

26 *pallentis umbras Erebo noctemque profundam*: i.e. shades in the Underworld. Discussed by Gildenhard (including in relation to etymological glossing of ‘shadowy darkness’). *Erebo* = an ablative of place. *Erebus* = the Underworld). See OLD sv *pallens* (ntis, adj.) 1 (of persons, their complexions, etc.) Pale, wan (*from illness, death, emotion, etc.; the colour in Mediterranean peoples is characterized by a yellowish or greenish tinge, cf. Greek χλωρός*); b (of the inhabitants of the Underworld; cf. *pallens* sense 2). See OLD sv *profundus* sense 3b (of darkness): thick, profound.

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).

27 *uiolo*: See OLD sv *uiolō* sense 3: To transgress against, violate, infringe (any law, right, obligation, relationship, etc., regarded as sacred).

28–29 *ille meos, primus qui me sibi iunxit, amores/ abstulit: meos...amores* = “my love”. *Sychaeus* was the first love; will be the last; cf. 16f. O’Hara 2011: 24 suggests convoluted word order reflects Dido’s confusion and agitation (= *ille, quis primus me sibi iunxit, meos amores abstulit*); 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. See OLD sv *iungō* sense 7b: to unite in marriage or similar, wed. See OLD sv *auferō* sense 3: To go away having, take with one, carry off.

29 *ille habeat secum seruetque sepulcro*: sc. *meos amores*; *sepulcro* = an ablative of place. Cf. A. 6.473–74 *coniunx ubi pristinus illi/ respondet curis aequatque Sychaeus amorem*.

30 *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).’ See OLD sv *oborior* (*īrī, tus, intr.*) (1: To spring up into one’s view (especially so as to cover or obscure something), rise up): sense 1b (of tears). 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.

31–33: *Anna refert: ‘o luce magis dilecta sorori: dilecta* (vocative, ‘beloved’) refers to Dido); *luce* = ablative of comparison after *magis* (‘more beloved than light’); *sorori* (= *mihi*), a dative of agency (common in poetry after perfect passive participles) refers to Anna. Gildenhard remarks: “Anna’s keynote *luce*, which stands in stark antithesis to the last words of Dido’s speech, i.e. *sepulcro*, is programmatic.”

32 *solane*: -*ne* introduces a question. Cf. Aeneas *solus hic* at 22.

32 *perpetua... iuuenta*: an ablative of time or duration of time: '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).

32 *carpere*: See OLD sv *carpō* sense 7c: (of love, passion; also, of other cares) to consume; second person singular future passive indicative (= *carperis*); 'are you going to waste away?' (Gildenhard). Verb used at 4.2.

33 *nec dulcis natos Veneris nec praemia noris?*: *nec* is postponed here (poetic metrical flexibility)= *nec Veneris praemia*. 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".

33 *noris* = *noueris*, i.e. the second person singular future perfect active of *nosco* (translate as simple future).

33 *dulcis*: accusative plural, agrees with *natos* but probably also take with *praemia* as well; *praemia* takes the genitive attribute *Veneris*.

34 *id cinerem aut manis credis curare sepultos?*: picks up 29. *id* refers to Dido not letting herself love; accusative object of *curare* ('to pay heed to'). *credis* introduces indirect statement where the subject accusatives are *cinerem* (=ash of corpse) and *manis* (= *manes* = spirit/s; here maybe more of corporeal remains?) *sepultos*. 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 *esto* : "so be it/ let it be granted" (a third person singular future imperative)

35 *aegram*: predicative adjective; cf 8 *male sana*. Take with *quondam*? ('formerly, when you were sick with grief (for Sychaeus)...' (MacLennan 2007: 79). Cf. 1.351-52 *factumque diu celauit et aegram/ multa malus simulans uana spe lusit amantem*.

35 *flexere* = *flexerunt*.

35 *mariti*: i.e. potential husbands.

36 *Libyae... Tyro*: "we may be dealing with a grammatical enallage: in form, *Libyae* is locative, though in terms of sense it is perhaps best understood as an ablative of place or origin (*Libya*), whereas *Tyro* is in form an ablative of place, though in sense a locative (*Tyri*)." (Gildenhard).

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

36 *despectus Iarbas*: sc. *est*.

37 *ductoresque alii*: sc. *despecti sunt*.

37-8 *triumphis / dives*: "rich in victories". 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 *diues*: See OLD sv *diues* sense 3b (with genitive, ablative) Having an abundance (of), rich (in) b (of territory or similar).

38 *placitone*: -*ne* (attached to first word) introduces a question; "a love that is pleasing".

38 *pugnabis*: See OLD sv *pugnō* (4: (transf., of persons): To contend in word or action) sense 4d: (with difficulties, feelings, etc.).

38 *amori*: dative (poetic, with verbs of contending). 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: *uenit*: (short *e*) = third person singular present indicative active.

39 *quorum consederis aruis*?: indirect question (hence subjunctive): ‘in whose lands you have settled.’ 40–44: Gildenhard shows places on a map; argues Anna “begins in the south with the Gaetolian 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 *Gaetulae*: adjective *Gaetulus*. The Gaetuli live to the south of Carthage, in interior of North West Africa; *genus insuperabile bello* (ablative of specification) (cf. 1.339 *genus intractabile bello*) is in apposition to the *urbes Gaetulorum*. See OLD sv *insuperabilis* sense 1: That cannot be defeated, unconquerable.

41: *Numidae infreni*: 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). See OLD sv *infrēnis* (is, e, adj.; Also us, a, um) sense 2: (transf., of persons, activities, etc.) Unrestrained.

41 *cingunt*: “the verb lacks an accusative object, which one could supply mentally (*te* or *nos*), though the absolute use perhaps enhances the ominous sense of being ringed in on all sides by hostile people and inhospitable landscape” (Gildenhard).

41 *Syrtis*: See OLD sv Syrtis (is, f.; especially pl.) (The name of two areas of sandy flats on the coast between Carthage and Cyrene, proverbially dangerous to shipping) sense c: (implying the whole desert region adjoining this coast).

41 *inhospita 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).

42 *siti* = ablative of cause; here ‘arid weather, drought.’

42 *furentes*: See OLD sv *furō* sense 5: To rush furiously about, range wildly, storm.

43 *quid dicam*: deliberative subjunctive.

43: The *Barcaeī* are the people of Barce, possibly chosen to evoke associations with the Carthaginian Barca family (Hannibal!). See OLD sv *Barcaeī* (ōrum, m. pl.).

43 *Tyro*: ablative of origin (‘arising from Tyre’).

43 *surgentia*: See OLD sv *surgō* (rgere, rexī, rectum, intr.) sense 11: (of circumstances, emotions, etc.) To develop.

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

45 *secunda*: See OLD sv *secundus* sense A3 (especially of deities, Fortune): Giving support to one’s aims, showing goodwill, encouraging.

45-6: 2 ablatives absolutes (*dis auspiciibus* and *Iunone secunda*) are within the indirect statement. In the indirect statement, *carinas* (“keels”> by synecdoche, “ships”) is the subject accusative, *tenuisse*

= the verb, and *hunc cursum* = accusative object. “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.

47 *cernes*: future

47 *hanc*: “...deictic, as Anna sweeps her hand towards the city.’ (Austin 1963: 38).

47 *surgere*: See OLD sv *surgō* sense 6: (of structures, etc., expr. a process) To be carried (far) upwards, rise.

48 *coniugio*: ablative of cause.

48 *Teucrum* = *Teucrorum* (archaic genitive plural).

48 *comitantibus*: See OLD sv *comitor* sense 5: To join with (in an enterprise, etc.).

49 *attollet*: See OLD sv *attollō* sense 10: To exalt in dignity or power; to honour.

50 *modo*: adverb.

50 *posce deos ueniam*: two accusatives with the verb ‘demand ueniam [‘permission’? ‘forgiveness’?] of the gods’; 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). See OLD sv *poscō* sense 2 (with double accusative): To demand (something of someone), ask (a person) insistently or authoritatively (for a thing).

50 *ueniam*: See OLD sv *uenia* (ae, f.) sense 1 (especially in religious language): A favour, kindness.

50 *sacrisque litatis*: ablative absolute; See OLD sv *litō* sense 3: (tr.) To offer by way of propitiation or atonement. Gildenhard on the verb: “Here it means ‘to offer by way of propitiation or atonement to obtain divine favour.’ In a way, it refers to the cult action (the performance of a sacrifice) that corresponds to, and should accompany, the prayer (a speech act) Anna has just referred to in *posce deos ueniam*... if one takes *sacris litatis* in a temporal sense (i.e. ‘after divine favour has been obtained through sacrifices’), there is a nice—if somewhat rash—sense of progression built into her syntax. On this reading, Anna gives the impression that divine approval for her recommended course of action will certainly be forthcoming and she uses this (as it turns out erroneous) assumption as the basis for her advice on how best to retain Aeneas in Carthage.”

51 *indulge ... innecte*: imperatives; *innectere* is used in the sense ‘to weave plots or to devise reasons’ (OLD s.v. 4).

51 *hospitio*: dative after *indulgeo*.

51 *morandi*: gerund after *causas*.

52 *pelago*: an ablative of place.

52 *desaeuit*: See OLD sv *dēsaeuiō* (īre, (i)ī, ītum, intr.) To work off or vent one's rage.

53 *dum non tractabile caelum*: sc. *est*. 5See OLD sv *tractābilis* (is, e, ior, adj.) sense 2b (of physical conditions; also of problems, etc.) easy to deal with. See OLD sv *caelum* sense 6: The sky

as productive of meteorological conditions at a particular time or the conditions themselves, weather.

52 *aquosus Orion*: Orion set in November so was a marker of stormy weather.

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

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

54–5: For metrical rhythm, see Austin. NB textual issues: *impenso* (OCT)/ *incensum*?

Inflammauit/flammavit (OCT)? (see Gildenhard and Austin ad loc: Austin 'The word *impenso* is not found elsewhere in Virgil, whereas *incensum* here would be very much in his manner (cf. 197); and although the fact Virgil does not elsewhere use *flammare* transitively except in the perfect participle need not exclude *flammavit* here, the intensive compound has more force.'). MacLennan prints *his dictis incensum animum inflammauit amore*. NB tricolon. See OLD sv *impenso* sense 2b: Immoderate, excessive (of conduct, feelings, etc.).

55 *solvitque pudorem*: cf. Dido at 4.27 claiming she'd die: *ante, Pudor, quam te violo aut tua iura resolvo*, "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 "fati nescia" and unknowing of the grand divine plan. Tragic irony.

56 *pacem*: See OLD sv *pax* sense 2: A 'pact' granted by a god or gods (conferring freedom from divine anger, approval of current activities, etc.), blessing.

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

57 *bidentis*: = *bidentes*. *bidens* is an animal for sacrifice, esp. a sheep. The term refers to the presence of two prominent teeth indicating age (one or two years old). See OLD sv *bidens*² (ntis, m., f.) sense 1: An animal for sacrifice, especially a sheep.

57 *exquirunt*: cf. MacLennan: carrying idea "worked hard to acquire". See OLD sv *exquirō* sense 2: To look for, seek.

57 *de more*: "in due form" (MacLennan).

57 *bidentis*: technical term for sheep two years old.

58 *legiferae*: See OLD sv *lēgifer*: Lawgiving.

58 *patri*: father (MacLennan). Austin notes Roman deities in line (Ceres, Apollo, Bacchus, Juno) and notes rarity of rhythm (trochaic caesura in fourth and fifth foot).

59 *cui*: dative of advantage; antecedent = *Iunoni*.

58–59: see Gildenhard on question of why Ceres, Apollo, and Bacchus are singled out and why Venus is ignored. Cf. 45 *dis equidem auspicibus reor et Iunone secunda*.

59 *cui curae*: "to whom the marriage-bond is a concern" (MacLennan); predicative dative with the verb 'to be'; sc. *sunt*.

60 *ipsa*: Dido herself involved.

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."

60–61 *ipsa tenens dextra pateram pulcherrima Dido/ candentis uaccae media inter cornua fundit*: "*pateram* is perhaps best taken *apo koinou* with the circumstantial participle *tenens* and the main verb *fundit*." (Gildenhard). Gildenhard notes moving onto more expensive offering (sheep 57 > white heifer at 61), suggesting initial offerings did not yield the desired results. See OLD sv *candens* sense 2: White, or approaching white. See OLD sv *fundo* (ere, fūdī, fūsum, tr.) sense 1c: to empty (a vessel or container).

60 *pulcherrima*: as at 1.496.

61 *media inter cornua*: "between the mid-horns" (MacLennan).

62 *ante ora deum*: "before the gods' faces" i.e. their images (MacLennan).

62 *spatiatur*: See OLD sv *spatior* (ārī, ātus, intr.) sense 1: To walk about, especially in a slow or leisurely manner, range, stalk, etc.

62 *aut ante ora deum pinguis spatiatur ad aras*: “with the *aut* 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).

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

63 *instauratque diem donis*: 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. See OLD sv *instaurō* (āre, āuī, ātum, tr.) sense 1: To repeat, start afresh (a ceremony which has been wrongly performed or interrupted).

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

63 *reclisis*: See OLD sv *reclūdō* (dere, sī, sum, tr.) sense 3b: to lay open (the body or its parts).

64 *pectoribus*: dative after *inhians* (“staring into” MacLennan; See OLD sv *inhiō* (āre, āuī, ātum, intr., tr.) (1 intr., usu. with dative): sense 1c: (tr., intr.) to gaze intently at, pore over, or similar). As Austin observes, *inhians* is a very strong word. Austin discusses the metre: last syllable of *pectoribus* scans long; the first syllable of *inhians* scans short: prosody “seems plainly intended to suggest metrically Dido’s lingering look at the *exta*.” (Austin).

64 *spirantia*: See OLD sv *spirō* (āre, āuī, ātum, intr., tr.) (1: To breathe, respire) sense 1b (applied to the throbbing of blood vessels, supposed to function as air channels).

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

65: *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). At 8.626–28, *uatum* is an objective genitive. For prophecies, cf. 4.464–65.

65 *quid*: accusative of respect (‘in what respect/ how...?’).

65 *furentem*: object of *iuvant*. 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 *iuvant*: See OLD sv *iuvō* sense 3 (usu. of things): To do good to (persons, etc.), benefit, be of use to (especially in negative or quasi-negative contexts, with internal accusative): (often absol.).

66 *est*: (long *e*): from *edo*, *ere*.

66 *mollis*: = *molles*.

66 *medullas*: See OLD sv *medulla* (ae, f. (transf.)) sense 2b: (regarded as the seat of deep thought and emotion): the depths of the mind, the heart.

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).

66 *mollis*: goes with *medullas*.

67 *tacitum*: See OLD sv *tacitus* sense 5 (of feelings, attitudes, etc.): Not outwardly expressed, silent, inward.

67 *vivit*: See OLD sv *uivō* (*uere*, *xī*, *ctum*, *intr.*) sense 3b (of things, usu. Poet.): To be animated or active: b (of qualities, emotions). nb later, fatal wound...

68 *urit*: fire imagery; now open. See OLD sv *ūrō* sense 6 (of love, an object of passion, etc.): To inflame with desire: (often pass.).

68 *infelix*: perhaps even “accursed”; epithet: cf. 1.712, 749; 4.650, 529, 596; 6.456. She was *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 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 *quam: cerva* is the antecedent.

70 *incautam*: adjective in predicative position ('which, unwary,...'). Relevance to Dido?

72 *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 *qualis ... sagitta*: "like a deer after an arrow-shot" (Austin, who notes it does not imply that the deer has been aimed at). *coniecta... sagitta* = ablative absolute; *cerva* = the nominative.

70 *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.

71 *agens telis*: "harrying (her) with his weapons" MacLennan.

71 *liquit*: "has abandoned" (MacLennan).

72 *nescius*: run on from previous line. Implications of epithet?

72 *saltusque*: See OLD sv *saltus* sense 2 (usu. in pl.): A region of woodland interspersed with glades, passes, etc., usually in hilly or mountainous country.

72 MacLennan sees hendiadys: "wooded mountain-country".

72 *peragrat*: See OLD sv *peragrō* (āre, āuī, ātum, tr., intr.): sense 1: To travel over every part of (a territory, etc.), scour.

73 *lateri*: Austin: dative as if after *inhaerere* (for metrical reasons).

73 *haeret lateri letalis harundo*: “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). See OLD sv *lētālis* (is, e, adj.) sense 2: Causing death, deadly, fatal, lethal. See OLD sv *harundō* sense 4: The shaft of an arrow; an arrow.

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 *nunc*: MacLennan “at one moment” - looking to *nunc* 77 “at another moment”.

74 *moenia*: MacLennan translates as “the area within the fortifications”. 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 *Sidoniasque ... opes*: See OLD sv *Sīdonius* (a, um, adj.) sense 1: Of or belonging to Sidon, Sidonian (often with the looser connotation of ‘Phoenician’). Sidon was a city in Phoenicia. Cf. *Aen.* 1.363–64 *portantur auari/ Pygmalionis opes pelago*. Gildenhard speaks of Dido’s “sales-pitch” (wealthy city; city implied to be ready for him).

76 *incipit*: See OLD sv *incipiō* sense 4: (with infinitive, of persons or things) To begin, start (to).

76 *effari*: See OLD sv *effor* (*ārī*, *ātus*, tr., (intr.)): sense 1d (intr.) to open one’s mouth, speak.

76 *media in voce*: “in mid-sentence” (MacLennan).

76 *resistit*: See OLD sv *resistō* (*istere*, *titī*) sense 1d: to pause in speech or narrative, break off: (also, of utterance).

77 *eadem convivium*: “the same gathering” (MacLennan); cf. Book 3. Obsessive and repetitive.

77 *labente*: See OLD sv *lābor* sense 2b (of the sun): to sink down (to the horizon); (of day) to decline.

78–79 *Iliacosque iterum demens audire labores/ exposcit*: Dido wants to hear the story of Troy’s fall over again. Her actions will lead to the fall of Carthage..

79 *exposcit*: See OLD sv *exposcō* (*ere*, *expoposcī*, tr.): To ask for, demand, beg.

78-9: MacLennan suggests taking *iterum* with both *pendet* and *narrantis* “Again she hangs from his lips as again he tells the story”; nb understand “of him” which depends on *ore* (*os*, *oris* n).

narrantis= present active participle, modifying an understood genitive *Aeneae*. 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’).

79 *pendetque*: See OLD sv *pendeō* (*ēre*, *pendī*, intr.) sense 4b: *ere ab ore*, etc. (+ genitive) to hang on the lips or words (of), listen with rapt attention (to).

79 *ab*: See OLD sv *ab* sense B16c (expressing point of attachment): from, proceeding from.

80 *post*: adverb (“later”).

80 *digressi*: sc. *sunt*.

80 *obscura*: See OLD sv *obscurus* (a, um, adj.) (1 Dim, dark, obscure): sense 1a (of light, heavenly bodies, etc.).

80 *uicissim*: See OLD sv *uicissim* sense 1: In (my, your, etc.) turn in a series.

81 *premit*: See OLD sv *premō* sense 17 (of darkness, etc.): To cover, hide, overshadow.

80-1: “the moon (growing) dim in turn makes the lamps (go) pale” (MacLennan).

81: “the setting stars suggest sleep” (MacLennan); previously at A. 2.9 (effect?). For metrical effect, see MacLennan and Austin.

82 *sola*: refers to Dido (“she alone”). NB isolation.

82 *maeret*: See OLD sv *maereō* (*ēre*, intr., tr. (intr.)) sense 1: To be sad, mourn, grieve.

82 *uacua*: goes with *domo*.

82 *stratistique relictis*: dative due to *incubat*. 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 *incubat*: run on, giving force to the word.

83 *illum absens absentem auditque uidetque*: the *-que* after *audit* is redundant. Gildenhard comments: “Both circumstantial participles have concessive force: ‘Dido, even though she is physically distant from him (*absens*), hears and sees him (*illum*), even though he is physically distant (*absentem*).’” See OLD sv *absens* (ntis, adj) sense 2 (emphatic): Though absent, in spite of being absent, without meeting (the other party).

83 *abstem*: sc. Aeneas as object (Dido is *absens*); “Although she is not with him and he is not with her, she still both hears and sees him” (MacLennan); obsessive.

83: first *que* is redundant. Double *-que* = high style.

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.” See OLD sv *imāgō* sense 9: A duplicate, copy, reflection, likeness, image.

85 *detinet*: See OLD sv *dētineō* (inēre, inuī, entum, tr.) Sense 1: To keep from going away, detain, hold.

85 *infandum si fallere possit amorem*: cf. 4.296 *quis fallere possit amantem?*; 2.3–5: *Infandum, regina, iubes renovare dolorem,/ Troianas ut opes et lamentabile regnum/ eruerint Danai...*

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).

85: “in the hope that she might be able to cheat her unmentionable love” (MacLennan).

86-9: effects on Carthage: building works stopped (cf. 1.437 *o fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgunt!*) 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.

86 *adsurgunt*: See OLD sv *assurgō* sense 3: To grow in height, extend upwards.

87-8 *bello / tuta*: “safe in war” (MacLennan); “to give safety against war” (Austin).sv *tūtus* safe: sense 3c: (of fortifications, armour, or similar).

88 *parant*: i.e. all citizens.

88 *pendent*: See OLD sv *pendeō* sense 10: To be suspended or in abeyance. “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).

88 *interrupta*: See OLD sv *interrumpō* sense 2b: to cause a temporary break in.

88-9 *minae murorum*: i.e. threatening walls”; lit. “threats of walls”. See OLD sv *minae* (ārum, f. pl.) sense 1: Threats, menaces (of physical states, actions).

89 *machina*: crane; *aequata caelo* “raised sky-high” (MacLennan). See OLD sv *aequō* sense 3c (with *caelo* and similar): to raise (to the skies). *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 *Vergil’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 *quam*: i.e. Dido (connecting relative).

90 *simul ac*: See OLD sv *simul* sense 10: *atque, ac* (used as a subordinating conjunction; also written as one word) As soon as, the moment that

90 *persensit*: See OLD sv *persentiō* (tīre, sī, sum, tr.) sense 1: To become or be fully conscious of (a fact); introduces an accusative and infinitive construction.

90–92: *Quam simul ac tali persensit peste teneri/ cara Iouis coniunx nec famam obstare furori/ talibus adgreditur Venerem Saturnia dictis*: Gildenhard comments: “(a) The basic structure is a subordinate clause introduced by *simul ac* (‘as soon as’) with *cara Iouis coniunx* (91) as subject and *persensit* (90) as verb, followed by the main clause in 92 (with *Saturnia* as subject and *adgreditur* as verb). (b) Within the *simul-ac*-clause, *persensit* introduces an indirect statement that falls into two parts linked by *nec*. *quam* and *famam* are the subject accusatives, *teneri* and *obstare* the infinitives. (c) *Quam*, the subject accusative of the first part of the indirect statement introduced by *persensit*, is a connecting relative pronoun (= *eam*): the referent is Dido.”

90 *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* in the *Aeneid*, cf. Hardie, *Rumour and Renown: Representations of Fama in Western Literature* (2012).

92 *Saturnia*: Juno is the daughter of Saturn. Vergil sometimes plays on the name as containing “satur” (Juno trying to sate her wrath: see e.g. Paschalis, *Virgil’s Aeneid: semantic Relations and Proper Names*).

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 *egregiam*: “outstanding” (MacLennan); sarcastic line.

93 *uero*: See OLD sv *uērō* (3 For a certainty, unquestionably, without doubt): sense 3b (with ironic force).

93 *ampla*: See OLD sv *amplus* sense 2: Impressive in size and splendour, magnificent.

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

94 *magnum et memorabile 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 *dolo*: ablative of means. A theme in the *Aeneid*, including Book 4. Here of the gods.

96–7 “Nor indeed does it escape (*fallit*) me that you, fearing my strong-city (*moenia*), held the houses of high Carthage in suspicion” (MacLennan). *fallit*= impersonal: take with *me*, introducing indirect statement (*te..habuisse*). *altae* = transferred epithet. Nb crane!

96 *adeo*: See OLD sv *adeō* sense 4d: (after a negative) so much (as you might suppose), so very much, all that much.

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 *quo ...* : sc. *tendimus* (“where are we heading to”). Nb textual issues. “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* 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).

99 *quin*: "why don't we..." (MacLennan); Austin says use with indicative or imperative is from conversational speech and marks impatience or annoyance; Gildenhard notes *quin* introduces questions 'equivalent to commands or exhortations': OLD s.v. A1.

100 *exercemus*: ("put into practice" MacLennan) governs *pacem* and *hymenaeos*.

100–101 *habes tota quod mente petisti:/ ardet amans Dido traxitque per ossa furorem*: "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).

100 *petisti*: = *petivisti*.

101 *traxit ... furorem*: "'has drawn the madness in all through her bones". It has taken her over." (MacLennan); nb language of passion earlier and fire; madness like a disease, through body. Cf. 2 *venis* and 66 *medullas*. See OLD sv *trahō* sense 3b: to draw, convey (liquids, etc.) through channels or pipes. See OLD sv *furor* sense 3: Passionate desire, furious longing.

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

102 *regamus*: exhortative subjunctive.

102–103 *communem hunc ergo populum paribusque regamus/ auspiciis*: *-que* links *communem* (predicative) and *paribus 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).

102–3 *paribus auspiciis*: see Gildenhard's discussion. See OLD sv *auspiciū* sense 4: Leadership, authority, auspices (of a king or general); (ablative, with genitive or possessive adjective) under the command (of).

103 *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.

103 *liceat*: i.e. Dido: 'let her/ may she...'.
104: *-que* links *servire* and *permittere*.

104 *dotalis*: 'to hand over the Tyrians to your right hand as dowry.' (Gildenhard).

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*, and *fata* are similar to her musings on fate and wish-fulfilment at *Iliad* 14.194–96:

Ἥρῃ πρέσβῃ θεᾷ θύγατερ μέγαλοιο Κρόνιοι

αὔδα ὅ τι φρονέεις· τελέσαι δέ με θυμὸς ἄνωγεν,

εἰ δύνῃμαι τελέσαι γε καὶ εἰ τετελεσμένον ἔστί·

‘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:

Τὴν δ’ αὖτε προσέειπε φιλομειδῆς Ἀφροδίτη·
οὐκ ἔστ’ οὐδὲ ἔοικε τεὸν ἔπος ἀρνήσασθαι·
Ζητὸς γὰρ τοῦ ἀρίστου ἐν ἀγκοίνῃσιν ἰαύεις.

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’ (φιλομειδῆς). She will do it justice in Virgil at 128 below; and unlike in Homer, she is not to be deceived.”

104: i.e. adjective used adverbially “as dowry”.

105 *olli* = dat sing of *ille*, archaic form: 1.254 (*olli subridens hominum sator atque deorum...*

Sending us back to that conversation?). Indirect statement after *sensit*; sc. *eam + esse*.

105 *mente*: “with an assumed (i.e. deceitful) purpose”. (MacLennan)

106 *quo*: relative of purpose: “so that...”

106 *Italiae*: long “i” here.

107–109: *abnuat + malit* are present subjunctives.

107 *ingressa*: See OLD sv *ingredior* (dī, ssus tr., intr.,) sense 4d: to begin to speak.

108 *abnuat*: See OLD sv *abnuō* sense 3: To reject, refuse (an offer or similar).

109 *factum*: ‘antecedent’ of *quod*. “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).

107 *contra*: in reply, “in opposition” (MacLennan)

109 “(but) only if (good) fortune were to follow the deed which you mention” (MacLennan who notes subjunctive *sequatur* reveals doubts)

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

110 *si*: here introducing indirect question.

110: sed *fatis incerta feror si...*: Gildenhard discusses how to take: “It is maybe best to take *fatis* with the entire phrase *incerta feror*, in the sense of ‘as someone ignorant of destiny I am carried along by it.’”.

111 *que*: links *Tyriis* and *Troia.. profectis* “for those who set out from Troy” (datives). Gildenhard explores the theme of merging.

112 *misceri*: See OLD sv *misceō* (ēre, uī, mixtum,(mistum), tr.) sense 5: To unite or attach as allies or associates.

112 -ve: “or”.

112 *probet*: introduces indirect statement.

113 *temptare*: See OLD sv *temptō* sense 6: To attempt to influence, work on.

113 *precando*: See OLD sv *precor* sense 4 (absol.) To make entreaty or supplication, offer prayer; (with dative or ad) to address entreaties to, pray to; (with dative or pro) to make supplication on behalf of, pray for.

113 *tu coniunx*: sc. *Iouis es*.

113 *tibi fas*: sc. *est*: guileful. Venus capable of approaching Jupiter (*Aen.*1). Makes Juno carry the responsibility.

114 *excepi*: See OLD sv *excipiō* (ipere, ēpī, eptum, tr.) sense 16: To follow after, succeed, take up from (in temporal, spatial, or other sequence). “took over” the conversation (MacLennan)

115–27: Juno’s second speech.

115 *mecum erit*...: i.e. “mine”. 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).”

115–16: “Now I will explain in a few (words) how that which is upon (us) can be accomplished” (MacLennan).

116 *confieri*: See OLD sv *confiō* (fierī, intr. (collateral with pass. of *conficio*)) sense 1: To be done, be accomplished; to come about, happen.

117 *uenatum*: See OLD sv *uēnor* (ārī, ātus, intr., tr. sense 1 (intr.)): To go hunting, hunt. Supine (purpose: ‘in order to...’) with a verb of motion.

117 *una*: along with (adverb; nb long “a”).

117 *miserrima*: See OLD sv *miser* sense 1: (of a person) That is to be pitied, poor, wretched, unfortunate. 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).

118–19: “when tomorrow’s sun-god has presented his first risings and revealed the world with his rays” (MacLennan). Titan used for sun (with *crastinus*): see OLD sv *Tītān* (nos m. Also nus, nī) sense 2a: The sun god, as son of the Titan Hyperion.

119 *retexerit*: See OLD sv *retegō* sense 2: To make visible, reveal: (especially of heavenly bodies or similar).

119 *-que*: links *extulerit* and *retexerit*.

120 *nigrantem ... nimbū*: “a black thunder-cloud with hail mixed in” (MacLennan). See OLD sv *nigrans* sense 2b: (of clouds) murky.

121 *trepidant*: “bustle”. See OLD sv *trepidō* sense 2: To act in haste, scurry, bustle.

121 *alae*: i.e. mounted hunters. See OLD sv *āla* (ae, f.): sense 6c: (poet.) a band or troop of warriors; also, of hunters. They form a circle around the hunting grounds. (*indago*, *-inis*, f. = ‘a ring of huntsmen or nets thrown round a wood, etc., to prevent the escape of game’: OLD s.v. 1a.).

121 *cingunt*: See OLD sv *cingō* sense 4b: to surround, ring (with hostile forces, siegeworks, etc.; also with defensive forces).

122 *infundam*: See OLD sv *infundō* sense 3: To cause (rain, missiles, etc.) to fall, pour down (on).

122 *caelum ... ciebo*: “I will set the sky astir” (MacLennan); “Note the two elisions *infundam et* and *caelum omne*, giving metrical support to the theme of pouring rain and resounding thunder.”

123 *nocte ... opaca*: “in a black night” or “in darkness like night” (MacLennan).

124 *eandem*: “This is an idiomatic use of *idem*, to give the meaning of being ‘together’.” (Austin)

124–125: word order discussed by Gildenhard.

125 *devenient*: future indicative; nb in enjambment. NB diaeresis: “the pause is effective; Juno waits a moment to let Venus appreciate her plot to the full.” (Austin).

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

125 *certa*: See OLD sv *certus* sense 7 (of things): That one can depend on having, safe, assured.

125 *tua ... voluntas*: “if your goodwill (is) assured to me” (MacLennan)

126 *conubio*: See OLD sv *cōnūbium* sense 2: Marriage between two persons; the right to marry.

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*: 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 *adnuit*: See OLD sv *adnuō* sense 2: To nod assent or agreement (to) or confirmation (of).

128 *dolis repertis*: “because she had detected Juno’s plot” (MacLennan); 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.