A HISTORY OF THE DIDO LEGEND

A discussion of the origins of Virgil's Dido Legend and of its treatment in the Latin writings of the Patristic and Middle Ages, in the vernacular writings of Medieval France and England, and in the sixteenth century England.

BY

PATRICIA BAY KENNEDY

A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS
AT THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY
JANUARY, 1984
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This is to certify that I have acknowledged all the sources in this thesis and that the thesis is my own composition.

SIGNED: P. M. Kennedy

DATE: 30. 1. '64
ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS THESIS


E.T. : Excidium Troiae


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER ONE</th>
<th>The Dido Legend Before Vergil</th>
<th>1 - 21</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aeneas in Iliad</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timeaus' Dido account</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justinus' Epitoma</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary of Justinus' Dido story</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archaeological verification of Justinus' account</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genealogy of Elissa</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topography of Tyre</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political conditions in Tyre in Ninth Century B.C.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topography of Carthage</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Origin of link between Dido and Aeneas</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussed by Mommsen</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dessau</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wörner</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciaceri</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prescott</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kowlaski</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conway</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidence supporting Naevius as originator of Dido-Aeneas romance</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER TWO Vergil and the Dido Legend

1. Vergil's Literary Sources.

Vergil's use of his literary predecessors

Vergil's dependence on Homer

Euripides

Sappho

Sophocles

Apollonius Rhodius

Detailed comparison between Argonautica and Aeneid IV

Vergil and Catullus

Detailed comparison between Catullus' Poem 64 and Aeneid IV

Summary of literary influences on Vergil

2. Vergil's Dido story.

Vergilian details of Dido's early life

Comparison of Vergil's account with those of Timaeus and Justinus

Iarbas in Timaeus, Justinus and Vergil

Death of Dido in these three accounts

Resume of Vergil's Dido-Aeneas romance

Vergil's characterization of Aeneas and Dido
his praise of Dido's chaste widowhood 75
his praise of her courage in suffering 77
his scorn for Aeneas 77
Lactantius' African scorn for Aeneas 78
Ausonius' vindication of Dido's chastity in _In Didus Imaginem_ 79
Macrobius' attitude to Vergil's Dido in _Saturnalia_ 80
Augustine and the fictional character of _Aeneid IV_ 82
Dracontius and the different Dido versions 82
Jerome's use of the Dido of Justinus and Vergil 83
Dido as a moral _exemplum_ in Boccaccio 87
_De Claris Mulieribus_ 88
_De Casibus Illustrium Virorum_ 91
Dido as a moral _exemplum_ in Lydgate 94
_The Fall of Princes_ 94
Interest in comparative historical value of Vergil's and Justinus' Dido story 98
Caxton, _Eneydos_ 99
Conclusion 101
Notes on Chapter IV 105

CHAPTER FIVE  The Ovidian Dido Tradition 108 - 169

Popularity of Ovid's attitude towards Dido 108
Rhetorical imitations of _Heroides VII_ 110
_Epistula Didonis_ 110
Ausonius' Cupido Cruciatur 114
Ausonius' Epitaph XXX, Didoni 114
Ennodius' Verba Didonis 115
Tone of Medieval Lyrics - Poem 235 116

Poem 236 118

Anti-Aeneas prejudice 121
Aeneas in Medieval accounts of Troy 122
Aeneas in pre-Ovidian Literature 123
in Homer 123
in Dionysius of Halicarnassus 123
in Livy 123
in Ovid's Metamorphoses 124
Aeneas in post-Ovidian literature 124
in Dictys 124
in Dares 125

Romance literature - heyday of Ovidian Dido-tradition 126
Dido and Aeneas as exempla of woman's fidelity and man's perfidy. 127

Roman d'Enéas 127

Roman de Troie 135

Roman de la Rose 137

Chaucer's The House of Fame 141

The Legend of Good Women 144

Gower's Confessio Amantis 149

Hoccleve's Letter of Cupid to Lovers 152
CHAPTER SIX Vergil's Dido Story Through the Ages

Outline of varied uses of Aeneid IV
Slavish imitation of Vergil's Dido legend
Silius Italicus, Punica
Rhetorical exercises on Dido theme
Ausonius' Epistula Didonis
Ennodius' Verba Didonis cum abeuntem videret Aeneam
Medieval school textbook approach
Excidium Troiae
Allegorists' handling of the Aeneid
Donatus
Servius
Fulgentius, De Virgiliana Continentia
Bernard of Chartres
John of Salisbury

More scholarly interest in Vergil's Dido story in writers from fifth century to ninth

Orosius, historical approach
Columbanus
Lupus of Ferrières, linguistic interest

Varied and often incongruous references to Dido theme in Latin writings from tenth century to twelfth. Dependence on Grammarians for knowledge of Aeneid.

Herigerus
Hildebert of Mans
Philip of Harveng
Helinandus

Genuine classical scholarship in John of Salisbury
Use of Dido in Polycraticus

Medieval translations of Aeneid

Treatment of Dido in Irish Aeneid
Treatment of Dido in Caxton's Eneydos

Renaissance translations and their influence

Gavin Douglas
Surrey

Vergil's Dido theme in sixteenth century English drama

Ritwise, Dido (Latin)
Haliwell, Dido (Latin)
Gager, Dido (Latin)
Sensitive appreciation of Vergil's approach to Dido and Aeneas, in poets and scholars who knew well the \textit{Aeneid}.

Jerome

Augustine

\textit{Confessions}

\textit{The City of God}

John of Salisbury

Dante

\textit{The Divine Comedy}

Vergil's Dido throughout Shakespeare's plays

Schoolroom approach \textit{II Henry VI}

\textit{Julius Caesar}

\textit{Titus Andronicus}

Ovidian influence in plays of middle period

Intimate knowledge and appreciation of \textit{Aeneid} evident in later plays

\textit{Othello}

\textit{Antony and Cleopatra}

\textit{Hamlet}

\textit{The Tempest}

Summary of Dido in Shakespeare

Glance at use of Vergil's Dido story in post sixteenth century literature

Conclusion of Vergil's Dido through the Ages

Notes on Chapter VI
Conclusion

Appendix

Bibliography

Ever since Vergil in his Aeneid aroused human sympathy for Dido and Aeneas, mankind has shown interest in the Queen of Carthage and in the legends that have been woven about her. In no place has she won a greater cult than that in Rome, culture that throughout the Christian era scarcely a century has passed in which Dido has not featured in some work of literature, music or art.

Because so many writers in such different ways have written about Dido, I have examined the origins of the Dido legend and its treatment in literature from Vergil to Shakespeare. I have confined my discussion to the Latin writings of the Empire, Patriotic Age and Middle Ages, to the vernacular literature of France and England at the close of the Middle Ages, and to the dramatic works on the Dido theme produced in sixteenth century England. My aim has been to see the various forms the legend has taken, to note the remarkable changes of emphasis in the handling of the Dido story, and to suggest some reasons for the differences that occur.

A general survey of the works on Dido reveals three clearly-defined modes of approach. Writers either based their works on the original story as told by the historians, Timotheus and Justinus, of Dido's death rather than re-marriage, or they followed Vergil or Ovid in emphasizing the love-story of Dido.
THE DIDO LEGEND BEFORE VERGIL

Ever since Vergil in his *Aeneid* aroused human sympathy for Dido and Aeneas, mankind has shown interest in the Queen of Carthage and in the legends that have been woven about her. So sure a place has she won in western culture that throughout the Christian era scarcely a century has passed in which Dido has not featured in some work of literature, music or art.

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and Aeneas. In this latter case, some imitated Vergil's appreciation of the soul-agonies endured by both Dido and Aeneas, others preferred Ovid's sentimental view of Dido as the tender, wronged heroine, and of Aeneas as the cruel, heartless deserter. Though these three traditions of Dido — as the courageous martyr for chastity, as the passionate "tragic queen", or as the deserted but all-forgiving heroine — continued throughout the centuries since Vergil, the reason for any interest in Dido lay in the success of Vergil's presentation of the loves of Dido and Aeneas in *Aeneid I* and IV. If Vergil had not linked Dido with the hero of Troy, and surrounded the Dido-Aeneas love affair with such tragic beauty, Ovid would never have included Dido among his Heroides, and the historical Dido narration would probably have remained an unfamiliar incident in some obscure chronicle.

Vergil did not originate the Dido story, though the romance of Dido and Aeneas could well be his creation. He based his tragedy of Dido on pre-existing legends, but he enhanced it, quite radically changing the original story, under the influence of the literary heritage into which he was born. When he wrote his epic, he had before him the epics of Homer, Apollonius Rhodius and Naevius, the tragedies of Euripides and Sophocles, the epyllia of Catullus. He selected and assimilated whatever in these earlier works was of use to the epic he planned. Throughout the *Aeneid* the influence of all these writers can be traced, but none of them provided the plot upon which Vergil based his story.
of Dido.

Homer in the *Iliad* speaks of Aeneas' being spared at Troy to save the House of Dardanus from extinction. Of Aeneas, Poseidon declares: "μόριμον δὲ οἶ δ᾽ ἔστ᾽ ἀλέασθαι, ὃφρα μὴ ἀσπερμος γενεὴ καὶ ἄφαντος ὀληται Δαρδάνου." But nowhere does Homer mention Aeneas' sojourn in Carthage. Our first information about Dido is in a fragment from the Greek historian Timaeus writing in the middle of the 3rd century B.C. Under the heading Θειεσσώ his words about Dido are quoted in Anon. *De Mulieribus*

βασιλέως ὁ ἦς φησὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα τὴν ἐν Λιβύη πολιτείαν ἔφευγε, καὶ πολλὰ κακοπαθήσασα τῇ Λιβύη προσηνέχθη, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Λιβύων διὰ τὴν πολλὴν αὐτῆς πλάνην Δειδώ προσηγορεθη ἐπιχώριως. κτίσασα δὲ τὴν προειρημένην πόλιν, τοῦ τῶν Λιβύων βασιλέως θέλοντος αὐτῆς γῆμαι, αὐτῇ μὲν ἄντελεγεν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν πολιτῶν συναναγκαζόμενη, σκηνημένη τελετή τινα πρὸς ἀνάλωσιν ὀρχῶν ἐπιτελέσειν, πυρὰν μεγάλην ἔγγυς τοῦ οἰ fundra κατασκευάσασα καὶ ἔψασα, ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀίκου αὐτῆς αἰὲς τὴν πυρὰν ἔρριψεν."

Pease, citing Kowlaski, has observed that this fragment is preserved at the end of the eighth book of the *Strategemata* of Polyaenus, which contained a catalogue of heroines who had employed deception to defend their fatherlands.
This fragment contains what must have been the essentials of the Dido legend before Vergil. Elissa (called by the Libyans, Dido, because of her journeyings, according to Timaeus⁴), after her husband had been killed by her brother Pygmalion, the king of Tyre, fled with some citizens to Libya, where she founded the city of Carthage. As she did not want to marry the King of the Libyans who sought her hand, under pretence of celebrating religious ceremonies, she built a huge fire into which she cast herself.

Writing in about 2nd century A.D. Justinus abridged the work of Trogus Pompeius, a Roman historian in the time of Augustus. In his *Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi*, Justinus shows that Trogus Pompeius must have used the same original source as Timaeus, for his and Timaeus’ details about Dido’s founding of Carthage correspond closely.

Of Timaeus’ history of Dido we possess a mere fragment, but Justinus’ lengthy account we have complete. Hence the sketchy picture given by Timaeus is filled out.

We learn from Justinus that, in the earliest known legends, Elissa’s father had died while Pygmalion was yet a child. Elissa married her uncle, Acherbas, a priest of Hercules, who was second in rank to the king. Pygmalion, through avarice, killed Acherbas, who, in fear, had tried to keep his wealth hidden from the king.

After a period of mourning, Elissa, with the assistance of certain leading citizens who hated Pygmalion, deceived her brother
into thinking she wished to leave her home because everything there recalled Acherbas and increased her sadness. In the hope that Elissa would bring with her her husband's treasures, Pygmalion sent her ships and a crew to help her cross to him at Tyre. Though she did bring Acherbas' treasures on board, Elissa did so secretly, for Pygmalion's crew loaded onto the ships what seemed to them bags of treasure, but which were in reality loads of sand. These, when the ships were in mid-ocean, Elissa commanded to be thrown overboard. In prayer, she begged Acherbas to receive, in the underworld, the treasures which had been the cause of his death. She then warned Pygmalion's men of the torture that awaited them if they came to the king empty-handed, and, having aroused their fears, she invited them to accompany her and her chosen citizens to seek a new home in exile.

At Cyprus, a priest of Jupiter, with his wife and children, was divinely inspired to offer to accompany the exiles, on the condition that the honour of the priesthood remain with him and his posterity. To this Elissa agreed. She also ordered eighty maidens to be taken on board, seemingly by force, to provide wives for the young men of the future city.

As Pygmalion had been warned by his mother and inspired seers not to pursue his sister in war, Elissa landed safely on the coast of Africa, where she was well received by the inhabitants, who agreed to sell her as much land as could be covered by an ox's hide. Because of her astuteness, in having the hide cut into the narrowest possible strips, so that she
purchased far more land than was intended, the place was named Byrsa (Greek βόρσα = hide).

When digging the foundations of the new city of Carthage, the Tyrians rejected the first site because they unearthed an ox-head, to them the symbol of fruitful but laborious service. The discovery at the new site of a horse's head, the symbol of a powerful, warlike race, was however a far more auspicious omen. Here, then, they founded Carthage, and all agreed to pay the Africans a fixed annual tax for the land.

Once Carthage had become a flourishing city, the king of the Maxitani, Hiarbas, summoned ten Punic chiefs asking them to arrange a marriage for him with Elissa, threatening war if she refused. Evidently aware that Elissa did not wish to remarry, the legates tried to win her consent by stressing Hiarbas' desire to have someone come to teach his Africans to live in a more civilized way. Though Elissa realized Hiarbas' real intent, she agreed to go wherever her own fates and those of the city called her, provided she were given three months to prepare. Her "senators" took this as consent to the marriage.

During these months she had built a pyre, on which her citizens believed she would, by sacrifices, appease her dead husband, and prepare for her future marriage. But on the appointed day, in the sight of all her people, she mounted the pyre, announcing to all that she was about to go to her husband, and there she killed herself with a sword. From then on Elissa was revered in Carthage as a goddess.
Archaeological research has established the accuracy of much of Justinus' account. It has proved that historically Elissa and her brother are no mere myths. Annals and inscriptions have enabled historians to construct a genealogical table of the royal houses of Tyre, Israel and Judah in the ninth century B.C. in which we see that Elissa was the great-grand-daughter of Ithobaal, King of Tyre, from 891-859 B.C. and that Jezebel was her great-aunt. Since Elissa's great-aunt Jezebel married Ahab in the second quarter of the ninth century we need not be surprised to find Elissa setting out for Carthage forty or fifty years later.

The problem, arising from Justinus' describing Elissa as going by sea to her brother, when both lived in Tyre, is solved by an examination of the archaeological evidence presented by Donald Harden in The Phoenicians. He states that "Tyre lay on the two largest of a chain of rocks close inshore. The present peninsula, which joins the old island site to the mainland represents the mole built as a siege-work by Alexander the Great; before that, there was no adit except in boats. But ... this island, even with tightly packed houses of several stories, was insufficient to contain a city of Tyre's size, and there must have been much overflowing onto the mainland". It seems very likely that Pygmalion lived in the royal quarters on the island, while Elissa's home was on the mainland. If, therefore, Elissa wished to reach her brother she would have had to travel by sea, as Justinus indicates.

Historical evidence and a very strong tradition support
THE ROYAL HOUSES OF TYRE, ISRAEL AND JUDAH
IN THE NINTH CENTURY BC

Ithobaal (K. of Tyre 891-59)

OMRI (K. of Israel 886-75)

Ahab (K. of Israel 875-63)

Jezebel

Baalzebub (K. of Tyre 859-3)

Mattan (K. of Tyre 853-21)

Pygmalion (K. of Tyre 821-744)

Elissa (Dioba) = Atharbas

Ahab (K. of Israel 853-1)

Tehoram (K. of Israel 851-43)

Athalian (K. of Judah 843-37)

Joram (K. of Judah 848-4)

Jehosheba

Athaliah (K. of Judah 844-3)

Zibiah (of Beersheba)

Joash (K. of Judah 837-797)

* According to traditional history in Josephus, Ithobaal, priest of Astarte, seized the throne after murdering Pholes, the last king of the line of Hiram the Great (970-36)

** Jehoram of Israel and Athalian of Judah were slain at Jezo, who usurped the throne of Israel in 863. Athalian then seized the throne of Judah, but after six years was slain by Jehoada, the priest, who restored the throne to Joash, still a minor, of eight years. (II Kings 9-12)

From The Phoenicians, p. 53
By Donald Horden

Series Ancient People and Places - Vol. 26
The site of Tyre, with the ancient harbours, and Alexander's siege-mole, linking the isle with the mainland.

From Harden, THE PHOENICIANS, p. 29.
the foundation by the Phoenicians of Carthage in 814 B.C. Charles-Picard has built up a picture of the historical and geographical background of the founding of Carthage which throws more light on the Justinus account. He points out that the Phoenicians embarked on colonization, not, like the Greeks, to solve their over-population problem, but to establish new trading posts and ports of call, where their ships could safely harbour. The Greeks aimed at setting up permanent new cities, but the Phoenicians were content to occupy easily defensible islands and peninsulas which were manned by a personnel whose home was still in Phoenicia. The little island of Utica was the first such trading post established in the twelfth century B.C.

The troubled political conditions of Tyre in the 9th century B.C. explain the creation of the more important colony of Carthage. Tyre was then passing through a grave crisis. The Assyrian armies regularly plundered her fields and besieged the city if the exorbitant annual tribute was not forthcoming. And, added to this, the city was torn by internal discord. Charles-Picard considers the struggles of the aristocracy against the monarchy and people a probable explanation for the murder of the high-priest, Acherbas, by Pygmalion, and the flight of Elissa; while Harden can see here not only a political but also a cultural conflict between Aegean and Canaanite elements. Harden cites in support of his view Justinus' statement that Pygmalion was raised to power by the people in violation of the testament of his great grandfather,
Ithobaal. Whatever the cause, the insecurity reigning in the metropolis demanded the creation of a "New City" - Qart Hadasht (whence our 'Carthage') - where the riches of the West would be safe from foreign greed. In this could be the origin of the tradition of Elissa's flight because of her brother's avarice.

When discussing Elissa's arrival in Carthage, Justinus remarks on the way the Uticensium legati encouraged their fellow Phoenicians (consanguineis) to found their city on this particular site. As Utica was only a few hours sailing distance from the isthmus of Carthage, it could offer its sister colony protection, and the people of Utica must have realized the potentialities of Carthage as a self-supporting colony. For Carthage had a healthy climate, rich agricultural resources in the surrounding countryside, and a good fishing industry in the nearby Lake Tunis; and its coastal inlets and offshore bars were just what was needed for setting up the desired ports.

The distinction made by Justinus between Byrsa, and Carthage as whole, is also verified by archaeological reconstruction. Charles-Picard makes clear that the 'new city' from the beginning comprised three distinct elements - an upper city, citadel, religious and political centre, which received the name, Byrsa, a lower city grouped around the ports, and finally a rural suburb called Megara. Details of the historical topography of Carthage are uncertain but it is highly probable that, while the present hill of St. Louis was the traditional citadel hill of Byrsa, the earliest settlement was not so far inland but rather at a point
The peninsula of Carthage.

The inner city of Carthage.

All the foregoing discussion shows that the Dido story was not all legend. Though every detail in Justinus about the beginnings of Carthage cannot be historically verified, it seems certain that the many legendary episodes about Dido and Carthage rest on a basis of historical truth.

For the Carthaginians, the heroism of their first queen was traditional. They all looked on their noble compatriot with great respect. Hence, Africans, writing after Vergil's time, saw in the failings attributed to the Dido of *Aeneid IV* a slur on the character of their chaste queen.

At no point in his history of Elissa and the founding of Carthage does Justinus connect Elissa with Aeneas. In Book XLIII of his *Epitoma* he tells briefly the story of Aeneas' arrival in Italy from Troy, his alliance with Latinus whom he subsequently succeeded as king, his marriage with Lavinia, his wars with Turnus and Mezentius, his death and the accession of his son, Ascanius - but of his visit to Carthage and his liaison with Elissa, there is nothing. Clearly, for Justinus, as for Timaeus, there is no connection between Elissa and Aeneas.

If in the earliest legends about Dido, the love of Aeneas and Dido has no place, we are faced with the problem of discovering where this facet of the Dido legend originated. In the introduction to his edition of *Aeneid IV* (1935) A.S. Pease has summed up the conflicting views of scholars of the past one hundred years. Some support Mommsen's rather sweeping conclusion
that as it is the Sicilian Timaeus who represents Aeneas as first founding Lavinium with its shrine of the Trojan Penates..., he must also have interwoven the Tyrian princess Elisa or Dido with the legend of Aeneas, for with him Dido is the foundress of Carthage, and Rome and Carthage are said by him to have been built in the same year. Others, however, reject Timaeus as the originator and favour either Naevius or Vergil himself. Dessau thinks that if Timaeus contained this tradition, Dionysius of Halicarnassus would have given it at least some passing notice. Many favour the Bellum Punicum of Naevius as a more plausible source for the fusion of the legends of Dido and Aeneas.

Wörner (1882) considers that, as Naevius had been a soldier in Africa and Sicily, and died in Utica, he could well have incorporated some Punic legend in his epic. Ciaceri (1911) sees the probable inclusion by Naevius of the Dido-Aeneas episode as an explanation of the hatred existing between Rome and Carthage. Prescott (1927) sums up many of the pro-Naevius views when he declares that "though the evidence is too scanty to warrant positive assertions, it is probable that the Carthaginian episode was inserted in the Greek legend, or at least developed by the Roman poet, Naevius, about the time of the second Punic War, obviously for political purposes, and as a singular instance of the happy role which a poet's imagination may play in the enlargement of a prosaic legend."

As these views are based on very scanty evidence, and are
so much in the realm of mere probability, it is not at all surprising that as many scholars reject as accept Naevius as the inventor of this episode.

In favouring Vergil as the originator Dessau unconvincingly stresses the absurdity of a contemporary of the Punic Wars entwining the origins of Rome and Carthage, and also points to the African tradition followed by Naevius, Tertullian and Augustine as being different from the Vergilian. More logically, Kowlaski (1929) argues that the scale of Naevius’ work did not admit space enough for a lengthy love story, and Conway (1933) presents a more balanced view when he asserts that Naevius may have brought Aeneas to Carthage but certainly did not invent the romance of Dido.

Most of the argument about Naevius as the source of the Dido-Aeneas romance centres around a few fragments which either discuss or quote from the Bellum Punicum and which are open to all kinds of interpretation.

Macrobius, commenting in his Saturnalia (VI. 2. 31) on Vergil’s use of ancient authors, shows that Vergil has borrowed from Naevius, Bellum Punicum I the description of the storm and the account of Venus’ complaints to Jupiter in Aeneid I. In principio Aeneidos tempestas descriptur, et Venus apud Iovem queritur de periculis filii, et Iuppiter eam de futurorum prosperitate solatur. hic locus totus sumptus a Naevio est ex primo libro Belli Punici, illic enim aeque Venus Trojanis tempestate laborantibus cum Iove queritur et secuntur verba
lovis filiam consolantis spe futurorum. When Macrobius says: hic locus totus sumptus a Naevio est, we cannot be sure that totus means the whole Carthaginian incident, though it is possible. Likewise, when Servius describes Dido's speech, O socii - neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum, saying of it: et totus hic locus de Naevio Belli Punici libro translatus est, he has not proved for us that the whole Dido-Aeneas theme is from Naevius, for we still do not know the range of his totus.

All we know for certain of Vergil's actual obligations to Naevius, is that in the Bellum Punicum, as in the Aeneid, Aeneas is questioned about his departure from Troy - Blande et docte percontat, Aeneas quo pacto Troiam urbem liquisset - and even here we do not know who is the subject of percontat. It could be Dido, but it could just as easily be Latinus or someone else. Also, according to Servius, Naevius, like Vergil, speaks of Dido and her sister, Anna - cuius filiae fuerunt Anna et Dido Naevius dicit, which makes clear that Naevius did write of Anna and Dido, as well as of Aeneas, but no fragment exists to prove that these were characters in the same incident.

Naevius also stated - Amborum uxores noctu Troiade exibant capitibus opertis, flentes ambae abeuntes lacrimis cum multis. Some scholars see an obstacle here to the Dido affair in the presence of Aeneas' wife and step-mother. But Naevius could have disposed of the wives just as Vergil disposed of Anchises before Aeneas reached Carthage.

As all of these arguments prove nothing, it is unwise to be
dogmatic about either view. Naevius could well have originated the story so as to provide a poetic motivation for the Punic Wars, parallel to the Rape of Helen in the Trojan War. But in our present state of knowledge of the Bellum Punicum we cannot be certain. If the Dido-Aeneas legend did not begin with Naevius, perhaps it is the product of oral tradition, perhaps it is the work of some unknown author, or perhaps it is the work of Vergil. Jacoby, in his commentary on the Timaeus fragment, expresses his conviction that the story is primarily an invention of Vergil, but Jackson Knight is equally sure that Vergil, who "like most great poets scarcely ever invented anything", would be unlikely to be responsible for an incident which forms such a major part of his epic.

This then was the information about Dido available to Vergil before he wrote his Aeneid. He must have been familiar with the Carthaginian tradition, which Justinus was later to describe in his Epitoma, and he probably was acquainted with a notion, which was being more and more favoured in Rome, that the hostility between Rome and Carthage had its beginnings in a breach between Aeneas and Dido.

On this traditional data, Vergil was to build a romance of Dido and Aeneas, which fundamentally altered the historical Dido narrative. However, though the Dido story in the Aeneid was a work of supreme artistry, it did not completely supplant the Timaeus-Justinus tradition, narrated in the existing mediocre chronicles. For, while Vergil's Aeneid, especially his Dido
tragedy, quickly won fame and was to provide popular themes for literature in every age, the original Dido story continued to be told by writers until Renaissance times.

To Christian moralists and African patriots the Justinus account of Dido's death in defence of her chaste widowhood was too valuable an historical source to be rejected. To them, the concept of Dido as a martyr for chastity, or as a victim sacrificed for the sake of her nation, was of far more didactic worth than the Vergilian presentation of Dido's tragic romance. Hence, in the history of the Dido legend, the way writers in the centuries since Vergil made use of Justinus' account is important and interesting, forming as it does, one of the major strands in the Dido tradition in European literature.
CHAPTER I

- NOTES -

1. Homer, *The Iliad* XX, 302-4


4. Note: I have not been able to find out if there is any connection in the Phoenician language between Ḍūdō and ḏū ῥη τού τολλήν αὐτῆς τολάνην. J.G. Frazer in *The Golden Bough* cites many scholars who claim that 'Dido' is derived from the Semitic dōd, "beloved".


6. Note: See attached copy of Table of Royal Houses.


9. Note: See attached map.


13. cf. D. Harden, op. cit., p. 67. Also see attached maps.


27. F. Jacoby, *Kommentar zu Timaios*. F. 82. (F. Gr. H.)


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Vergil always transformed his borrowings. Though he selected incidents and descriptions from the most diverse sources, with his creative genius he was able to assimilate these borrowings and blend them into a work which was unified and new. The story of Aeneas and Dido does not find a place in Greek literature, but the tragedy of an abandoned heroine does. From the many tragedies on this theme Vergil drew inspiration for his Dido.

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VERGIL AND THE DIDO LEGEND

1. VERGIL'S LITERARY SOURCES

Though we are doubtful about the origin of Vergil's Dido-Aeneas love episode, we are in a much more certain position when we come to examine the influences which guided his handling of this legend. Vergil seems to have borrowed freely from his literary predecessors, but he was no slavish imitator. A child of his age, he did not quibble at using characters, incidents, and even actual lines from earlier writers. In fact, Macrobius suggests that Vergil is the better for a precedent - that he seems to need "literary reminiscences in large numbers if he is to write at his best".\(^2\)

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Vergil looked primarily to Homer as his model and source, basing the whole plan of the *Aeneid* on the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. But while we come across many lines taken directly from Homer,
more often we meet a character who immediately suggests some Homeric figure, in a rather intangible but no less real way. We cannot say that Vergil has taken this character from Homer, for the person is wholly Vergilian. Nevertheless, we sense the presence of Homer, and realize that Vergil's genius has been at work, transmuting many diverse elements into a completely new being.

Such a character is Vergil's Dido. At one moment we are sure she is another Circe, so much does she resemble the beautiful enchantress, who detained for a whole year Odysseus and his companions, making them forgetful of their homeward journey. But then she seems more like Calypso, the lonely nymph, who loves a man tossed onto her shores by the sea, and who for seven years proves an obstacle to his mission. For here too divine intervention is needed to send Odysseus on his way. However, it is to Calypso, not to the prince, that Hermes comes. Though a nymph, Calypso has all the emotions of a woman deeply in love with an Odysseus, who has ceased to care for her. Dido is a reflection of this creature, a victim of the will of a hard-hearted and jealous Zeus. It is possible too that Calypso's cave was the inspiration of Vergil's cave scene, though Vergil may have been imitating the "ἱερὸν ἄντρον Μηδείης" of the Argonautica.

Dido resembles both Circe and Calypso, but when we turn to Odyssey VI we find her again in Nausicaa, Arete, and Alcinous. After a storm at sea, which certainly provided Vergil with the
mood and description of the storm in *Aeneid I*, Odysseus lands in Scheria. Here Athena in disguise appears to help him, just as does Venus to Aeneas. Both men are later given the protection of invisibility in a cloud. Nausicaa befriends Odysseus after the shipwreck, Arete welcomes him with queenly dignity, and Alcinous shows him hospitality at the banquet where all hear the story of his wanderings. All these characters are echoed in Dido, but she is none of them. She resembles them all in some way, but, thanks to Vergil’s genius, she is not a ‘hotch-potch’ of Homeric characters, but is a complete individual with characteristics distinctly her own.

The most marked influence on Vergil’s Dido is the story of Medea’s abandonment by Jason, as told by Euripides, and more particularly, as developed by Apollonius of Rhodes.

The whole dramatic shape Vergil has given to his Dido tragedy presupposes Euripides, for in *Aeneid IV*, as in a Euripidean tragedy, everything as Glover well puts it, "centres on the conflict of character and the coincident conflict of destiny". In Dido, as in Phaedra, we see "the unfolding of a woman’s character, ... how what is best in her gives its opportunity to what is worst, her capacity for love leading her astray ... Behind all this we see some dark, divine power forwarding a design, for which we find it hard to find an adequate reason, and yet for which the instinct and passion of a human creature are sacrificed, a life is crushed, and crushed by no strange or unseen agency of Fate, but by the act of one beloved". Both Euripides and Vergil
are puzzled by the problem of human suffering, which they cannot explain.

Vergil's Dido is in many ways the Euripidean Medea, who is tragic because her passions, being so much stronger than her reason, destroy her. Vergil shows in his presentation of Dido that he has grasped Euripides' tragic conception that the very "passions and unreason to which humanity is subject are its greatest scourge". 8

In some details, too, there are in Vergil's Dido close resemblances to Euripides' Medea. When Dido hurls her fiery insults at Aeneas, we hear Medea's angry outburst against Jason. Medea had shouted at Jason:

\[\omega \; \text{παγκάκιστε, τούτο γάρ σ' εἰπεῖν ἐχω γλώσσῃ μέγιστον εἰς ανανδρίαν κακόν, ἡλθες πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἡλθες ἐχθριστος γεγὼς θεοὶς τε κάμοι παντὶ τ' ἀνθρώπων γένει;}\]

and Dido, echoing these reproaches, cries out:

\[\text{Nec tibi diva parens, generis nec Dardanus auctor, Perfide; sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens Caucasus, Hyrcanaeque admorunt ubera tigres.}^10\]

And when Dido in mad fury utters her regrets at not having butcherced Ascanius,

\[\text{patriisque epulandum ponere mensis}^11\]

we recall the brutality of Euripides' Medea, who did kill her sons to avenge her abandonment by Jason and to cause her former lover intense pain.
But far closer to the spirit of Apollonius is Vergil’s story of Dido’s love. Apollonius is supposed to have been the first to treat delicate feelings romantically. Greek lyric poets had written sympathetically of love. Sappho, for instance, in many of her poems had expressed the physical and mental effects of love in young women. In one lyric she describes herself as overwhelmed "by the violent sensations of passionate love". 

"ως γὰρ ἐς σ’ ἴδω βρόχε’, ὡς με φωναί—σ’ οὐδ’ ἐν ἐτ’ εἰκεί,
ἀλλ’ ἐκαν μὲν γλώσσα πεπάγε, λέπτον ὑπάτικα χρῶι πῦρ ὑπαδεδρόμηκεν,
ὀππάτεσσι δ’ οὐδ’ ἐν ὃρημ’, ἐπιρρόμ—βεισί δ’ ἄκουαι." 

Love was Sappho’s first concern in her poetry. But such a delicate interest in a woman in love is not to be found in Greek epic or tragedy before Apollonius Rhodius.

The world of Greek literature was largely a man’s world. Homer presented the loves of his heroes but always from the man’s point of view. He shows us nothing, for example, of the reactions of Chryseis or Briseis to their being separated from their lords. He does not dwell on Calypso’s loneliness nor on Nausicaa’s incipient love for Odysseus. The feelings of the women were not taken into account.

The same is true of Greek tragedy. Though, in Hippolytus, Phaedra’s love of her step-son momentarily arouses our pity, Euripides directs our sympathy to the wronged Hippolytus.
Though, in *Antigone*, we know that the heroine loves and is loved by Haemon, Sophocles focuses interest not on her love, but on her loyalty to her brother. 18

Not until the third century B.C. with Apollonius' epic do we find love treated romantically in any major work of Greek literature. Here we watch the growth of love in Medea, and our attention is fixed on the delicate workings of a woman's heart, on her inmost thoughts and feelings.

A close comparison of the love elements in both the *Argonautica* and the *Aeneid* reveals how dependent on Apollonius was Vergil for his handling of the love-story of Dido and Aeneas. Servius 19 makes the rather sweeping conclusion that *Aeneid IV* is a translation of *Argonautica III*, and Macrobius declares: de Argonauticorum quarto, quorum scriptor est Apollonius, librum Aeneidos suae quartum totum paene formaverit ad Didonem vel Aenean amatoriam incontinentiam Medeae circa Iasonem transferendo. 20

While neither a translation nor a direct imitation, the *Aeneid* closely resembles Apollonius' epic, especially in the way Vergil traces the course of love in Dido's heart. Like Apollonius, Vergil had a sure and sensitive understanding of the workings of a woman's mind and heart.

Dido, like Medea, first burns with love because of Cupid's direct intervention. As in Medea, 
\[\text{τοῖος ὑπὸ κραδὴς εἰλιμένος αἰθέτο λάθρη}
\[\text{οἶλος "Ερως" 21 so in Dido,}\]
Est mollis flamma medullas
Interea et tacitum vivit sub pectore volnus. 22

Dido, 23 like Medea, 24 is awestruck at the beauty of her beloved, and both women have ever before their minds the appearance, words and actions of their lovers. 25

Both women are troubled in conscience by their yielding to love. Apollonius depicts the earnest, young Medea as torn between loyalty to her family and love for the young stranger, as troubled by dreams, enduring sleepless nights, and ultimately turning to her sister, Chalciope, for the advice which she hopes will coincide with her own wishes. Vergil, proving himself an equally sound psychologist of women, shows Dido, anxious about her vow of fidelity to Sychaeus, disturbed by dreams, lying awake at night, and finally seeking from Anna the counsel she most wants to hear.

When he describes Dido’s hesitation in declaring her love, Vergil follows Apollonius very closely, not only in thought but in actual expression. In the Argonautica, Medea longs to confide her love to her sister, but maiden shame restrains her.

μυθος δ’ ἀλλοτε μὲν οί ἐπ’ ἀκροτάτης ἀνέτελλεν γλώσσης, ἄλλοτ’ ἐνερέθε κατὰ στῆθος πεπότητο. 26

In the Aeneid, using the same image, Vergil says of Dido:

Incipit effari, mediaque in voce resistit. 27

Vergil often incorporates into the Aeneid words or feelings previously described by Apollonius, but he seldom uses the same setting. For example, after she learns of Aeneas’ decision to
leave Carthage, Dido, visualizing the scorn and humiliations she will have to suffer from her own people and her African neighbours, determines on death, as the only apparent solution to her difficulties. Yet she fears this death. Here there are distinct echoes of the fears and regrets that beset Medea before she gave Jason the charm, and of the 'dread of hateful Hades' which kept her from poisoning herself.

In describing the shattering effect on women of men's infidelities, Apollonius and Vergil have a very similar approach. Medea and Dido both trust implicitly that their lovers will be true to their lavish promises. As their trust is great, so is their suffering proportionally intense, when their lovers prove faithless. Both women recall to the men all the promises they have made, and all the kindnesses received. They appeal to their lords to pity them as lonely, helpless women. The bitter curse with which Medea climaxes her reproaches — ἐμείο, ἀτενευδέονες καμάτοιι — is closely connected with the curse Dido utters in like circumstances —

Supplicia hausurum scopulis, et nomine Dido

Saepe vocaturum.

These are but some of the many reminiscences in the Aeneid of the Argonautica, but they are enough to show how much Vergil owed to Apollonius in his treatment of Dido's love. However, though Vergil took so much from his Alexandrian predecessor, his Dido is fundamentally different from Medea. Apollonius never
lets us lose sight of the fact that Medea is a sorceress, with all the resources of witchcraft at her disposal. Hence, while we sympathise with Medea's soul agonies, subconsciously at least we begrudge bestowing pity on a woman who, because of her magical powers, is never really helpless.

Dido, on the other hand, never ceases to be a woman. Momentarily she suggests the use of magic, but only to deceive Anna. Always she is a woman, whose sufferings of mind and heart Vergil understood and pitied. He wins our sympathy for her by stressing how needless was the death in despair, to which her proud, passionate nature drove her. He highlights, too, her loneliness and helplessness in being torn from the man she loved, because of the relentless will of the gods. Dido was for Vergil no sorceress like Medea, but a woman who suffered as greatly as did Octavia and other women contemporaries of Vergil, simply because political schemes and reasons of state demanded it.

AMONG Vergil's immediate predecessors, the Latin poet, in whose poems we find closest resemblance to the Dido sections of the Aeneid, is Catullus. Like Vergil, Catullus was influenced greatly by the poets of Alexandria with their interest in personal emotion and self-conscious artistry. In his short poems, we find the fresh directness and simplicity of language which characterized the works of the 'poetae novi'. What could be
more brisk and lively than his finely wrought Carmen 27, which, with its clever use of the hendecasyllable, in only seven lines captures so surely the light-hearted gaiety of a drinking song! Vergil's genial portrayal of Bitias' hearty drinking could well be an echo of this.

The spirit of deep, passionate love, which fired Catullus' Lesbia poems is the same spirit which Vergil has infused into his descriptions of Dido's love. The poet, who urges Lesbia, Vivamus .... atque amemus ...
da mi basia mille, deinde centum,
dein mille altera, dein secunda centum ... is expressing joyfully and spontaneously the love he is actually experiencing. Vergil, too, in his sympathy with Dido, shows a personal understanding of the overwhelming effects of human love. Likewise, in Dido's paroxysms of hatred for Aeneas, when he had proven unfaithful, we find the same passion which drove the disillusioned Catullus to write in scorn of Lesbia:
cum suis vivat valeatque moechis,
quos simul complexa tenet trecentos,
nullum amans vere, sed identidem omnium ilia rumpens;
nec meum respectet, ut ante, amorem. A like hopelessness is sounded in Catullus' poignant line:difficile est longum subito deponere amorem. As the wounded Catullus could in all truth say of himself odi et amo, so Vergil was to present Dido as hating Aeneas, yet longing
for him.

While these short love poems resemble the spirit of Vergil's descriptions of Dido's love, it is in Poem 64 that we find Catullus closest to Vergil. Like Vergil, Catullus has turned to the legends of the past, "utilizing to the full the resources of tradition", and like him too, he has entered deeply into his poem so that throughout "we feel the 'presence' of the poet by the way in which he directs the story, altering its tempo, imposing on stylized ancient legend an ironical overlay of modern realistic detail, giving the poem constantly the imprint of his own personality".

Into his story of the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, Catullus has woven the tragedy of Ariadne, whose abandonment by Theseus is depicted on the coverlet of the marriage-bed. Catullus shows us the forlorn Ariadne, standing on the sea-shore, deserted by Theseus on the morning after her elopement. With rapid strokes, he recalls the story of Ariadne's love - her thrill of love at the sight of the "golden-haired stranger", who had come to Crete to grapple with the minotaur, her joy in his victory, her flight with him from all she loved to the lonely island of Dia, her night of love, the madness on awakening to find her lover gone.

There is a marked similarity in thought and verbal expression between Catullus' and Vergil's descriptions of the beginnings and growth of love in a young woman.

In Poem 64, Catullus described Ariadne thus:

non prius ex illo flagrantia declinavit
lumina, quam cuncto concepit corpore flammam
funditus atque imis exarsit tota medullis.\textsuperscript{41}

while of Dido, Vergil says:

expleri mentem nequit ardescitque tuendo
Phoenissa,\textsuperscript{42}

.. Volnus alit venis, et caeco carpitur igni,\textsuperscript{43}

and

Est mollis flamma medullas

Interea, et tacitum vivit sub pectore volnus.\textsuperscript{44}

This last description may owe something to Acme's description of
her love of Septimius in Catullus' Poem 45 -

ut molto mihi maior acriorque
ignis mollibus ardet in medullis.\textsuperscript{45}

Ariadne, like Dido, a victim of Cupid's ruthlessness,
sacrifices all that is dearest to her for the sake of her
beloved. Deserted by the man she greatly loved she cries out
against his unfaithfulness. She reminds him of his promises and
of all she has suffered because of him. As we hear the cries of
her wounded heart we hear Dido too, chiding perfidus Aeneas.

Sicine me patriis avectam, perfide, ab aris,

perfide, deserto liquisti in litore, Theseu?\textsuperscript{46}

She has trusted his promises and he has gone off completely
forgetful of them - immemor.

at non haec quondam blanda promissa dedisti

voce mihi; non haec miseram sperare iubebas,

sed conubia laeta, sed optatos hymenaeos.\textsuperscript{47}
Dido too has placed all her hopes in marriage with Aeneas, and so she pleads

per ego has lacrimas dextramque tuam te ...
per conubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos. 48

As Ariadne vainly asked the absent Theseus to change his cruel purpose:

nullane res potuit crudelis flectere mentis consilium? tibi nulla fuit clementia praesto,
immite ut nostri vellet miserescere pectus, 49

so Dido urged Aeneas to relent and have pity -
miserere domus labentis et istam,
or, si quis adhuc precibus locus, exue mentem. 50

Ariadne's reaction to her lover's betrayal is the normal reaction of a shocked woman. She is not just "an epic puppet". Like Apollonius before him, and Vergil after him, Catullus has penetrated to the depths of this woman's despair. Her passionate outburst of hate is the natural effect of the unexpected shattering of her hopes. Vergil is particularly dependent on Catullus for the expression of this emotional reaction. While Catullus has Ariadne ask Theseus -

quaenam te genuit sola sub rupe leaena?
quod mare conceptum spumantibus expuit undis,
quae Syrtis, quae Scylla rapax, quae vasta Charybdis,
talia qui reddis pro dulci praemia vita? 51

in the Aeneid, in very similar language, we hear Dido's -

nec tibi diva parens generis nec Dardanus auctor,
perfide, sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens
Caucasus Hyrcanaeque admirunt ubera tigres.

As the moment of her death drew nearer, Dido, reviewing her life’s work, saw how successful her life had been before Aeneas’ arrival -

felix, heu nimium felix, si litora tantum
numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae,

Ariadne too uttered the wish that Theseus had never come to Crete -

... utinam ne tempore primo
Gnosia Cecropiae tetigissent litora puppes.

In their hate for their faithless lovers both Ariadne and Dido take the only vengeance that lies open to them. Left alone and helpless they turn to the Powers of the Underworld and invoke curses on Theseus and Aeneas -

Eumenides, prays Ariadne .. meas audite querellas,
... quali solam Theseus me mente reliquit,
tali mente, deae, funestet seque suosque -

a curse which very soon found fulfilment when Theseus, immemor of his father’s commands, as of her love, unwittingly caused his father’s death.

With a like spirit of frustrated grief, Dido calls upon Aeneas curses which would have not only an immediate effect, but which would overshadow the relations between Rome and Carthage for centuries. She summons the aid of Sol, Iuno, Hecate,
et Dirae ultrices et di morientis Elissae,
accipite haec ...
et nostras audite preces ...

... bello audacis populi vexatus et armis finibus extorris, complexu avulsus Iuli auxilium imploret videatque indigna suorum funera; nec, cum se sub leges pacis iniquae tradiderit, regno aut optata luce fruatur, sed cadat ante diem mediaque inhumatus harena. 56

Apart from these detailed similarities, Catullus furnished Vergil with a new attitude to his characters. Ariadne and Theseus are not just mythological figures acting according to an accepted pattern, but they are people such as Catullus himself knew, whose behaviour sprang from the dominant traits of their personalities. Catullus, for example, does not make Theseus an inhuman monster who offends against nature in deserting Ariadne. Subtly Catullus has prepared us for this infidelity by consistently showing Theseus as immemor and ferox, and therefore of a nature capable of such a desertion.

In portraying the characters of Dido and Aeneas, Vergil has adopted the same approach. The gods are there, and their actions are important, but they are not necessary. A superficial consideration of the Aeneid would suggest that the lives of Aeneas and Dido were completely controlled by the gods. More careful study, however, reveals that the acts of Aeneas and Dido were entirely consistent with their characters as Vergil had gradually unfolded them. Just as Theseus left Ariadne and caused his father's death because he was naturally thoughtless and
unconcerned about others, so Dido killed herself because she was passionate and proud; and Aeneas left Carthage because, for all his human frailty, he was dominated by pietas and moral uprightnes.

So far I have tried to show the many different streams which flowed into Vergil's mind and helped produce his Dido story. He was writing of an historical figure about whom many legends had been woven, and whom Roman tradition was beginning to associate with Rome's legendary founder, Aeneas. The Dido, who eventually emerged in the Aeneid, was a new creation but in no way isolated from all the literary figures who had preceded her. In Vergil's treatment of Dido we see the heights which Roman literature had reached in using what was best in the Greek tradition and adapting it to the needs of Augustan Rome. Vergil has freely borrowed from Homer, Euripides, Apollonius and many other Greek writers, as well as from the Roman writers of epic and love poetry. But, as L.P. Wilkinson has remarked, "the fact that a poet can be shown to have taken much from others, consciously or unconsciously, need have little bearing on his originality. Classical poets had no idea of copyright. They prided themselves not on originality of thought, but on originality of treatment and on perfection of form".57 And it is this originality that Vergil has achieved in Dido.
2. VERGIL'S DIDO STORY

As Vergil, in his story of Dido before her meeting with Aeneas, keeps close to the traditional views of her earlier life, I shall examine first the historical background of Dido which he relates in *Aeneid I*, pointing to the ways in which he differs from the existing accounts of her.

In answer to Aeneas' questions about the nature of the country in which he had landed, Venus gave the following reply:

Punica regna vides, Tyrios et Agenoris urbem;
Sed fines Libyci, genus intractabile bello.
Imperium Dido Tyria regit urbe profecta,
Germanum fugiens. Longa est iniuria, longae
Ambages; sed summa sequar fastigia rerum.
Huic coniunx Sychaeus erat, ditissimus agri
Phoenicum, et magno miserae dilectus amore,
Cui pater intactam dederat, primisque iugarat
Ominibus. Sed regna Tyri germanus habebat
Pygmalion, scelere ante alios inmanior omnis.
Quos inter medius venit furor. Ille Sychaeum
Impius ante aras atque auri caecus amore
Clam ferro incautum superat, securus amorum
Germanae; factumque diu celavit, et aegram,
Multa malus simulans, vana spe lusit amantem.
Ipsa sed in somnis inhumati venit imago
Coniugis, ora modis attollens pallida miris;
Crudelis aras traiectaque pectora ferro
Nudavit, caecumque domus scelus omne retexit.
Tum celerare fugam patriaque excedere suadet,
Auxiliumque viae veteris tellure recludit
Thesauros, ignotum argenti pondus et auri.
His commota fugam Dido sociosque parabat.
Conveniunt, quibus aut odium crudele tyranni
Aut metus acer erat; navis, quae forte paratae,
Corripiunt, onerantque auro; portantur avari
Pygmalionis opes pelago; dux femina facti.
Devenere locos, ubi nunc ingentia cernis
Moenia surgentemque novae Karthaginis arcem,
Mercatique solum, facti de nomine Byrsam,
Taurino quantum possent circumdare tergo. 58

In these thirty lines, Vergil has covered the main points
noted by Timaeus and Justinus, with however certain differences.
Neither Timaeus nor Justinus makes any mention of Agenor nor
Belus (whom Vergil refers to in Aeneid I, 621 as genitor of Dido).
In Lewis and Short's Latin Dictionary, Agenor is described as "a
son of Belus, king of Phoenicia, father of Cadmus and Europa,
and an ancestor of Dido", and Vergil, by introducing the earlier
ancestor has only emphasised Dido's royalty and her Phoenician
origin. In complete accord with earlier tradition Vergil tells
of Dido's fleeing from her brother, Pygmalion, after he had killed
her husband. Vergil names Dido's husband Sychaeus, while for
Justinus he is Acherbas. Vergil does not add Justinus' further
information that Acherbas was a priest of Hercules and Dido's uncle; which latter fact is further attested to in the Genealogical Table of Tyre (cited on p. 8) where "Acherbas" is listed as brother of Mattan, father of Pygmalion and Elissa. So far I have not found any reason for Vergil's changing this name.

Both Justinus and Vergil make a point of Sychaeus' burying his treasure in the ground as a protection from Pygmalion's avarice. Vergil gives special emphasis to the chastity of Dido — intactam, primis omnibus — because of the importance of this theme in his later development of the tragedy, and he also mentions Sychaeus' great love for her - a fact necessary to the Vergilian romance of Dido, but understandably omitted in Justinus' History.

In describing the murder, Vergil gives many details not found in Timaeus or Justinus, who state simply that Pygmalion killed Acherbas because of his desire for his wealth. He does not imply that Elissa was unaware of the crime. Vergil adds to the impiety of the murder by placing it ante aras, and he leaves Dido completely ignorant of what had happened, deceived by her brother's specious excuses for Sychaeus' absence. Though Justinus' Elissa tells Pygmalion that she wants to leave her home because every object in it brings her husband's image before her mind, she does not suggest a vision or dream of him. Vergil's Dido, however, learns of the murder when the inhumati .. imago coniugis appears to her in a dream and reveals to her all the details of the crime. From her husband's shade she also learns
of the whereabouts of the hidden treasure, and receives the command to flee. Vergil does not highlight, as do Justinus and Timaeus, Elissa's guile in deceiving her brother by obtaining his ships, and pretending to throw the treasure overboard. He simply describes her flight with some companions who shared her fear and hatred for the king. It was only by good fortune that she found ships in port. In Vergil, there is nothing about the landing at Cyprus, where maidens were taken on board, nor of Pygmalion's determination to pursue his sister - though Dido does refer to her danger from Pygmalion when she is pleading with Aeneas not to leave her (In 

Vergil does not directly refer to the troubles of Dido's journey as does Timaeus, who says - "καὶ πολλὰ κακοπαθήσασα τῇ Λιβύη προσηκέχον", but Dido's claim to be non ignari mali could imply difficulties other than those actually described, and the reference to the Phoenicians as iactati undis et turbin before their arrival in Carthage, suggests the hardships of the journey.

Justinus gives far more detail than Vergil about Dido's purchase of land, but both accounts agree closely as to the origin of the name of the citadel, Byrsa.

At this point in his narrative of Dido's background, Vergil turns our attention from Dido to Aeneas, so that we do not immediately learn all the details which Justinus gives about the
Phoenicians' early relations with the Africans. However, in later parts of the Aeneid, Vergil interweaves into his story much data he has gathered from Justinus. Clearly Justinus' approach is that of the historian, who preserves and narrates chronologically all the known facts, while Vergil is always the poet, interested only in what is necessary here and now for his epic, rejecting or altering whatever may hinder the unfolding of his plot. Hence, while Justinus follows the purchase of Byrsa, with the story of the Tyrians' preference for the site hallowed by the omen of a horse-head, rather than the one where an ox-head had been found, Vergil does not mention this legend until he leads Aeneas to the grove where Dido was building a temple for Juno. Here Vergil refers to the Phoenicians' joy in unearthing a horse's head - for them the symbol of future prosperity and success in war.

Lucus in urbe fuit media, laetissimus umbrae,
Quo primum iactati undis et turbine Poeni
Effodere loco signum, quod regia Iuno
Monstrarat, caput acris equi; sic nam fore bello
Egregiam et facilem victu per saecula gentem. 67

Also Justinus notes that among the conditions for being allowed to settle in Carthage, Dido had to pay an annual tax for her land. Vergil refers to this only in Aeneid IV where Iarbas complains to Jupiter that -

Femina, quae nostris errans in finibus urbem
Exiguam pretio posuit, cui litus arandum
Cuique loci leges dedimus, connubia nostra
Reppulit ac dominum Aenean in regna recepit. 68

Here, almost in passing, Vergil shows that Dido had paid for her land, only a small coastal strip, and had agreed to certain of Iarbas' laws.

Justinus points to the rapid development of Carthage into a city respected by the neighbouring peoples, who sought alliances with her. To establish such an alliance, Hiarbas sought Elissa's hand in marriage. Vergil, too, but indirectly, describes the healthy state of the growing Carthage - When Aeneas and Achates reached the hill, towering over the city, they marvelled at all the building activity and the order that had already been achieved. 69 Though the actual descriptions of the strata viarum, alta theatri fundamenta, and iura magistratusque ... sanctum senatum are Roman rather than Carthaginian, yet they do emphasize that Carthage was a flourishing city, and Dido a capable sovereign.

In our first meeting with Dido in the Aeneid, we see that Vergil has followed Justinus' tradition of her beauty. Justinus had described her as insignis formae 70 and Vergil introduces her as forma pulcherrima. 71 Also, Vergil emphasizes Dido's powers of leadership, her interest in her people, her enthusiasm, her wisdom and her justice; 72 just as Justinus had shown her as a respected leader, who kept counsel with her princes, laboured for her people's good, and died to save them from barbarism. 73

Justinus speaks of the isolation of Elissa and her Tyrians, far from Phoenicia, with only the Uticenses friendly. The
consequent state of uncertainty amid hostile barbarians is likewise described by Vergil, when Dido explains her reasons for all the defensive measures of which Ilioneus complained. Dido acknowledges that the actions of her men in burning their ships and forbidding them to land were harsh, but that life for them all in Carthage is harsh too, and they are forced to protect themselves.

Res dura et regni novitas me talia cogunt
Moliri, et late finis custode tueri. 74

With the meeting of Aeneas and Dido, Vergil's romance begins, and his dependence on the traditional story of Dido almost disappears, to appear again only in the Iarbas incidents, and in the circumstances surrounding Dido's death, in Aeneid IV.

Because Dido's relations with Iarbas, and the manner of her death, find their origins in Timaeus and Justinus, I will consider Vergil's handling of these elements before examining his Aeneas-Dido love theme.

For the earlier historians Iarbas (Hiarbus in Justinus) was ruler over one or more African tribes variously identified as Gaetuli, Maxitani, Numidae, Mauri, Mazici or Libyans. 75 Timaeus states only that "τοι των Λιβάων βασιλέως θέλοντος αὕτην γῆμαι, αὕτῃ μὲν ἀντελέγεν," but Justinus details Hiarbas' sending for ten Punic leaders from whom he demanded either marriage with Elissa, or destruction of Carthage in war. Despite her chiefs' urging her compliance, Elissa preferred death to marriage with a barbarian, through whom she thought no good could come to her.
people. Pease cites another detail found in Eustathius' commentary on Dionysius Periegetes 195, which I have not seen, that Iarbas repelled Dido on her arrival, and later sold her a site for settlement, and Servius in his commentary on Aeneid I, 367, seems to have followed this tradition, for he writes - adpulsa ad Libyam Dido, cum ab Hiarba pelleretur, petit callide ut emeret tantum terrae quantum posset corium bovis tenere ...

To this picture of Iarbas as a fierce despot, who regarded "Dido as a chattel, a woman to whose love he has a natural right", Vergil has added some colourful legendary details. Iarbas, he tells us, was the son of the Libyan God, Jupiter Ammon, who had ravished an African nymph. By his description of Iarbas' devotions, Vergil has revealed the primitive mentality of a conscientious worshipper, who believes that, considering all his elaborate sacrifices to his divine father, Jupiter has treated him rather shabbily in allowing Aeneas to be Dido's lord. Vergil has linked his plot with the traditional idea of Iarbas' being the cause of Dido's death, by having Jupiter answer Iarbas' prayer with the admonition to Aeneas which broke up the liaison between Aeneas and Dido, and ultimately caused Dido to kill herself.

As Justinus pointed to the barbarism of Iarbas and his Africans, by having the Punic chiefs suggest that Elissa might be able to teach them to be cultiores, so Vergil does too, by showing in Iarbas' intolerance of Aeneas' clothes and his crinem madentem that age-old distrust, jealousy and inward
fear felt by the rough and primitive for a softer and more sophisticated people".  

Vergil does not give the details of Iarbas' approaches to Dido. Anna suggests that Iarbas was Dido's most persistent suitor, but Vergil's despectus reveals the grand manner in which Dido dealt with his presumption. Iarbas' prayer to Jupiter shows how he considered marriage with Dido his right - romantic love has no place in his world. And Dido's reproach to Aeneas - 

Te propter Libycae gentes Nomadumque tyranni odere, - her fear that Iarbas will "marry her by force", and her dread of having to plead with rejected lords for protection, all suggest the hostility that had arisen because Dido had resisted Iarbas' wishes.

In Vergil, the cause of Dido's death depends directly on the Aeneas-Dido romance, but the means he uses to effect her death are closely linked with the tradition that Dido killed herself on a pyre. Timaeus narrates: σημαμένη τελετήν τινα πρὸς ἀνάλυσιν ὄρκων ἐπιτελέσειν, πυρὰν μεγίστην ἐγγὺς τοῦ οίκου κατασκευάσασα καὶ ἄψασα ἀπὸ τοῦ δώματος αὐτῆς ἐις τὴν πυρὰν ἔρριψεν." Here Timaeus refers to some oath Dido must have taken before leaving Phoenicia, and he connects Dido's death with the performance of some religious rites, during which she threw herself into the pyre which she had erected near her house. But, in Justinus, she mounted the pyre on which the people thought she would offer appeasing sacrifices to Sychaeus before her marriage, but sumpto gladio pyram conscendit atque ita ad populum
respiciens ituram se ad virum, sicut praecipserunt, dixit vitamque gladio finivit. For Justinus, Elissa's death was public, and caused by the sword, but though she died on a pyre, no mention is made of her being consumed by flames.

In the *Aeneid*, the pyre forms part of the magical rite which Dido uses to deceive Anna and the aged Barce. When she is convinced that Aeneas will never return to her, she confides to Anna her intention of resorting to magic, which will either restore Aeneas to her, or cure her of her love for him - quae mihi reddat eum, vel eo me solvat amantem. Anna is bidden erect secretly in the centre of the house pyram ... sub auras on which she must place Aeneas' arma .... exuviasque omnis, lectumque iugalem. The whole rite is intentionally ambiguous - for Anna can take Dido's abolere nefandi cuncta viri monumenta iuvat to mean that thus she will ensure Aeneas' destruction and her freedom, or that he will be consumed with love for her. This ambiguity recalls the similar ambiguity in Elissa's words to her Punic chiefs in Justinus, where she promises that ituram se ad virum.

The elaborate preparations of the magical elements and of the pyre, and the actual magical ritual are described by Vergil in detail as he creates his atmosphere of mystery and terror. He has combined the magical practices, which are reminiscent in their details of Medea of Apollonius, and the story of Dido's suicide on a pyre, which was common to all previous accounts of her death. Vergil could have let Dido die without a pyre. But in the version known to Justinus, Dido used such a device to save
Vergil’s real purpose in introducing magic seems to have been to provide Dido with the means to blind Anna to her real intentions. He implies no serious belief in the efficacy of magical arts. In fact, Pease claims that Vergil, by making Dido tell Anna *magicas invitat am accingier artis* "anachronistically reflects in Dido’s feelings that of his own day, when magic was employed by the more ignorant classes but held in great disfavour by the respectable and intelligent". It is probable too that Vergil introduced magic to deepen the tragedy and increase "our pity and terror", by reflecting in the grim magical rites Dido’s sorrow and despair.

Vergil’s Dido does not kindle her own pyre as does Timaeus’. There is no reference made to the fire, until we hear Aeneas described in *Aeneid V* as:

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moenia respiciens, quae iam infelicis Elissae
conlucent flammis.
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Connington comments that though Dido had built the pyre to destroy the *effigiem* of Aeneas, as she did not light the fire, it was but natural that the pyre be used for burning her body.

In Vergil’s story of Dido’s death there appears nothing of the divine nature of the original Dido. However, some legends, according to G.A. Wainwright, did consider Dido a Phoenician fertility goddess, and "for that reason, but not only for that, her death on the pyre in Vergil was appropriate: fertility kings were sacrificed by burning, especially in Libya". Kowlaski
also sees in her name, Elissa, translated in Greek as Ἑλλησσόω, a connection with the Semitic El, meaning God, and he conjectures that Dido was originally a deity, but that Ctesias, the source of Timaeus, transferred her title from goddess to queen. But in the Aeneid, Dido is a very human queen, whose appearance later in the "Fields of Mourning" clearly indicates that Vergil did not consider her a goddess.

One final point, which shows Vergil's dependence on his historical sources, is Dido's promise to Sychaeus not to re-marry. I have already noted Timaeus' reference to this. By dying, Dido fulfilled some oath. Justinus remarks on no such promise, but implies her aversion for marriage with Hiarbas because of his barbarism. She realized that marriage with the king of the Maxitani would mean ad barbaros et ferarum more viventes transire a consanguineis, and she preferred to die. Vergil's Dido is afraid to yield to her love for Aeneas because of her promises of fidelity to her dead husband. She does not want to violate pudor. Glover explains this pudor in Dido as "a peculiar and unexplained sensitiveness which Anna ..... could not understand - loyalty to an ideal ... with which reason has less to do than instinct .... Dido's conscience is still on the side of this instinct of hers - and though she decides to follow inclination, slightly cloaked by reason, her heart condemns her all the time .... To resolve to win Aeneas' love is no wrong thought or action, but to attempt it against her conscience is the first step towards shame". Vergil may have been influenced in this
attitude by Roman sentiment which was "traditionally disturbed by second marriages", and which held univirae in high esteem. Vergil weaves his tragedy of Dido about her sense of loyalty to Sychaeus. Her fidelity to her dead husband elevates her and commands our respect. Vergil awakens our sympathy for a conscience-stricken queen, whose greatest torment after Aeneas has left her is that she has failed in her duty to Sychaeus — non servata fides cineri promissa Sychaei.

All the foregoing details indicate that Vergil relied on historical tradition, but was not stifled by it. He did not hesitate to use any traditional data which might help his poem. His greatness lies in the way he selected from existing material, and incorporated his selections into a story quite different from his originals.

Vergil's Dido story, whether it began with Naevius or not, is something new in the Dido tradition. His is the first extant version of a legend in which Dido is associated with Aeneas. The additions, which Vergil made to the traditional Dido story, being so well known, need to be no more than outlined here.

Aeneas, a fugitive from Troy, is shipwrecked on Carthaginian shores, where, thanks to Venus' favour, Dido welcomes him and his companions. Through the intervention of Venus and Cupid, Dido falls in love with Aeneas, whose narration of his trials and journeyings serves to deepen her love and admiration for him. Encouraged by her sister and confidante, Anna, Dido decides to yield to her love for Aeneas, persuading herself that she is
really no longer bound to Sychaeus.

Love grows in Dido till thought of Aeneas absorbs her to the exclusion of all else. Through the planning of Venus and Juno, a hunting expedition and storm lead to the consummation of Dido’s love for Aeneas in the cave scene. Dido calls this marriage, to soothe her troubled conscience. Aeneas now acts publicly as if he were Dido’s consort, supervising the buildings in Carthage, forgetful of his divine destiny to found a new Troy in Italy. Mercury is sent by Jupiter in answer to Iarbas’ prayers to remind Aeneas of his duty to Troy and to his son, Ascanius, and to order him to leave Dido and Carthage. Aeneas himself, now in love too, is torn between duty and pleasure, but knows he must obey Jupiter. While his companions, obeying his orders, prepare the ships for departure, Aeneas still hesitates to tell Dido that he must go. In his very desire to spare her pain, he increases her suffering, for Rumour reaches Dido before Aeneas has explained the divine command. The whole drama of Aeneid IV then centres around the struggle between Aeneas and Dido, and within their souls.

Dido rages passionately against Aeneas as a traitor, pleads with him as a lover, insults him as a deceiver. He loves her, does not want to hurt her by abandoning her, but knows he must fulfil his destiny. He quietly tries to reason with a woman whose passions have blinded her reason. He longs to comfort her but knows the futility of trying to explain. When all Dido’s pleas to Aeneas fail, she plans suicide, convincing herself that no other course lies open to her. Her love for Aeneas turns to hate.
and despair, for she cannot conceive that a man could still love her and yet leave her. She cannot understand the spiritual values that dominate Aeneas' life.

Haunted by horrible omens and frightening dreams, she prepares for death. Deceiving Anna, she persuades her to make ready magic elements and a pyre, which she will use to rid herself of her love for Aeneas. Meanwhile, after a second command from Mercury, Aeneas sets sail.

Once Dido realizes that Aeneas has gone, her fury is more intense than ever, and she calls down bitter curses upon him and his new nation. Her despair is complete. As soon as she is alone, she mounts the pyre on which she has placed all her dulces exuviae of Aeneas, and with his sword she kills herself. Anna and her whole household, shocked by her deed, weep around the pyre, where her strong, young body, not yet ready for death, struggles until Iris, sent by Juno from Olympus, cuts a lock of her hair and thus releases her wrestling spirit.

Aeneas, sailing from Carthage, sees the flames on the shore, but in no way realizes that they have been caused by the lighting of Dido's funeral pyre. Not until he meets Dido in the Underworld does he understand fully the effect on Dido of his departure. There in the Lugentes Campi he sees her with Sychaeus. His distress at the suffering he has caused and his vain attempts to convince her that he no more wanted to leave her than he wanted to endure the horrors of the Underworld, reveal the depth of his love for her.
Dido is mentioned only once again in the Aeneid and that is long afterwards, when Evander's young son, Pallas, lay dead before Aeneas. In that bitter moment, Aeneas' thoughts turned again to Dido, for he placed the boy's body on a gold-embroidered purple garment which she had once made for him —

tunc geminas vestes auroque ostroque rigentes
extulit Aeneas, quas illi laeta laborum
ipsa suis quondam manibus Sidonia Dido
fecerat et tenui telas discreuerat auro.  

The life-story of Dido had ended with Aeneas' departure from Carthage, but "long after the tragic tale had run its course, the pity of it echoes through all Aeneas' life and actions, so that it is never possible to think of him as any other but the man whom Dido had loved, and who, despite himself and despite his destiny, had loved Dido".  

In this story of Aeneas and Dido, Vergil has re-enacted a most human experience. He has created two characters, whose minds and hearts he has sounded to their depths and in whose lives he has presented the problem of human suffering. In touching their particular experiences, he has touched the joys and sorrows of all men, who can recognize their own reactions in those of Aeneas and Dido. Vergil lets us see both Aeneas and Dido as real human beings, whose virtues are balanced by their faults. He does not hide these faults from us, but rather shows how both Aeneas and Dido, like all men, have to suffer from the complications which their own follies have caused.
Aeneas is a brave leader, sincere in his efforts to fulfil a destiny, which often proves distasteful to him. In Carthage he is attracted by the beautiful queen and yields to the all too human temptation to dally with her and revel in the joys of love. When, and if, he stops to think about it, he realizes that this pleasure cannot last forever, but he refuses to spoil his happiness with such unsettling thoughts. It takes a violent shock to his conscience, in the form of a visitation from Mercury, to arouse him to his sense of duty. He knows now, what he has known all along but would not admit, that he cannot stay on with Dido. He and his men must leave, and leave at once, for Italy. But even now, certain of what he ought to do, Aeneas still hesitates, for he loves Dido deeply and wants to find how least to hurt her in obeying.

A man of strong convictions, eminent for his pietas Aeneas does not waver as to what his decision should be. He has to leave the woman he loves, though she will be hurt and will misunderstand him. "Vergil shows Aeneas as a man puzzled and hurt by the problem of pain, not only the pain he suffers, but the pain that he inflicts". Faced with Dido's passionate onslaughts, Aeneas remains quietly dignified, aware that his words will not improve the situation, aware too that his conduct is not beyond reproach. Aeneas is misjudged by Dido, and by many unsympathetic readers, just as in real life men who make "courageous, unsentimental decisions are often misjudged". Aeneas' decision to sacrifice his pleasure for duty costs him greatly. But he has made the
morally right decision, and as he cannot do anything to calm
Dido, he seeks release from his pent-up emotions in action —

At pius Aeneas, quamquam lenire dolentem
solando cupidet dictis avertere curas,
multa gemens magnoque animum labefactus amore
iussa tamen divum exsequitur classemque revisit. 109

Dido too wins our interest and sympathy because we can
understand her thoughts and feelings. Women of all time have
experienced the same effects of growing love, and understand how
easily Dido could deceive herself into justifying whatever action
would promote love's fulfilment. Dido's is a universal tragedy
well within the bounds of human experience. She is a lonely
woman, whose greatest comfort in her loneliness was her chaste
fidelity to her husband's memory. The stirrings of love, after
her meeting with Aeneas, reveal how sensitively feminine she still
is, despite her aloof exterior. We understand, and, with our
feelings at least, sympathise with her submitting once again to
love's power. The course of her love is that of many a passionate
woman, and while the path of love continues "to run smooth" her
happiness is complete. But Dido is a proud woman, dominated by
feelings. Her love for Aeneas is passionate and strong, but it
is also selfish. Therefore, when her pride is hurt by Aeneas'
decision to leave Carthage, she refuses to consider any point of
view other than her own. She acts and speaks irrationally as
women of her temperament are prone to do. Blinded in her
judgment, she impetuously condemns Aeneas' heartlessness, without
ever thinking that perhaps he too might be suffering.

Temporarily she alienates our sympathy by her wild hysteria and melodramatic gestures - but only temporarily. Our sympathies are with Dido from the beginning. We have admired her dignity as queen, her generosity as hostess, her devotion as lover. We realize the hurt caused her by Aeneas' "desertion" and we pity her, excusing her frenzy and anger. Vergil wants us to pity her, for he has presented her as a noble woman, worthy of universal admiration. But he also wants us to see the tragedy of her needless death. She could have accomplished so much, if only she had not tormented herself into believing that she must die, obsessed as she was by a "confused desire to punish Aeneas, by imposing on him the responsibility for her death".110

When the storms of passion subside and in proud dignity she goes to her death we are moved by the pity and futility of it all. In the face of death she has regained her queenly stature. In calm despair she has accepted that she must die. Her last thoughts of Aeneas show how deep-seated still is her love. The tragic irony is so poignant. A queen is dying, because she is convinced that Aeneas no longer loves her, and that he really desires her unhappiness. Yet Vergil has made it so clear that Aeneas' love is great, and that his mental torture at the pain he has had to inflict on Dido is as intense as her own suffering.

In his recent study, "Vergil's Tragic Queen",111 Kenneth Quinn has given a fine exposition of what could well have been Vergil's conception of Aeneas and Dido. He has convincingly shown that
Dido's tragedy lies in her being much more the victim of her own character than of circumstances, and he has offered a sound defence of the much maligned and misunderstood Aeneas.

In concluding this section, I could not do better than refer the reader to Quinn's article and to R.G. Austin's Introduction to his edition of *Aeneid IV* (1954), for I consider their interpretations of Vergil's Dido story among the most perceptive I have read in English, and most akin to the spirit in which I think Vergil would have wished his version of the Dido legend to be understood.

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CHAPTER II

- NOTES -

3. Homer, *Odyssey*, X.
4. *ibid.*, V.
11. *ibid.*, IV, 602.
15. Homer, *Odyssey* V.
16. Homer, *Odyssey* VI.
17. Euripides, *Hippolytus*.
25. cf. \textit{Aeneid IV}, 4; \textit{Argonautica III}, 454 ff.
27. Vergil, \textit{Aeneid IV}, 76.
29. cf. \textit{Argonautica III}, 791-4; 806 ff.
30. Jason's promises - \textit{Argonautica III}, 1079-1130; Aeneas' promises - \textit{Aeneid I}, 607-610.
33. cf. \textit{Aeneid IV}, 478 ff.
34. \textit{Aeneid I}, 738-40.
40. \textit{ibid.}, p. 50.
41. Catullus, \textit{Poem 64}, 91-93.
42. Vergil, \textit{Aeneid I}, 713-4.
43. Vergil, \textit{Aeneid IV}, 2.
44. cf. \textit{Aeneid IV}, 66-7.
47. Catullus, *Poem 64*, 139-141.
60. *Aeneid I*, 345-6.
61. *Aeneid I*, 349.
63. cf. page 3 ff.
71. *Aeneid I*, 496.
73. Justinus, *op. cit.*, XVIII, vi.


76. *Geographici Graeci Minores* 2, 250-251.


78. *Aeneid* IV, 216.


81. *Aeneid* IV, 320-1.


83. *Aeneid* IV, 479.

84. *Aeneid* IV, 494.

85. *Aeneid* IV, 495-6.

86. *Aeneid* IV, 497-8.


91. *Aeneid* IV, 493.


94. *Aeneid* V, 3-4.


99. See p. 46.

100. Justinus, Epitoma XVIII, vi. 3.

101. Glover, Studies in Vergil, p. 190

102. Austin, Aeneid IV, p. 33.

103. Aeneid IV, 552.

104. See p. 15 ff.

105. Aeneid XI, 72-5.


107. ibid., p. xv.


110. Quinn, op. cit., p. 29 ff.

111. ibid., p. 29 ff.

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Vergil's romance of Aeneas and Dido seems to have had an immediate impact on the Rome of his day. According to Servius' reckoning, Vergil read his *Aeneid IV* to Augustus about the year 24 B.C. only five years before Vergil's death. Yet within a few years, some time between 19 B.C. and 2 B.C. Ovid had incorporated the Vergil story into his *Heroides*.

In these letters of his deserted heroines to their absent lords, Ovid's sources "range throughout Greek and Latin literature from Homer and Sappho to Catullus and Vergil,"¹ and so it is not surprising that Dido, whom Vergil had so recently brought before men's minds, should find a place in Ovid's gallery of heroines. Despite an amused cynicism in his attitude towards women, Ovid shows his efforts to adopt the woman's point of view and he seems to have had an insight into what their feelings might be. Sellar² remarks that Ovid treats the love of a woman for a man as serious, but not vice versa.

To help present his Dido story from the feminine angle, Ovid made use of the epistolary form. It is probable that he was influenced in his choice by Propertius' letter³ from Arethusa to her absent husband, Lycotas, or else by the practice in the rhetorical schools of writing imaginary letters, though there
is no evidence for such letters earlier than the 3rd century A.D. However, by adopting this new form, Ovid was able to retell a story as recent as Vergil's Dido and be accepted by the Romans of his day, whose interest was much more in originality of form than of content.

For *Heroides VII* Ovid almost certainly used as his only source *Aeneid IV* in which Vergil had already magnificently expressed the feelings of his heroine. But while Vergil could express the depths of emotion in the fewest possible words, and even by silences, Ovid had a passion for leaving nothing out. Therefore he ventures to recount the reproaches Dido uttered against Aeneas after she had sent Anna to him to plead for *tempus inane*. This letter is a "good example of Ovid's besetting sin of not letting well alone. It is too long. That Aeneas is ungrateful, is falsely called 'pius', is foolish too in leaving Carthage, the great and wealthy city, and leaving it in storm to face dangers, are all insisted on twice over. Dido drifts off into regular soliloquy twice (ll. 25, 103) and the last six lines, which are an address to her sister, should not belong to the letter at all".

Ovid keeps close to his Vergil original in theme, and his verbal similarities are many. His Dido begs Aeneas to stay longer, to continue as her lover. She pleads by her lost reputation, by the rising Carthage, by the threats of her enemies, by the depth of her love. Like all his heroines, Ovid's Dido is more tender and less violent than his original - but also less
convincing. Vergil reaches a depth of psychological analysis that Ovid never attains. Dido of the *Heroides* is all forgiving and yielding - she hates only his unfaithfulness -

\[\text{non tamen Aenean, quamvis male cogitat, odi,} \]
\[\text{sed queror infidum questaque peius amo.}^7\]

She lacks the elemental passion of Vergil’s heroine, whose tirades against Aeneas are so vehement. In Ovid, as in Vergil, Dido chides Aeneas’ hard-heartedness, declares her unbelief in his protestations of divine impulsion, imputes to him the responsibility for her death. But, as she speaks, we are impressed more by Ovid’s verbal gymnastics than by the intensity of feeling. Ovid appeals to us by the way he has handled his subject, rather than by the sympathy he arouses for his characters’ sufferings. It is his dexterity in rehandling an old theme that wins the applause of his rhetorically-minded audience. For example, when Dido complains:

\[\text{Facta fugis, facienda petis: quaerenda per orbem} \]
\[\text{Altera, quaesita est altera terra tibi,}^8\]

we are struck much more by the clever epigrammatic expression than by the loneliness of a broken-hearted woman. Also, when she begs Aeneas not to trust himself to the sea which is hostile to perjured lovers, again we find the emphasis is on the neat argument Ovid has devised, rather than on the intensity of Dido’s desires -

\[\text{Parce, Venus, nurui, durumque amplectere fratrem,} \]
\[\text{Frater Amor; castris militet ille tuis.}^9\]
In actual treatment of the Dido legend, Ovid has maintained the tradition established by Vergil. His story is virtually the same. In a few points only, Ovid, lacking Vergilian restraint, goes beyond the *Aeneid* account. His Dido begs Aeneas not to risk the hazards of the deep for Iulus’ sake —

\[\text{Nec mihi tu curae; puero parcatur Iulo:} \]

\[\text{Te satis est titulum mortis habere meae.}\]

She accuses Aeneas of cruelty to Creusa, whom, she claims, he wilfully abandoned, just as he is now abandoning her.

\[\text{Si quaeras, ubi sit formosi mater Iuli,} \]

\[\text{Occidit a duro sola relict a viro.}\]

Ovid cannot resist expanding the Vergilian references to Dido’s dreams of Sychaeus — his Dido actually hears her husband calling her to him —

\[\text{Est mihi marmorea sacratus in aede Sychaeus:} \ldots \]

\[\text{.. Hinc ego me sensi noto quater ore citari;} \]

\[\text{Ipse sono tenui dixit ‘Elissa veni!’}\]

In the same way, he cannot be content with having Dido long to have had a child by Aeneas. With extreme delicacy, Vergil represents Dido as desiring a child who will recall Aeneas to her, and be her sole source of comfort in her loneliness —

\[\text{saltem si qua mihi de te sus cepta fuisset} \]

\[\text{ante fugam suboles, si quis mihi parvulus aula} \]

\[\text{lud er et Aeneas, qui te tamen ore referret,} \]

\[\text{non equidem omnino capta ac deserta viderer.}\]

She is here a tender mother appreciative of all the joys of
motherhood. But, for Ovid, Dido is already with child, and she uses her pregnancy as yet another means of punishing Aeneas. For his child - Iulus' brother - will die with her, and it will be his fault. Ovid's efforts at heaping blame upon blame by his clever conceits may provide Dido with a new reason for making Aeneas stay, but they serve more to heighten the contrast between the delicacy of Vergil's Dido and the near-vulgarity of Ovid's.

Forsitan et gravidam Didon, scelerate, relinquas,
Parsque tui lateat corpore clausa meo.
Accedet fatis matris miserabilis infans,
Et nondum nati funeris auctor eris,
Cumque parente sua frater morietur Iuli,
Poenaque conexos auferet una duos. 14

By using the letter form, Ovid presents the Dido story completely from Dido's point of view. In this way he arouses sympathy for the wronged Dido whose love for Aeneas is made appear wholly selfless. She is seen as a pathetic figure with a great human appeal. Less queenly but more subtle than Vergil's Dido, at one instant with keen irony she is showing Aeneas the commercial advantages of settling in Carthage, at another she is a weak and loving woman, begging her life of him. Clearly she loves Aeneas, and, though she has done him nothing but good, yet she is made to suffer by his heartlessness.

In Ovid there is no mention of a spiritual struggle in Aeneas - Vergil's spiritual values seem alien to Ovid's world. Ovid nowhere suggests that perhaps Aeneas may be suffering because
of the pain he has had to inflict on Dido, or that Aeneas' departure from Dido for the sake of his nation may have been an heroic act. Indeed, in Ovid's treatment of Aeneas there is a certain depreciation of his own sex. His Aeneas emerges from the Heroides as "rock-hearted, superstitious, ungallant and somewhat naïve; he thinks that after seven years of miscellaneous buffettings on the deep he is the darling of the gods. His great mission is love of war for war's sake; he is bellicose but not heroic. Above all ... he is fickle and feminine". Strangely enough it is this superficial view of Aeneas which has largely persisted in the centuries since Ovid, for "Ovid damned Aeneas for all time and prevented readers from understanding the tragedy of the fourth Aeneid which needs and displays the sufferings of the hero no less than the heroine".

The special appeal of this Dido legend to Ovid seems indicated also by its appearance in his later works. In the Amores he recalls his picture of Dido at the close of Heroides VII, writing to Aeneas, with drawn sword nearby:

\[ \text{tenens strictum Dido miserabilis ensem}^{17} \]

and he implies that already his friend, Sabinus, has included Aeneas' reply among the letters he wrote in answer to Ovid's heroines - \[ \text{iam pius Aeneas miserae rescrispsit}.^{18} \]

The Metamorphoses also contain a momentary glance at Dido, where the Vergilian story is briefly summarized. Here Ovid's tone is more serious than in the Heroides and he does not attempt a travesty of Aeneas. The details are completely Vergilian,
and his manner of expressing them recalls Justinus' account of Elissa.

Excipit Aenean illic animoque domoque,  
Non bene discidium Phrygii latura mariti,  
Sidonis inque pyra sacri sub imagine facta  
Incubuit ferro deceptaque decipit omnes.  

In his Tristia, the exiled Ovid airs his resentment at the apparent injustice of his banishment from Rome, by cataloguing all the authors who have written of illicit love and yet gone unpunished. While we can feel Ovid's jealousy of the favoured Vergil, and smile at his "dragging in the saintly Vergil among the salacious", we can learn from his indictment how popular Vergil's story had become, for by the first decade of first century A.D., Dido's story was the most read part of the Aeneid -

et tamen ille tuae felix Aeneidos auctor contulit in Tyrios arma virumque toro
nec legitur pars ulla magis de corpore toto,
quam non legítimo foedere iunctus amor.  

In his Fasti, Ovid, when explaining the origins of the feast in honour of Anna Perenna, recalls the death of Dido and then gives his version of the incidents which followed Dido's suicide. No sooner had Dido's ashes been consigned to her marble tomb, than Iarbas and the Numidians invaded Carthage and took possession of the palace. This interest in Iarbas and the way he avenged Dido's rejection of him provided dramatists of the Renaissance and later with lively sub-plots with which to
embellish Vergil's Dido account. Metastasio's libretto of La Didone Abbandonata is especially notable for the place it gives to Iarbas' invasion of the city and his colourful display of revenge.

Ovid describes Anna's flight from Carthage, first to the island of Melite, and thence, because of Pygmalion's threats, to the shores of Italy, where she was found by Aeneas and Achates. Ovid's Aeneas here is a pitiable character, still pained at the suffering he caused Dido, and anxious to atone in some way by his lavish hospitality towards Anna.

So jealous was Lavinia of the attention Aeneas was paying Anna, that she plotted Anna's death. A vision of Dido warned Anna, who fled to the Numicius river, which "swept her away in his swollen stream and hid her in his pools". When Aeneas and his people sought in vain for "the Sidonian lady", Anna appeared as a nymph of Numicius and thereafter she was honoured annually by the Italians as the goddess, Anna Perenna.

Though in the Heroides, Ovid set a pattern which was to have an extraordinary effect on the attitude adopted by subsequent generations to Dido and Aeneas, in his other writings he was not concerned about the comparative guilt of either Dido or Aeneas. In the Metamorphoses and the Fasti, Ovid's prime aim was to entertain with good stories, and Aeneas and Dido interested him only in so far as they provided him with a starting point for a story, or with a means of linking together many otherwise unrelated tales.
Though Dido features in most of Ovid's works, the place he has assigned her does not suggest that he considered his treatment of her story of great importance. Yet the popular concept of Dido's faithfulness and Aeneas' perfidy, which he expressed in *Heroides VII*, has had an influence in the centuries since Ovid out of all proportion to the significance he attached to his Dido story. In fact, he seems to have regarded rather as a joke his rehandling of Vergil's tragedy of Dido. Yet his 'Hollywood' approach to Vergil's tragic queen appealed more to the less subtle, less spiritual minds of the general public, for whom Vergil's concept of Dido and Aeneas was incomprehensible; and in the Romance literature of the later Middle Ages, Ovid's Dido story provided the model on which so many romances of courtly love were based.
CHAPTER III

- NOTES -


3. Propertius IV, 3.


5. Aeneid IV, 433.


8. ibid., VII, 13-14.


10. ibid., VII, 75-76.

11. ibid., VII, 83-84.


18. ibid., xviii, 31.


THE JUSTINUS TRADITION OF DIDO

Though Vergil's version of the Dido legend quickly became the accepted one in the Roman world, the original Dido narrative, summarized by Justinus in his historical chronicle, recurred frequently in the works of writers from Tertullian in the second century to Caxton in the fifteenth.

The historical value of Justinus' rather than Vergil's account seldom seems to have motivated writers in their choice of Justinus' version. For the most part, those who preferred the original Dido story, did so because they were either Africans or Christian moralists.

Among the Africans, Dido, the queen of Carthage, was regarded as a renowned ancestor, who had died to preserve her chaste widowhood and to save her country from barbarism. In their patriotism, they revered Dido's memory and considered any suggestion of unchastity in Dido to be a slur on the reputation of a compatriot. Hence, the *Aeneid* and *Heroïdes* accounts of Dido's love affair with Aeneas were either ignored by African writers, or attacked as being false representations of the foundress of Carthage.

Proportional to the esteem for Dido was the Africans' contempt for Aeneas. Because Vergil had damaged the fame of their chaste
Dido by introducing the Dido-Aeneas love episode into his *Aeneid*, many African writers seemed to take pains to vilify the character of Aeneas whenever they mentioned him.

The second group of writers, who made use of Justinus’ Dido account, were the Christian moralists. These writers, bypassing the Vergilian tradition of Dido’s irregular love for Aeneas, upheld the pagan Dido as a model, whom Christians should imitate in living in chaste widowhood, or in sacrificing themselves for the sake of their nations. Generally, these Christian writers were not interested in whether Justinus’ or Vergil’s was the more correct version of the Dido story. In fact, often they used both versions in different works, according to the vice or virtue they wished to exemplify. The principle, governing their choice of one version rather than another, seems to have been to select whichever account best suited the particular moral they were emphasizing, even though this meant at one time praising Dido’s chastity, and at another condemning her infidelity to her dead husband.

Outstanding among the African admirers of Dido ranks the Christian apologist, Tertullian, who was born in Dido’s Carthage in ca. 150 A.D. In his writings, Dido is not a deserted heroine to be pitied by his readers. Tertullian points to Dido as a virtuous and courageous queen, worthy of being imitated by his Christian audience. All his references to Dido suggest a rejection of the Vergilian tradition and a close adherence to that of Timaeus and Justinus.
Brought up a pagan, Tertullian read widely all forms of pagan literature, including Vergil's works. His countless allusions show how extensive his reading was. However, after his conversion to Christianity this "zealous African" frowned on the pagan education which Christian children were receiving. Perhaps this opposition to pagan literature for Christian children influenced Tertullian's attitude towards Vergil's Dido story, for, though he was clearly familiar with Vergil's writings, he ignored the Vergilian tradition concerning Carthage's queen. The Dido, whom Tertullian introduces into his exhortations as an inspiration for Christians, is the queen, whom Justinus describes as having gone to her death on a pyre rather than enter into a second marriage with Iarbas.

It is probable too that Tertullian's esteem for Dido rested on his being an African, and therefore accepting the tradition of Dido's chastity, and on his being jealous of the reputation of his fellow countrywoman. To Tertullian, Dido was a woman of great virtue, who died to save her chastity. Nowhere does he mention any moral lapse with Aeneas. His Dido was not the heroine of a tragic romance, but a martyr for chastity.

In his Liber de Exhortatione Castitatis, Tertullian urges Christian women to the practice of virginity and widowhood. Among heathen women, who have won renown for their obstinate persistence in "single-husbandhood",¹ he points to Dido: ut Dido quae profuga in alieno solo ubi nuptias regis ultro optasse debuerat, ne tamen secundas experiretur maluit e contrario uri...
There is no suggestion in Tertullian's Dido of the heroine of Vergil and Ovid, who was more than willing to marry Aeneas.

Also, in order to put to shame those Christians who defended their second marriages, by crying out about "the infirmity of the flesh", Tertullian, in his treatise on Monogamy produces among heathen examples that of the Queen of Carthage, who, because she preferred chastity to a second marriage, went to her death, though she was tantae civitatis .. formatrix. ³

In his opposition to the re-marriage of widows, Tertullian was writing as a Montanist, who believed that a third kingdom of the Paraclete had succeeded the kingdom of the Gospel, and that this phase of humanity was superior to that era inaugurated by Christ. "If Christ could replace the polygamy of ancient times by monogamy, and praise continence, why could not the Paraclete, one hundred and sixty years after the Apostles, give the law of chastity its final crown and, if not condemn marriage as an evil, at least condemn second marriages as adulterous?" ⁴ His exaggerated zeal for this stricter morality led Tertullian to urge his hearers to do more than St. Paul required of them. Paul advised widows, who could not remain continent, to marry: Melius est enim nubere quam uri. ⁵ But Tertullian wanted more than this. Let Christian widows, he urged, imitate the pagan Dido who maluit uri quam nubere. ⁶ He probably meant by uri both the Pauline sense of burning with passion, and the actual physical destruction by fire, which constituted her "martyrdom".
Besides being a noble example of chastity, Dido provided Tertullian with a challenge to offer his Christians. To those who complained of persecutions and suffering, Tertullian presented Dido who so willingly suffered for her chastity: Aliqua Carthaginis conditrix rogo secundum matrimonium dedit: o praecomium castitatis! Christians must imitate Dido's obstinate contempt of death and when tempted by fear to flee from the death of martyrdom, they should recall how pagans have endured and even desired pains of the flesh: Cum feminae quoque contempserunt ignes: Dido, ne post virum dillectissimum nubere cogeretur.  

Again we hear Tertullian the Montanist, who like Montanus desired to outdo Christian morality on every point. Though Christ bade His followers flee persecutors, Montanus claimed that Christ spoke only for His contemporaries. In the age of the Holy Ghost no such cowardice could be allowed. Martyrdom was a goal to be desired and Christians could find their inspiration to face martyrdom in the pagan Dido who so courageously faced death.

This is to us a strange and rather incongruous use of Dido, but it is understandable in the hands of an African, a newly-converted Christian, an exaggerated zealot, who wished to use his learning to reform the fallen society in which he considered he was living.

Almost a natural counterpart to Tertullian's admiration for Dido was his scorn for Aeneas. His discussion of Aeneas, in
connection with Dido, shows that he knew Vergil's Aeneid but disregarded the Vergilian Dido tradition. The few references I could find to Aeneas in Tertullian's writings are all of a derogatory nature. He condemns the Romans for deifying an Aeneas whom he considers unworthy of divine power. He sees nothing praiseworthy in Aeneas' rescuing his father and son, when at the same time he deserted Priam and Astyanax. He thinks Romans should detest Aeneas, for while the rest of the Trojans died to save their royal houses, Aeneas and his family escaped. With biting sarcasm, Tertullian comments on Aeneas' absence from the battle field of Laurentum. Quid aliud Aeneae gloriosum nisi quod praelio Laurentino nusquam comparuit.

This hostile attitude towards Aeneas, quia ardentem patriam deseruit, et Didonem Sichaei regis viduam, continues in those writers who follow the African pro-Dido tradition, and in those who share Ovid's view of Aeneas' heartlessness. Because Aeneas failed Dido, they consider him unworthy of praise on any score. At the end of the third century, Tertullian's fellow countryman, Lactantius, when discussing De falsa pietate et de falsa et vera religione, speaks disparagingly of the pius Aeneas who could treat so cruelly the "four youths of Sulmo's breed". He sees Aeneas' love for his father as his only claim to being called pius: Videlicet ob hoc unum pius vocatur, quia patrem dilexit.

This same attitude appears also in the medieval versions of the Troy story, where, quite apart from his connections with Dido, Aeneas is presented in a very poor light, as a self-seeker.
and an opportunist. It is possible that this growing hostility towards Aeneas, was the indirect result of the national pride of Africans in Dido as a heroine and martyr, and the sentimental, one-sided sympathy aroused by Ovid and his followers for an abandoned Dido, whom they portrayed as so blameless, especially when contrasted with the inexcusable Aeneas.

In an epigram, *In Didus Imaginem*, attributed by Migne to Ausonius, we hear again a defence of Dido, but this time coupled with an attack on Vergil, for having ruined Dido's reputation by his false account. Ausonius was writing in fourth century Gaul. Like Tertullian, he was a professed Christian, though apparently he was a heathen at heart, for he seems merely to have accepted Christianity as the established religion. All his verse shows a close acquaintance with at least the letter if not the spirit of classical authors. He knew Vergil well, as his Centos prove, but in *In Didus Imaginem* he does not follow Vergil's interpretation of the characters of Dido and Aeneas. His Dido poem was probably the result of some rhetorical exercise in the schools, where the author was bidden compose a defence of Dido against Vergil.

The poem, written in the first person, presents Dido declaiming against the distorted picture of her painted by Vergil. She asserts her innocence, claiming not only that Aeneas had never visited Carthage, but also that she had died to preserve her chastity from Iarbas' approaches. It was a chaste sword, not a fit of madness, that caused her death:
Vita nec incestis laeta cupidinibus
Namque nec Aeneas vidit me Troius umquam
Nec Libyan advenit classibus Iliacis,
Sed furias fugiens atque arma procacis Iarbae
Servavi, fateor, morte pudicitiam,
Pectore transfixo: castus quod perculit ensis
Non furor, aut laeso crudus amore dolor.\textsuperscript{14}

With pride in her fidelity to duty, she rejoices that: ulta
virum, positis moenibus, oppetii.\textsuperscript{15} She chides the Muses for
having let Vergil so misrepresent her, and she begs her readers
to have more faith in historians than in falsidici vates.

The poem is a simple one, yet the spirit is the same as we
find in Tertullian's references to Dido. It shows a "chaste
Dido", whose great glory is that she died to preserve intact
her chaste widowhood. Though the epigram has slight poetical
value, it is indicative of a further development in the Dido
tradition. The innocence of the chaste queen of Carthage must
be vindicated. The historical Dido of Justinus is taking
precedence over the tragic queen of the \textit{Aeneid}, and Vergil is
being blamed for falsifying tradition.

The same realization that Vergil had falsified the
traditional Dido story is voiced by Macrobius at the end of the
fourth century. Macrobius, another African, states clearly that
all men accepted the tradition of Dido's chastity: omnes
Phoenissae castitatis consci, nec ignari manum sibi injecisse
reginam, ne pateretur damnum pudoris.\textsuperscript{16} but Macrobius does not
consider this a reason for condemning Vergil, as did the author of *In Didus Imaginem*. The whole *Saturnalia* reflects Macrobius' deep and even exaggerated appreciation of every possible aspect of Vergil's writings. Because of this his statement is free from any bias against Vergil. He simply describes the way his contemporaries value Vergil's Dido. Though Vergil has altered the truth, Macrobius thinks he is deserving of the greatest praise for having, by his poetic genius, been able to create a narrative so beautiful that men are prepared to accept his fiction as true, and to portray his Dido in their paintings, sculpture and tapestries, in their songs, and on the stage. The effect of Vergil's *dulcedo fingenti* is such, according to Macrobius:

\[
\text{ut fabula lascivientis Didonis, quam falsam novit universitas, per tot tamen saecula speciem veritatis obtineat, et ita pro vero per ora omnium volitet, ut pictores fictoresque et qui pigmentis liciorum contextas imitantur effigies, hac materia vel maxime in efficiendis simulacris tamquam unico argumento decoris utantur, nec minus histrionum perpetuis et gestibus et cantibus celebretur.} \]

These words of Macrobius are valuable as revealing another aspect of the attitude adopted to Vergil's Dido - an aspect that could be lost sight of, if we considered only the works of Tertullian, and writings like *In Didus Imaginem*. Macrobius, being an African, was, like Tertullian, jealous of the reputation of the chaste Dido, but at the same time he had a true appreciation of Vergil's creation - an appreciation absent from
the later works of Tertullian, who let his sense of poetic values become submerged in the tide of his excessive zeal for Christian morality. Macrobius could maintain his belief in the traditional chastity of Dido, but could value, and showed that his contemporaries could value, the poetic and moving story of Aeneid IV.

A similar approach to the Dido story appears in the works of St. Augustine and Dracontius, both Africans, writing in the fourth and fifth centuries respectively. Like Macrobius, St. Augustine valued highly the poetry of Vergil's Aeneid, yet he too was completely aware of the fictional nature of Vergil's story, and he knew well the historical and African view of Dido. He makes an interesting comment on the attitude adopted towards Vergil's account of Dido by the simple-minded and by the scholars of his day. He claims that the unlearned would not doubt the veracity of Vergil's story, but that the learned, if asked whether or not Aeneas came to Carthage, would reply in the negative - doctiores...negabant verum esse. 18

Among such doctiores can be classed the Christian poet, Dracontius, who in his Carmen de Deo shows that in fifth century Africa there still existed side by side the two versions of the Dido story. After summarizing the main features common to both the Timaeus-Justinus and the Vergilian accounts, he poses the problem of whether Aeneas or Iarbas was the cause of Dido's death.

Dives Dido fugax, extincti coniugis ultrix,
Urbis Elisaeae perfectis moenibus ample,
Ipsa pyram manibus propriis construxit et aram
Quam pedibus furiata suis conscendit et arsit.
Impulit ad flammam accurrere funere vivo
Aut amor Aeneae aut venientis terror Hiarbae?¹⁹

This brief description of Dido's activities before her death differs from the existing Dido traditions only in having her build an altar as well as a pyre, and in omitting any mention of a sword. The final question could refer to the Aeneid only, wondering whether the ultimate reason for Dido's suicide lay in the frustration of her love for Aeneas, or in the fear of her defencelessness against Iarbas, whose anger she had aroused by her favouring of Aeneas. It could also be a query as to which is the more acceptable account of Dido, Vergil's or Justinus' - Vergil's represented by amor Aeneae and Justinus' by terror Hiarbae who, Dido feared, would come and force her to remarry. Furiata, which tells of Dido's state of mind when she mounted the pyre, describes more accurately the passionate Dido of the Aeneid than the controlled and deliberate queen, whom Justinus, and the Africans, who upheld his tradition, presented as calmly going to death in the sight of all her people.

This excerpt is interesting because it shows that Dracontius, though an African, did not blindly accept the African patriotic view of Dido. Like his fellow African, St. Augustine, he recognized the existence of both traditions and was not willing to reject as unacceptable Vergil's presentation.

In the writings of St. Jerome at the end of the fourth
century, Dido plays a role similar to the one she played in the works of Tertullian. Once more she is upheld for Christian widows as a model of loyalty to a dead husband, for Jerome urges his Christian readers to continue in chastity after their husbands' deaths, just as Dido had done.

When a certain monk in Rome, Jovinian, threatened the very foundations of Christian morality by condemning celibacy, and urging men and women living in monasteries to marry, as he saw no merit in their living in virginity and chaste widowhood, Jerome wrote a refutation of Jovinian in two books which were "full of perverse distortions and outrageous exaggerations". Jerome in his desire to make men appreciate virginity implied a loss of regard for marriage, which view he had later to clarify in an open letter. For all his vigorous zeal, however, Jerome never preached heresy, as did Tertullian, but like Tertullian he supported his teaching by pagan examples.

In his attack on Jovinian, Jerome devoted a section to *viduae gentiles*, in which he retold briefly the story of Dido's preferring to die on a pyre rather than marry Iarbas. Having remarked on certain married women who feared to outlive their husbands lest they be forced to remarry, he reminded his readers that even among pagans, women who married a second time were held in disrepute. The review he then gives of the main happenings in Dido's life, is clearly based on Justinus' account. Jerome, however, gives special attention to Dido's selflessness in first providing for her city's needs - a point not emphasized by
Justinus. Jerome relates that, when she had been approached by Iarbas, who desired marriage with her, Dido put off the marriage until her city was established: *paulisper* distulit nuptias donec conderet civitatem.\(^{21}\) Then, having erected a pyre in memory of her dead husband, *maluit ardere quam nubere*\(^{22}\) - a phrase closely resembling Tertullian’s reversal of St. Paul’s words. Jerome concludes his Dido example by comparing the beginnings of Carthage with its end. Just as the foundation of Carthage had been marked by the death of a chaste woman, so was its destruction, for when Carthage was captured and set on fire by the Romans, the chaste wife of Hasdrubal, with her children, rushed into her burning home and died rather than have her chastity outraged by the Roman soldiers.

For Jerome, Dido here is especially to be praised for her chaste widowhood and her devotion to her people. He does not imply, as did Tertullian, that re-marriage was morally wrong, but he does emphasize the superiority of virginity and chaste widowhood. In his choice of Justinus’ rather than Vergil’s account of Dido, Jerome exemplifies the way these Christian writers used the particular version which most supported their argument at the time.

When writing to Ageruchia with whom he discusses Monogamy, Jerome, early in the letter, cites Dido as an example of chastity: *stringam breviter reginam Carthaginis, quae magis ardere voluit, quam Hiarbae regis nubere*\(^{23}\) - referring to the same version he summarized in his refutation of Jovinian. Later in
this same letter, however, he uses the Vergilian version to strengthen his argument against re-marriage. He quotes Anna's urgings to Dido\(^{24}\) to emphasize the enticements by which women are led to marry again, but alongside these he gives the words spoken by Dido just before her death.\(^{25}\) She had yielded to Anna's suggestion and submitted once more to the power of love. But Aeneas had deserted her, and she was filled with regret that she had not proven faithful to Sychaeus. From the evil that ensued for Dido, Jerome points his moral. As Dido had to suffer for indulging in sensual pleasure, so all women must realize that such over-indulgence cannot give lasting bliss: *Libido transacta semper sui relinquit poenitudinem: nunquam satiatur; et extincta reaccenditur.*\(^{26}\)

Here within a few pages of the same letter, Jerome has three times used Dido to exemplify different points in his exhortation. That there was an inconsistency between the Dido, who died rather than re-marry, and the Dido, who was regretting her infidelity to Sychaeus, seemed immaterial to Jerome. When he required an example for chaste widowhood, Justinus' Dido was Jerome's choice, but when he wished to illustrate the pangs of conscience that follow a widow's unchastity, without any apology or explanation, he referred again to Dido, but this time to Vergil's queen.

The only principle, which governed writers like Tertullian and Jerome seems to have been to use pagan examples to put to shame their Christian listeners. If there were in existence
two traditions about the same pagan character, they chose whichever one was more suitable to the particular topic they were discussing, and they left the context to make clear what version they had employed.

When, nearly ten centuries later, at the close of the Middle Ages, Boccaccio (1313-1375) narrated the Dido story, he too told the Justinus version. Like Tertullian and Jerome, he used the example of Dido's chaste widowhood to satirise the immorality of contemporary widows and to shame his Christian readers into imitating Dido's virtues. Again Justinus' Dido chronicle was providing a Christian writer with illustrations for his moralizing.

Boccaccio is not often thought of as a moralist, for his fame today rests mainly on his pagan writings in the Italian vernacular, and these works reveal a man steeped in Ovidian thought. Yet, "for two centuries, when but little was known of the Decameron north of the Alps, he was famous all over Europe simply on account of his Latin compilations on mythology, geography and biography". These Latin works, written towards the end of his life, lack the spirit and verve of his vernacular stories, but, though sometimes the narrative in them is monotonous, at its best it is very dramatic. Whatever their literary worth, these Latin writings of Boccaccio proved the source from which countless authors in Europe in the ensuing centuries drew material for their literary compositions.

Boccaccio related the Dido legend twice in his Latin
writings - in *De claris mulieribus* and *De casibus virorum illustrium*. He commences his fortieth chapter of *De claris mulieribus* by stating his intention of praising Dido's honourable widowhood so as to wipe out the opprobrium she has undeservedly suffered - presumably from writers like Vergil and Ovid. At once we are back in the world of Tertullian, vigorously defending Dido's chastity, and of Ausonius, sharply criticizing Vergil's slander of Dido.

Boccaccio's Dido story is based on Justinus' *Epitoma*, but the many alternative renderings he offers in his version show his familiarity with the accounts of both Vergil and Ovid. He suggests, for example, three possibilities for the name of Dido's husband: *Acerbe vel Syceo vel Sycarie*, and, when telling of Dido's decision to flee from Tyre, he offers the reasons alleged by both Justinus and Vergil: *seu in somnis monita, ut placet aliquibus, seu ex proprio mentis sue consilio fugam capes[s] ere deliberavit*. When he recounts Dido's death, he asserts that she died without having ever seen Aeneas: *adveniente Enea Troyano nunquam viso*, thus denying the truth of Vergil's Aeneas-Dido romance, and thereby freeing Dido from blame.

The outline of events in both Justinus' and Boccaccio's accounts is almost identical, but where Justinus presents historical data with all the unemotionalism of the detached historian, Boccaccio's whole description of the events connected with Dido is marked by a decided interest in Dido as a woman. Her quick-wittedness in having the ox's hide cut into thinnest
possible strips wins from Boccaccio the praise: 0 mulieris astucia. Her decision to die rather than break her vow of chastity earns the encomium: 0 pudicicie inviolatum decus! 0 viduitatis infracte venerandum eternumque specimen, Dydo! In te, velim, ingerant oculos vidue mulieres et potissime Christiane tuum robur inspiciant. 33

This eulogy of Dido is followed by a long exhortation to Christian widows, the tone of which casts light on Boccaccio's possible motives for upholding the virtues of the women of antiquity. As Francis MacManus neatly puts it - "He fashioned the renowned ones of antiquity into sticks with which to beat the moderns." 34 Boccaccio in his forty-second year had suffered the humiliation of being rebuffed and ridiculed by a young widow whose favours he had sought. The personal bitterness he then felt towards women, especially widows, as a result of this slight, coloured his writings. While Tertullian and Jerome tried to shame Christian women into imitating Dido, they seem to have been motivated by the desire to improve the moral standard of their contemporaries. And though Jerome can be as vindictive as Boccaccio, in neither Jerome's nor Tertullian's writings on Dido is present that note of personal hurt, which made Boccaccio's raillery so sharp and penetrating. As he lashes Christian widows, we hear an angry man, whom personal experience has taught to place no more faith in womankind. Boccaccio shows no mercy to the Florentine widows. Those, who excused their second marriages by pleading their need of support or their
inability to refuse the approaches of suitors, Boccaccio holds to scorn, with: O ridiculum! Dido quorum subsidio confidebat, cui exuli frater unicus erat hostis? Nonne Dydoni procatores fuere plurimi? Ymo et ipsa Dydo erat nec saxea aut lignea magis quam hodierne sint.\(^{35}\) Those, who desire second marriages so as to have children to inherit their riches hear Boccaccio's retort: O insanum desiderium! Nonne et Dydoni absque filiis regnum erat?\(^{36}\) While those who assert that their families forced them to marry receive no sympathy from the sceptical Boccaccio, who blames concupiscence as the real cause of their re-marriage. No one, he claims, could have been subjected to greater pressure than Dido: potuit mori Dydo, ne viveret impudica.\(^{37}\) Against the final argument that St. Paul advised melius est nubere quam uri, Boccaccio stresses that Dido too burned with love, but, though a pagan, she was able to master her passion. He concludes his moralizing with: Erubescant igitur intuentes Dydonis cadaver exanime, et dum causam mortis eius excogitant, vultus deicient, dolentes quod a membro dyaboli Cristicole pudicicia superentur. Ne putent, dum lacrimas dederint et pullas assumpserint vestes, defuncto peregisse omnia. In finem usque servandus est amor, si adimplere velint viduitatis officium\(^{38}\) — which passage Lord Morley in the sixteenth century translated as follows — "Let the matrones then be asshamede therfore to see the body of Dido deade and withoute spyryte, and when they call to mynde the cause of hyr death, let them looke downwarde to the grounde, that a membre of the dewell, a paynyme, shulde with hyr chastyte pass
a Crysten womans chastyte. Let not then the wydowes think with theyre teares, nor with theyr black gowns, to have doone all they shulde do to theyr husbondes, when they be deade, but keepe to oone theyr love for ever, yf they wyll fullfyll the offyce of a chaste wydowe."  

Like Tertullian and Jerome, Boccaccio chose to use the Justinus account of Dido because it suited best his satiric purpose. Tertullian used Dido to attract Christian women to imitate her in remaining univira. Boccaccio here used her as a means of venting his wrath against women who had humiliated him. Though he declared his purpose a moralizing one, his tone in applying the moral in De Claris Mulieribus betrays a Swiftian disgust with all women, which was really the expression of a hurt pride.

De casibus illustrium virorum - "On the Reversals of Fortune that Befell Certain Illustrious Men and Women" - cast in the form of a vision, and based seemingly on Petrarch's De viris illustribus, contains the stories of about one hundred persons, from Adam to some of Boccaccio's own contemporaries. Dido appears in this work in much the same way as in De claris mulieribus. Justinus' Epitoma again provides the plot. Sicharbas appears as another possible alternative to Sychaeus. Emphasis is laid on the beauty of Dido - forma eximia - and on her extreme happiness in her marriage. In the previous work Boccaccio includes Vergilian details, e.g. Dido's dream of Sychaeus, - but in this book he keeps very close to Justinus'
There is one interesting difference between Boccaccio’s *De Casibus* and Justinus’ *Epitoma*, which could be the result of a copyist’s error. Where Justinus states that Dido at Cyprus chose *LXXX virgines* to provide wives for her Tyrian companions, Boccaccio clearly states *septuaginta*; and both Lydgate and Caxton followed Boccaccio in describing Dido as having chosen "seventy maidens".

Probably in the Justinus manuscript used by Boccaccio the final ‘X’ from the Roman numeral was missing, or else the Teubner Justinus text is inaccurate. If ‘LXXX’ is the correct reading, the continuation of Boccaccio’s minor error in later writers is an interesting example of the way in which incorrect historical data can become part of tradition.

This small detail also supports the claim of the English writers to have used as their source Boccaccio’s rendition of the Justinus story of Dido.

In *De Casibus*, as in *De Claris Mulieribus*, Boccaccio has shown more interest in the character of Dido than in mere historical incidents. This probably is the result of his aim "to teach princes the virtues of wisdom and moderation". Dido’s goodness and wisdom receive special mention, as do her prudent government of her people and her admirable chastity of life. Boccaccio also draws attention to Dido’s sadness before her death – *et sibi conscia futuri diu pulcritudinem suam execrata est* – for he stresses that Dido’s choice of death rather than
re-marriage cost her much suffering. In all this, Dido provides Boccaccio with an *exemplum* useful for his moralizing purpose.

The effectiveness of Boccaccio’s portrayal of Dido is increased by his use of direct speech to replace Justinus’ straight narrative. We hear her words of encouragement to the Tyrian leaders as they flee from Pygmalion—*ad sedes laetiores petendas ... me ducem offero*, \(^42\) — and her prudent explanations to these same leaders of her reasons for not wishing to marry Iarbas. Then, as she goes to her death, we hear her farewell words to her people—‘*Cives optimi, ut iussistis, ad virum vado,*’ \(^43\) *et illico gladio superincubuit.* This change from indirect to direct discourse adds poignancy to the tale, for it gives emphasis to the very words of Dido which caused her death. Her leaders misunderstood and misinterpreted her speech and so did nothing to prevent her self-destruction.

The *commendatio*, which concludes this account, praises Dido’s courage and chastity, and expresses the wish that other women will follow her example. The basic sentiments are the same as in *De Claris Mulieribus*, but Boccaccio’s merciless invectives against widows no longer predominate. Ending on a quieter note, Boccaccio praises Dido’s honourable death, which not only preserved her chastity but also saved her city from outside attack.

In the introduction to the Paris edition of *De Casibus*, Louis Brewer Hall traces the influence of Cicero’s and Seneca’s philosophical ideas in this work of Boccaccio. He considers that the mutability of fortune is the theme of *De Casibus*, and
that Dido's story is a typical example of fortune, as the personification of *causa per acciden*.

Boccaccio had turned to writing moralizing tracts in Latin only after "his conversion", when he was suffering qualms of conscience over the crudities of his earlier works. In these later works, Boccaccio "moralizes with senile croaking tediousness", for these writings lack all the spirit and creativeness of his *Filocolo* and *Decameron*. His moralistic use of Dido suggests that she had become the accepted *exemplum* of the prudent ruler and chaste widow, and was used by moralists like the aging Boccaccio, who seemed too weary and uninterested to look elsewhere for novel illustrations.

For all their heaviness, Boccaccio's Latin writings were used constantly by storytellers like Chaucer, Gower and Lydgate, as real mines of information. It was possibly through Boccaccio that the Justinus version of the Dido legend first reached England.

It is in the writings of the English monk, John Lydgate, at the beginning of the fifteenth century that we find the first extant account of Justinus' Dido story in the English vernacular. Lydgate based his *The Fall of Princes* on the French amplification which Laurence de Premierfait had made of Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*. Once more Justinus' story of Dido was used to serve a moralizing purpose. But while Boccaccio, in his writings, showed open hostility to the Princes, whose vices he attacked, Lydgate's aim, as a priest, was to write in an
admonitory tone to encourage these rulers to live sober, industrious lives.

Though, in his *Troy Book*, Lydgate told Ovid's Dido story, Justinus' account was his choice when his aim became moralistic. His narrative closely resembles Boccaccio's, but with his moral purpose to the fore, he lays particular emphasis on the virtues or vices he wishes to correct in his princes. The envy and avarice of Pygmalion therefore both receive special notice, as they are faults in princes he most wants to see remedied -

"And for envié kyng Pygmalioun Brother to Dido, this Siche slouh in deede" 46 - and Pygmalion's avarice is described as

"that hatful onstaunchable vice [which]
was ground and roote and chief occasioun
Whi that hir lord was slay[e]n in that toun." 47

In his discussion of Dido's refusal to marry Iarbas and her consequent death, Lydgate focusses his princes' attention on her queenly virtues, especially her chastity -

"With gret worshepe she regned in that toun,
Ever off purpos to lyve in chastite;
And round aboute floured the renoun
Off hir prudence and hir honeste." 48

Her determination to die rather than break her vow has a Christian ring about it not to be found in Justinus -

"Nay, rather deie," quod she, "than tassente
To his desirs, which thyng God forbeede,
In recounting her actual death, Lydgate does not suggest, as do Justinus and Boccaccio, that Dido misled her leaders into believing that she would assent to Iarbas' wishes. His Dido spends three months in fortifying her city, holds the funeral rites of her husband, Sychaeus, and then publicly farewells her people, begging them to report after her death that she had married but once—

"Fareweel my freendis, farweel for evermore! ... Praieng you to reporte everichon Atfer my deth, [how] Dido off Carthage I-ioyned was but onys in mariaghe. Go tel the king that I am dead ... Let him go elsewhere and choose another."  

Lydgate's Dido first runs into the flames of her husband's funeral fire before plunging the knife into her heart—whereas in Boccaccio's account, though she dies on the pyre, there is no mention of flames.

The most interesting part of Lydgate's account lies in the section which follows the description of Dido's death. Here Lydgate admits that Ovid has accused Dido of misconduct with Aeneas, but declares his determination to follow Boccaccio in
writing only of her chaste life -
"For me thouhte it was bet tabide.
On hir goodnesse, than thyng reherse in deede
Which myghte resowne ageyn hir womanheede."

Though others blame Dido for welcoming Aeneas on his way to Italy, Lydgate defends Dido, asserting that all she did for Aeneas was "doon to hym onli off gentilesse". Lydgate justifies his ignoring Ovid's accusations by enunciating his Christian belief that it is better to speak of Dido's virtues than of her failings. This makes clear the lack of historical sense in the approach adopted by these moralists. The criterion, which determined their choice of one version of a story rather than another, was its usefulness as a moral exemplum or its seemliness.

After his concluding panegyric of Dido, Lydgate inserts a satirical envoy to widows, in which he cautions them against following Dido's example. This is an amusing reversal of Boccaccio's trite appeal to Christian women. Where Boccaccio urged widows to imitate Dido's chastity in widowhood, the practical Lydgate bids them to avoid her foolish act of self-slaughter, for

"To slew yourself[e] were a gret penaunce!"

Let them rather make a mere pretence of steadfastness, and let them never be unprovided with lovers, for there is no certainty in one alone. (Here is an echo of La Vieille's advice in Le Roman de la Rose!) Rather let widows hold a tight rein on
their lovers, and when "the serpent of newfanglednesse assaileth" let them act quite "contraire to Dido, that was queen of Carthage". 

Despite Lydgate's claim to be the defender of women, we feel in this conclusion to his Dido story a sharp, satiric thrust at Christian widows of the fifteenth century, who, unlike those of Tertullian's day, could not be persuaded to aspire even to the lofty ideal established for them by the pagan Dido.

For Tertullian and Jerome, Boccaccio and Lydgate, Justinus' Dido account was retold because his Dido was such a suitable subject for their moral exhortations. That Justinus' narrative might have been more historically accurate than Vergil's did not concern them. They used Justinus' Dido because she was a useful moral exemplum.

With Caxton, however, we find a quasi-scholarly interest in the historicity of Justinus' and Vergil's accounts of Dido, similar to the inquiring attitude found in the African writers, St. Augustine, Macrobius and Dracontius. But the conclusion arrived at by Caxton at the end of the fifteenth century, or by the French scribe whose French version Caxton was translating, was quite the reverse of that of the Africans. Augustine and his compatriots accepted Justinus' account as historically true, but valued the Aeneid account for its poetic and dramatic excellence, conceding to Vergil the right to alter existing historical tradition for the sake of his poetry. Caxton, and the French author of Eneydes, on the other hand, while recognizing
the existence of the two divergent accounts of Dido's death, are both sure that Vergil's account is of greater historical value than Justinus'. Archaeological evidence, however, points to there being much more historical truth in Justinus' Dido story than in Vergil's.

Caxton\(^58\) begins his Dido story at chapter six of the *Eneydos*, where he comments on the marked difference between Boccaccio's and Vergil's accounts of her. Influenced by the early Medieval idea that Vergil was an infallible authority on every branch of learning, historical as well as literary, the French scribe is convinced that Vergil rather than Boccaccio has told the truth about Dido, but wonders why Boccaccio should have painted a picture so different from Vergil's. He cannot believe that his motive was respect for women - "for he hathe putte in many places other grete falles, overmoche infamous, of some quenes and ladyes ... he showeth the dyssolucyons and perverse condycyons that ben in the sexe femynyne."\(^59\)

To resolve his difficulty, he tells in full both Boccaccio's and Vergil's versions of the Dido legend. He follows closely the Justinus Dido story which Boccaccio narrated in his *De Casibus Virorum*, but though his facts are almost identical with those given by Boccaccio, the terse Latin of Justinus' account forms a strong contrast with "the insufferable verbosity of the French writer who exaggerates most monstrously the brief speeches of Dido as given by Justinus".\(^60\) Where Justinus and Boccaccio, for instance, report in about four lines Dido's
words to her Tyrian companions, Caxton gives the same address in forty lines. This speech is typical of the verbosity which characterizes the whole *Eneydos* - "Dere felawes and frendes of our nauye," says Dido, "I doubte nothynge but that ye have the wylle for tacomplysshe that which I commaunde you, wythoute to aske or wyll to knowe ony wyse this whiche ye have doon. But for to saye and telle to you the cause whiche have moeved me thus to doo, I have moche lieuer to have loste alle the richesse of Acerbe, late my frende and husband, the whiche ye have now drowned wythin the bely of the see - than I sholde delyver theym in-to the handes of the ryght cruel kynge Pygmalyon my brother." 61

Like Boccaccio, Caxton concludes his Justinus account with a eulogy of Dido and a prayer to her in heaven to reform the evil manners of matrons of his day.

Despite his moralizing conclusion, Caxton's use of the Justinus story is historical rather than moralistic. He moralizes because Boccaccio before him had moralized. But he introduces Justinus' account because of his interest in the two existing Dido stories, and because of his desire to find out which of the Dido traditions was the true one. Though he erred in concluding in favour of Vergil, Caxton, by even approaching the problem of historical accuracy, and by basing his *Eneydos* directly on the *Aeneid*, pointed to the healthier classical scholarship, which was soon to accompany the humanists' revival of classical learning.
In Caxton's *Enydos* Justinus' Dido story appears for the last time in a major work of English literature. Except for lesser works like Turberville's translation of Ausonius' Epigram, which he termed *Of Dido and the Truth of her Death*, and Warner's discussion of the Justinus account in his *Addition in Proese to the Second Booke of Albion's England*, both of which were written towards the end of the sixteenth century, Justinus' chronicle ceases to be of interest to writers of English literature.

The gradual change in education, from the Medieval emphasis on logic and grammar to the Humanists' insistence on a careful study of classical literature, led to a saner appreciation of the great writers of antiquity. As a result, men came to see the superiority of Homer and Vergil to Dares, Dictys and Justinus. The Homeric epics and the *Aeneid* were more and more valued, as they were meant to be valued, as literature rather than history. Consequently, the mediocre historical chronicles, which the medieval readers so esteemed, were increasingly disregarded.

As men became more familiar with Vergil's Dido story, through vernacular versions like Caxton's, or through the increasing number of English translations which were produced after Gavin Douglas' translation in 1513, the Dido story as told by Vergil or Ovid became so universally accepted, that the Justinus concept of a chaste Dido gradually became for most men quite meaningless. Hence Dido as the moral *exemplum* of chaste widowhood disappeared from didactic literature.
Where Tertullian, Jerome, Boccaccio or Lydgate could seriously urge a Christian audience to imitate the virtue of the queen of Carthage, a post-Renaissance moralist would startle his hearers if he were to suggest that Dido was chaste. For, once the Vergil story of Dido's love for Aeneas had captured men's minds, Justinus' historical chronicle was forgotten.

However, though since the Renaissance Justinus' *Epitoma* has remained but an obscure chronicle, its importance in connection with the Dido story until the close of the Middle Ages is considerable. It is through Justinus that we learn of the historical starting-point for Books I and IV of the *Aeneid*. Justinus' summary of Dido's life and death in Carthage provided the basis on which African writers built their patriotic esteem for Carthage's first queen. The emphasis given by Justinus to Dido's chaste widowhood and her courageous self-sacrifice for her nation's welfare supplied Christian moralists with an exemplar they could offer for Christian imitation. Finally, the Justinus Dido story existing alongside the Vergil account, aroused a few more scholarly writers to query the historical truth of the *Aeneid*.

So long as the majority of men in the Middle Ages respected the authority of the mediocre chronicles like Dares and Justinus, and failed to realize that *exempla* of Christian morality could be culled from the subtly presented characters of both Dido and Aeneas in *Aeneid IV*, they preferred Justinus' Dido story to Vergil's. Vergil's account of Dido's moral lapse proved an
embarrassment to the Christian writers in the insecurity of their initial struggle for the survival of Christianity in a pagan environment. Therefore, they preferred to ignore it and use the account which so well accorded with the Christian morality they were trying to preach. As long as moralists needed Dido to exemplify certain Christian principles, they used Justinus' chronicle.

The simplicity of the Latin in the accounts of Troy and Rome in chronicles like Justinus' and in school textbooks, was probably another factor favouring the continued use of Justinus' Dido story. If men read the Aeneid in the school text summaries, in which appeared none of the Vergilian appreciation of Aeneas' spiritual struggle and victory, they could see Aeneid IV only as the story of Dido's moral fall, and Aeneas' cruel desertion of her. The uncomplicated Justinus account offered them far less difficulties in understanding and interpretation.

The repeated use of Justinus' account of Dido, from the second to the fifteenth century, provides an interesting example of the importance attained by a very minor work simply because it treats of the same subject as a work by some outstanding author. Vergil had aroused interest in Dido by connecting her with Aeneas in Aeneid IV. Though few readers were aware of all Vergil intended to convey in the story of the loves of Aeneas and Dido, all were attracted by the human interest of the Aeneid romance. Anything written about Dido thus found favour.
Ovid produced his sentimental *Heroïdes*, and a century later Justinus retold the historical Dido story in his *Epitoma*.

Despite the contradictory accounts of Dido's death and its cause, in the narratives available to them, authors chose to follow whichever version was in closest accord with the aim of their writings. Thus Africans and Christian moralists chose to retell Justinus' story, so different though it was from the Vergilian account which had made Dido so well known. And in this way, for centuries, Dido became, in a certain class of moralistic and patriotic writings, the example upheld to Christians of heroic self-sacrifice and chaste widowhood.
CHAPTER IV

- NOTES -


5. I Corinthians VII, 9.


15. ibid., 12.


22. *ibid.*


31. *ibid.*, p. 139, l. 34.


40. H. Bergen, Introduction to Lydgate's *The Fall of Princes*.

41. Boccaccio, *De Casibus Illustrium virorum*, Lib. II.

42. *ibid.*
43. ibid.


45. F. MacManus, Boccaccio, p. 216.


47. ibid., ll. 1928-1930.


49. ibid., 2059-2065.

50. ibid., ll. 2115 ff.

51. ibid., ll. 2154-6.

52. ibid., l. 2163.

53. ibid., ll. 2171 ff.

54. ibid., ll. 2199 ff.

55. ibid., l. 2208.

56. ibid., l. 2231.

57. ibid., l. 2233.

58. Note. What I say of Caxton applies also to the French author of the Eneydes, and vice versa.


60. Culley, Introduction to Eneydos, op. cit., p. x.

61. Caxton, op. cit., p. 27, l. 31 – p. 28, l. 6.

62. Discussed on p. 79.
THE OVIDIAN DIDO TRADITION

Though to Vergil was due the growth of popular interest in the romance of Aeneas and Dido, Ovid was largely responsible for the sentimental attitude adopted towards Aeneas and Dido by the majority of writers in the centuries since Vergil. Ovid's gentle, all-forgiving heroine of *Heroides VII* seems to have won more general favour than Vergil's strongly passionate, Oriental queen; and men, under Ovid's influence, preferred to consider Aeneas as the heartless deserter of Dido than as the heroic victor in an intense spiritual struggle.

I am not sure why Ovid's attitude prevailed over Vergil's, though several reasons suggest themselves.

It could be that the general public were able to understand the emotionalism and sentimentality of Ovid's popular approach, whereas they found the spiritual values stressed by Vergil too intangible to grasp. In every age, there seems to exist a majority of people, who are completely satisfied with light, emotional literature, and a minority, an intellectual élite, who appreciate the more subtle, spiritual approach of writers like Vergil.

Perhaps Ovid was favoured in the Middle Ages because of his
rhetorical appeal at a time when the worth of literature was judged according to its rhetorical effectiveness. For Ovid's verbal gymnastics in the *Heroides* would have been more easily imitated than the subtleties of Vergil's poetry.

It is possible too that most people in the early Middle Ages became familiar with the Dido story through school textbooks, in which the bare outline of the plot was given. Schoolboys, interested only in the action of the Dido story, would scarcely be attuned to the nuances of character revelation conveyed by Vergil in a single word or phrase. The hints Vergil gives of Aeneas' interior struggle and spiritual victory would have been lost on such an audience.

The reason for the preference for Ovid's Dido story from the twelfth century onward is more easily ascertained, for by then Ovid's love manuals had become the textbooks of courtly love, and the whole attitude towards love, adopted in the French romances, was based on Ovid's theories.

Whatever the reason, the Ovidian view of Dido and Aeneas prevailed in literature. Dido was popularly thought of as a forlorn heroine, deserted but faithful unto death, while Aeneas was the heartless self-seeker, who became father to a long line of villains, such as the Aeneas ridiculed by Jean de Meun, by Chaucer, by Shakespeare, and by Matthew Prior in his infamous couplet:

"Nor sing I Aeneas, who led by his mother
Got rid of one wife and went far for another."
Apart from passing literary references, which indicate that Dido was proverbially regarded as the abandoned heroine, and Aeneas as the faithless lover, the first extant Latin work, which reflects the Ovidian attitude to the Dido legend is *Epistula Didonis ad Aeneam,* a poem which Baehrens has included in his *Poetae Latini Minores.*

Neither the author nor the date of this poem has been ascertained, though Palmer, in his edition of Ovid's *Heroides,* considers that it was probably written later than the third century A.D. The letter, written in hexameters, is clearly modelled on Ovid's - but not at all slavishly. It depicts, as did Ovid, a Dido more resigned and forgiving than Vergil's queen - her love is stronger than her desire for revenge.

Though highly rhetorical and rather verbose, the poem is not without its merits.

After the poet, in a brief preface, pleads with his readers to accept him as a mediocre poet who sings of love, he begins the *Carmen* proper, with Dido uttering plaintive reproaches against her ungrateful Aeneas. Wounded in her love, she weeps, though imminent death allows her little time for weeping. She seeks relief from her grief in poetry, but her pen refuses to express the depths of her sorrow, and her hand cannot form the harsh words that go through her mind.

Very like Ovid's heroine, Dido recalls the growth of her love, her trust in Aeneas as a husband, her confidence in his vows of love and their marriage bed. We hear Dido angered by
Aeneas' paltry recompense for all her favours, unable any longer

to trust him, but, for all her anger, still loving and resigned. Showing greater resignation than Vergil's Dido, with si datur

t he accepts the fact of his departure while not

e xcusing him from guilt. She sees that her happiness has been
destroyed by Aeneas' departure, but she sees beyond this
particular cause to the universal cause of all such happenings -

chance. Trahit omnia casus is her Epicurean conclusion.

A note of poignancy is struck throughout the next forty
lines, by the repetition of the sad refrain: sua taedia solus

Fallere nescit amor. This occurs after each image of
changing nature. Though nature enjoys the benefits of change,
love once fixed in the heart enjoys no respite.

The individual nature pictures are described with much
delicacy and grace, but the whole theme of change in nature is
treated at undue length. Dido contrasts the relentlessness of
her love with the relief afforded by the changing course of
nature - the changing moon, calm after storm, sleep after toil,
fresh green crops after the brown of winter. All these and more
enjoy the benefits of change - "love alone cannot escape its
own weariness." Nothing can relieve unrequited love -

Nec somni pia dona placent; nec munera lucis

Carpit et indutias fugientis non capit anni,

Sed sua victus amor tantummodo vulnera pascit. With strongly Vergilian reminiscences, the poet has Dido
recall to Aeneas how she could have maltreated himself and Ascanius, but under Ovidian influence he makes Dido too loving to carry out her threat.

When this Dido utters against Aeneas the reproaches of Aeneid IV and Heroïdes VII, the poet, to emphasize the ingratitude of Aeneas, climaxes each of Dido's chidings with the refrain - cui digna rependes

Si mihi dura paras? Dido cannot understand Aeneas' seeming cruelty to her, when all she wants in return for all her gifts is his love. Completely scorning his excuses, she compares the safety his treachery has secured him with the sufferings she and Anna have to endure because of his scrupulous pietas. She then hurls at him a whole catalogue of insulting epithets:

Improve dure nocens crudelis perfide fallax
Officiis ingrate meis!

Again she pleads with him in a manner very like that of Ovid's Dido. She compares the security of Carthage with the dangers of the sea, the friendliness of a country he knows with the coldness of an unknown land. Her grief is overwhelming but her love is still stronger than her hate. The poem ends not on a note of revenge but of despairing acceptance of the inevitable. Aeneas has gone - she must die - but let him live ever mindful of their common "sin" -

licet simul inprobus exul
Et malus hospes eras et ubique timendus haberis,
Vive tamen nostrumque nefas post fata memento!
This poem is an interesting example of what the Dido legend can become in the hands of the rhetoricians. The author has preserved the main details of Vergil's Dido story, but has been influenced more by Ovid's *Heroides* than by the *Aeneid*. Dido here appears as the abandoned heroine deserted by a heartless Aeneas. All the sympathy evoked goes to the lonely woman, who emerges from the poem as a most pathetic figure. There is none of the Vergilian appreciation of Aeneas' spiritual sufferings.

The soliloquy form of the letter, which resembles an actual letter far less even than Ovid's poem, focusses the reader's attention on Dido's heart. Her reproaches sound reasonable, her love deep and sincere. However, at times, the poet becomes so involved in his rhetorical devices that momentarily interest in Dido is lost. This is particularly noticeable in the series of contrasts between changing nature and unchanging love. Each description of nature is feelingly presented - but there are too many such descriptions. The poet tends to overdo things. We have his long list of epithets against Aeneas and the extended description of the struggle between mind and hand in giving expression to Dido's inmost feelings.

Though the author is but a modicus poeta, and the poem lacks the poetic ingenium of Vergil, this *Epistula* is the creditable rhetorical exercise of an author, who has not been content to reproduce slavishly Vergil's or Ovid's stories, but has made a definite effort to use the Dido legend as a stepping stone to a broader presentation of the nature of a woman's love.
The result is, on the whole, effective and pleasing.

This same Ovidian pity for Dido and scorn for Aeneas is present in *Cupido Cruciatur*, a lengthy poem, written by Ausonius in the fourth century. Dido here appears as one of the love-lorn women, who, because they blamed the gods rather than themselves for letting love ruin their lives, nailed Cupid to a cross. She takes her place with other heroines who died by the sword.

Parte truces alia stricti mucronibus omnes

Et Thisbe, et Canace, et *Sidonis horret Elissa*

Coniugis haec, haec patris, et *haec gerit hospitis ensem*. 23

The emphasis here given to Dido's dying by the sword of her guest is the same as that given in the *Epistula Didonis ad Aeneam*, 24 where Dido's greatest complaint to Aeneas was *quod hospes eras* 25 — a reflection of the taunts of Vergil's Dido:

*cui me moribundam deseris hospes*. 26

Ausonius hints that Aeneas' breach of hospitality was the worst feature of his abandonment of Dido.

Among certain *Epitaphia Heroum qui Bello Troico interfuerunt*, which have also been attributed to Ausonius, there appears a brief tribute to Dido:

*Infelix Dido, nulli bene nupta marito:*

*Hoc pereunte fugis, hoc fugiente peris*. 28

Though, in *In Didus Imaginem*, 29 Ausonius had defended Dido's chaste fidelity to her dead husband, here he clearly implies that she was married to Aeneas as well as to Sychaeus. The
sympathy for Dido is not unlike that given by both Vergil and Ovid, but the rhetorical word-play of the second line is strongly reminiscent of Ovid's clever handling of words. The brevity of the piece does not allow us to see how Aeneas fares in the mind of the author.

As the two poems just discussed, and In Didus Imaginem, have all been assigned, with varying degrees of certainty, to Ausonius' authorship, some explanation seems necessary if the statements in In Didus Imaginem are to be reconciled with the contents of the other two. Probably the poems were all rhetorical exercises set on chosen topics, the writer being required at one time to attack, at another to defend, some Vergilian theme. Hence, these poems do not reveal in Ausonius any consistent approach to the Dido story. The most that can be deduced from them is that Ausonius seemed to favour Dido rather than Aeneas, and, like Ovid, he expressed no appreciation of the soul struggle and moral victory of Aeneas.

In a prose 'Dictio', Verba Didonis cum abeuntem videret Aeneam, Ennodius in the sixth century produced a rhetorical expansion of Dido's taunt to Aeneas in Aeneid IV - nec tibi diva generis .... The Dido of this 'Dictio' is intentionally the Vergilian queen, for the whole work is merely a paraphrase of Vergil's lines; but the influence of Ovid can also be felt. The first person narrative, and the consequent pro-Dido bias, recall strongly the one-sided viewpoint of Heroides VII. We listen to all Dido's violent taunts, but are permitted no glance
at the mind and heart of Aeneas. Though the Dido of this rhetorical piece is not gentle and forgiving like Ovid's heroine, the Aeneas suggested by Dido's reproaches is the same self-seeker whom Ovid had so blamed. It seems possible that men had become used to the Ovidian idea of Aeneas as thoroughly blameworthy. Hence, even when a writer like Ennodius based his 'Dictio' on Vergil's actual words, he subconsciously imposed upon his work a dislike of Aeneas as the cruel deserter of Dido, and this concept easily coloured his soulless rhetorical re-handling of Vergil's poetry.

When by 1200 A.D. poets were producing poems like the two Dido laments included by F.J. Raby in his recent edition of *The Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse*, the Ovidian portrayal of Dido as a tender, gentle heroine still influenced those who gave poetic expression to Vergil's Dido tragedy. These poems, however, were neither slavish imitations of Vergil or Ovid, nor mechanical rhetorical exercises. The poets, who wrote Poems 235 and 236, obviously knew well the *Aeneid*, for they have so many Vergilian phrases echoing throughout the poems and they include all the details of the Dido tragedy of *Aeneid IV*, but they seemed to hesitate to portray in Dido the extremes of passion which Vergil dared to present.

Poem 235, *O decus, O Libyae regnum*, written in sequence form, introduces all the main characters and events of Vergil's Dido story. However, though the Vergilian dignity and reserve are always maintained, the general attitude adopted towards Dido
is Ovidian. This is probably because this poem, like the *Heroides*, is in the first person, and so presents the whole story from Dido's point of view.

The poem is in the form of a lament, in which Dido hymns her own grief. Thus we hear no defence of Aeneas' conduct, but have our gaze fixed only on the loneliness and despair of the *spreta regina*. 33

Dido addresses in turn Carthage, the Trojan leaders, Anna, Palinurus, Aeneas, and finally her own soul. As in both the *Aeneid* and the *Heroides*, she is hurt that all her services to the Trojans have been so little appreciated. She now seems to realize fully the dangers to which she is exposed -

> Deserta siti regio
> me gravi cingit proelio,
> fratris me terret feritas
> et Numadum crudelitas. 34

With an originality that was singularly lacking in rhetorical exercises of the early Middle Ages, when writers like Ausonius and Ennodius treated the Dido theme, the poet portrays Dido's pain at having Aeneas leave her for another bride -

> et thalamos Laviniae
> Trojanus hospes sequitur, 35

and then he suggests her wincing at the humiliating rumours that were circulating about her -

> insultant hoc proverbio:
> 'Dido se fecit Helenam:
Like Vergil, he has sensed in Dido a woman’s regret at the loss of her good name. But he does not have his Dido resort to the fierce condemnation of Aeneas, that flowed so naturally from Vergil’s Dido. There are none of the hateful curses on Aeneas and his race. The Dido of this poem is the gentler Dido of the Heroides, but, while not sharing the violent passions of Vergil’s Dido, she does resemble her in her queenly dignity and deep-felt loneliness and despair.

The interest of the poem lies particularly in its sequence form, which was now extended from religious topics to include the themes of pagan classical literature. It has value too in showing how a poet, through his familiarity with the original of the Aeneid, was able to take the main details of his poem from Vergil and then reproduce them in a completely new form, without losing the basic Vergilian spirit.

In the second of these laments, "Anna soror ut quid mori...", the same Vergilian details have been adhered to, but the different form of the poem, involving much internal rhyming, points to the flexibility of the Latin in the hands of those who had broken away from the restrictions of classical forms.

The poem begins:

Anna soror ut quid mori

tandem moror? cui dolori

reservoir misera?
The poem is again in the first person, and therefore reveals the feelings of Dido. The intensity of her emotions is greater here than in Poem 235, and in this intensity the Dido of this poem is closer to Vergil's queen. Here Dido's despair is complete, her pain at Aeneas' breach of faith is keen -

aquiloni quam Didoni
magis elegit credere.
festinat classem solvere

cum foedere;
nec datae memor dexterae
dat temere

vela fidemque ventis. 39

As in the Aeneid she doubts Aeneas' boasts of being goddess-born -

sed matrem tibi tigridem
teste fateris animo - 40

and like Vergil's Dido she dreads the dangers surrounding her now on all sides. A note of special pathos creeps in, when Dido voices the attitude adopted to her by her own Tyrians -

Meos quoque Tyrios

iam dubios

iam offensos video;
This stanza shows the poet's ability to interpret aright the mind of Vergil and do more than slavishly imitate Vergil or Ovid.

Though, on the whole, the Dido of this poem is Vergilian in spirit, she shows the gentler, more forgiving nature of Ovid's queen, when she expresses her desire for Aeneas' safety —

\[\text{vult parcere tibi prolique tenerae}.\]

Here are none of the curses of \textit{Aeneid IV}. In fact, the poem concludes with Dido's accepting all the blame for her present situation —

\[\text{Ipsa me perdidi: quid Phryges arguo? mae\textperiodcenteredri subdidi vitam perpetuo}.\]

Poets, since Vergil, seem to have hesitated to present an audience with a Dido whose extremes of passion were as great as Vergil's heroine. Perhaps they realized that the more forgiving Dido would have more popular appeal, and that only a poet of Vergil's calibre could produce a character as violent in her emotions and yet still as completely feminine as his Dido.
Whether or not they realized this, poets who have written of Dido have generally chosen to present Ovid's traditional gentle heroine, rather than Vergil's less conventional passionate queen. They prefer a woman who acts as the general public think a deserted heroine should act.

It is significant that nearly all these poems, that reveal the Ovidian Dido, are, like *Heroides VII*, written in the first person. In this way, only Dido's point of view is given, and she is always an object of sympathy. Even though some poets, who so treated Dido, may have had a Vergilian appreciation of Aeneas' sufferings, they seemed to have refrained from presenting a defence of Aeneas, which people as a whole would not accept. Rather than explicitly condemn Aeneas therefore, they seemingly contented themselves with allowing only Dido to give expression to her pain and sorrow; and thus any condemnation of Aeneas was heard as the emotional outburst of a lonely, wronged woman.

On the whole, however, Latin writings of the Middle Ages display an attitude completely sympathetic towards Dido. Influenced by Ovid's emotional approach, the majority of men pitied Dido for having been deserted by an Aeneas, whose actions were utterly despicable. In proportion, therefore, as Dido was praised, Aeneas was despised. Only a few writers like St. Augustine and John of Salisbury showed any understanding of the way Vergil valued Aeneas' spiritual victory over his own passions. This scorn for Aeneas may simply be the result of the attitude popularised by Ovid. It may have been furthered by
the African tradition of Dido's innocence. But there is another feature which may have some connection with this.

Besides appearing in the works of the many writers who discussed the Dido story, Aeneas also was prominent in the many medieval versions of the Troy story. In most of these tales, he fares very badly. He emerges as a self-seeker, an opportunist, a traitor, who despite his valour in actual warfare, is deserving only of scorn. If readers conceived a hatred for Aeneas from these accounts of Troy, and then had this hatred increased by Ovid's treatment of him, it is not surprising that their consequent attitude towards the hero of the Aeneid was a hostile one, despite all Vergil's praise of him. On the other hand, if Ovid was the sole cause of the popular "damning" of Aeneas, the attitude towards Aeneas, created by the Heroides, could well have led the "historians" of the Trojan War to blacken Aeneas' character.

Whatever the cause, it is noteworthy that during the Patristic and early Middle Ages, Aeneas lacked popular favour, whether he was thought of in connection with the fall of Troy, or with the desertion of Dido, and the hostile attitudes present in both spheres combined to form a general climate of real scorn for Vergil's hero.

The main accounts of Troy, which are of importance in tracing this non-Vergilian attitude towards Aeneas, are to be found in Dionysius of Halicarnassus' Roman Antiquities, in Livy's Ab Urbe Condita, in Ovid's Metamorphoses, in Dictys Cretensis'
De Bello Trojano and in Dares Phrygius' De Excidio Troiae Historia.

When Aeneas first appears in the Iliad, he is just another Trojan, whose life Venus saves, but whose descendants are promised a glorious future. He is in no way a traitor. For Dionysius, the ultimate fall of Troy is attributed to the treachery of the Antenoridae. Dionysius gives much prominence to Aeneas' selfless courage in fighting to the very end, and then leaving Troy as leader of the exile band. His attitude towards Aeneas is one of admiration. As Dionysius was writing his early Roman History between 30 and 8 B.C. it is probable that his view of Aeneas was the one prevalent during the first century B.C. and that, therefore, the hostility towards Aeneas was of later origin.

For Livy, Aeneas is important as being the legendary father of the Roman people, but he assumes none of the stature given him in the Aeneid. In his Troy account, Livy is not at all hostile towards Aeneas but he states simply facts which appear later in a highly coloured form in the histories of Dictys and Dares. Livy merely remarks on Aeneas' and Antenor's having been spared the penalties of war by the Achivi, owing to long-standing claims of hospitality and because they had always advocated peace and the giving back of Helen. He then rapidly recounts Aeneas' wanderings which culminated in his alliance with Latinus. There is no word in this history about the divine guidance and destiny which governed Aeneas' life, for Livy seemed indifferent to Aeneas' spiritual greatness.
Likewise, Ovid was not attracted to Aeneas as an heroic figure, divinely appointed to carry out the decrees of destiny. When he related Aeneas' connections with Troy and his wanderings, in the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid's interest lay not in Aeneas, but in the usefulness of his journeyings as a means of linking together a number of "far-scattered and unrelated tales". Here there is none of the hostility of the *Heroides*, but just lack of interest. Ovid saw nothing thrilling or inspiring in the wanderings of an Aeneas, in whose deeds Vergil saw the means of awakening in Romans the memory of a glorious past.

So, although Aeneas' Trojan deeds are told by Dionysius, Livy and Ovid, in none of them do we find the scorn found in Dictys and Dares, and through them, in the Trojan stories of the later Middle Ages. It seems possible, then, that the Ovid attitude of the *Heroides* could have influenced Dictys and Dares in their handling of the details found in Dionysius or Livy. For in Dictys' fourth century history, written with a decidedly pro-Greek bias, Aeneas is described as plotting with the Greek leaders ostensibly for his country's good, but really in order to secure the safety of himself and his family. From Livy, Dictys evidently has taken Aeneas' collaboration with Antenor, and his efforts for peace, but by the time Dictys wrote his history, Aeneas was clearly regarded as the traitor who secured his own safety at the price of Troy's destruction - Praeterea placet, uti Aeneae, si permanere in fide vellet, pars praedae et domus universa eius incolumis maneret. Perhaps, by an
association of ideas, Dictys has applied to Aeneas, as well as to Antenor, the guilt which Dionysius had ascribed to the Antenoridae. Dictys further suggests that ultimately Aeneas turned against Antenor too, and secured his banishment from Troy - an incident related at length in The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye by William Caxton, who also makes clear that Aeneas and Antenor were responsible for having the Wooden Horse led within Troy's walls.

Though Dares, writing in the sixth century A.D. favoured the Trojans rather than the Greeks, he was no less hostile in his attitude towards Aeneas. He tells how Aeneas and Antenor begged Priam to ask for terms of peace, but when he proved obstinate, they secretly planned peace with Agamemnon, agreeing to admit the Greeks into Troy by the Scaean gate, provided flight and safety were secured for themselves and their families. Aeneas' only redeeming feature here is his temporary sheltering of Polyxena from Agamemnon's wrath. But the whole picture of Aeneas is still a very unlovely one - and the Aeneas we meet here is one capable of acting towards Dido in the despicable way attributed to him by Ovid.

Once this idea of Aeneas as a traitor had been established by Dictys and Dares, Aeneas' debased character was firmly fixed in the medieval mind. For, in the Middle Ages, the accepted legendary story of Troy ultimately derived from these two mediocre and fraudulent works. Because they claimed to be the reports of eyewitneses, these "histories" were accepted
"for their truthfulness, and therefore far outranked in estimation and importance the writings of Homer, which suffered under the serious charge of being deformed with fables and lies". And even though later scholarship revealed Aeneas in a new and truer light, on the shaky basis of these two "histories", enduring works like Benoît de Ste-Maure's Roman de Troie and several of Chaucer's legends rested.

Thus, until the end of the Middle Ages, the sympathy for Dido and the aversion for Aeneas existed side by side. We cannot be certain how much one view was influenced by the other, but it does seem possible that the gradual blackening during the Middle Ages of the character of Aeneas, because of his actions in Troy and in Carthage, was due to a growing mood of popular protest against the heartless treatment suffered by Dido at the hands of the Aeneas, whose conduct Ovid had so thoroughly condemned.

The heyday of the Ovidian Dido tradition coincided with the emergence of Romance literature in twelfth century France. Though writers of vernacular romances turned to the Aeneid, as to other works of antiquity, for materials from which to construct their romances, they looked at Vergil's epic through the eyes of Ovid. Steeped in Ovid's code of love, these authors valued the Aeneid mainly for the erotic and sentimental elements it offered
them in the characters of Aeneas, Dido and Lavinia. They began to think of Vergil primarily as a writer of romance, and consequently they handled the Dido story in much the same way as Ovid had done in his *Heroides*. Dido of the Romances is a love-lorn heroine, Aeneas an unchivalrous knight.

The latter half of the twelfth century saw the production in Normandy of what has come down to us as the first version of the *Aeneid* in the vulgar tongue. This was an old French Romance, *Roman d'Énée*.\(^52\) A detailed examination of the way the *Aeneid* and especially the Dido story, is handled in this *Roman* should show how strongly Ovidian influence is present in these Romances of the later Middle Ages.

*Roman d'Énée* is directly based on the *Aeneid*, following the same line of narrative as Vergil, and resembling him in most of the details. But though the episodes in both works are practically identical, the manner in which they are told is completely different. "Indeed, the poets and artists of the Middle Ages, instead of treating antiquity with the same respect as we do," comments Salvadore de Grave, "try to adapt the adventures of classic heroes to the customs and usages of their own later age; to them the local colour was little; and so they regenerate Aeneas and turn him into a 'chevalier', surrounded by his 'barons', who fights in just the same way as the hero of a 'chanson de geste'. This is the chief reason why the Old-French Romances, imitated from classical poems, preserved such an individual character."\(^53\)
Énéas begins with the fall of Troy, instead of in medias res, but follows then the chronological order of the Aeneid. As clarity seems to have been the author's aim, he has not scrupled to alter and omit many Vergilian details. In this, he has followed the same method used by authors of such prose versions as the Excidium Troiae. In fact, Warren and Atwood both consider that, though the author of Énéas knew the Aeneid, he seems to have relied more on some Latin prose version of the Excidium Troiae-type. No mention is made in Énéas of the incidents of Aeneid III, of the paintings on the walls of the temple of Carthage, of the designs on Aeneas' shield. The intervention of the gods in the action of the Roman has been greatly reduced. Only where the clarity of the story demands their presence do we find the gods interfering in human affairs, and then only in a modified way. Where, for example, Vergil has a disguised Cupid excite Dido's love for Aeneas, in Énéas, Venus gives to Ascanius himself the power of inflaming Dido's heart.

Though the role of the gods is less in Énéas than in the Aeneid, the author has redressed the balance by overloading his Roman with descriptions of the marvellous. The priestess, of whom Dido speaks to Anna, becomes a sorceress, able to turn back the course of the sun and of rivers, to hurl oak trees from the mountain tops, to make birds speak. The rivers of Carthage become the habitat of "pourpres" and crocodiles, and so our poet is able to air his theory about the origin of purple dye, and to
relate remarkable prodigies about crocodiles. He is equally lavish in his representations of great architectural works, notably the marvels of the Capitol of Carthage and the Tomb of Pallas.

To give an air of reality to his narrative, the poet loves to use exact numbers. Aeneas was accompanied by ten 'chevaliers'; Dido suffers for a whole week from the love she is trying to stifle. This precision helps persuade the reader of the veracity of all the incidents related, as do the many non-Vergilian additions. The cloak which Ascanius presents to Dido was the one worn by Hecuba at her coronation, the ring which Aeneas gives Latinus once had belonged to Dido. The poet has not feared to be original. He invents the pathetic detail of Dido's dying with the name of Aeneas on her lips, as well as the amusing picture of Lavinia's stuttering the syllables of the same name.

The influence of the schools is apparent in his digression on Fortune and also in his having the Carthaginian princes, when they first learn of Dido's infidelity, discourse on the inconstancy of women. Both these themes were common-places in the poems and discussions of the time. The rhetoric flourishing then in the schools also made its impact on the descriptions of the beauty of both Dido and Lavinia, for the poet portrays in turn the brow, eyes, nose, mouth, teeth, complexion, chin — an order of description to be found in the works of several other French and Latin poets in the latter half of the twelfth century.
In his actual treatment of love episodes, the author of *Enéas* is dependent on Ovid for many elements. Taking his Dido-Aeneas story from the *Aeneid*, he has introduced details of a physiology and psychology of love borrowed from Ovid’s *Amores* and *Remedia Amoris*. These appear particularly in his long Lavinia-Aeneas episode, with which he concludes his *Roman*. His recounting of the Dido story follows the *Aeneid* in outline, though Dido dies pardoning Aeneas, and then we are given a detailed description of her tomb. The narrative, however, is simpler than Vergil’s. The author often employs the monologue form which he borrowed from Ovid, or else he enlivens his narrative by the frequent use of colloquial dialogue — a dialogue similar to that found in *Excidium Troiae*. It would seem that the author was familiar with some text like the *Excidium Troiae* and in some cases considered the colloquial passages there "more suited to the tone of his narrative than the epic utterances in the *Aeneid*."  

The conversation between Anna and Dido which opens *Aeneid IV* is reproduced briefly in *Enéas*, the replies following one another with a speed reminiscent of the stichomythia of Greek and Latin drama —

Anna, ge muir, ne vivrai, suer.
- Que avez donc? - Falt me li cuer.
- Avez vos mal? - Tote sui saine.
- Que avez donc? - D’amor sui vaine;
  nel puis celer, ge aim. - Et qui?
- Gel te dirai; par foi, celui ....>>
Likewise Dido's abuse of Aeneas before his departure consists of a series of rapid exchanges with him -

<<Dites, vasaus, ou forfis onc,
que m'ociez? - Que est ce donc?
Ja fetes vos voz nes garnir.
Gié? - Voire, volez moi foîr.
Ainz m'an irai tot a veüe.
Por coi m'avez donc deceüe?
Deguerpiroz me vos ansi?
Ge ne puis mes remaindre ci.>>

This simplicity, in handling the passionate Aeneid harangues, helps to create in the Roman d'Énéas the tone of spontaneity and candour that so characterises it. From a poem of epic grandeur with all its lyricism, its invocations, and reflections, the author of Énéas has created a sober, calmly-moving narrative, in which the same deed is often expressed more than once, and in which the author intrudes from time to time to preach or moralise, or to put a sermon in the mouth of one of his characters.

The simplicity of the Dido narrative can well be illustrated by the few lines which describe the cave scene. All the Vergilian details are present, but a certain naivety has entered into the Vergilian account.

Tant vont fuiant ansanble andui,
a une crote sont venu.
Iluec sont andui descendu.
Estes les vos andos ansonble,
il fait de li ce que lui sanble,
ne li fait mie trop grant force,
ne la raine ne s'estorce,
tot li consent sa volente;
pieça qu'el l'avoir désiré.
Or est discouverte l'amor;
onc me puis la mort son seínor
ne fist la dame nul hontage.  

Here is present none of the Vergilian realization of the tragic import of Dido's *culpa*. Vergil never loses sight of the fact that his is a "religious epic, celebrating the divine mission of the Roman Empire". His whole epic is charged with Vergil's sense of the importance for future Romans of Aeneas' submission to his divinely-appointed destiny. For the author of *Énéas*, however, all this has no place - he has made of the Aeneid a "thin tale of knightly deeds and romantic love".

This treatment of the Dido story as a "thin tale of romantic love" represents the medieval conception of romantic love, which differed so much from the concept of love in antiquity. Medieval writers considered that every knight should love as passionately as did Lancelot and Guinevere. They could not understand the absence of chivalry in the ancient world, nor conceive how "so noble a knight as Aeneas" could betray Dido. They could not see why the classical mind should be ready to subject the emotions to the intellect. For them, Vergil's approbation of Aeneas'
deserting Dido was incomprehensible.

Therefore, the lighter view of the loves of Dido and Aeneas, which appears in *Enéas*, is not Vergilian. It is, however, very similar to the attitude expressed by Ovid in the *Heroïdes* and in his other love poetry. Ovid, in relating Dido's love, avoids Vergilian tragedy. His Dido is a "person of more humour, irony and common sense", and therefore more suitable as heroine of a "modern" medieval romance, than Vergil's tragic queen would have been. In fact, the twelfth century has often been termed *Aetas Ovidiana*, for Ovid's gay text book on the art of love, which Chrétien de Troyes translated, became the standard authority accepted with some modification by the poets of chivalry, writing in an age of knight-errantry and courtly love. It was not through ignorance of the classics that authors of these twelfth century romances produced naïve renditions of the *Aeneid* and other works of antiquity. They knew the classics thoroughly, but were not interested in reproducing the elevated dignity of ancient epics. Their aim was to give the general public deeds of romance and chivalry in the popular tongue, and to do this they extracted episodes from their classical contexts and "retold [them] in what to the medieval author seemed a modern way".

Very typical of the form taken by the medieval love story is the episode of Aeneas and Lavinia, which is the author's own invention. It is a significant example of the medieval manner of re-handling a traditional theme, for "the technique of the
situation, dialogue, soliloquy, analyses of love and its effects, all this and more shows that for the medieval writer the successful reworking of Vergil consists, to a large degree, in borrowing from and imitating Ovid”. 82 Nothing could be more un-Vergilian than the coarseness and vulgarity of parts of this episode. Also the description of the effects of love on Lavinia and Aeneas is quite different from Vergil’s approach. Lavinia faints when her love is seemingly not returned, while Aeneas is so love-stricken "that he has to take to the medieval lover's usual refuge, his bed". 83 This pale, weak and trembling Aeneas is a far-cry from Vergil’s hero. But all these effects of love - sighs, swoons, sleeplessness, impatience, dreams of happiness, etc. - which characterise the loves of Aeneas and Dido, and Aeneas and Lavinia, in Énéas are all in accord with Ovid’s code of love. Dido here swoons 84 as soon as she mentions Aeneas’ name to Anna, and for days "Dido est toute destraite". 85 This languishing Dido is not of the same calibre as Vergil’s queen.

In this Roman d’Énéas, the Dido story has been told once again, but in a 'modernized' popular form, in a style suited to the demands of the prospective public for whom it was written in the latter half of the twelfth century. With the traditional Vergilian outline of adventure and conquest, the author has combined the narrative of romantic love and courtship as conceived by Western Europe in the Middle Ages. After centuries of interest in Dido, merely as the exemplar of some virtue, or
as the subject of some mediocre Latin redaction, we find Dido appearing in a popular romance, in a work in which the poet is interested in attaining some degree of excellence in style and composition. Here for the first time we find the Dido story being used as an exposition in the modern tongue of the ideals of chivalry. 86

Contemporary with the Roman d'Énée was the Roman de Troie, a French romance in thirty thousand lines of verse, written by Benoît de Ste. Maure. Though Dido does not feature in this medieval account of the whole Troy story, this work is of importance in showing that the Roman d'Énée was not an isolated venture. The twelfth century saw the birth of many romances, covering most of the deeds of romance and adventure told in Greek and Latin literature. The manner and setting of Troie, as of Énée, are twelfth century Europe, and the heroes and heroines of Greece and Troy have been transformed into medieval knights and ladies.

Also, just as the author of Énée was content to rely on some mediocre Latin prose version as much as on the Aeneid itself, so Benoît built his Roman de Troie on the foundation provided by the inferior epitomes found in the accounts of Dictys and Dares, rather than on Homer's Iliad. These twelfth century authors seem to have preferred these later versions, because they were easy to read. Gilbert Highet points out that Benoît had had little classical education and so would have had much less difficulty in reading Dares and Dictys than in reading
Vergil. And, at that time, Homer's works were not available, even if Benoît had been able to read Greek. The profusion of incidents, the emphasis on romantic love, and the omission of the battles of the gods, in these later versions were all factors which would have contributed to the appeal of these works to the medieval Christian poets.

In this *Roman de Troie* is exemplified further the anti-Aeneas prejudice which I referred to earlier in this chapter. Aeneas' whole reputation is here coloured by Dares' defamation of him. In the *Roman de Troie*, Aeneas, the richest man in Troy, betrays his country to the Greeks in order to ensure his own safety. With Antenor, he had the horse brought within the city-walls, and was willing to see hundreds of his fellow countrymen slain. Aeneas was generally regarded as the betrayer of Troy, and, as the Middle Ages and Renaissance men were pro-Trojan, Geoffrey of Monmouth, for example, traced the ancestry of British kings back to Troy - they opposed Aeneas for so dishonouring Troy.

The importance of *Roman de Troie* is immense, for within a century Guido de Colonne had produced his Latin prose version of it, and, though his Latin was poor, at least it was Latin, and so the story of Troy, as summarized by Dictys and Dares, and popularized by Benoît, spread beyond France, through the whole of Europe. It was from Guido, and therefore from Benoît, (for Guido had taken his whole work from Benoît without any acknowledgement), that Europe received a standard history of
the Trojan war, and it is directly from these two authors that this complete version of the Troy story came into the English language through the translations of Lydgate and Caxton in the fifteenth century.

In *Le Roman de la Rose*, that "most popular work in all French medieval literature", Dido appears among the *exempla* used by Jean de Meun to demonstrate his doctrine of love. Guillaume de Lorris (ca. 1225-30) in the first section of this poem, describes in allegory a lover's attempts to win the favour of his beloved, who is symbolized by the Rose. In the second section of the *Roman*, written by Jean de Meun, forty years later, the lover eventually succeeds in plucking the Rose, but only after fifteen thousand lines of digressions and speeches, in which Jean de Meun, scholar, philosopher and satirist, forms his "Mirror of Love", intended to represent a complete and faithful picture of love, considered under all its possible aspects.

Dido finds a place in Jean de Meun's section of the Romance, where various aspects of love, personified, take part in a symposium of love in the presence of *L'Amant*, whose adherence each tries to win. After Raison, Amors, Nature and Genius have expounded their theories of love, Amis (friendship) and La Vieille present the realistic, anti-sentimental attitude towards love of the experienced, somewhat disillusioned man of the world. La Vieille has experienced the infidelity of men, and, by her advice to youthful lovers, hopes to avenge herself
on her faithless lovers of former times. To the young woman about to embark on a life of love, she recommends prostitution. "Be faithful to no man", she urges, "for such constant love only brings misery, but be liberal in the granting of your favours, so that you may have the more to fleece." \(^{93}\) So that La Vieille will not utterly disgust by her blatantly commercial interest in love, Jean de Meun has subtly modified her character by arousing sympathy for her, and for all women, who have been wronged by unfaithful lovers. For, at this point, La Vieille, to buttress her argument about the folly of those women who fix their love on but one man, relates the stories of the deserted women, Dido, Phyllis, Oenone and Medea. These exempla are more than mere decoration - their experiences are used to give worth to what could otherwise be an unconvincing argument.

As the purpose of this brief account of the Dido legend (only thirty-seven lines) was to prove man's inconstancy, and to emphasize a woman's need for many lovers, it was but natural that Jean de Meun should model his exemplum on Ovid's Dido rather than on Vergil's. For, after all, Ovid's motive in composing the Heroides - to win pity for abandoned heroines - was closely allied to the reason which prompted La Vieille to tell this story.

La Vieille includes in her account of Dido's abandonment a list of all Dido's kindnesses to Aeneas and his companions -

Dona-li, por s'amor avoir,
Sa cite, son cors, son avoir, \(^{94}\)
She recalls Aeneas' empty promises and the treachery of his flight:

Et cil si l'en asséura,
Qu'il li promist et li jura
Que siens iert tous jors et seroit,
Ne jamès ne la laisseroit.  

She climaxes her narration with Dido's killing herself with Aeneas' own sword -

Dido, qui son ami remembre,
Et voit que s'amor est perdue,
L'espée prent, et toute nue
La drece contremont la pointe,
Sous ses deus mameles l'apointe,
Sor le glaive se lest chéoir.

The whole picture of Dido's love and consequent despair is clearly outlined - this woman had placed all her affection in one man, and he proved to be no different from other men. For, concludes La Vieille, "all men seek to deceive and betray women; all of them are rakes and cads; all of them are philanderers; therefore one ought to deceive them in return and not set one's heart upon one man alone" -

.... tuit les boulent e trichent,
Tuit son ribaut, par tout se fichent,
Si les deit l'en ausinc trichier,
Non pas son cueur en un fichier.

La Vieille gives to her retelling of the sufferings of these
women "much genuine pathos, and something of justifiable indignation, and if the ethical quality is slight there is still a rough logic in the conclusion she draws from her instances of deserted women". 99

In the Roman de la Rose, La Vieille's arguments carried weight, for her instruction on the meaning and art of love refuted many of the theories proposed by Amors, Raison and Amis, and ultimately prepared the way for the triumph of Venus over the heart of L'Amant.

With Jean de Meun, whose 'Mirror of Love' includes so much of Ovid's theory of love, Dido is viewed as Ovid presented her in the Heroines - as a blameless woman abandoned by a wholly blameworthy Aeneas. The poet has shown real discernment in placing this particular attitude towards Dido and Aeneas in the mind of a character like La Vieille, for her materialistic concept of love betrays a mind incapable of understanding the value of the spiritual motives used by Vergil to justify Aeneas' most unwilling departure from the woman he so little wished to hurt. La Vieille had lost faith in all men. That Aeneas' action could be vindicated was to her unthinkable. Ovid's emphasis on the wrong done to women by heartless men was an attitude she could appreciate.

Just as Jean de Meun in thirteenth century France used Ovid's Dido among the exempla of women's fidelity, so did English writers, from Chaucer on, similarly employ Ovid's heroine. Dido was proverbially referred to as an example of faithfulness,
Chaucer and his English imitators, who wrote of Dido, usually based their poems directly on Vergil's *Aeneid*, but, in harmony with the medieval romantic tendency, shown previously in *Enéas* and subsequently in Caxton's *Eneydos*, they elaborated the sentimental parts of the *Aeneid* story, especially Dido's long 'compleynt', and changed the Carthage affair, from being a mere episode in the Latin poem, to form the major portion of their versions of the *Aeneid*. Writing for those interested in courtly love, they made their Dido conform to the romantic convention. She was not the passionate woman of Vergil's epic 'swept by the force of her emotions into disregard of her solemn oaths of loyalty to her first husband, but one of the faithful, much abused 'saints of Cupid'*. Aeneas appeared not as the 'Fate-driven hero', but as the 'fals lover', the 'traitour'. And so, although Vergil was the main source for these stories of Dido, the romantic attitude adopted towards Aeneas and Dido was a reflection of the sentimentality of Ovid's *Heroides*, as well as of the spirit pervading the literature of fourteenth century England.

Chaucer was the first English writer to present the Dido story in the English vernacular, when he made the *Aeneid* the theme of the first book of *The House of Fame*. One of Chaucer's earlier works, this poem shows in structure the influence of the courtly-love poetry of France, for, as in *Le Roman de la Rose*, the story, being part of a love-vision, is enclosed in a dream.
After a rhetorical proem on the nature and causes of dreams, Chaucer relates a wonderful dream which brought him into a temple of glass. On the walls of this temple of Venus, he saw engraved the whole story of the *Aeneid*, with Dido as its central figure. Abandoning Vergil's order of narration, Chaucer rapidly retells the epic in a series of pictures, which keep the attention focussed on Dido's laments and suicide.

The fast-moving narrative, which summarizes *Aeneid IV* in about fifty lines (if we disregard Chaucer's digressions) is very similar in approach to that found in medieval redactions like the *Excidium Troiae*, and in the popular French romances, like *Roman d'Énéas*. The characters are naïve; the language is simple; the atmosphere lacks intensity.

Chaucer here is interested in the Dido episode only as a means of expressing his reflections on the perfidy of man, and so he writes in unashamed haste, giving more prominence to his moralistic digressions than to the tale itself.

"Hyt were a long proces to telle,
And over-long for yow to dwelle" he remarks about the growth of love between Dido and Aeneas, and, rather than repeat the long speeches of Dido in *Aeneid IV* and *Heroides VII*, he bids the reader - "And al the maner how she deyde,
And all the wordes that she seyde,
Whoso to knowe hit hath purpos,
Rede Virgile in Eneydos
Or the Epistle of Ovyde
What that she wrot or that she dyde.\textsuperscript{104}

Dido, lamenting men’s faithlessness, is tender as in the 

\textbf{Heroides} -

"Allas!" quod she, "my swete herte, 
Have pitee on my sorwes smerte, 
And slee me not! goo noght away!\textsuperscript{105}

We hear none of the wrath of Vergil’s queen. Because his aim is to present Dido as "an exemplary victim of man’s duplicity"\textsuperscript{106} and then as "a victim of Fame",\textsuperscript{107} Chaucer’s sympathies are altogether with the forsaken Dido. But there is no sense either of the tragic of Vergil or the melodramatic of Ovid. Chaucer has told his Dido story in a light, simple way with no seriousness of purpose. He uses Dido’s error in trusting Aeneas, who "to hir a traytour was",\textsuperscript{108} to warn women against trusting strangers - "Loo, how a woman doth amyss
To love him that unknown ys\textsuperscript{109} - and to urge them to beware of men’s empty promises - "O, have ye men such godlyhede
In speche, and never a del of trouthe?\textsuperscript{110}

is Dido’s pitiful cry to Aeneas. Chaucer has pointed his moral, but with none of the earnestness of Tertullian nor the vindictiveness of Boccaccio.

The account of Dido’s suicide is followed by the stock list of faithless lovers, with whom Aeneas was associated in the rhetorical \textit{exempla} of the schools from the fourth century onward. His betrayal of Dido is of a piece with the treacheries of
Demophon, Achilles, Paris, Jason, Hercules and Theseus. But Aeneas at least had some excuse. With light irony Chaucer mentions, almost in a perfunctory way, Vergil's apology for Aeneas -

"But to excusen Eneas
Fullyche of al his grete trespas,
The book seyth Mercurie, sauns fayle,
Bad hym goo into Itayle,
And leve Auffrikes regioun,
And Dido and hir faire toun."

The whole recital of Dido's tragic love is told prettily enough in the French vein. Chaucer sympathises with the sorrows women have to endure from men's unfaithfulness, but he does not appear deeply interested in his tale - only in book two of the poem, with the arrival of the Eagle and the commencement of Chaucer's extraordinary journey to the House of Fame, does his work really come to life, and Chaucer, writing for the first time under the influence of Dante, writes with real Chaucerian brilliance and vigour.

Dido's tragedy also provided Chaucer with one of his exempla in the Legend of Good Women. In his prologue to the Legend, Chaucer, in a love-vision, shows himself as condemned by the god of Love for having written heresies against his Law - in particular for having defamed women by portraying a faithless woman in his Troilus and Criseyde. His repentance must take the form of a series of stories of "good" women, who have been
faithful in their love.

Begun with humorous intent, the Legend, dominated by the code of courtly love, is lightly told with the same mock-heroic spirit as Pope displayed in his *Rape of the Lock*. Chaucer, writing as "an outsider in the affairs of love", aims to "exalt the constancy of women in love, and to deprecate the falseness and fickleness of men". With such a purpose, Ovid's approach to Dido is Chaucer's natural choice. Dido for him is a woman, who sacrificed all for love, while Aeneas is maliciously false in his treachery to her. Hence Chaucer takes pains to build up a worthy portrait of a noble queen, whose goodness and beauty is such

"That, if that God, that hevene and erthe made, Wolde han a love, for beaute and goodnesse, And womanhod, and trouthe, and semelynesse, Whom shulde he loven but this lady swete?" (a description typical of the medieval manner of blending the sacred and the profane.) Her generosity towards Aeneas is highlighted to contrast with the meanness of Aeneas' treachery. Among the magnificent gifts she offers him feature a "hawtein faucoun herone" and a "hound" - details which recall medieval England rather than Africa of Dido's day - for Chaucer, like Shakespeare, made his ancient stories contemporary to his own generation and presented his audience with stories set against a fourteenth century English background. Aeneas then was "lyk a knyght,"
And suffisaunt of persone and of myght,
And lyk to been a verray gentil man", 116 while Dido could have been one of the ladies of the English court, whom Chaucer knew so well.

With the feigned simplicity, which marks much of his writing, Chaucer questions the genuineness of the divine interventions of which Vergil speaks. Commenting on Aeneas' invisibility, when he first came to Carthage, Chaucer, the realist remarks -

"I can nat seyn if that it be possible,
But Venus hadde hym maked invysible -
Thus seyth the bok, withouten any les," 117 and with like incredulity he rejects the Cupid-Venus incident -

"But natheles, oure autour telleth us,
That Cupido, that is the god of love,
At preyere of his moder hye above etc.....
... but, as of that scripture,
Be as be may, I take of it no cure." 118

He also omits completely the part played by Venus and Juno in furthering the union between Aeneas and Dido. Catering for his Christian audience, Chaucer often differed from his pagan sources in his treatment of the heathen gods. In the Canterbury Tales, he made the "slight but brilliant shift" of changing Mars and Venus, the heathen deities, into Mars and Venus, the planets, who still exerted their potent force on men's lives, but who operated always "within the intricate astrological pattern, whose details were familiar to every well-educated member of Chaucer's
audience". 

The cave scene is described briefly but quaintly - there is felt none of the tragic import of the same scene in Aeneid IV - "She fledde hireself into a litel cave, And with hire wente this Eneas also. I not, with hem if there wente any mo; The autour maketh of it no menacioun. And here began the depe affeccioun Betwixe hem two; this was the first morwe Of hire gladnesse, and gynning of hire sorwe". From then on, the love story follows the same course as in the Aeneid but with a few changes of emphasis. The rejected 'Yarbas' is a much more pitiable character than Vergil's foreign suitor. Dido becomes progressively more tender and loyal, Aeneas more crafty and false. Chaucer must have grown in sympathy for Dido as his story progressed, for his heart really seems to be present in Dido's final pleas to Aeneas. She pleads with him, not in lofty floods of rhetoric, but in the simple homely phrases of a woman who wishes him to marry her and then slay her - "For thanne yit shal I deyen as youre wyf. I am with childe and yeve my child his lyf! Mercy, lord! have pite in youre thought!" Here is Ovid's Dido - the pathetic deserted heroine - but she is more appealing than Ovid's Dido, for, though Chaucer began his portrait of Dido in a humorous vein, he seems gradually to have developed a deep pity for the woman he was creating.
His Aeneas appears only as a faithless lover, whose "hote ernest is al overblowe."\textsuperscript{122} He tells Dido of the warnings of his father's ghost and of Mercury, and of his destiny "sone for to sayle .... to the conquest of Ytayle"\textsuperscript{123} - but his words are merely lame excuses, typical of the shallow character Chaucer presents. In a passage which closely resembles the \textit{Excidium Troiae} rather than Vergil or Ovid, Aeneas steals away from Dido's bed by night, leaving (as in the \textit{Excidium}) his sword at the head of her bed. Chaucer did not hesitate to draw, from such an amateurish version, aspects of the story which best fitted into his scheme of "blackening Aeneas' character and at the same time arousing greater sympathy for Dido, the Martyr of Love."\textsuperscript{124}

After discovering Aeneas' departure Dido, like the heroines of the French Romances, swoons "twenty tyme"\textsuperscript{125} and then she suddenly leaps upon the fire of sacrifice, "and with his sword she "rof hyre to the herte".\textsuperscript{126} Chaucer concludes his tale by quoting the opening lines of Ovid's \textit{Heroides VII}, where Dido compares herself to a white swan singing before death. The last lines show Dido gently chiding Aeneas for leaving her.

Chaucer has described the Dido story more fully here than in the \textit{House of Fame}, and so has given Dido a certain amount of individuality. The whole tale is light and not meant to be taken seriously. Throughout, Chaucer maintains with his audience, a friendly intimate tone. We hear him in league with the ladies against the men -

"O sely wemen", he warns, "full of innocence
Chaucer has "deliberately reversed the usual medieval convention, popularized by Jean de Meun. He twists back upon the men all the epithets and accusations that were usually applied to women". And so the whole legend, while pathetic at times, is an example of Chaucer's hearty humour and good-natured teasing. Dido, of the *Heroides* especially, has provided him with a useful weapon to wield in his defence of women's fidelity.

John Gower, Chaucer's close friend and contemporary, introduced the Dido story into his *Confessio Amantis*, the first poem which he ventured to write in English - his earlier productions had been in French. Portraying himself as an old man bewailing the sorrows he has had to endure from love, Gower tells of Venus' command that he confess his sins against Love to her own priest, Genius. The poem then progresses as a dialogue between Confessor and Lover, the priest warning his penitent to avoid each of the Seven Deadly Sins and their concomitant vices - the sins, of course, being against the religion of Love. Just as Christian priests used anecdotes, often collected in medieval confession manuals, to explain the nature of certain sins, so Gower's priest told countless stories to the Lover to exemplify his theme.
It is as an 'exemplum' of Sloth that the priest relates the tale of Dido. He condemns Sloth as harmful in the pursuit of anything worthwhile, and here his code of Love coincides with the Christian code. But Sloth has many subdivisions, the first of which is "Lachesse", which for the Christian means "slackness in the service of God" but which the "priest interprets as meaning, in a lover's case, postponing his pursuit of a lady's favour"\(^{129}\) - a serious offence against the code of courtly love. And of this crime Aeneas was held guilty.

It takes Gower only seventy lines to summarize Dido's story and expound his moral. Aeneas lands with his fleet in Carthage, where Dido so burns with love for him "that all her hert on him she laide".\(^{130}\) Without any delay, however, Aeneas sails off to Italy. Dido's grief at his departure is expressed in a letter which she sent "unto her knight",\(^{131}\) begging him to tell her whether or not he intended to return. She declares that, if left alone, she will imitate the swan, which, if deprived of its mate, slays itself. But Aeneas ignores her plaints - for he "had his thoughtes feint Towardés love, and full of Slouthe".\(^{132}\) As he tarries so long, Dido despairs, determining on her death, for which she blames him "which shulde have be my life".\(^{133}\) With the extreme simplicity which has marked the whole narrative, Gower briefly describes Dido's death - "Thus when she sigh[saw] none other bote, Right even unto her herté rote
A naked sword anone she threste
And thus she gat her selvé reste. ¹³⁴

Gower's priest then warns his lover penitent of the evil attendant on delaying without necessity in Love's cause -

"Whereof, my soné, thou might knowe,
How tarieng upon the nede
In Love's cause is for to drede." ¹³⁵

This is the first time this particular aspect of Dido's story has been emphasized. Dido for Gower, as for Ovid and Chaucer, is Love's Martyr, and Aeneas, the treacherous lord responsible for her death. But here, especially, Aeneas appears as a knight who has violated the laws of courtly love by his negligence in pursuing Dido's favours. The Vergilian and Ovidian details of the consummation of the love of Dido and Aeneas are ignored. Just as Tertullian and Jerome chose only those parts of the Dido story which would exemplify the particular Christian virtue they wished to inculcate, so Gower organized his tale to emphasize the particular violation of courtly chivalry he wished to condemn. The procedure adopted by these writers seems to have been to determine which virtue or vice they wished to discuss, and then to select, re-arrange or even alter the traditional details to fit into their pre-arranged pattern. That Ovid's rather than Vergil's Dido should be Gower's choice is understandable, in view of the attitude towards women prevalent in the world of courtly love in which the *Confessio Amantis* is set. The lady was considered as occupying "a position of exalted superiority in
respect to her lover"136 who became but her vassal. Bernart de Ventadorn's plea to his lady is typical of the attitude of the lover to the woman he loves - "'Good lady,' he begs, 'I demand nothing more of you than that you take me as a servant for I will serve you as one serves a good master whatever be my reward.'"137 Clearly Vergil's portrayal of the pietas of Aeneas in leaving Carthage just did not have a place in this chivalric code of courtly love, where the lover's foremost duty was unswerving fidelity to the lady of his choice.

Again, as an exemplum of woman's constancy Ovid's Dido makes a brief appearance in Thomas Hoccleve's The Letter of Cupid to Lovers, His subjects, written in 1402. Hoccleve held his "master" Chaucer in high regard and modelled his letter of Cupid on Chaucer's Legend of Good Women. The theme, so reminiscent of Ovid and Chaucer, is expressed towards the end of this Letter - "...in womman regneth stable constance;

and in men ys the chaunge and variance!"138

Jason and Aeneas once again are the villains of the piece, and we hear, through Hoccleve, Ovid's condemnation of man's perfidy - "Of troye also the traytour Eneas,

the feythles wrechch how hath he him for-swore to dido, that queen of Carthage was,

that him releued of his smertyys sore!

what gentilesse myght she han doon more than she with hert unfeyned to him kydde?

and what myschefe to hir ther-of betydde!"139
In the writings of the English monk, John Lydgate, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, both Ovid's and Justinus' versions of the Dido story occur. As Chaucer had introduced the Dido story of Vergil and Ovid into the English vernacular, so Lydgate seems responsible for having made Englishmen acquainted with Justinus' account.

Lydgate wrote his *Troy Book* in 1412 to comply with the wish of King Henry V for an English version of Guido de Colonne's *Historia Troiana*. In the last section of this mammoth work, Lydgate discusses the fate of the surviving heroes of the Trojan War, especially Aeneas and Odysseus. Aeneas' stay in Carthage is described in about ten lines, for Lydgate refers his readers to the *Aeneid* for all the details. However, in this short space, Lydgate has made Aeneas appear as the cruel and ungrateful deceiver of the *Heroïdes*, who is false to the noble Dido, despite all the riches and favours she has lavished upon him.

"And how that he falsede the quene

I mene Dydo, of womanhede flour,
That gaf to hym [hir] richesse and tresour,
Iowelys and gold, and all that myght him plese
And every thing that myghte do hym ese
But for al that, how he was unkynde -
Rede Eneydos, and there ye shall it fynde:
And how that he falsely stale away
By nyghter tyme while she a bedde lay."

The Aeneas thus conceived resembles the treacherous Trojan leader
described by Lydgate’s literary forbears, Benoît de Ste. Maure and Guido de Colonne, as having betrayed Troy to the Greeks. He is also the same ‘villain’ of Chaucer’s Legend of Good Women with which Lydgate was so familiar.

That Lydgate should give all his sympathy in the Dido-Aeneas affair to Dido is in keeping with an attitude towards women displayed often by him in his Troy Book. When Guido rebukes Troilus’ folly in loving the false Cressida, when “women’s words are stuffed with lies”, Lydgate takes up the defence of women – “I, John Lydgate, say that for one bad woman there are one hundred good ones.” For Lydgate then, Dido is one of these “good” women.

However, in his The Flour of Curtesye, though he praises Dido’s fidelity to Aeneas, Lydgate dares to blame Dido’s impetuosity in needlessly taking her own life –

“For though that Dydo with [her] witte sage,
Was in her tyme stedfast to Enée,
Of hastinesse yet she did outrage.”

This is the first time I have found Dido being explicitly condemned for her hastiness – whether in misjudging Aeneas or in slaying herself. As in his later works, Lydgate shows, in this comment on Dido, his unwillingness to follow mechanically the sources on which he depended for his exempla. He chose to portray here the Dido of Chaucer’s Legend of Good Women, but did not fear to suggest flaws in the Ovidian representation of the faithful heroine.
As the scope of this thesis does not extend beyond the writings of the Later Middle Ages, except to include the English drama of the sixteenth century, it remains for me to comment on the Ovidian Dido tradition as displayed in some of Shakespeare's plays. In the next chapter I shall consider the role played by Dido throughout the plays of Shakespeare's whole dramatic career. Here I shall refer only to those plays which show clearly the Ovidian influence on Shakespeare's concept of Dido.

Shakespeare's favourite classical author seems to have been Ovid, whom he probably read in the original, or at least in Goldings' translations. All his plays reflect his debt to Ovid. One of his contemporaries praised him as the reincarnation of Ovid: "The sweet, witty soul of Ovid lives in the mellifluous and honey-tongued Shakespeare." Vergil he seems to have known less well, but from him he took stories, isolated thoughts, and many beautiful similes. Generally, the Dido to whom Shakespeare refers is the gentle Ovidian heroine to whom Aeneas has proven false. Frequently, however, the Vergilian setting of the Dido story is present.

Whenever Shakespeare uses the Ovidian view of Aeneas and Dido, he is referring to them both as exempla of fidelity and perfidy. His familiarity with Chaucer's use of Dido and Aeneas among such exempla probably explains the attitude adopted by Shakespeare in the plays of his middle period.

When Queen Margaret of II Henry VI chides her husband for so sorrowing over the murdered Gloucester, she compares herself with
the misused Dido, and the king with the false Aeneas. "Am I not witched like her (i.e. Dido)," she cries, "or thou not false like him (i.e. Aeneas)."  

For Romeo, according to Mercutio, Dido ranks among the many love-heroines of antiquity. Compared with his Rosaline, however, Dido is but "a dowdy," Cleopatra a gipsy, Helen and Hero hildings. In A Midsummer Night's Dream, when Hermia promises to meet Lysander, she swears fidelity by Cupid's strongest bow,

"And by that fire which burn'd the Carthage queen,
When the false Trojan under sail was seen, -
By all the vows that ever men have broke,
In number more than ever woman spoke."

Likewise in Cymbeline, Imogen, when falsely accused by her husband, and mistakenly convinced of his infidelity, cries out against his perfidy, and that of all men -

"Men's vows are women's traitors!
True honest men being heard, like false Aeneas,
Were, in his time, thought false: and Sinon's weeping
Did scandal many a holy tear."

In these last two plays, Shakespeare has clearly accepted the Ovidian view of Dido's fidelity and Aeneas' utter faithlessness. Aeneas has become for him the symbol of infidelity. "The atmosphere of medieval romance rather than of the Aeneid clings around such a passage as that in the Merchant of Venice" where Lorenzo and Jessica hymn the beauty of the
moonlight night at Belmont. The peace and calm of the night recall various night scenes from antiquity. "In such a night", Troilus sighed for Cressida, Thisbe fled the lion, and

"In such a night
Stood Dido with a willow in her hand
Upon the wild sea banks, and waft her love
To come again to Carthage."^151

It is a gentler scene than that painted by Vergil, its spirit reflecting that of Ovid - for Dido is all-forgiving and loving, as she longs for Aeneas' return.

While Shakespeare's earliest plays reveal a youthful Shakespeare fresh from his school textbooks, and therefore familiar with the externals of the Aeneid story; and while his latest plays reveal Shakespeare the poet, sensitive to the poetic and spiritual depths of Vergil; the plays of his middle period point to Shakespeare in his early manhood, esteeming Ovid as a storyteller and as an expert on all matters of love, and interested in the romance literature of the preceding centuries. The Dido and Aeneas to whom he refers in these plays are the same characters we meet in the works of Ovid, Chaucer and the French Romance writers. Shakespeare has simply carried over into his plays the idea that had become traditional in the world of courtly love, of Dido and Aeneas as typical examples of the deserted heroine and the faithless lover.

Wherever appears the Ovidian presentation of the gentle Dido and the cruel Aeneas, a definite pattern of approach is evident.
Ovid's attitude towards Dido influenced the Latin writers of the Middle Ages in the shallow, rhetorical exercises they produced on the Dido theme. Though all such works show the writer's dependence on the Vergilian original, they also show a general misunderstanding of Vergil's characterization of his hero and heroine. They seem to lack the sensitivity and the spiritual values necessary to a right understanding of Vergil's intent. Hence most of the rhetorical exercises are based externally on the Aeneid plot, but the Dido and Aeneas they discuss are the sentimental characters of the Heroides.

In the literature that appeared in the Later Middle Ages, after the emergence of the French Romances, Dido and Aeneas always are included among lists of rhetorical exempla. For Jean de Meun, Chaucer, Gower, Hoccleve, Lydgate, and Shakespeare, Dido was consistently regarded as the typical deserted, all-forgiving heroine, and Aeneas' name was always associated with some form of treachery. The attitude of mind developed by the code of courtly love rendered an approval of Aeneas' desertion of Dido impossible - his act was a direct violation of the code of chivalry. Similarly, the passionate vehemence of Vergil's Dido did not accord with the tender sentiments expected of the heroine of a medieval romance. Ovid's portrayal of Dido and Aeneas fitted so well into the courtly love atmosphere of Romance literature, that his Dido became the accepted exemplum of a woman's faithfulness unto death, despite her lover's cruel treatment of her.
Chaucer's dependence on the French Romance writers, and on Ovid, probably explains the prevalence in early English writings of the Ovidian Dido tradition. It was not until the Renaissance brought to England a scholarly appreciation of the original of Vergil's texts, that Dido and Aeneas came to be interpreted in English literature in the way intended by Vergil.

The Renaissance, however, did not mean the end of the Ovidian Dido tradition. Though Justinus' Dido account seldom appeared after the sixteenth century, Ovid's version has continued side by side with Vergil's, right up to our own day.

Ovid's version of the Dido story left its mark on travesties of Vergil, like Charles Cotton's Scarronides, which appeared in 1670, on burlesques like the anonymous The Story of Aeneas and Dido Burlesqued, produced in 1774, and the dramatic burlesque, Dido, written by F.C. Burnand in 1860. All these non-serious works, though based on the Aeneid, are written in the lighter, more sentimental vein of Ovid, for they were intended either as satires, or as light entertainment and novelty on the decadent English stage of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Among Vergil critics too, the influence of the Ovidian tradition of Dido and Aeneas is in evidence. "The charges of coldness and lack of feeling [that] have been heaped on Aeneas, from the words of Dido herself to those of many a modern writer" could well be the indirect result of Ovid's scorn of Aeneas. Charles James Fox and Lamartine both complained of Aeneas' "cold gallantry"; Page in his school edition of Aeneid IV roundly
condemned Aeneas' treatment of Dido; Mackail in his Introduction to the *Aeneid* asserted strongly that "apology may be invented; palliation may be urged; defence of Aeneas is impossible". In all these critics there seems a general lack of appreciation of the real suffering of Vergil's hero. Though the anti-Aeneas prejudice revealed in these scholars was surely more deeply founded than the popular scorn of Aeneas that Ovid's *Heroides* had aroused, it is possible that these men too were influenced, if only indirectly, by Ovid's emotional approach.

Many students of Vergil, on their first contact with *Aeneid IV*, tend to share Ovid's view of Aeneas, whom they heartily condemn. It is only after more careful study of Vergil's texts that the real greatness of Aeneas impresses them. I think that something similar has happened in the centuries since Vergil. The majority of those who adopt the Ovidian attitude, have never gone beyond their first impression of Dido and Aeneas. Those who produced rhetorical exercises on Dido, were not interested in plumbing the Vergilian depths. Those who introduced Dido into Romance literature, wanted only an Ovidian heroine. Those who were later to enact the Dido story on the stage to please a sentimental audience, knew the popular appeal of the Dido of *Heroides VII*.

This glance over the use of Ovid's Dido story by writers since Vergil reveals the extraordinary influence that can be exercised by quite a minor literary work. Ovid would never have even compared his *Heroides VII* with the poetic excellence of
Aeneid IV. Yet, through the centuries, the Ovidian "popular", emotional Dido story so often was preferred to Vergil's more subtle presentation of Dido and Aeneas.

Though writers, who were influenced by Ovid, interpreted the characters of Dido and Aeneas in a way that would have revolted Vergil, they at least succeeded in presenting a hero and heroine acceptable to the sentimental tastes of the general public. In this way, they kept alive interest in Dido's tragedy, until such times as men of the Renaissance turned to Vergil's Aeneid text to learn what Vergil really did say about Dido and Aeneas.

Since the Renaissance, the Ovidian Dido story has continued to be re-told, as well as the Vergilian one, but greater familiarity with Vergil's text, and more accurate understanding of his attitude towards his characters have made men more aware of the superiority of the Vergilian Dido account. Discerning readers, familiar with the two divergent views of Dido and Aeneas, have now come to see how superficial is Ovid's concept of these characters, especially when compared with the psychological depth and spiritual interest achieved by Vergil in his portrayal of Dido and Aeneas.

Yet the Ovidian Dido tradition has not died, and I feel sure that, as long as Dido's story is told, Ovid's attitude to Dido and Aeneas will continue to influence many people. For Vergil's approach is a more subtle, less popular one, which only a minority in any age will appreciate. And so lovers of Vergil will have to
be content to see the Vergilian portrayal of Dido and Aeneas sensitively valued by only a few. Most readers will consider Vergil's sympathy for Aeneas entirely misplaced, and the "unthinking multitude" will heartily support Ovid in his sentimental pity for the wronged Dido, and will even more strongly join Ovid in thoroughly condemning Aeneas, as a hard-hearted self-seeker and deserter.
CHAPTER V

- NOTES -


4. Epistula Didonis ad Aeneam, quoted in Appendix p. 281, ll. 4-5.

5. ibid., ll. 15-17.

6. ibid., ll. 19-20.

7. ibid., ll. 24-26.

8. ibid., ll. 31-33.

9. ibid., l. 38.

10. ibid., l. 41.

11. ibid., ll. 42-82.

12. ibid., l. 42.

13. ibid., ll. 82-85.

14. ibid., ll. 91-96.

15. ibid., ll. 96-98.

16. ibid., ll. 100-1 ff.

17. ibid., l. 123.

18. ibid., ll. 124-5.

19. ibid., ll. 134-5.

20. ibid., ll. 148-150.

21. ibid., ll. 124-5.
22. ibid., ll. 10-23.
26. Vergil *Aeneid IV*, 323.
27. Attributed by Migne to Ausonius, but placed by Baehrens among poems by unknown authors.
29. See p. 79 ff.
30. Note. To be discussed in detail in Chapter VI.
32. Note. Published 1959.
33. Poem 235, l. 47.
34. ibid., ll. 54-57.
35. ibid., ll. 48-49.
36. ibid., ll. 58-61.
37. Poem 236.
38. ibid., ll. 1-7.
39. ibid., ll. 17-23.
40. ibid., ll. 42-43.
41. ibid., ll. 64-72.
42. ibid., ll. 29-30.
43. ibid., ll. 73-76.
44. Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Roman Antiquities* I. 46.
45. ibid., I. 46.
47. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XIII - XIV.


54. See discussion of *Excidium Troiae* in Chapter VI.


60. *Enéas*, l. 471 ff.

61. ibid., l. 534.

62. ibid., l. 6495 ff.

63. ibid., l. 358.

64. ibid., l. 1433.

65. ibid., l. 759.

66. ibid., l. 3136.

67. ibid., l. 2118.

68. ibid., l. 8553.
69. *ibid.*, ll. 675 ff.

70. *ibid.*, ll. 1579 ff.


74. *ibid.*, ll. 1676-1683.

75. *ibid.*, ll. 1518-1529.


83. *ibid.*, p. 10.


85. *ibid.*, ll. 1405-7.


90. Note. In this section I have followed the interpretation of *Le Roman de la Rose* in *The Mirror of Love*, by A.M.F. Gunn, 1952 - pp. 328-30; 370-95; 432-33.

92. cf. Roman de la Rose, ll. 34-38; 10648-10651.


94. Roman de la Rose, ll. 13185-6.

95. ibid., ll. 13187-13190.

96. ibid., ll. 13198-13204.

97. cf. ibid., ll. 13174-13201.


100. cf. E. Nitchie, Vergil and The English Poets, p. 46.

101. ibid., p. 50.


104. ibid., ll. 375-380.

105. ibid., ll. 315-317.


107. ibid., p. 109.


109. ibid., ll. 269-270.

110. ibid., ll. 330-331.

111. ibid., ll. 427-432.


113. W.G. Dodd, Courtly Love in Gower and Chaucer, p. 209.


116. *ibid.*, ll. 1066-1068.

117. *ibid.*, ll. 1020-1022.

118. *ibid.*, ll. 1139-1145.


120. Chaucer, *op. cit.*, ll. 1225-1231.

121. *ibid.*, ll. 1322-1324.

122. *ibid.*, l. 1287.

123. *ibid.*, ll. 1298-1299.


125. Chaucer, *op. cit.*, l. 1342.

126. *ibid.*, l. 1351.

127. *ibid.*, ll. 1254 ff.


129. Dodd, *Courtly Love in Gower and Chaucer*, p. 68.


131. *ibid.*, l. 99.


133. *ibid.*, l. 131.

134. *ibid.*, ll. 133-136.

135. *ibid.*, ll. 138-140.


137. Quoted by Dodd, *op. cit.*, p. 11.


141. *ibid.*, ll. 4264 ff.


144. *II Henry VI*, III, ii. 119.


146. *Note*. "hildings", i.e. good-for-nothing baggages - A. Ratcliff, *Notes on Romeo and Juliet*.


150. Elizabeth Nitchie, *Vergil and the English Poets*, p. 120.

151. *The Merchant of Venice*, V, i, 9-12.

152. Pease. *Introduction to Aeneid IV*, p. 45.


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The Dido legend has remained alive in every century of our era because of the excellence of Vergil's presentation of the loves of Dido and Aeneas in his *Aeneid*. Yet the preceding chapters have shown that the Dido, to whom writers of every age have referred, is very often not the character whom Vergil created. Both Justinus' and Ovid's Dido traditions have a long history, but so has the Vergilian Dido tradition. Vergil's Dido story has had a chequered course, and it was only after being misinterpreted for centuries that eventually it was valued for its real worth.

Because Vergil's manner of presenting Dido and Aeneas differed from the usual literary treatment of a deserted heroine and her lover, many readers failed to interpret Vergil's characters in the way he intended them to be interpreted. Though for Vergil the Carthage episode was but part of the long process of purification and preparation of Aeneas for his role as founder of the Roman nation, for many people it was the most important section of the *Aeneid*. Vergil's Aeneas, who obeyed the will of the gods only at great cost to himself, was judged only by his exterior actions. The spiritual mission that motivated his abandoning of Dido was misunderstood. Aeneas' *pietas* did not win
popular favour. And so, while men used the outline of Vergil's Dido story, they interpreted his characters according to the pattern set by Ovid in his more "popular" Heroïdes account. Throughout the Middle Ages there was little sound understanding of Vergil's presentation of Dido as a tragic figure, the victim of her own uncontrolled passions, or of Aeneas as the heroic victor in a fierce moral struggle. For the most part the mere externals of Vergil's Dido story appeared in school texts and rhetorical exercises, and, if any attempt were made in these works at characterization, it generally lacked all the subtlety of Vergil's portrayal. Grammarians were interested in Vergil's Dido story as a source of telling illustrations of literary or linguistic forms. Christian preachers, in most incongruous settings, quoted phrases about Dido, to emphasize some point in their discourses. Allegorists sought to Christianize the pagan Vergilian love-story, by seeing it as part of a great Christian allegory, in which every phrase was charged with some hidden meaning. Medieval translators pruned or extended the Aeneid original according to whim. Romance writers treated the Aeneid as if it were set in the world of courtly love.

All these men valued Vergil's Aeneid IV, but not in the way it was meant to be valued. Only rarely did there appear writers, who both knew Vergil at firsthand, and had the poetic sensitivity to see what Vergil really intended in Aeneid IV. Such men were Saints Jerome and Augustine, John of Salisbury, Dante, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton and Tennyson.
In the first centuries after Vergil, the Dido legend was, for the most part, treated only in passing. Dido's tragedy was told in recitations, in dramatisations, and in grammatical or rhetorical illustrations. There were, however, some fuller treatments of the Dido story. Silius Italicus introduced a lengthy account of the Dido legend into his *Punica*, an epic on the Second Punic War, published in 92 A.D., and an anonymous poet produced the *Epistula Didonis*, which was discussed in the last chapter. In the *Punica*, we see the Dido account in the hands of a slavish imitator of Vergil; in the *Epistula*, the same story flows from the pen of a more daring imitator of Ovid.

Silius Italicus gives the Vergilian details of Dido's early life, when he describes the origins of Carthage and the Punic Wars. His account corresponds closely with Vergil's, but always Silius is verbose. While Vergil has the art of "expressing much in little and often in silence," Silius "rarely leaves anything unsaid".\(^1\)

The initial reference to Dido in the *Punica* is a summary of her activities up to the foundation of Carthage -

Pygmalioneis quondam per caerula terris
pollutum fugiens fraterno crimine regnum
fatali Dido Libyes appellitur orae.
tum pretio mercata locos nova moenia ponit,
cingere qua secto permissum litora tauro.\(^2\)

The main traditional details are all there. Silius also maintains the Vergilian theme of Juno's hatred of the Aeneadae, as he
shows Juno urging the youthful Hannibal to war against Italy. Ingeniously he traces Hannibal’s family back to Dido’s ancestor, Belus -

Sarrana prisci Barcae de gente, vetustos
a Belo numerabat avos.4

In this way he shows the Punic War as but a continuation of the Carthaginian-Roman feud begun by Dido and Aeneas.

Silius uses interesting devices to recall the details of the Dido legend. He describes the Temple of Elissa in Carthage, where Hamilcar had made his young son, Hannibal, swear by the shades of Elissa to destroy the Roman race.5 Here were statues of Belus, Agenor, Phoenix and Dido. Neatly Silius summarizes the story of Dido’s death and her life in the Underworld when he says of her statue,

ipsa sedet tandem aeternum coniuncta Sychaeo;
ante pedes ensis Phrygius iacet.6

The picture Silius gives of the temple with its many altars, its rites in honour of the Stygian deities, and its sweating statue of Elissa,7 provides evidence of some Carthaginian cult of Dido, the spirit of which resembles that of the rites practised by Vergil’s Dido before her death.

To recall the beginnings of Carthage, and the remaining details of the Dido legend, Silius had recourse to the Homeric-Vergilian device of a shield. He has the Spanish people, before the Second Punic War, present Hannibal with a shield, covered with a series of pictures, in which he succeeds in relating,
though in a rather undramatic way, the whole Vergilian Dido story.

In one section of the shield, Dido, accompanied by an un-Vergilian character, Bitias, is seen supervising the building of the infant Carthage. Silius shows, too, the joy of the Carthaginians at the favourable omen of the *caput bellatoris equi*.

Another scene depicts Aeneas and his men, tossed ashore by a storm at sea, pleading with a sad but friendly queen -

_Aenean pulsum pelago dextraque precante
cernere erat. fronte hunc avide regina serena
infelix ac iam vultu spectabat amico._

The cave scene, against the background of hunting and a storm, portrays the climax of the love of Aeneas and Dido, while the picture of Elissa, calling back the Aeneadae, who are departing in their ships, shows the bitter conclusion of their love.

The final Dido scene of the blazing pyre, and the wounded queen charging a later generation to avenge her death by war, serves as a link between the first and latest clashes of Rome and Carthage -

_ ipsa, pyram super ingentem stans, saucia Dido
mandabat Tyriis ultricia bella futuris;
ardentemque rogum media spectabat ab unda
Dardanus et magnis pandebat carbasa fatis._

On the shield, Silius also included the scene of Hannibal’s oath to the nether gods, many scenes of hunting and warfare, and crowning all, Hannibal himself, who, having broken his treaty

Though Silius has managed to review the main outlines of the Dido story in barely twenty lines, he is not nearly so concise when later, in Book VIII, he fills in his outline. There, Juno sends Dido's sister, Anna, who has become an Italian river-nymph, to comfort Hannibal in his anxieties over Fabius' delaying tactics. When, explaining Anna's acquiescence to Juno's request, Silius, at considerable length, retells the Dido legend, he supplies much that was omitted by Vergil, providing what was probably the accepted legendary conclusion to Vergil's account.

To explain why Dido's sister, a Phoenician deity, should be worshipped in Italy, Silius narrated in full the latter part of the Dido legend. Here he follows closely the account, given by Ovid in his *Fasti,* of Anna's coming to the Laurentum coast, and of the events which led to her being reverenced as the goddess, Anna Perenna.

Silius uses the questions asked by Aeneas, when he was welcoming Anna to Italy, to introduce Anna's long description of the events which preceded Dido's death. Stressing the greatness of Dido's love for Aeneas, Anna detailed her frequenting the sea-shore, calling upon Aeneas either to return or to take her on board with him. She told him about Dido's standing in her chamber beside the sacred couch, clasping the image of *fulgentis Iuli,* or making plaints to the image of Aeneas. Dido's resorting to magic and building a pyre are all recalled.

All this agrees with the spirit of Vergil's account, but says
in detail all that Vergil implied but left unsaid. Aeneas' moving reply to Anna is likewise the type of reply we would expect Vergil's Aeneas to make, being as it is an expansion of Aeneas' brief pleading with Dido in Aeneid VI. It is however more emotional and "popular" in appeal than the restrained but deeply sincere Vergilian lines. While Vergil's Aeneas assures Dido, in words springing from a heart that has long brooded over the hurt he has unwillingly caused,

Per sidera iuro,
Per superos et si qua fides tellure sub ima est,
Invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi.
Sed me iussa deum, quae nunc has ire per umbras,
Per loca senta situ cogunt noctemque profundam,
Inperiis egere suis; nec credere quivi
Hunc tantum tibi me discessu ferre dolorem

Silius' Aeneas, upset by Anna's description of Dido's grief, makes like assurances to Anna, but, while they sound sincere, they are not as heartfelt as in the Aeneid, and seem the result of a momentary recalling of the past. We do not sense, as in Vergil, a period of long interior suffering at the pain he has caused to the woman he loved. Silius' Aeneas, dulci repetitus amore, says to Anna:

tellurem hanc iuro, vota inter nostra frequenter
auditam vobis; iuro caput, Anna, tibique
germanaequae tuae dilectum mitis Iuli,
respiciens aegerque animi tum regna reliqui
vestra, nec abscessem thalamo, ni magna minatus meque sua ratibus dextra imposuisset et alto egisset rapidis classem Cyllenius Euris.\textsuperscript{16}

The action of Mercury here\textsuperscript{17} is rather more violent than in the \textit{Aeneid}.

In order to explain to Aeneas how Dido’s passion had been allowed "to run wild unwatched",\textsuperscript{18} Anna told of her preoccupation with sacrifices to Pluto and Proserpine to relieve Dido of her sorrow and to avert her own evil dreams, for she had dreamt of Sychaeus\textsuperscript{1} thrice claiming Dido as his own. In Vergil it is Dido, not Anna, who dreams of Sychaeus. While Anna was performing some rite of purification in a running stream, Dido ran to the beach, kissed the sand where Aeneas had stood, embraced his footprints. Then she rushed back to the pyre, put on the Trojan robe and necklace which she had received from Aeneas,\textsuperscript{19} and pleaded with the \textit{di longae noctis} to welcome her spirit. After these non-Vergilian details, Silius gives an account of Dido’s death which corresponds closely with Vergil’s. Dido here soliloquizes:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Aeneae coniux, Veneris nurus, ulta maritum, vidi constructas nostrae Carthaginis arces. nunc ad vos magni descendet corporis umbra. me quoque fors dulci quondam vir notus amore expectat, curas cupiens aequare priores.}\textsuperscript{1} haec dicens ensem media in praecordia adegit, ensem Dardanii quaesitum in pignus amoris.\textsuperscript{20}
\end{quote}
The dependence of this passage on Vergil is obvious. Vergil had written:

^Accipite hanc animam meque his exsolvite curis.

Vixi, et, quem dederat cursum fortuna, peregi;
Et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago.
Urbem praeclaram statui; mea moenia vidi;
Ulta virum, poenas inimico a fratre recepi;'
Dixit, et, os inpressa toro, 'moriemur inultae?
Sed moriamur,' ait. 'Sic, sic iuvat ire sub umbras ...'

Both poets have described Dido's last moments in the same way, but comparison of the two accounts shows that, though Silius so closely imitated Vergil, he lacked Vergil's genuine poetic imagination. His account is dull and prosaic. His Dido has none of the dignity and majesty of Vergil's. Never does Silius attain to the music and beauty of Vergil's language, nor the sublimity of his expression.

Anna finally describes her own reactions to Dido's death, just as Vergil had described them, but she concludes her account with Iarbas' preparations for war and her flight - incidents not touched on by Vergil.

When Silius' Punicus appeared, a century had passed since Vergil had offered his Dido to the Roman world. In two major works, already his tale had been retold. Each version was based on the
The Aeneid as its source. Yet each was different. Ovid's account was different from Vergil's in spirit, because his purpose was so different from Vergil's. His was no majestic epic of the Roman nation, but a light expression of tender love. Silius' was different too. He did not misinterpret Vergil's Aeneas, as did Ovid. In fact, so steeped was he in Vergil, and so desirous of reproducing Vergil's thought, that his work became too imitative. However, he did adopt Vergil's attitude towards Dido and Aeneas, and Vergil probably would have no quarrel with his interpretation. The main difference to be noted between his and Vergil's Dido story, apart from the additional later legends, lies in the quality of the poetry in both works, and in the shallowness of Silius' characterization when compared with Vergil's. Silius' work is that of a mere imitator, Vergil's that of a creative artist.

Between the time of Vergil and Ovid and about the twelfth century, the story of Dido and Aeneas seems to have featured regularly in the curricula of grammar and rhetoric in the medieval schools. Schoolboys must have practised their Latin by freely adapting the Dido legend in their rhetorical exercises. Among the extant copies of such exercises, some, like the Epistula Didonis, were a direct imitation of Heroides VII, others, like Ennodius' Verba Didonis cum abeuntem videret, were clearly based on the Aeneid. But even those poems which purported to be Vergilian, and did keep mainly to Vergil's outline of events, did not succeed in presenting Dido and Aeneas as...
Vergil had done. Nearly always, the Dido and Aeneas of these rhetorical exercises were Ovidian in concept. That this should be so in the work of schoolboys is understandable. Lack of maturity would have hindered in them a right discernment of Vergil's characterization. But mature rhetoricians also showed this same unawareness of what Vergil intended in his characters. This was probably because these writers were primarily rhetoricians rather than poets, and their interest was in clever verbal gymnastics, rather than in the subtleties of Vergil's character study.

I have already discussed those rhetorical exercises which are predominantly Ovidian in tone. Among these, while Ausonius' poems are mainly exercises of ingenious word-play, the Epistula Didonis and the Medieval Latin Lyrics are works of poets interested in revealing character, and in experimenting in form, and original enough in their ideas not to be bound down by the limits of the traditional Dido story.

However, more characteristic of the generally mediocre tenor of school rhetorical exercises is the sixth century 'Dictio', by the Christian bishop, Ennodius, who produced an unpoetical amplificatio of a passage from Aeneid IV.

This 'Dictio', Verba Didonis cum abeuntem videret Aeneam, a prose work, is an expansion of Dido's taunt to Aeneas in Aeneid IV - nec tibi diva generis, and is typical of the compositions of students in the schools of rhetoric, who had to reproduce, in their own words, certain situations from well-known
authors. Here Dido rebukes Aeneas' hard-heartedness in leaving her. The first person narrative and the general tone of the 'Dictio' recall Heroides VII, though the whole passage is closely related to the parallel passage in the Aeneid. Dido accuses Aeneas of lying concerning his divine ancestry, for she asserts that Venus would never acknowledge as son one who was so ungrateful for favours done him. She has experienced his cruelty, which suggests a harsh, unfeeling parentage. Not content with Vergil's concise—

sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens

Caucasus, Hyrcanaeque admorunt ubera tigres,

Dido here explains precisely what she means by this accusation—

Te potius Caucasei rigoris praerupta genuerunt, aut conceptum in recessibus montium saxea alvus effudit: et ne dira nutrimentis natura mollesceret, eripientes salutem Cytheris Hyrcanae tigrides alimenta praebuerunt; nutrivit te illa feritas quae trucidat.

In three times the length, Ennodius says no more than did Vergil. What follows is merely a paraphrase of Vergil's next twenty lines. Dido realizes she cannot hope for the return of love she desires. Aeneas does not show any grief comparable with hers—

non reddidit fletibus lacrymas, quas eius amore torta fundebam.

She loses faith in men and gods. For Vergil's nusquam tuta fides Ennodius writes—Heu fides ab universis proturbata mortalibus, et quod hactenus numinibus homines iungebat, expulsum. Then follows Dido's reminders to Aeneas of all her benefits to him.
and his men - suscepi miseranda naufragium .... feci ut ageret dominum profugus imperator. Yet still Aeneas at the bidding of the gods, leaves her. Ennodius repeats Vergil's thoughts, phrase by phrase, but in no way does he capture the scorn of Vergil's Dido. The very wordiness of Ennodius' circumlocutions robs his lines of the Vergilian force. He seems to have made it his aim to reproduce Vergil's thoughts, using as little as possible Vergil's vocabulary. For the biting strength of Vergil's -

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{neque te teneo, neque dicta refello;} \\
&\text{I, sequere Italiam ventis, pete regna per undas.}
\end{align*}
\]

Spero equidem mediis, si quid pia numina possunt, Supplicia hausurum scopulis, et nomine Dido Saepe vocaturum -, \text{Ennodius' Dido bids Aeneas Vade, ulterius non morabor. Habet vindictam mei via qua deseror, habebit pelagus in furore iudicium; raucos tumentium procellarum aestus exaudiam; vocabis inter pericula Didonis nomen, quae et fuit portus, et praebuit.} \text{While Dido of the \textit{Aeneid} threatens to haunt Aeneas after her death, Ennodius makes her fear that Aeneas may die while she still lives unavenged. The spirit is that of Vergil's Dido, who desires vengeance on Aeneas at all costs, not that of the milder Ovidian Dido, who, despite all she has suffered, does not want Aeneas' death. Ennodius concludes Dido's tirade with four hexameter lines, in which Dido summarizes the conclusion she has reached about}
Aeneas and his boasts of divine parentage. He has claimed Venus as his mother, and yet, showing a nature utterly unlike his mother's, he has fled the very name of love—

Durus et indomitus Veneris se semine cretum
Lactat et abjurans collaudat stemmata divae.

Edidit ergo Venus fugientem nomen amoris,
Pectoris et rabidi fudit clementia virus.\(^{35}\)

Again, as in *Epistula Didonis ad Aeneam*,\(^{36}\) Dido is at the mercy of the rhetoricians. The author of the *Epistula* showed some originality and ingenuity in the handling of his theme, but Ennodius has been content merely to retell part of Vergil's Dido story with no originality of thought or expression. The literal meaning of Vergil's and Ennodius' descriptions of the abuse Dido hurls at Aeneas is practically identical, but there is a world of difference in their effectiveness. While Vergil's poetry catches the fury and hatred which tumbled forth from Dido's impassioned soul, Ennodius' phrases are mere words stating the substance of Dido's attack and nothing more. The Dido of this 'Dictio' is the Vergilian Dido, in externals at least, for clearly Ennodius intended to reproduce the Dido of the *Aeneid*. But Ennodius' 'Dictio' shows how soul-less Vergil's poetry could become in the hands of the rhetoricians, and how easily men could get a false impression of Vergil's characters. If men were to come to the substance of Vergil's Dido story through renditions, such as this 'Dictio', it is no wonder that Dido was so favoured and Aeneas so thoroughly condemned.
As Ennodius’ *Dictio* typifies the rhetorical rehandling of Vergil’s Dido story in the schools, so does the anonymous *Excidium Troiae* exemplify the medieval school textbook approach to the *Aeneid*. Just as the rhetorical exercises dealt with the Dido story in a very shallow way, so did the schooltexts narrate only the externals of Vergil’s epic. If schoolchildren became acquainted with Vergil’s Dido and Aeneas only through such mediocre works, it is easy to see why so few writers in the Middle Ages reveal any understanding or appreciation of Vergil’s Aeneas and Dido.

The *Excidium Troiae* was first published by the Medieval Academy of America in 1944. A Latin prose work of about fifteen hundred lines, the *Excidium* gives a continuous narrative of Troy and Rome, from the casting of the Golden Apple to the reign of Augustus Caesar.

Though the earliest extant manuscript of the *Excidium* dates from the end of the ninth century, the original on which this text is based seems of a much earlier period. The account, as it now stands, is written in a fairly simple variety of vulgar Latin of the early medieval period.

Regarding the reworking of Vergil’s *Aeneid* in the *Excidium*, Atwood sees indicated, in the “mixture of learning and ignorance, of skill and ineptitude, which meets us on every page”, clear signs of at least two stages of composition — "one a simple, yet not ignorant, summary of the *Aeneid*, which originated in an earlier and more scholarly period; the other,
a medieval redaction of this story with some additions, including some corrupted and malapropos quotations from Vergil." The original author evidently knew ancient legends well, and his knowledge is not consistent with the "bungling so common in [this] version."  

Atwood points too to the "distinct residue of pedantry" in language and vocabulary as typical of the end of the classical period. He thinks that the most likely period for the composition of the original of this text would be from the fourth to the sixth centuries A.D., the period of the great commentators. The question-answer method employed reminds one of Macrobius. It also suggests pedagogical intent, as do the frequent repetitions and the extreme simplicity of the narrative. Atwood is convinced that the original of this text was intended as a handbook for instructing the young. He summarizes his conclusion about this document by describing it "as a thoroughly rewritten version of a not unlearned narrative produced in late classical times, drawn from Vergil and some additional material relating to the downfall of Troy." 

The Dido story in the Excidium keeps close to the Aeneid account, though the author does not begin in medias res, and he has omitted many minor details. His interest is neither in poetic expression nor in character study, but in a fast-moving chronological narrative to appeal to young readers. Therefore he has enlivened his account with much un-Vergilian dialogue, having his characters speak rapidly, colloquially, and
Throughout this narrative occur many medieval touches, including several attempts to interpolate quotations from the *Aeneid* into the original *Excidium* account. Some quotations are closely woven into the story, but others are put in just for the sake of quoting Vergil. In this latter case, often the narrative is interrupted by a quotation, and then is resumed at the exact point it had reached before the quotation began. For example, during the description of Dido at the banquet there occurs abruptly one of these interpolated quotations from the *Aeneid*. The narrative could quite easily progress without the passage, which adds nothing to the story except a parade of Vergilian poetry. The author says of Dido:

> et cepit cenam protrahere atque Eneam de casu Troie requirere, volens se de persona eius satiare, sicut Virgilius descripsit: 'Conticuere omnes etc........ Then lines 1-13 of *Aeneid II* are accurately quoted until ... incipiam, where immediately follows - Et antequam ad cenam introirent, iussit Dido ad naves Enee epulas multas dirigere ... The Vergilian lines are quite unnecessary to the flow of the narrative, being a mere appendage."

The *Excidium* Dido story begins with Aeneas' landing on the shores of Africa, and it continues to follow Vergil's order of events until Aeneas meets Dido. Though the incidents keep close to Vergil's narrative, the expressions, used to describe them, are very different from Vergil's.

There is quite a Christian flavour in Aeneas' cry of
confidence to his companions - Dabit nobis deus adiutorium ....

ergo gaudete; et in deo sperate. 44 The narrative throughout the

Excidium is, in fact, marked by like simplicity and spontaneity of language. Venus' explanatory talk to Aeneas and Achates is a good example of the mediocre quality of the Latin of the whole work.

Ecce hic proxima est Cartago civitas, que nunc a Sidonia Didone conditur. Que Dido a viro destituta est, quia vir eius Sicheus a Pigmalione rege Sydoniensium fratre eius volente divitias eius tollere occisus est. Et exinde de Tyro et Sidone huc cum exercitu magno devoluta est; et ibi ab Iarba rege hic sibi solum comparavit, ubi nunc Cartaginem constituit. Quia, ut dixi, a viro destituta est, poterit te suscipere et sibi comparem adoptare. Et hec cum dixisset, se ab eodem duxit. Et mutato habitu se iterum in similitudinem deorum ostendit. 45

Venus, here, with complete artlessness, suggests that Aeneas find an equal in Dido, and further assures him that Dido, overcome with love, will welcome him. 46

The repeated use of question-answer form - clearly for pedagogical purposes - is exemplified in the account of Aeneas' arrival in Juno's Temple - Venit, et ad portum iunxit. Super quem portum templum ingens Iunoni condiderat Sidonia Dido, ubi caput equi appellatur. Et dicere habes: quare caput equi? Respondendum est; quia, quando Cartago a Didone fundari cepit ....
dum sacrificaretur, in igne caput apparuit ... 47 This explanation, about the appearance of a horse's head in the sacrificial fire,
differs from the statements of Vergil and Justinus that the horse's head was dug up in the soil of Carthage.

The *Excidium* account of Dido's meeting with Aeneas' band differs slightly from Vergil's. Ilioneus and his men are brought before the queen in chains. Then Ilioneus' subsequent speech resumes the details of the fall of Troy, which in the *Aeneid* are told by Aeneas. Dido's life story, which she gave in her reply, repeats much of Venus' previous speech to Aeneas – another pedagogical use of repetition.

In her account of her early life Dido includes only minor variations from the traditional story. "Pigmalion" kills "Sicheus" not *ante aras* as in Vergil, but *in venatione*. Dido carried away from Tyre *divitias avorum et proavorum suorum terra absconditas*. Previous writers had not remarked on the riches as ancestral. While Justinus has Dido lead with her from Tyre her "leading citizens", and Vergil "some companions", Dido of the *Excidium* takes *omnem populum*. The Cyprus, which Justinus names as her first port of call, in the *Excidium* has become Sicily.

There are similar variants from Vergil's story in the summary of *Aeneid* IV. Iarbas, disturbed by Dido's love for Aeneas, *se ante aras centum .... in facie prostravit*. Mercury, in the *Excidium*, three times comes to Aeneas before he is obeyed. At his third visit he arouses ill-will between Aeneas and Dido, by telling Dido: *Dimittere te vult Eneas et ducere se*, and by telling Aeneas: *Noli habere fidem Didoni quia cogitat*
de nece tua, quia varia et mutabilis semper femina est.51 (The subtlety of Vergil's neuter varium et mutabile was evidently lost on our author.) The author of Excidium Troiae here evidently wished to provide his youthful readers with a clear and tangible reason for Dido's anger with Aeneas, to replace Vergil's more perceptive searchings of Dido's mind. With like pedagogical purpose, he presented the plotting of Venus and Juno in the form of a simple, colloquial dialogue.52

The whole love-story, which assumed such dramatic proportions in the Aeneid, is told in the Excidium with utmost simplicity and naivety. Three times does Dido publicly express her wish to marry Aeneas, before Vergil's Venus-Cupid incident even takes place. She is quite unlike her Aeneid counterpart, who incipit effari, mediaque in voce resistit.53 With the rapidity which marks the whole narrative, allowing time neither for the growing flame of love in Dido, nor for conscience troubles about a second marriage, the author of the Excidium leads up to Dido's admitting to Aeneas her willingness to serve a Phrygian husband: Quem continuo ad cenam petiiit. Cui sic ait: 'Communem hunc populum [hoc est, meum ac tuum] pariterque regamus auspiciis; et liceat Frigio servire marito.'54

Quoting many phrases at random from the Aeneid, our author portrays Dido in love, and then with rapid strokes brings his readers to the climax of this part of his narrative: Et dum venantur, subito secundum dictum Iunonis nubes facta est. De qua nube cepit grando venire. Hec videns, Dido se in speluncam
recepit. Eneas vero nesciens remeando etiam ipse in eandem speluncam receptus est, ubi Didonem inveniens cum ea concubuit, et utrique se in amorem suum satiaverunt. Ecce qualiter Dido Enee coniuncta est! 55

The bare facts of Vergil's account are present, completely stripped of the poetry of this same scene in Aeneid IV. There is no reflection in the world of nature of the enormity of this deed, which was to have such far-reaching consequences. There are no divine witnesses to the 'marriage'. There is no sense of dramatic intensity such as Vergil created. It is the bald, prosaic statement of the few incidents out of which Vergil made such charged and moving poetry. There was a hunt, a storm, a meeting; and the union of the lovers followed.

As in Aeneid IV, Rumour and Mercury precipitate Aeneas' departure from Carthage. But there are no long tirades against Aeneas, such as Vergil's Dido uttered. Dido's lengthy speeches of Aeneid IV are reduced to one sentence - Et cepit eum Dido increpare dicens: 'Credo quia te maritum suscepi et semper amavi, atque populo tuo benefeci et in regno meo cum populo meo commiscui; et tu me vis dimittere.' Cui Eneas fincte dicebat non se eam dimissurum. Quid multa? 56 (This Quid multa? or Quid plura? recurs time after time as a means of proceeding a step further in the narrative - probably a pedagogical device.)

The Excidium Troiae takes a much less sympathetic view of Aeneas' behaviour than did Vergil. In the Aeneid, Aeneas takes his leave of Dido after a painful scene, and then goes back
to the fleet with Dido's full knowledge. She knows the fleet is preparing to sail and pleads with Aeneas for a short delay. But in the *Excidium Troiae*, when Dido accuses Aeneas of wanting to leave her, he lies unscrupulously, telling her he has no such notion. Yet already, unknown to Dido, his ships are prepared and he steals away from Dido's bed, while she is asleep.

The speed, with which the author covers the major sections of *Aeneid IV* shows his interest in the bare essentials of the story, which seems to be directed to a youthful audience, on whom the character-revelation of the Dido-Aeneas speeches of *Aeneid IV* would have been lost. By having Aeneas leave Dido in the same way as Theseus left Ariadne, the *Excidium* author has ingeniously avoided having to devote time to long speeches.

The detail of Aeneas' having left his sword at the head of Dido's bed is not found in Vergil or Ovid, but will be found again in Chaucer.

With Dido's realization that Aeneas has sailed away, there is none of the Vergilian study of Dido's distraught emotions. Dido simply sends off Anna to the temple of Juno to discover if Aeneas will ever come back. Then, alone in her room, gazing on Aeneas' sword, she expresses her grief in fragments of Vergilian lines - 'Vixi, et quem dederat cursum fortuna peregi, et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago. Urbem praeclaram statui, mea menia vidi. Hoc viro penas inimico recepi. Felix eu nimium felix, si litora tantum Dardaniae numquam tetigissent nostra carine.' Dixerat, atque illam mediam inter talia ferro
There is no funeral pyre, no resorting to magic. We hear from Dido no bitter curses on Aeneas. With characteristic speed, the *Excidium* describes in briefest terms Dido’s suicide, and then moves on quickly to Aeneas’ establishment of a new city in Italy. The author concludes his description of Dido’s death with the remark that Anna, following ancient custom, burned Dido’s body *et cinerem eius in Liburno litrino iuxta cinerem Sichei mariti sui posuit.* Vergil makes no mention of Anna’s placing her sister’s remains beside those of Sychaeus, but Ovid, on account of his interest in the story of Anna’s love for Aeneas, gives a rather detailed account of the last rites paid to Dido by Anna.

Though the *Excidium Troiae* concluded its version of the Dido story with Dido’s funeral, a brief summary of the Dido-Aeneas relations occurs about thirty lines later. In a quite un-Vergilian scene, Aeneas, on his arrival in Italy, was accosted by a group of citizens, who questioned him about his reasons for coming to their land. In twelve lines, Aeneas reviewed the main events of his life from the fall of Troy to his arrival in Italy, recounting the Carthage episode from his point of view. In all the accounts of Dido and Aeneas so far discussed this is the first from the lips of Aeneas — Deinde tempestate nimia cogente, ad Cartaginem iactatus sum, ubi a Didone regina, que ipsam urbe condidit, susceptus sum. Que Dido amore incensa se mihi in matrimonium coniunxit. Et dum cum ea apud Cartagine...
Here, there is no doubt in Aeneas' mind that his relations with Dido implied marriage, nor is there any self-reproach for having left her. The gods had ordered it and he could only obey. The author has made no attempt to plumb the depths of Aeneas' feelings - the Trojan leader's interior struggles and victories are beyond the scope of his Excidium, which is concerned only with action and incident. It is not possible to label this work as predominantly 'pro-Aeneas' or 'pro-Dido'. At one time Dido seems to want marriage solely for reasons of expediency, at another she is burning with love. We never see her as the violently passionate woman of the Aeneid and so cannot be moved by her loneliness and her suicide, as we are in the Aeneid. In the same way, we admire Aeneas as a man of action and a popular leader. We despise him for his lie to Dido, and for the cowardly way he left her - but again we are not moved. We have not been caught up in the emotional struggle of either character. It is only when one compares two such divergent descriptions of the same legend that one realizes fully the greatness of Vergil.

The Excidium Troiae is obviously an inferior and amateurish version of the Dido-Aeneas legend, but it is extremely interesting as a pointer to the way in which youth of the early
Middle Ages became acquainted with Vergil. To them, the Aeneid was just a good story. They were interested in the events connected with Dido and Aeneas, but had no concern with the poetry of the Aeneid, nor with the real soul of the epic. Hence, those parts of the Aeneid considered by an author to be irrelevant to his tale of adventure, are omitted in texts like the Excidium. Vergil's use of supernatural machinery is considerably curtailed. The interest in character study is wholly neglected. The beauty and precision of Vergil's Latin are ignored. The Latin text is but a simple prose narrative which outlines Vergil's epic. And probably most readers of the early Middle Ages knew only versions of Vergil's Dido story like the Excidium. The resultant lack of sensitive understanding of Vergil's characters was inevitable.

The Excidium Troiae is also valuable as an influence on the literature of the latter Middle Ages, for, as we saw earlier, it was to the lesser versions of the Dido legend - that of Justinus, and versions of the Excidium-type - that writers from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries turned, and there are extraordinary resemblances in the twelfth century French Romance, Roman d'Énéas and in Chaucer's Legend of Good Women, not so much to Vergil's masterpiece, as to the simple Latin versions of Dido found in such summaries as the Excidium Troiae.

While rhetoricians and writers of school texts, in the early Middle Ages, failed to convey any depths of meaning or emotion in their renditions of Vergil's Dido story, medieval
allegorists went to the other extreme of finding in the *Aeneid* all kinds of hidden, philosophical meanings, never intended by Vergil. In their revolt against the immoralities and mythological absurdities of pagan literature, many Christian writers had entirely rejected the classical heritage of pagan Greece and Rome. Others, more tolerant and better able to appreciate the greatness of classical literature, sought by allegory to reconcile the legends and the pagan poems with Christian teaching. In the centuries immediately after Vergil, the *Aeneid* was not allegorized, because men were well aware that Vergil did not mean his epic to be regarded as an allegory. But as the Middle Ages developed, and the appreciation of Vergil for his true worth diminished more and more, the *Aeneid* was submitted to a complete allegorization.

Aelius Donatus, in the fourth century, was the first to attribute allegorical significance to Vergil's poems, and Servius in his commentary on the *Aeneid* gives some allegorical interpretations. But the most important specimen of this method of interpreting pagan literature is to be found in the work of a Christian writer, Fulgentius, whose *De Vergiliana Continentia* has been dated to about 520 A.D. This work interprets the *Aeneid* as a story of the triumph of wisdom and virtue over folly and passion. Comparetti describes it as "one of the most curious productions of the Latin Middle Ages, while at the same time it is the most characteristic monument we possess of Vergil's celebrity during the times of Christian
barbarism". Brought face to face with the spectre of a stern Vergil, Fulgentius asks the poet to reveal the mysteries of his poetry. He learns that Vergil intended in twelve books to display an image of human life. "The shipwreck of Book I denotes the birth of man, who enters with pain and sorrow upon the storms of life. The facts of Books II and III all refer to childhood with its love of the marvellous .... The period of childhood ends with the death and burial of Anchises, which denotes the termination of parental authority. Being thereupon free, the man (Book IV) devotes himself to the pleasures of the chase and love; overwhelmed by his passions (the storm) he enters upon an illicit liaison (Dido) till, admonished by the intellect (Mercury) he returns to his senses; the flame of abandoned love sinks into the ashes (the death of Dido). Recovering himself (Book V) he remembers his father's example and devotes himself to noble exercises (the funeral games of Anchises) .... Thus strengthened, (Book VI) he returns to wisdom (the temple of Apollo) .... He proceeds to a knowledge of the future life and discernment of good and evil, and reflects on the passions (Dido) and the affections (Anchises) of his youth." And so the allegory continues, until in Book XII Wisdom triumphs over all.

In this strange work we see how Dido has lost all human reality, and has been reduced to the mere symbol of man's passions. Fulgentius' contemporaries seem to have thought it incredible that Vergil could mean just what he said and nothing more. And
so, Fulgentius was lauded as a man of much learning and profound intellect, who was able to "seek out gold in the mud of Vergil". The allegorical approach, which received such an impetus with Fulgentius, was continued in writers like Bernard of Chartres, who in the twelfth century claimed that Vergil wrote the *Aeneid* as a philosophy of the nature of human life, and John of Salisbury, his pupil, who believed that Vergil had sub imagine fabularum totius philosophiae exprimit veritatem. In an interpretation which resembles Fulgentius', John of Salisbury traces the gradual development of the human soul through the first six books of the *Aeneid*. For John, Aeneas is but a type of the human soul. Book I signifies the troubles of childhood, II his boyhood, III his youth, IV illicit love, restrained by reason in the person of Mercury, V manhood, VI old age. Again Dido appears as nothing more than a symbol of illicit love. From being the much-pitied heroine in the Ovid tradition, or the martyr for chastity in the African, Dido has become, in the writings of the Christian allegorists of the Middle Ages, the symbol of a temptation to man, of a hindrance to his moral perfection.

This concept was not just a mark of decadent scholarship, but rather an indication of the medieval fondness for writing allegory. For the allegorizing of the *Aeneid* was carried on by writers like Dante in his *Convito*, Gavin Douglas in the prologues to his *Aeneid* translations, and Spenser in his *Letter* to Sir Walter Raleigh.
Apart from her presence in these allegories of the *Aeneid*, Dido appears less and less in the writings of the Middle Ages. However the references to the Dido story, made by historians, grammarians and Christian preachers, indicate the varied and often incongruous uses to which Vergil's Dido story was assigned. Familiarity with the actual text of *Aeneid IV* seems progressively less likely, though acquaintance with the outline of Vergil's Dido legend is continually in evidence in Latin writings from the fifth to the twelfth century. Probably most of those who quoted from Vergil's Dido story knew the plot from Latin handbooks and were able to quote Vergil's actual words because of their grounding in Vergilian quotations to exemplify their rules of grammar.

In Paulus Orosius, Dido appears very briefly and in a purely historical setting. Orosius, a Spanish priest, a great admirer of St. Augustine, in about 417 A.D. at Augustine's suggestion, wrote the *Historiarum adversus paganos libri septem*. This work, mainly of an apologetical character, endeavoured to prove that the weakened state of the Roman Empire was not due to the disappearance of paganism and the triumph of Christianity. To prove his assertions, he chose the most disastrous episodes from the annals of ancient peoples and arranged them in the framework of an outline of history. Dido receives a mention in Book IV as the historical founder of Carthage, seventy-two years before the founding of Rome - ut de Carthagine, quae ante urbem Romam duos et septuaginta annos ab Elisa condita invenitur.
The only value of this reference, for the history of the Dido legend, is that it shows the acceptance in the fifth century of Dido as an historical figure, and it proposes a date for Carthage’s founding, which would make feasible chronologically Vergil’s account of the stay of Aeneas in Carthage before his landing in Italy.

The avarice of Dido’s brother, Pygmalion, is used by Columbanus (543-615 A.D.) to illustrate the havoc wrought by love of gold –

\[
\text{Juraque legum}
\]
\[
\text{Fasque fidesque}
\]
\[
\text{Rumpitur auro.}
\]
\[
\text{Impia quippe}
\]
\[
\text{Pygmalionis}
\]
\[
\text{Regis ob aurum}
\]
\[
\text{Gesta leguntur.}^72
\]

But most writers of the seventh century show little interest in the writings of classical times. In the eighth century, Bede quotes from Arator rather than from Vergil. After Charlemagne’s revival of classical learning in the ninth century, however, we find in Lupus of Ferrières a familiarity with the classical world which had been sadly lacking in his predecessors. Lupus ventured on a linguistic discussion of many words from the Aeneid. Though his discussion is a technical one, and though his aim is to explain why Vergil used *ulta* and not *laeso* in the line, *ulta virum poenas inimico a fratre recepi*, he
does refer to the main events of Dido's life before she reached Carthage. As he discusses Pygmalion's murder of Sychaeus for the sake of money, and Dido's depriving her brother of the very wealth which had motivated his crime, we realize that the Vergilian details about Dido's early life had been transmitted accurately, even though for so long the Aeneid had been interpreted in such diverse and insensitive ways. Lupus' confident statement, regarding Vergil's use of words and his meanings, argues to a sound understanding of Vergil's mind. Lupus' argument ran thus: 'Ulta' pro 'laeso' facit. Laesus enim Sicharbas, sive, ut poetica licentia ponit Virgilius, Sichaeus, a Pygmalione fratre Didonis erat, a quo fuerat morte mulctatus. Maritum autem postea Dido ulta est; non ei, utpote qui erat extinctus, poenam aliquam inferendo; sed Pygmalionem, propter quam scelus commiserat, pecunia privando. Itaque supplicium de eo qui laeserat pro eo qui laesus erat sumpsit. Ita pro laeso idem verbum accipitur, quo sensu acciperetur etiam, si, metro permittente, dicere potuisset, 'vindicavi virum'.

Here Lupus suggests Sicharbas as the correct name for Dido's husband, offering poetic licence as the reason for Vergil's altering of the traditional name. Though there seems no real basis for Lupus' suggestion - the name seems a mere combination of the traditional Acharbas and Sichaeus - he at least attempted some explanation for the change from Acherbas to Sychaeus in Aeneid I - the first such attempt I have been able to find.

The points discussed by Lupus are in themselves of minor
importance, but they reveal the dawning of a healthier approach to Vergil. Here is a man who is seeking to know what Vergil really meant and why he chose this particular mode of expression.

In the Christian writings of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries, interest in the details of the Dido legend are nowhere evident. Dido features mainly in passing in the countless lines from the *Aeneid*, which are lavishly quoted by writers on all kinds of subjects. As so many of these quotations correspond with the passages used by the grammarians, Cledonius and Donatus, in the fourth century and Priscian, in the sixth, to illustrate points of grammar, it appears quite likely that all the quotations from classical authors reveal a familiarity not so much with the original authors, as with the work of these grammarians, whose texts were used so frequently in the schools of the Middle Ages. These quotations add nothing of importance to the history of the Dido legend, but they are interesting in showing the rather incongruous way in which passages from Vergil's Dido story were used.

When, for example, Bishop Herigerus in the eleventh century, wished to convey the shock experienced by a certain John when he was named a bishop, he described him in the same words in which Vergil gave Aeneas' reaction to the message Mercury gave him -

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ad haec sanctus vir primo 'obstupuit arrectaeque, et vox faucibus inhesit'.
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74

When St. Hildebert of Mans, who died in 1134, preached on
the efficacy of prayers to Saints Peter and Paul, he compared their understanding of man's sinfulness, quia et ipsi gravissime peccaverunt, with Dido's understanding of Aeneas' wretchedness, because she herself had undergone much suffering - non ignara mali, miseris succurrere disco. 75

When Philip of Harveng (d. 1186) tried to recapture the atmosphere of the crowd awaiting the occurrence of St. Amandus' miracles, he described the people, just as Vergil had described Dido and the banqueters, who listened to Aeneas' story of his voyagings - conticuere omnes intentique ora tenebant. 76

And Helinandus (twelfth century), in his sermon on the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, using as text Mulierem fortém quis inveniet?, compared the strength of Mary with the "softness" of most women, who like Dido, could too quickly be swayed from a fixed purpose, because varium et mutabile semper femina. 77

With John of Salisbury, however, we breathe a different atmosphere. The hope of better classical scholarship, that dawned in the writings of men like Lupus of Ferrières, finds some fulfilment in the work of John, who has been described as "the most accomplished Latin stylist of the twelfth century" 78 and has recently been compared with St. Jerome for his 'latinity' and "his acceptance of the Latin classics as part of a living tradition without compromising his Christian morality". 79 Like the Latin writings of the previous centuries, John's works are filled with classical quotations and references, but his
knowledge is not just the result of his study of the grammarians - it is the fruit of close familiarity with the Aeneid itself. John's interest was in Vergil's meaning, not in the mere decorating of his work with Vergilian lines which had become almost proverbial. "He was deeply concerned with human conduct and used classical literature as a storehouse for moral examples." It was from this 'storehouse' that he produced his discussions of Dido's conduct, to illustrate, in his Plicraticus, various moral problems.

This Plicraticus, or The Statesman's Book was intended as a satire on court life and a work of political thought, in which John strove to advise the princes of his day on the moral duties of a Christian ruler. Not least among these contemporaries at court were Henry II of England and Thomas Beckett. Whenever John felt that his views might prove unpalatable, "he took care to veil them in the decent authority of classical tradition". And so, when he wanted his princes to realize the importance of prudentia et sollicitudo in a ruler, he praised Dido's wise governing of her new city. In a quite lengthy discussion, he pointed out the ideal conditions that prevailed in the growing Carthage, where all citizens worked together in perfect harmony, with their queen personally supervising their efforts - Omnium namque laborem communem agnosces, et neminem otiari, ipsamque reginam, cuius ope civitatis structura consurgit, etsi labori inferiorum manus suas nequaquam immisceat, oculos tamen impendit operi, et totius mentis exercet sollicitudinem. Nam sine
prudentia et sollicitudine .... respublica non procedit. So long as Dido governed her people with wisdom, all went well, but when she relaxed her vigilance, and let levitas control her relations with Aeneas, her state suffered - Fabulae sequuntur convivia, venandi, multiplicisque luxuriae levitas comitatur incestum. Pariunt haec incendium, desolationem civium, et perpetuae hostilitatis prorogant causas. Hic finis feminei et effeminati regni....

Like Tertullian and Jerome before him, John upholds Dido's conduct for Christian imitation, but as his Dido is completely the Vergilian one, he does not hide her lapses from virtue. Her wisdom is to be imitated, but princes must also learn from her fall the dangers of a rule sine prudentia.

With a similar approach, later in the Poliocraticus, John uses Vergil's Dido to support his condemnation of gluttony and intemperance. Again he does not hide the blemishes in Dido's character. Possessing as he did a sensitive understanding of Vergil's portrayal of Dido and Aeneas, he knew that he could discuss equally Dido's virtues and vices, without marring Vergil's presentation of her. In his discussion, there is none of the blindly patriotic commendation of the perfect woman, whom Tertullian and Jerome so lauded. Here Dido's conduct is compared with that of King Evander, and Dido suffers from the comparison.

After listing the evils attendant on gluttony and intemperance in food and drink, John draws attention to the
various meals described in the *Aeneid*. He compares the lavish banquet which Dido provided for Aeneas on his arrival in Carthage, the bare necessities with which Aeneas satisfied his men after the shipwreck, and the frugal sacrificial meal which Evander invited Aeneas to share. John stresses the luxury of Dido’s banquet, the extravagant dishes, the superfluous food and the drinking *sine mensura* which animum a curis redimit, solvit mentem, conceptam laetitiam dissimulare non potest. Prorumpit in cantica, et ab eis^m^ libidinem vergit. John, applying the principle of Christian asceticism that gluttony and lust are closely linked, sees this extravagant meal as the beginnings of Dido’s falling away from her chaste resolve. The only praise he has for this banquet is for Dido’s introduction of Iopas, who non stultissima vel bucolica personat amatorum sed ea quae civilis conventus venustatem deceant, et philosophici majestatem. John would like to see an imitation of Iopas’ dignified songs in Christian assemblies.

As an incentive to moderation in eating and drinking, John first praises *parcioris mensae sobrietatem* in the meal which Aeneas gave his exhausted companions. Later he contrasts *frugalioris mensae sobrietatem et continentiorem coetum* which characterised Evander’s meal, with the excesses of banquets such as Dido provided, where often *mens ebria longum, insolubilem, et pestiferum bibit amorem*. By setting side by side the details of Dido’s and Evander’s meals, John emphasised the moral he wished to point, but, at the same time, he let us see
how accurate was his knowledge of the *Aeneid* and how sure his grasp of the nuances Vergil intended to convey. He begins his contrasts in this way: *Ibi* [at Dido’s feast] *cuncta sunt aurea, et universa suo nitore praefulgent.* *Hic* [with Evander] *sedile gramineum acerum solium, et quae virum fortem deceat, spoliati leonis pellis villosa. Hic lecti iuvenes necessaria: ibi famulae superflua et perniciosa ministrant. Ibi vix tandem ab epulis quies indulgetur: hic eximitur fames, et edendi epulis frugalibus comprimitur ardor ....* 87 He has caught the atmosphere of the Oriental splendour and luxury of Dido’s banquet, with their suggestions of sensuality and heated passions; yet he has reproduced equally well the hardship and frugality of Evander’s life, in which restraint and self-control are so marked. Though Vergil certainly did not intend his *Aeneid* to serve as a series of moral lessons, he probably would not have objected to John of Salisbury’s manner of handling his Dido theme, for in John, as in St. Augustine and in Dante, the characters of the *Aeneid* are being understood in the way Vergil intended.

Dido appears only rarely in the *Policraticus*. Her dreams about Aeneas enter into John’s discussions on the nature of dreams. 88 Her praise of the nobility of soul, displayed by Aeneas’ lack of fear, is used to illustrate his study of military discipline. 89 And her reactions to Anna’s *placitune etiam pugnabis amor?* 90 provide the starting point for John’s retelling of the story 91 of the Woman of Ephesus, which Petronius
had related in his Satyricon and Christopher Fry was to dramatize in 1946 in his A Phoenix Too Frequent.

But though Dido's appearances in John's writings are comparatively few, they are indicative of a reawakening of genuine classical scholarship. They reveal an interest in the Aeneid itself, and in Vergil's version of the Dido legend, rather than in the mutilated versions that reached schoolchildren in Latin handbooks and anthologies, or in the popular versions that sprang from Ovid's more emotional rendition. John's use of Dido, and of other examples from classical authors, is a pointer to the worth of the literary instruction being given in the cathedral schools, notably in the School of Chartres in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. No longer was the "study of figures of speech" an end in itself, but it was merely introductory to that of the classical texts, which were now more readily available, and were being studied for sense as well as style. John of Salisbury stands out as the "ripest product of this school", and in the work of men as familiar with the classics as he, Dido resumed the role originally ascribed her by Vergil.

While John of Salisbury's firsthand knowledge of the Aeneid resulted in a sounder representation of Vergil's Dido and Aeneas, John's handling of the Aeneid incidents was still largely allegorical. With the appearance of vernacular translations of the Aeneid, however, people again acquired a close familiarity with the details of Vergil's Dido story.
Though the translations of the *Aeneid* into Gaelic, French and English, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries lacked the scholarship and exactitude, which marked the post-Renaissance translations, they proved of immense importance in furthering the growth of an awareness among the general public of what Vergil really wrote in his *Aeneid* account of Dido.

In Ireland, the *Aeneid* was translated into Gaelic some time before 1400 A.D. 95 This Irish *Aeneid* is more a paraphrase than a translation, for the material has been greatly curtailed, all the genealogies, speeches of the gods, and matters peculiarly Roman have been omitted. But there are also several interesting additions. The translator's aim seems to have been to use his thorough knowledge of Vergil's original to produce an account which would meet the tastes of his contemporary Irish readers.

Like the Roman *d'Énéas*, the Irish version of the *Aeneid* begins with the story of Troy, and narrates the *Aeneid* events chronologically. The translator has followed the tradition that Aeneas and Antenor betrayed the Trojans to the Greeks, but he has not thoroughly blackened Aeneas' character as did Benoît de Saint Maure.

The Dido story follows closely Vergil's account, but in quite an abbreviated form. Dido's confiding in Anna is told very simply - "The great love I have for Aeneas has taken away my sense and reason. Nevertheless, I had rather the earth swallowed me alive than my chastity and modesty should be
But Anna's reply is lengthier than in the *Aeneid* and sounds like the advice of a woman much older than Vergil's Anna. No mention is made of Dido's consulting oracles to verify her decision to submit to love's power, nor of the plottings of Venus and Juno for the "marriage" of Dido and Aeneas. The cave scene is described simply, without any suggestion of the supernatural or the uncanny as in Vergil. "Aeneas and Dido went both together in flight to a cave that was near them; and they two consummated their union there, since what had been appointed befell them."

Iarbas' prayer to Jupiter introduces a non-Vergilian element, for the barbarian king fears Aeneas, whose physical strength and valour are described with great zest and vigour. "Truly," prays Iarbas, "no easy victim is Aeneas, the man with whom we have to deal, since it is [one's] hand in a nest of serpents; it is a kick against goads, and a dash of head upon a rock; 'tis the best of battle and derring-do upon him; and 'tis the wrath of a serpent about its nest with him; and 'tis a lion's strength, a soldier's mettle, a hero's prowess, a champion's hurling his. Brave and heroic will be his onset. I venture not to assail him tho' ill I like what he has done." I find in this description the outdoor freshness and verve of the Irish warrior, which contrasts strongly with the cloying sweetness that clings to the descriptions of Aeneas as the medieval knight of courtly love in the French romances.

The effects on both Aeneas and Dido of Jove's departure-order...
are similar to those described by Vergil. Aeneas "was eager to follow the counsel given him by Jove; only there were great anxiety and doubt in his mind; for he knew not how he could get away from the very noble queen who loved him." His reply to Dido's pleadings, more detailed than in Aeneid IV, is dignified and sincere, but the translator, though sympathetic with Aeneas, does not show as clearly as does Vergil, the intensity of Aeneas' interior struggle. Likewise, Dido's speeches closely resemble the Vergilian original, but Dido herself is milder and less fierce than Vergil's queen. After Aeneas has sailed off, she acknowledges - "I myself have caused this evil to come upon me", and, though she wishes she had averted her present sorrow, by killing Aeneas and his companions when they first arrived, she does not suggest the revolting desire to have killed Ascanius and served him to his father at table.

There is no resorting to magic, no setting up of a funeral pyre. The final sixty lines of Aeneid IV are condensed to about ten lines, which briefly relate Dido's death. "When Dido had uttered all these words she went into her sleeping chamber she used to sleep in along with Aeneas, and she went into the bed in which they used to be, and she lifted up the bed and shed tears and bared the sword that was in her hand and fell upon it and killed herself, for without Aeneas she preferred her death to her life .... That then was the end of the friendship of Aeneas and Dido."

Of the vernacular renditions of the Aeneid, so far considered,
this *Irish Aeneid* seems closest to the Vergilian original. This could have some connection with the supposed close resemblance between the Celtic and North Italian temperaments. It could also be the result of Ireland's early contact with classical Latin in the monasteries of the seventh century A.D. Scholars, like Columbanus, show in their extant works, their acquaintance with such classical writers as Vergil and Ovid. This could mean that the Irish came to the Dido story first in Vergil, before it had been transformed into a medieval romance.

As in *Roman d'Énéas*, the *Legend of Good Women*, and *Confessio Amantis*, the characteristics of the people and the period obtrude frequently. The Irish Christian faith provides a reason for Etna's smoke and flames - "God does that to make known to men that the fire of hell is eternal .... for Mount Etna is one of the doors of hell";¹⁰³ and this same faith does away with most of the interventions of the pagan gods. The Christian ideal of chastity seems to have inspired the translator to return repeatedly to Dido's fear and later regret that her "chastity and modesty be destroyed",¹⁰⁴ and to maintain a sensitive reserve and reticence in his handling of the love elements of the *Aeneid*.

The elaborate furnishings and ornaments in Dido's palace are described with a detail which suggests familiarity with just such "garments of satin and silk, and broidered .... [in] every hue .... and drinking horns with embossings and goblets and beautiful ancestral cups of gold and silver ... platters inwrought..."
with silver electron and carbuncle gems of every hue..."^105

In fact, archaeologists have discovered many such drinking-horns and ancestral cups in Irish sites dating from the ninth century, and such luxuries as silk and satin of all colours are mentioned in some ninth century literature. In The Wars of Gaedhil with the Gaill, for example, similar objects appear in the description of the sack of Viking Limerick. The wandering Viking sea-captains brought these exotic wares to Ireland after their voyages to the East. 107

In this Irish translation of the Aeneid, the Dido story has been retold with typical Irish sensitivity against the Christian background of medieval Ireland. Vergil's original is never lost sight of, and his interpretation of the characters of Dido and Aeneas can always be sensed. But the legend is stripped of all that is Oriental and Roman in its Aeneid form, and is here clothed in the trappings of Ireland of the later Middle Ages. The limitations of this translation are many. However, the freshness of approach to Vergil's Dido legend in the Irish Aeneid, especially when compared with the artificiality of earlier rhetorical exercises on the Dido theme, shows how alive Vergil's Dido story was to become once skilled writers knew the Aeneid itself, at least in translation, and were able to experiment with the classical legend in their vernacular literary productions.

It was not until 1490, with the publication of William Caxton's 108 Eneydos that Vergil's Dido story became known in the
English tongue. Chaucer and Gower had reproduced Ovid's Dido, and Lydgate had retold Justinus' account. Caxton now translated into English *Eneydes*, a French version of the *Aeneid*, which was written some time later than Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum*. (Boccaccio died in 1376.) The French original was an extremely free paraphrase, rather than a literal translation of the *Aeneid*, for often the author interpolated interesting pieces of historical information to improve his story, or else he omitted or abridged sections of the *Aeneid*, occasionally giving an account altogether different from Vergil's. Salverda de Grave, when comparing the French *Eneydes* with the *Roman d'Énéas*, considers that the *Eneydes* lacks the candour and spontaneity of the twelfth century Romance and considers the prose *Eneydes* "infinitely less interesting in the history of literature than the Old-French poem". 109 Caxton, according to Culley, adhered faithfully to his French original, but he often put two words for one, and "the language of the *Eneydos* is frequently turgid and exaggerated ... Caxton very often translates the French idiom literally ... and frequently uses the French words without rendering them into English at all". 110

When I first read Caxton's *Eneydos* I was struck by his closeness to the original Latin text. Little of the essential *Aeneid* content has been lost, though many non-Vergilian digressions have been added. The most notable omission is Aeneas' journey through the Underworld, which the incredulous scribe discounts as utterly untrue. "Into this temple [founded
by Daedalus] went Eneas ... There dwelled the goddesse Cryspyne, which shulde have brought eneas into helle, for to see the sowle of Anchises his fadre ... but this mater I leve, for it is fayned, and not to be byleuyed, who that will knowe how eneas wente to helle, late hym rede virgyle, claudyan or the pistolles of Ovyde, and there he shall fynde more than trouthe. For which cause I leve it, and wryte not of it."

In his attitude to Dido and Aeneas, the French scribe has maintained the outlook shown by Vergil, but the subtlety and dignity of the epic presentation have been replaced by a certain quaintness and simplicity.

In chapter four, I have already discussed Caxton's prefacing his translation of Aeneid IV with Boccaccio's account of Dido, and his expressing his faith in the historical worth of Vergil's rather than Boccaccio's version. He follows his translation of Boccaccio with a lengthy and exaggerated paraphrase of Vergil's Dido story. The Eneydos itself takes one hundred and sixty-six pages to retell the whole Aeneid, but ninety-five of these pages are devoted to the Dido story. This surely indicates that, for the author of the Eneydos, the Dido theme provided the main source of interest in the Aeneid. It also reflects the extreme wordiness with which the Dido events are related.

Nearly all the Aeneid incidents connected with Dido are here present, but the emphases given them vary greatly. The hunt of Aeneid IV becomes a completely medieval affair. The detailed preparations, the strategic placing of the hounds, the assembly
of "the barons, the knyghtes and esquyers of the noble quene Dydo", all reflect the author's familiarity with such medieval gatherings. The storm is described at greater length than in the Aeneid, but the Vergilian lamentations of the nymphs are ignored. Dido's brief reference to the Massylian priestess and her magic is expanded to a very long and gruesome account of the Witch of Atlas and her grim sacrifices. The medieval interest in the marvellous leads the French scribe to dwell long on Dido's terrifying omens and fearful dreams. The beautiful scene at the close of Aeneid IV, where Iris releases Dido's struggling spirit, is transformed into a strange contest between Iris and Proserpine for the possession of Dido's soul. Culley thinks that the French author must have garnered his rather odd and completely un-Vergilian tale about Proserpine's hair from comments written on some copiously annotated version of the Aeneid.

Such strange additions to the original Aeneid account are consistent with the various errors that creep into the narrative. Fenyce is accepted by the translator as another name for Dido. This suggests a misunderstanding of Vergil's use of Phoenissa. Iarbas is named kyng of the Musitaynes or Momydes, corruptions seemingly from Justinus' Maxitani and Eustathius' Nomades. The chapter, in which Aeneas is resisting Dido's pleas, is mistakenly headed "How eneas, brake the oken tree for the grete love of dydo". All these errors in good taste and in textual accuracy
suggest mediocrity in the literary and linguistic ability of the French translator. Clearly he had before him either Vergil's *Aeneid* or some former translation or version of Vergil's work, for he has kept intact the substance of the *Aeneid* narrative. However, he obviously felt no obligation to follow Vergil to the exclusion of all else. Whenever certain historical or mythological information seemed even remotely connected with the topics mentioned in the *Aeneid*, the scribe embarked upon a lengthy, usually quite irrelevant, digression. For example, the name of *Fenyce* leads him to give a long dissertation on the Phoenicians' being the first to make red initial letters for the decoration of books.

The whole *Eneydos* has many shortcomings, but these faults are far outweighed by the positive value of this first attempt to translate the *Aeneid* into the vernacular tongue of France, and later of England. *Roman d'Énéas* had retold the *Aeneid* story, but it made no claim to be either a translation or a paraphrase of the Latin original. The author of the twelfth century romance, like writers of romances elsewhere in Europe, had drawn from ancient poetry and legend whatever they had to offer of warlike enterprise, marvellous adventures, and the loves of its heroes. These provided the material for a romance in which the classical idea and conception were entirely subordinated to the romantic. Any *Aeneid* incident, unsuitable for a romantic theme, was omitted, and so the *Roman d'Énéas*, though based on the *Aeneid*, did not resemble it closely. In its
simplicity and rapidity of narrative, and in its strongly
colloquial flavour, it was more like redactions of the
Excidium Troiae category; and its love elements were completely
Ovidian.

The Eneydos, on the other hand, provided the general public
with a much closer translation of the Aeneid. Vergil's use of
the Roman gods for causal motivation was maintained, at least
in the earlier Aeneid books, for the French scribe, and Caxton
after him, obviously tried to produce a faithful rendering of
Vergil's epic in a language his audience could understand. His
very verbosity was the result of his aim to make Vergil's meaning
clear. Unable to imitate Vergil's precision and conciseness of
expression he wrote as fully as possible in order to convey
Vergil's message accurately. He was not always successful,
but we have to remember that, while Vergil wrote at a time when
the Latin language had attained the topmost peak of its
development, the French translator and Caxton both had to convey
Vergil's meaning in languages whose growth as means of literary
expression had only just begun.

These first translators of the Aeneid into the vernacular
played an important role in the history of literature, for,
though their translations were very free and verbose, and though
they pruned the Aeneid of all material which they considered
unsuitable for their audiences, they brought more and more people
into contact with the Aeneid of Vergil, and so paved the way for
the more exact translations of the Aeneid into the vulgar tongue,
and for the experimentation and creative handling of the *Aeneid*
story in the Renaissance literature of England and France.

The growing familiarity with classical authors during the later Middle Ages was greatly furthered in sixteenth century England by the appearance of numerous translations of Latin and Greek works into the vernacular. The earliest translations, like Caxton's at the close of the fifteenth century, bore no sign of pedantry, but were rather marked by "a dashing carelessness". Gavin Douglas in 1513 completed a "strong, homely and vivid translation [of the *Aeneid*] in rough heroic couplets", in which, though he objected to the freedom with which Caxton had handled Vergil's text, he still interpreted many incidents allegorically. Surrey in 1557 published a blank verse English rendition of Books II and IV of the *Aeneid*, which shows a definite dependence on Douglas' translation.

These translations, as well as the Latin originals, which the invention of printing had made more readily available, resulted in a more extensive knowledge of Vergil's *Aeneid*. Spenser, for example, especially in his *Faerie Queen*, shows a remarkable debt to the *Aeneid*; Ben Jonson in his *Poetaster* has Vergil read before Caesar, Maecenas and his fellow poets a long extract in English heroic couplets from *Aeneid IV* - the passage describing the storm and the cave scene. With the content of Vergil's epic so well known, writers began to experiment and use their creative genius to produce works based on the themes of the various *Aeneid* incidents, but differing
greatly from the Vergilian original in form.

Vergil's Dido story appears repeatedly among the classical allusions so frequently used in the literature of sixteenth century England. However, because the scope provided by the Renaissance English authors is too vast to be covered adequately in this thesis, I have limited myself to a discussion of the plays which actually used the Dido legend as their theme, and to a consideration of the attitude towards Dido and Aeneas adopted by England's greatest dramatist, William Shakespeare.

As early as 1532, John Ritwise wrote and produced at St. Paul's School, a Latin tragedy of Dido, which was acted in the presence of Cardinal Wolsey. No copy of this play has survived.

At King's College, Cambridge, in 1564, Edward Haliwell's Latin Dido was acted in the presence of Queen Elizabeth I. Unfortunately this play is not extant either, but a brief summary of its plot appears in Abraham Hartwell's Regina Liberata, a description of the queen's visit to Cambridge, written in Latin elegiacs. Nicholas Robinson also gave comments on Haliwell's tragedy in his Latin prose account of the same visit. From these two reports we learn that the plot was based on the early books of the Aeneid, being Virgilianis versibus maxima ex parte compositum, that it was in the form of a tragedy, and that, though very long, it won high approval from the learned who witnessed its production.

Nearly twenty years later, in 1583, William Gager wrote his
Latin Dido, which was acted at Christ Church College, Oxford, again in the presence of Queen Elizabeth, who this time was accompanied by Albertus Alasco, Prince Palatine of Siradia in Poland. The play is preserved at Christ Church in a beautifully adorned manuscript.

The subject of Gager's play was chosen as being peculiarly appropriate to the visit of a foreign prince, who was the guest of a modern queen, Elisa, and Gager, with a nice sense of fitness, introduces several indirect compliments to the royal guests. Instead of having Iopas bring the banquet to a conclusion with a song on the phenomena of nature, Gager makes Iopas chant a hymn of praise of Dido and Aeneas, in words applicable equally to Queen Elizabeth and her Polish visitor -

Splendor heroûm patriaeque lumen
Inclitum, salue, generisque prisci:
Non tua nostras tetigit carina
Gratior oras.
Sis licet tantus superesque nostri
Pectoris captum, tamen est Elisa
Maior o hospes nimium beate
Hospite Elisâ.

Est minor nemo nisi comparatus:
Neue te dici pudeat minorem,
Nil videt nostrae simile aut secundum
Orbis Elisaes. 134

When Dido's minister, Hanno, declares his approval of a marriage
between Dido and Aeneas, we hear Gager's compliment to the queen present in his audience, for she, like Dido, is a mighty queen, of full age, and therefore deserving of being allowed to make her own choice of a consort.

Finally, in his epilogue, Gager directly addresses Alasco, in a variant of the words used by Dido and Anna in *Aeneid IV*:  

Quis iste nuper sedibus nostris novus
Successit hospes? ore quem sese ferens!
Quam fortis alto pectore armisque inclytus!
Genus esse divum credo, nec vana est fides.  

In their treatment of the Dido legend, Renaissance dramatists differed from writers of previous centuries in the freedom with which they handled the plot. Their aim in dramatising the Dido story was to entertain rather than to point a moral. Hence, while they followed closely Vergil's version of the legend, they made whatever alterations or omissions would most help the stage effect. Because Vergil's narrative of Dido's sufferings and death was "so closely knit and so dramatic in spirit and dialogue", it shaped itself naturally into a play, and the adapter could do little more than "add some extraneous embroidery". Those, like Gager, who wrote in Latin, had to suffer the inevitably fatal comparison of their language with Vergil's. And Gager had "with the minimum of purely verbal change [turned] the gold of the Vergilian hexameters into the base metal of his neo-classical iambics"; as he shows no subtle ear for rhythm, his Latin verse limps
badly when compared with Vergil's.

Though Gager displays no great genius for poetry or for original characterization, his *Dido* shows that he possessed a genuine *sens du théâtre*. His whole handling of *Aeneid IV* reveals a natural instinct for choosing theatrically effective situations.

The play opens with the conversation of *Aeneid I* between Venus and Cupid, which here takes place within sight of Dido's palace, where Dido is introduced discussing with her advisers, Hanno and Maharbal, the best means of securing the stability of her new city, especially in view of the sudden arrival of foreign ships in the Carthage harbour. The actual meeting between Dido and the Trojans is adapted directly from Vergil's description.

In Act II, at the banquet scene, Gager ingeniously gets over the difficulty of introducing Aeneas' long narrative of the fall of Troy by having Dido enquire the reason for Ascanius' downcast looks. Ascanius points to a confectionery model of Troy, which recalls to him the whole catastrophe which Aeneas had described so fully the previous evening. Thus Gager reduces the whole of *Aeneid II* to about twenty lines of fast-moving narrative, as Ascanius points to the various scenes of significance in the fall of Troy -

\[\text{Hanc esse Troiam finge quam patera vides.} \]

\[\text{Hác Simois ibat fluuius, híc densis sita est} \]

\[\text{Mons Ida siluis, hác stetit Tenedos viá.} \]

The banquet ends with a *pompa larvalis* or masque, after which
Gager, with sure stage sense, has Ascanius suggest a walk in the royal gardens, while all the paraphernalia connected with the banquet is removed.

Maharbal and Hanno then express rival views on the advisability of a marriage between Dido and the Trojan guest. Gager here has put into the speeches of these two characters many of the doubts expressed by Dido in the *Aeneid*. Maharbal fears that Dido's rejection of her other suitors for Aeneas will plunge Africa into war, while Hanno strongly favours the match. These two counsellors then drop out of the play, and Anna remains Dido's sole confidante.

The hunting scene, which opens Act III, was enacted in a way that would appeal to the sporting instincts of the audience — there was, according to Holinshed's account "a goodlie sight of hunters with full crie of a kennell of hounds". The hounds apparently were actually on the stage.

The ghost of Sychaeus, introduced in Senecan fashion, interrupted the joy of the hunt to warn Dido against marrying Aeneas. The storm follows, and *nymphae plangentes* mournfully bewail *hymeneos* *heu male iunctos*. Cupido then resumes his true shape, and in a speech of Gager's own invention, puckishly exults over his triumph and points out the cave where the union is taking place.

Mercury, like Iris at the end of the play, descends on the stage from a high place with his message from Jove. Then follows a stichomythlic dialogue between Aeneas and Achates, wherein, in
dramatic form, Gager gives expression to the Vergilian conflict within Aeneas' soul. Achates continually urges Aeneas to obey Jove, and make for Italy. Only by reminding him of his duty to Ascanius, does he finally prevail over Aeneas, who dreads violating his duty of gratitude as a guest, and of honour as a lover.

Aen. At hospitalis Iupiter prohibet fugam.
Ach. Iter institutum cur fugam turpem vocas?
Aen. Tamen est timenda leuior. Ach. at superi magis.
Ach. Num terra fatis debita Italia est minor?\textsuperscript{143}

While in Acts II and III Gager freely altered the Aeneid narrative to obtain spectacular and dramatic effects, in the final acts he follows Aeneid IV almost verbatim. His main addition is a dialogue between Aeneas and Ilioneus, who, unlike Achates, begs Aeneas to remain in Carthage, suggesting to him the advantages listed by Dido in Vergil's account.

Though Gager's characters are never drawn as subtly as Vergil's, at least Gager has maintained well the Vergil concept of Dido and Aeneas as both suffering greatly because of the call of duty - \textit{Inuitus abeo. Stat Iouis iussum exsequi}\textsuperscript{144} - are Aeneas' final words.

Act V opens with a Senecan figure \textit{nuncia ancilla} announcing that Dido, having erected a pyre, is preparing for magical rites.
With Barce nearby, Dido beside the pyre utters the speeches of *Aeneid IV* and then stabs herself before the audience - an unusual action on a neo-Senecan stage, but expressive of Gager's desire for an effective, spectacular close to his tragedy, which re-enacts the whole Dido story in a play lasting only two hours.

Gager's whole tragedy of Dido lacks the intensity and dignity of Vergil's epic, being a curious blend of Senecan tragedy and pageantry. It is, however, a most interesting and useful work, being the first we have to illustrate in any detail the way Vergil's Dido fared in the hands of a dramatist. By devoting a whole act to the final episode of *Aeneid IV*, and by elaborating Dido's suicide with much scenic pomp, Gager has kept to the spirit and perspective of Vergil's original more than Marlowe was to do.

This play points to the new developments which were to follow in ensuing dramatic and operatic presentations of the Dido story, where the Vergilian outline remains barely visible amid the extraneous sub-plots that surround the original theme. It is also indicative of a new approach to the Dido story.

Previous writers, according to their particular purpose in writing of Dido, had chosen one of the three traditional ways of handling Dido's tragedy, and, though they showed variety in their attitudes to the main characters, they were consistent in their fidelity to the details of plot. However, the dramatists and librettists from the sixteenth century onward, with their
foremost interest in stage effect, used the Vergilian outline of Dido's story as their starting point, but then elaborated their original plot with all kinds of spectacular dramatic effects, so that the end-products, though they were usually good stage, were far different from Vergil's presentation in the *Aeneid*. Most notably, Vergil's subtlety of character revelation was replaced by interesting dramatic situations, which proved to be good drama but which lacked the indefinable Vergilian touch, which rendered the characters of *Aeneid IV* so convincing.

Probably the best known dramatic treatment of Vergil's Dido story is to be found in Christopher Marlowe's *The Tragedy of Dido, Queen of Carthage*, written presumably while Marlowe was still a student at Cambridge, but not acted until about 1597. Though based on the same *Aeneid* material as Gager's tragedy, Marlowe's *Dido* shows no dependence on the Latin play, being, in fact, quite different from it.

Like Gager, Marlowe handles the *Aeneid* plot with the utmost freedom, always with an eye to dramatic effectiveness, his playwright's instinct governing his frequent omissions or adaptations of Vergilian material. He has produced a successful dramatisation of the content of *Aeneid* I, II and IV, but, though his direct translations of several *Aeneid* passages into blank verse are most effective, on the whole he has not succeeded in conveying to his audience the tragic pathos of the *Aeneid*.

Dido is far less appealing in Marlowe than in Vergil, for
generally she is seen as a selfish woman, imperious and demanding, accustomed to having her least wish unquestioningly fulfilled. So often in her dealings with Iarbas and Aeneas, she appears, not as a dignified Vergilian queen, but as a flighty coquette. Under pretence of being impervious to the charm of Aeneas' manner, she shows him the portraits of her many suitors, none of whom has won her; naively conscious of her princely rank and royal trappings, she has Aeneas hold her golden bow, while she girds her quiver to her side; having won Aeneas' promise "never to like or love any but her," she decks him with jewels, golden bracelets, and her wedding ring.

Though in reproducing Dido's chidings and pleas to Aeneas, Marlowe has given a close translation of the *Aeneid* passages, he has not caught the passionate intensity of Vergil's Dido, whose every word bespeaks wounded pride and frustrated love. There is little Bacchic frenzy in Marlowe's Dido, who can greet Aeneas' parting words with clever word-plays, as she puns on his "farewell" -

"Fare well may Dido, so Aeneas stay; I die, if my Aeneas say farewell." Marlowe has not succeeded as Vergil in reproducing the agony of a woman scorned - he has not made Dido a tragic figure.

In Aeneas too Marlowe has failed to present the soul-struggle which Vergil's hero endured. Here Aeneas, after an initial failure to comply with Jove's commands, obeys Mercury's second injunction with an ease and promptitude of which Vergil's Aeneas
would have been incapable.

Marlowe’s Aeneas lacks the heroic stature of the Vergilian character. Repeatedly he pleads his lowly fortune and status—

"my fortune’s mean
Too mean to be companion to a queen." ¹⁵⁰

and

"Aeneas’ thoughts dare not ascend so high
As Dido’s heart, which monarch will not scale." ¹⁵¹

Vergil’s Aeneas, however, was always conscious and proud of his dignity as Venus’ child and as a leader divinely commissioned to found a new Troy.

When Dido, alone with Aeneas before the cave, endeavours to reveal her love, Marlowe’s hero is singularly dull and obtuse, and his rhetorical outburst, that follows the realization that Dido is offering him her love, does not betray a heart passionately aflame.

Though his account of the fall of Troy shows him as a man of courage and action, his easy submission to Dido’s unconvincing prayers and flatteries suggests a rather anaemic character, whose departure from Carthage and Dido appears neither difficult nor heroic.

Marlowe’s *Dido, Queen of Carthage* opens with a quite un-Vergilian scene, which offers "an unambiguous comment upon the sexual climate of the play – its tenderness towards youths, its passivity with women, its childish delight in the presents and promises of courtship". ¹⁵² Jupiter appears dallying with "that
female wanton boy", Ganymede, furnishing thus an "Olympian precedent for the dalliance of Aeneas". It is a pretty scene, Jupiter dandling Ganymede upon his knee - it is light, playful, Alexandrian. With the arrival of Venus to plead with Jupiter on Aeneas' behalf, the play takes up the Aeneid narrative. Often Marlowe merely translates passages from the Aeneid into fine English idiom, but usually it is by brief allusions that he includes all the important details of the Vergilian original.

The dramatist in him presents Aeneas landing in Carthage accompanied by the young Ascanius, who very humanly complains of hunger and weariness -
"Father, I faint; good father, give me meat."

At the end of the banquet scene this same Ascanius is enticed by gifts of "sugar-almonds, sweet conserves, a silver girdle and a golden purse" to Venus' grove, where, but for the warning of Venus' doves, Juno would have murdered "Aeneas' cursed brat" as a means of avenging her hurt pride. From then, until, in Act V, Hermes brings him back to his father, who is about to leave Carthage, Ascanius himself remains in Venus' keeping.

Meanwhile, Cupid plays a much more extended role than in the Aeneid, not only exciting Dido to love, but even kindling a comic warmth in the aged heart of the elderly nurse, to whose care Dido had entrusted him. Marlowe further complicates the Aeneid plot by having Dido hide the pseudo-Ascanius in her country-home, in the hope that thus she may provide an obstacle
to Aeneas' plans of departure. Whenever Cupid or Ascanius is present, the setting is idyllic, the atmosphere light, the verse lyrical. Marlowe uses these fanciful incidents as pleasant interludes between the more serious and tragic scenes which follow the *Aeneid* more closely.

Marlowe most notably alters the *Aeneid* story when he gives such prominence to Iarbas. In the *Aeneid*, Iarbas' role is but a minor one. He appears as a fierce, barbarian despot, angry at being rejected by Dido, but Vergil does not accord him even as much importance as does Justinus, who makes Iarbas the direct cause of Dido's self-slaughter, or Ovid and Silius Italicus, who attribute to him the seizing of the throne of Carthage after Dido's death. For Marlowe, as later for Metastasio in his libretti on the Dido theme, Iarbas plays a leading part. He it is who first welcomes to Carthage the shipwrecked Trojans still parted from Aeneas. He is obviously then high in Dido's favour. His conversations with Dido, before Cupid has turned her heart towards Aeneas, reveal a sincere man, deeply in love with a queen who values his love -

"Iarbas, know that thou, of all my wooers,......
Hast had the greatest favours I could give."158

But once Dido is under Cupid's control, her attitude towards Iarbas becomes fickle and petulant. Iarbas has to bear the humiliation of her scorn and rejection as Dido turns all her attention from him to "a Phrygian, far-fet o' the sea".159 He has to see Aeneas and Dido "talk alone",160 and then have his
jealousy fanned by witnessing their emerging together from the cave. The only Vergilian touch in this portrait of Iarbas is the representation of his sacrificing to Jupiter, but even here Marlowe brings in Anna, who loves Iarbas and urges him to prefer her "yielding heart" to Dido's, for Dido "so delighteth in thy pain". Iarbas, in his steadfast refusal to abandon his love for Dido, emerges as a far more admirable character than the unsympathetic queen.

When finally Aeneas finds his resolve to obey Jove thwarted by Dido's having stripped his ships of "his oars, his tackling and his sails" Iarbas comes forward to furnish him with all "such supplies". Despite all his pain of rejection he still hopes that by ridding Libya of Aeneas, he may again win the love he so desires. But when Dido, refusing his final offer, throws herself into the fire - which fire here has no connection with a sacrifice in memory of Sycaeus - Iarbas in despair kills himself beside her. The play concludes with Anna stabbing herself in sympathy with her "sweet Iarbas", in a scene of lurid tragedy such as Marlowe in his early plays seemed to delight in presenting.

Marlowe's skill as a dramatist is especially noteworthy in his presentation of Aeneas' companions. Expanding Vergil's brief description of their alacrity in obeying Aeneas' orders to prepare for departure -

ocius omnes

imperio laeti parent et iussa facessunt

165

231
Marlowe reproduces accurately the mood of these Trojans, which is merely hinted at by Vergil. Aeneas' men have clearly been uneasy about their prolonged stay in Carthage. They eagerly seize the chance of resuming their former manner of life. As in Gager's play, Achates urges Aeneas to leave Dido -

"Banish that ticing dame from forth your mouth,
And follow your foreseeing stars in all:
This is no life for men-at-arms to live,
Where dalliance doth consume a soldier's strength,
And wanton motions of alluring eyes
Effeminate our minds, inur'd to war."\(^{166}\)

And Ilioneus and his other companions express the same sentiments. They have no illusions about Dido -

"she cares not how we sink or swim,
So she may have Aeneas in her arms."\(^{167}\)

Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage* is the work of a man with a keen sense of the stage. Though his tragedy lacks the decorum and gravity of the *Aeneid*, and though his pairing of lovers, his pert repartee, and his many tricks are more appropriate to comedy than to the Vergilian theme, Marlowe has made of Vergil's Dido story a fine play. Everywhere is present his playwright's sensitivity to what in the *Aeneid* would be dramatically redundant, or to what would need additions or expansions.

While Gager refrained from having Aeneas relate the tale of Troy, because he doubted its dramatic possibilities, Marlowe succeeded, without breaking his dramatic framework, in reproducing
most of *Aeneid II* in Aeneas' graphic and moving narrative, which is interrupted from time to time by Dido's sympathetic outcries. The excited and interested questions, which burst from his listeners at the conclusion of the tale, suggest the true dramatic force of the whole.

Though dramatically effective, however, this Troy account, related with all the grandiosity and bombast of a Senecan tragedy, and with all the gruesome details of carnage, is far different from the restrained Vergilian account. Boas, Bullen, and Tucker Brooke all agree that it is Marlowe's exaggerated and lurid picture of the death of Priam in this narrative which Shakespeare burlesqued in *Hamlet*.

Marlowe in his *Dido* did not attain Vergil's great insight into the human heart, nor his keen sense of human tragedy. He completely ignored Vergil's mighty concept of the world destiny of Rome, and so gave no cosmic importance to the relations between Dido and Aeneas. "He was absorbed in the emotional aspects of the story of Dido, and he decked them with a lavish wealth of fantasies". The *Tragedy of Dido*, being one of his first works, does not show the peak of Marlowe's greatness as a dramatist, but it does show his dramatic strength.

In the history of the Dido legend, Marlowe's *Dido* is important as being the only dramatic work by a major English dramatist with Dido's story as its theme. When Marlowe embarked on his Dido tragedy, already in sixteenth century France Jacques de la Taille, Alexandre Hardy, and Etienne Jodelle
had written their dramatic versions of *Didon se sacrifié*, and in England, minor writers like Ritwise, Haliwell and Gager had put Dido on the stage in Latin plays. But Marlowe was the first to introduce Dido's tragedy as the theme of English drama. Vergil's theme and art in the *Aeneid* had challenged him, and, though he did not succeed in attaining the tragic grandeur of Vergil's Dido and Aeneas, he did succeed in reproducing the *Aeneid* in lively English idiom, and in showing how well Vergil's Dido theme could be adapted to the conventions of the British stage.

Marlowe's *Dido* marks the great advance that Renaissance scholarship had made from the time Caxton first rendered the *Aeneid* into English. It exemplifies, too, the freedom and spontaneity with which the Dido theme could be handled by writers who knew thoroughly Vergil's *Aeneid*, both in the original and in translation. Marlowe's dramatization of Vergil's Dido story in the English vernacular brought *Aeneid IV* to the knowledge of many, who would otherwise never have learnt the content of Vergil's Dido romance. Yet, for all its importance in furthering the popularity of Vergil's Dido story, Marlowe's *Tragedy of Dido* does not show a sensitive appreciation of the spiritual struggles of Dido and Aeneas, which for Vergil formed the chief interest of his Dido tragedy.

Among all the writers, who from the first to the sixteenth century of our era have incorporated the Dido story into their writings, those who interpreted Dido and Aeneas according to the
mind of Vergil have been very few in number. I would like, therefore, to conclude this account of the various ways in which Vergil's Dido story has been handled by casting a glance at the writings of those men, representative of every age and class, who were scholars enough to know and love the Aeneid for its true worth, and who were poets enough to understand and appreciate to the full the Vergilian presentation of Dido and Aeneas. Such scholars and poets included Saints Jerome and Augustine, John of Salisbury, Dante and Shakespeare.

Though St. Jerome (331-420 A.D.) has already been referred to in chapter four for his use of the Justinus Dido tradition, he also finds a place here as being one of the first Christian writers to show in his Latin works a sound appreciation of the Aeneid and of Vergil's attitude to Dido and Aeneas.

As Jerome in his youth had a passionate interest in the Greek and Latin classics, especially in Vergil, it is not surprising to find his later writings studded with "the most divergent quotations from classical authors [whose lines] flowed spontaneously from his pen and were mingled smoothly with the fruit of his own invention". Despite a dream, which he considered as a divine warning against his absorption in pagan literature, and which led him for some years to give up his pagan studies, Jerome still quoted freely from these pagan authors, especially from Vergil, whose writings had become part of his very being. He uses Vergilian lines, alongside verses from the Bible, to support and exemplify the matter he is
presenting. Hence, lines about Dido become texts for his exhortations, and Dido is held up for Christian imitation.

In a letter he wrote to Salvina, consoling her on the death of her husband, Jerome offers the example and challenge of Vergil's Dido, in her loyalty to her dead husband. Here Jerome quotes to Salvina the sentiments about loyalty to Sychaeus, which Dido expressed to Anna early in *Aeneid IV* - Audi quid ex persona *viduae* (Didonis) *continentis* ethnicus Poeta decantet:

> Ille meos, primus qui me sibi iunxit, amores abstulit: ille habeat secum, servetque sepulchro. ...si communi lege naturae damnat omnes *Gentilis vidua* voluptates, quid exspectandum est a vidua Christiana. If a pagan, he contends, can have such devotion to her deceased husband, how much more devotion should a Christian widow have. It is ironical to find Jerome pointing to the example of *viduae continentis* of *Aeneid IV* in the light of Dido's later failure to live up to her ideals.

Though Jerome advises Eustochium to read the Gospels rather than Vergil - *Qui facit ... cum Evangeliiis Maro?* - and in a letter to Pope Damasus blames priests who lay aside the gospels, have Vergil always in their heads and make a sensual sin of that study which for children is a necessity, he himself valued Vergil highly, not only for his perfection of style, but for his sure understanding of the psychology of women. This latter appreciation seems to direct Jerome's use of many of the ideas which Vergil expressed in his Dido story. Several times, for
example, in his commentaries on *Micheas* and *Ecclesiasticus*, he supports Solomon's view of a woman's moral weakness, by giving Vergil's description of Dido in particular, and all women in general - *varium et mutabile semper femina*, 178 and more than once he uses Anna's words to Dido, encouraging her to yield to her love for Aeneas, 179 to describe the temptations to which widows are subject.

Jerome in no way alters the Dido story. He lays particular emphasis on her courage, her chaste loyalty to her husband, and her devotion to her people, but in upholding her example to his Christian hearers, he selects only that part of her life which will momentarily support the argument he proposes. His attitude towards Dido is mainly Vergilian, for Dido, whenever she appears in his writings, is the noble queen, the lonely woman feeling again the flames of love, the conscience-stricken widow, regretting her lapse. Never does she descend to the banal sentimentality of Ovid's heroine.

The Christian Father, in whose writings I have found the truest appreciation of Vergil, is St. Augustine (354-430 A.D.). Like Tertullian and Jerome, he drew freely from the *Aeneid* lines to illustrate some point of Christian teaching. But in his actual references to Dido and Aeneas, there is found a sensitivity to what Vergil intended in his characters, which is not to be found in the other writers. Augustine was steeped in Vergil, and loved and understood his works. In his *Confessions*, he describes how moved he used to be in his youth by the tragedy
of Vergil's heroine. When discussing his preference for Latin rather than Greek, for poetical fiction rather than the mechanics of language, Augustine shows how much the Aeneid featured in his Latin studies. He then bewails the fact that his heart and mind were so concentrated on Aeneas and his wanderings, and on Dido and her death for love, that he had neglected his own soul. He wrote: Tenere cogebam Aeneae nescio cuius errores oblitus errorum meorum et plorare Didonem mortuam, quia se occidit ab amore, cum interea me ipsum in his a te morientem, deus, vita mea, siccis oculis ferrem miserrimus. Quid enim miserius miserio non miserante se ipsum et flente Didonis mortem, quae fiebat amando Aenean, non flente autem mortem suam, quae fiebat non amando te, deus .... Flebam Didonem extinctam ferroque extrema secutam, sequens ipse extrema condita tua relicito te .... 180

The Dido who so impressed the young Augustine is the Dido of the Aeneid. All his references to her are to the Dido of Vergil's tradition. To Augustine, as to Vergil, Dido was a woman to be pitied because her love for Aeneas had led her needlessly to kill herself. There is no attempt to excuse Dido's moral failures, nor is there any Ovidian condemnation of Aeneas. Dido has loved, has sinned, has killed herself because her love has been frustrated - and therefore Augustine wept for her.

Just as he saw Dido through Vergil's eyes, so did he appreciate Aeneas. In De Civitate Dei I found, for the first
time in the writings of these early centuries, an understanding of the tragedy of Aeneas as well as of Dido. Ever since Ovid in his *Heroides* had taken up the defence of Dido against Aeneas, writers had adopted the attitude that Dido was wholly in the right, Aeneas utterly in the wrong. Augustine, when discussing the control of passions, and expounding the Stoic view, sees in Aeneas' difficult resistance to his natural desires an example of heroic self-mastery. Like Vergil, he realized that Aeneas was not cold and heartless, but that he deeply loved Dido and wished to console her. He longed to yield to the pleas of Dido and Anna but his spiritual mission had to be fulfilled. Duty had to come before pleasure. Augustine had been showing that though passions may disturb the inferior part of the soul, a mind firmly convinced never permits passion to prevail over rational resolve. He pointed to Aeneas as an example of a man whose mind was master of his lower faculties - *Ita mens ubi fixa ista sententia, nullas perturbationes, etiamsi accidunt inferioribus animi partibus, in se contra rationem praevale-re permittit: quin immo eis ipsa dominatur eisque non consentiendo et potius resistendo regnum virtutis exercet. Talem describit etiam Vergilius Aenean, ubi ait: Mens immota manet, lacrimae volvuntur inanes.*

Augustine, like Dante centuries later, understood the heroic struggle of Aeneas, and realized how much his obedience to Jove's command cost him.

In his use of references to Dido to explain Christian beliefs, Augustine is sanely aware of the paganism of Vergil's
Dido and her practices. He contrasts the positive nature of Christian hope with the hope of Dido, which he thinks should more rightly be described as fear. Speaking of Dido's -

Hunc ego si potui tantum sperare dolorem, 182

Augustine remarks: rectius timere dicitur quam sperare. 183

He sees Dido's resorting to magical arts as an action deserving of condemnation. When trying to make his readers realize that penalties for the use of magical arts did not originate with the Christians, he pointed to Vergil's disapproval of Dido's action showing how even Dido took this step hesitantly. An forte, wrote Augustine, istas leges Christiani instituerunt, quibus artes magicae pungiuntur? Secundum quem aliun sensum, nisi quod haec maleficia generi humano perniciosa esse non dubium est, ait poeta clarissimus:

Testor, cara, deos et te, germana, tuumque
Dulce caput, magicas invitam accingier artes? 184

If Vergil saw magical arts as a menace to mankind, how much more should Christians abhor them.

In the writings of Augustine, Dido does not play a major role, but when she and Aeneas do appear we realize that here at least the Vergilian tradition of Dido and Aeneas has survived intact.

John of Salisbury (1110-1180), whom I have discussed earlier in this chapter, shared with Augustine a sane understanding of Vergil's approach to his Aeneid characters. Like Jerome and Augustine, he was a scholar, thoroughly acquainted with the
original of Vergil's epic, and, though most of his treatment of the *Aeneid* was allegorical and moralistic, he displayed a mind, sensitively attuned to the nuances of Vergil's character portrayal. John's references to Dido and Aeneas are always to the characters Vergil presented in the *Aeneid*.

More than any of these writers, Dante, in fourteenth century Italy, could claim to be a reincarnation of Vergil. Though his references to Dido are few, the use he made of the *Aeneid* in his *Divina Commedia* reveals the mind of a man who was intimately linked with Vergil in being, like his Mantuan forbear, an Italian poet, an ardent lover of his country, a keen observer of human nature. As Jerome and Augustine could reproduce Vergil's attitude to Dido and Aeneas, when the majority of writers preferred Ovid's Dido, or the chaste Dido of African fame; and as John of Salisbury could, like Vergil, allow faults in the Dido whom Ovid's influence had surrounded with an aura of saintliness; so Dante could use Vergil's Dido to exemplify a certain type of sin, at a time when Jean de Meun was using Ovid's Dido to exemplify his theories in his allegory of love. And the Dido of the *Aeneid* was as well suited to the supernatural and spiritual atmosphere of Dante's allegory as the Dido of the *Heroides* was to the predominantly natural and physical atmosphere of *Le Roman de la Rose*.

*The Divine Comedy* (completed in 1321) traces in allegory the struggles of the human soul on its way to God. As Dante saw in the *Aeneid* just such an account of Aeneas' progress
towards perfection, he chose Vergil as his master and guide in his journeyings through Hell and Purgatory, for to him Vergil was the image of human wisdom, who represented "the best that man can become in his own strength without the special grace of God".\(^{185}\)

Vergil had described Aeneas' ultimate purification as the result of the knowledge acquired in the Underworld. Dante, therefore, modelling his *Commedia* on *Aeneid* VI presented, in the form of a journey through Hell, Purgatory and Paradise, the growing awareness in the human soul of truth, with all its concomitant terror and happiness.

Dante knew the *Aeneid* thoroughly, and his poetic soul understood the mind of Vergil. Though the Vergil, who accompanies him on his journey among the dead, speaks and acts as a man of the fourteenth century, he always exhibits the characteristics we would expect to find in the author of the *Aeneid*. "In the mild and gentle features of this Vergil, endowed with the most refined sensibilities, just and reasonable even in anger .... it is impossible to fail to recognize the true author of the Vergilian poems, the *anima candida* of Horace and the *Parthenias* of the Neapolitans".\(^{186}\)

Because Dante's poetic sensitivity rendered so sure his understanding of Vergil's meanings, we recognize the Dido, who makes her brief appearance in the second Circle of Upper Hell, as the Dido of the *Aeneid*.\(^{187}\) Vergil led Dante into the first of the circles of Incontinence,\(^{188}\) where the souls of the lustful
were being eternally tossed upon a howling wind. Dante rates the "shared" sin of unchastity as the least hateful of the deadly sins, being the result rather of weakness of will, and easy yielding to appetite, than of deliberate choice of evil. As Dante saw some shades being borne his way -

traendo guai,

Ombre portate dalla detta briga, Vergil, at his bidding, named them. Semiramis was there, Dido, Helen, Achilles, Paris, Tristram - e più di mille

Ombre mostrommi, e nominolle, a dito.

Che amor di nostra vita dipartille.

Of Dido, as she passed, he said:

L'altra è colei che s'ancise amorosa
E ruppe fede al cener di Sicheo.

Moved with pity for these spirits, Dante summoned two of them to speak with him -

Cotali uscir della schiera ov'è Dido, and from the lips of Francesca da Rimini we hear the pitiful story of the beautiful, courteous Francesca who "falls" because of her inability to say 'no'. Dante's handling of the sin of Francesca is tender and sympathetic, but so accurate. He "presents the first tender, passionate and half-excusable consent of the soul to sin ... so heightens the excuse, that the excuse reveals itself as precisely the sin ... The persistent parleying with the occasion of sin, the sweet prolonged laziness of love, is the first surrender of the soul to Hell -
small but certain". 194

And this picture of Francesca's sin reveals the attitude of Dante to Dido and to other lovers who fell as she did. Like Vergil, he emphasizes her infidelity to Sychaeus, and states clearly that she died because of her love. He pities Dido's lapse from her former chastity but understands her weakness. He implies that Aeneas' leaving Dido caused her death, but he does not thereby excuse Dido from blame. Like Francesca, Dido had parleyed with temptation and had surrendered to the "sweet prolonged laziness of love". Like Aeneas, she had the chance to repent of her culpa and break away from her sinful union, but she preferred to die in despair, being unable to live without her lover. By placing Aeneas 195 in the First Circle of Upper Hell, the Limbo for the unbaptized and the virtuous pagans who never knew Christ, and who were lost only because they "had not faith", Dante shows how worthy he considered Aeneas' action in leaving Dido so as to obey the will of the gods.

This whole attitude of Dante towards Dido and Aeneas is impregnated with Christian thought, and implies in Dido and Aeneas a moral responsibility formed by Christian teaching. But the attitude is not un-Vergilian. Dante has presented Dido and Aeneas, as Vergil would have done, had he lived in a later age, and had he himself known Christianity.

Dido here is not the wronged heroine of Heroides and Le Roman de la Rose, but the morally responsible woman of the
Aeneid. Dante, like Vergil, pities and understands Dido's weakness, but he does not free her from blame. She had lowered her ideals, but only after a great conscience struggle. In yielding to her passion for Aeneas, in the face of her vows of fidelity to her dead husband, she knew she was acting culpably. Neither Vergil, Augustine nor Dante excuse Dido's fault, but neither do they harshly condemn her. They recognize her fault, but realize that her fall was the result of human weakness. In the same way, they recognize Aeneas' lapse from virtue but praise and sympathise with the heroic struggle he had to endure before choosing to follow the dictates of conscience rather than of passion.

It is interesting to note that in the two greatest allegorical poems written at the close of the Middle Ages, Dido plays two completely opposing roles. The Ovidian Dido of *Le Roman de la Rose* is pitied because her love cannot be fully satisfied; the Vergilian Dido of *Divina Commedia* is pitied because of her weakness in indulging in that same love. This Ovidian attitude to Dido is representative of the secular spirit of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which approved free love and encouraged courtly love, while the Vergilian attitude points to the Christian spirit which existed side by side with the secular, and held high its ideals of chastity and Christian marriage.
As a finale to this study of Vergil's Dido through the ages, I have made a survey of the place Shakespeare has given to Vergil's Dido story. In Shakespeare's attitude towards Vergil, I see a gradual development from the superficial understanding of youth, through the emotional bias of early manhood, to the spiritual appreciation of his maturity. And in this development through Shakespeare's plays I find an epitome of the changing attitude towards Vergil's Dido in the years between Vergil and Shakespeare.

For Shakespeare, the legend of Dido seems to have had a lasting appeal. Though there is extant no play by him on the Dido theme, repeatedly, throughout his whole dramatic career, Shakespeare made specific references to Vergil's heroine. She is mentioned in several of his plays, ranging from one of the earliest attributed to him, The Second Part of Henry VI, to what was probably his last play, The Tempest.

I do not intend to discuss the very vexed question of whether Shakespeare knew Vergil and Ovid in the original, or whether he depended on translations. Accepting Ben Jonson's statement that Shakespeare knew "little Latin and less Greek", and assuming that Shakespeare's schooling would have given him a working knowledge of Latin, I think it probable that Shakespeare did have a firsthand knowledge of the Aeneid and Heroïdes, though he almost certainly made extensive use of the English translations then available to him. Whatever he knew of the Greek or Latin language, he certainly loved the literature of Greece and Rome,
and, even if he did rely mainly on translations, he had, according to T.S. Eliot, "that ability, which is not native to everyone, to extract the utmost possible from translations".  

In II Henry VI, when Queen Margaret rebukes the king for his excessive grief at the announcement of Gloucester's murder, she compares herself with Dido, suffering from the falsity of Aeneas - 

"What!" she cries, "dost thou turn away and hide thy face? Is all thy comfort shut in Gloucester's tomb? ...  
Was I for this nigh wrecked upon the sea  
And twice by awkward wind from England's bank  
Drove back again unto my native clime? ...  
Yet Aeolus would not be a murderer,  
But left that hateful office unto thee! ...  
How often have I tempted Suffolk's tongue,  
The agent of thy foul inconstancy,  
To sit and witch me, as Ascanius did  
When he to madding Dido would unfold  
His father's acts commenced in burning Troy!  
Am I not witched like her? or thou not false like him?"  

Margaret's description of the storm closely resembles the Vergilian picture of Aeneid I, and the banquet scene is meant to recall Cupid's activities at the end of the same book. Dover Wilson, who considers these lines to be definitely by Shakespeare, believes that when Shakespeare wrote this scene he could not have known the first two books of the Aeneid either in
the original or translation, for in Vergil, it is Cupid disguised as Ascanius who lies in Dido's bosom, and it is Aeneas, and not his son, who tells her the tale of burning Troy. Wilson thinks that this error could be the result of a "not unnatural misreading of the Dido story in Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*", where one, who did not know Vergil well, could easily make Shakespeare's mistake, for Chaucer's lines about Dido and Ascanius are quite ambiguous. Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women* and Golding's translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* have been accepted as the chief sources of Shakespeare's classical learning in his earliest plays, and "though he came to know more of Dido after reading Marlowe's play, this was not printed until 1594".

Later, in this same play, Shakespeare uses the image of Aeneas bearing the aged Anchises on his shoulders to illustrate the reverence of young Clifford for the body of his dead father, just as in *Julius Caesar* he has Cassius describe in the same terms his rescuing of the drowning Caesar. Though Aeneas is "false" in Margaret's mind, for young Clifford he is a model of *pietas*. Shakespeare does not wholly condemn Aeneas, as did so many imitators of Ovid. He chose the *Aeneid* image which best heightened his description, and applied it, with the meaning popularly evoked by that particular scene. All Shakespeare's references to the *Aeneid* story are to well-known passages, many of which could have been known to the poet and his contemporaries through being represented in art, or used as illustrations in school textbooks.
Shakespeare uses the Dido story in that grim "tragedy of blood", *Titus Andronicus*, to provide an interlude of peace and joy amid scenes of cruelty and bloodshed. After a hunting scene, very similar to Vergil's in *Aeneid IV*, Tamora, the ruthless queen of the Goths, meets her beloved Moor, Aaron, in a lonely part of the forest. On the previous day she had been wedded against her will to Saturninus, Emperor of Rome, but now she longs to enjoy Aaron's love, away from the noise and excitement of the hunt.

"Let us sit down and mark their yellowing noise: And after conflict such as was supposed The wandering prince and Dido once enjoyed When with a happy storm they were surprised And curtained with a counsel-keeping cave, We may, each wreathed in the other's arms, (Our pastimes done) possess a golden slumber." 

Shakespeare has caught the atmosphere of momentary peace and bliss before the storm, as Vergil did in *Aeneid IV*. The whole setting of the early morning hunt, and then the secrecy afforded by the wood, suggest Vergil's picture.

Later in the play, at a banquet with his brother and daughter, Titus begs Marcus not to mention the word "hands" to the maimed Lavinia. He then compares the hurt caused to Lavinia, each time she is reminded of the loss of her hands, with the pain caused Aeneas, by having to recall the whole tale of Troy.

"Ah, wherefore dost thou urge the name of hands,
To bid Aeneas tell the tale twice o'er,
How Troy was burnt and he made miserable?"  

Here again Shakespeare is recalling the Aeneid, and Dido's pleas for the story of Aeneas' adventures. The banquet setting may have suggested the comparison, just as in The Taming of the Shrew, the friendship between Lucentio and Tranio reminded Shakespeare of the bond uniting Dido and Anna.

"Thou art to me as secret and as dear
As Anna to the Queen of Carthage was", is Lucentio's confession to Tranio, and so, like Dido in Aeneid IV, he confides to his friend the love which is stirring in his heart.

In all these early plays, Shakespeare has referred to the Dido and Aeneas of Vergil's Aeneid with which he must have been familiar in some form. The Ovidian picture of both Dido and Aeneas seems more to the fore in those later plays of Shakespeare's middle period, which were referred to in chapter five. The Dido and Aeneas of A Midsummer Night's Dream, Cymbeline and The Merchant of Venice were the lovelorn heroine and faithless lover of the Heroides.

When Shakespeare used the Aeneid Dido story, one particular phase of it - Dido's burning desire to hear from the lips of Aeneas the tale of his battles and hardships during and after the fall of Troy - appears in II Henry VI, Titus Andronicus, and Hamlet. It is also present, though not specifically mentioned, in Othello.

In an article, "Desdemona and Dido", John Major works
out an interesting parallel between these two heroines. Othello, when charged with having won Desdemona's heart by witchcraft, showed how he had won her love by no other means than by repeatedly narrating

"the story of my life,
From year to year, - the battles, sieges, fortunes,
That I have passed". 213

Desdemona's affections were captured by the life of the warrior Othello, "with its glamorous stamp of high adventure and incredible hardship". 214

"She lov'd me for the dangers I had pass'd
And I lov'd her that she did pity them." 215

And not content to hear his story but once,

"She'ld come again and with a greedy ear
Devour up my discourse". 216

The likeness to the Vergilian account of Dido's falling in love is apparent. Dido too drank deep of love, as she listened to Aeneas' tales of adventure, and over and over again she had him repeat the story of his deeds of valour. 217 Like Desdemona, Dido was attracted to the hero's valour and nobility - quel sese ore ferens, quam forti pectore et armis!

............ heu, quibus ille
iactatus fatis! quae bella exhausta canebat. 218

Major sees a parallel not only between the motives for love in these two women, but also in their situations with their lovers. Both fall in love with foreigners, with "men who will
put aside love and dalliance, however strong their hold, whenever
destiny or the ruling passion, the founding of a state or
generalship in war, makes its stern demands". 219 The tragedy
of both heroines is that they do not realize that the obstacles
to their future happiness lie in those very qualities of
fortitude, a sense of duty, and valour in battle, which they
so admire.

Desdemona, like Dido, yields to love only after an initial
reluctance. Dido, clinging to the memory of the dead Sychaeus,
had rejected suitor after suitor. Desdemona had shown complete
indifference to "the wealthy curled darlings of our nation", 220
who had sought her hand. Both women loved worthy lords, and they
are united "as two wronged women who suffer tragically from
loving too much". 221

This comparison appeals to me as more valid than Gilbert
Highet's of Cleopatra with Dido. "Shakespeare", he claims,
"based the character of Cleopatra on Dido as drawn by Ovid,
and actually made her quote an angry line from Dido's
reproaches." 222 Because the situations described in Antony
and Cleopatra and the Aeneid are so similar, comparisons are
inevitable. The enervation of Antony once he was under
Cleopatra's sway is comparable with that of Aeneas under Dido's.
Antony's initial determination to leave Cleopatra, and his
mental struggles between the calls of love and duty, again
resemble those of Aeneas.

Cleopatra's selfish attacks on Antony, when he pleads duty,
remind us of Dido's abuse of Aeneas in *Aeneid IV*, just as her final dignity in meeting death is as queenly as Dido's. In these particulars there is a strong resemblance between *Antony and Cleopatra* and the *Aeneid*.

When Cleopatra reproaches Antony, she uses words which are a straight translation of Dido's words in *Heroides VII* — "You may go?

Would she had never given you leave to come."^224

Like Ovid's Dido too she concludes her pleas with the hint of her being pregnant. ^225

Shakespeare has Antony, just before taking his life, compare himself and Cleopatra with Aeneas and Dido. Thinking that Cleopatra has already slain herself for love of him, Antony looks forward to wandering with his queen in the next world — "Eros," he cries — "I come to my queen. — Eros! stay for me. Where souls do couch on flowers, we'll hand in hand, And with our sprightly port make the ghosts gaze: Dido and her Aeneas shall want troops, And all the haunt be ours."^226

The Antony thus portrayed is a much more effeminate character than the Aeneas of either Vergil or Ovid.

Shakespeare may have based his *Antony and Cleopatra* on Ovid's Dido, just as Vergil's Dido story may have been coloured by the events connected with the historical Antony and Cleopatra. Indeed, when Vergil wrote his Dido story, the Antony and Cleopatra affair must have still been fresh in people's minds.
As Vergil shows Aeneas refusing to see Dido again, lest he be tempted to waver in his choice of right, he was probably paying a quiet compliment to Augustus, who had refused to see Cleopatra though he had taken her prisoner, lest he, like Caesar and Antony, be also ensnared by her charm and beauty. However, though there are several similarities between the characters of Antony and Cleopatra, Aeneid IV and Heroides VII, Shakespeare's heroine always appears as a cruel and unfaithful opportunist, for whom we can feel little pity. For this reason, I find it hard to accept that Shakespeare's Cleopatra is based on the Dido of either Vergil or Ovid.

In Hamlet, the prince asks one of the players to re-enact part of a play he had once heard. "One speech in it I chiefly loved," he explains; "'twas Aeneas' tale to Dido; and thereabout of it, especially where he speaks of Priam's slaughter." On this speech, and on Hamlet's criticism of the play in which it is situated, H.D. Gray, following Ritson, has based an interesting and quite feasible theory that Shakespeare once wrote a tragedy of Dido.

Gray does not agree with Tucker Brooke's suggestion that this Pyrrhus-Priam speech is a parody of Marlowe, for critics have judged the Shakespeare passage to be far superior to the corresponding Marlowe piece. He thinks that Shakespeare himself was the author of this speech in his own Dido play, which he wrote in imitation of Marlowe's Dido at the beginning of his dramatic career. Gray argues that if Shakespeare had at
hand such a piece as the Priam speech from his Dido play, it was natural for him to incorporate part of it in just the way he did. Hamlet's humorous interruptions and comments express Shakespeare's own mature criticism of his excessive bursts of youthful passion. Gray sees in Hamlet's appraisal of the play "a note of self-defence, given with a certain indulgent interest, such as Shakespeare may well have had when looking back, from the time of Hamlet, upon his earliest venture in tragedy." Certainly Hamlet's comments on the play are "half critical and somewhat self assertive". "I heard thee speak me a speech once," he says to the First Player, - "but it was never acted; or, if it was, not above once; for the play I remember pleased not the million; 'twas caviare to the general: but it was - as I received it, and others whose judgments in such matters cried in the top of mine - an excellent play, well digested in the scenes, set down with as much modesty as cunning. I remember, one said there were no sallies in the lines to make the matter savoury, nor no matter in the phrase that might indite the author of affection; but called it an honest method as wholesome as sweet, and by very much more handsome than fine." The recalling of so many otherwise meaningless details does give weight to the suggestion that Shakespeare is referring to his own play.

All this is mere conjecture, but it is an interesting possibility, for "if the Player's speech was a serious production of Shakespeare, written at the time when he could seriously
write in this vein, namely, at the very beginning of his
dramatic career, then we have in this passage of *Hamlet* what is
perhaps the earliest bit of Shakespeare's authorship extant, and
side by side with it the earliest of all commentaries on his
work".233

Though, in all the plays so far considered, Shakespeare
could have relied solely on translations either of Vergil or
Ovid for his Dido references, in *The Tempest* the countless
passages parallel with Vergil's suggest that here at least
Shakespeare was using the original text of the early books of
the *Aeneid*. Here, too, while his actual references to Dido are
less than elsewhere, Shakespeare has shown an understanding and
appreciation of Vergil's tender humanity, which he personifies
in Prospero. The same sense of mystery, which pervades the
*Aeneid*, also envelopes the island on which *The Tempest* is set.
While Ovid was the favourite classical poet of Shakespeare's
early years, it seems that with the passing of time his affection
for Vergil and the *Aeneid*, deepened, to be fully expressed in
one of his last plays, *The Tempest*.

R.S. Conway234 and J.M. Nosworthy235 have both made detailed
analyses of the classical elements in *The Tempest*, and especially
of its relation to the *Aeneid*. They point out that, like the
*Aeneid*, *The Tempest* begins with a Mediterranean storm, caused
by supernatural forces, to effect the landing of certain
characters in a requisite locality. In both stories the members
of the crew are temporarily separated, though all land in
different parts of the same unfamiliar territory. In both, one party thinks the other lost, and later have the great joy of reunion.

Ferdinand, who, tossed by storm on the shores of a strange land, meets and is enchanted by the chaste maiden, Miranda, closely resembles Aeneas, when he first encounters the disguised Venus. The very language he uses could be a translation of Aeneas' expressions.

"Most sure, the goddess
On whom these airs attend! - Vouchsafe my prayer
May know if you remain upon this island;
And that you will some good instructions give
How I may bear me here: my prime request,
Which I do last pronounce, is, O you wonder!
If you be maid or no?" 236

The resemblance to Aeneas' words is very close -

0 - quam te memorem, virgo? namque haud tibi vultus Mortalis, nec vox hominem sonat. O dea certe; ... Et, quo sub caelo tandem, quibus orbis in oris lactemur, doceas. 237

Miranda recalls Vergil's Camilla in her upbringing, his Venus in her later appearances and actions. Shakespeare bases his lover's meeting on the meeting between Aeneas and Venus. He has Miranda reproach her father for having raised the tempest, and plead for the mitigation of its effects, 238 just as Venus made similar representations to her father, Jupiter. 239
Prospero, banished by a brother's treachery, at one time resembles Dido, at another he is like Evander welcoming a king and his followers to his "poor cell".\(^{240}\)

Ariel's activities in the storm recall Aeolus' in the *Aeneid*. The Harpy, who interrupts the feast\(^{241}\) is based directly on the harpies of *Aeneid III*. "The murkiest den",\(^{242}\) to which Ferdinand refers, in the light of Prospero's warnings against lover's dalliance, seems a direct reference to the cave of *Aeneid IV* and all it implied. The descriptions of Iris\(^{243}\) and Juno\(^{244}\) in the masque are palpably based on Vergil's lines about Iris\(^{245}\) and Venus.\(^{246}\)

It is mainly in the early scenes that the *Aeneid* provides Shakespeare with a shaping force in the plot of *The Tempest*. Nosworthy sees the comic dialogue about "Widow Dido"\(^{247}\) as a deliberate device to detach the rest of the play from the Vergilian theme. "There seems", he claims, "to be no reason why Shakespeare should make Gonzalo confound Claribel's Tunis in Dido's Carthage unless it is to maintain for the moment the link with the *Aeneid*."\(^{248}\) Whether or not Nosworthy is correct in his contention, it is clear that in this scene Shakespeare is not treating the actual Dido story seriously. Here the discussion about Dido and "widower Aeneas" is only part of a "curious piece of learned fooling"\(^{249}\) between Gonzalo and the other courtiers.

In *The Tempest*, then, the part of the Dido story, that actually concerns Dido herself, features scarcely at all. But
the atmosphere and setting of the play are the very atmosphere and setting in which Vergil placed his Dido legend. The spirit of The Tempest is the spirit which breathes through the Aeneid - "a spirit pervaded by a deep sense of mystery as well as an even deeper humanity"; a mist which almost before we recognize it as a mist of pity, is shaken, rent, scattered by the morning breeze of hope. This brief survey of Shakespeare's use of the Dido story is indicative of the way the legend was used by writers at the end of the Renaissance and in subsequent centuries. By now Vergil's Aeneid was well known and such errors as Caxton made were no longer possible.

There is evident also in Shakespeare's writings that development in his attitude to Dido, which forms a type of summary of the general history of the attitude adopted towards the Aeneid heroine through the centuries since Vergil. Shakespeare at the beginning of his dramatic career was familiar with Vergil's Dido story. Most of his Dido references are fairly accurate. But in the early plays his Dido similes smack of the classroom. They are the stock images of love, fidelity and loneliness, used without much thought, and with little real discernment of the subtleties of Vergil's character portrayal. Shakespeare's attitude to Vergil's Dido in these earlier plays is comparable with the attitude of those in the early Middle Ages who knew only the externals of the Aeneid through mediocre school texts and compendia.
The plays of Shakespeare's middle period show a greater freedom in his handling of the Dido theme. The spirit of the French romances, predominant in so many of these plays, colours his concept of Dido, who emerges now as the lonely heroine of the *Heroides*, whose fidelity contrasts strongly with Aeneas' faithlessness. This period in Shakespeare's writing could be made correspond with the period of medieval romance literature, when Ovid's theory of love had such an influence on those who retold Dido's tragedy.

The growing sensitivity to the inmost depths of man's mind and heart, which marks Shakespeare's later plays, seems to have awakened in him a deeper appreciation of the thought and spirit of the *Aenеid*. By the time he wrote *Othello* or *The Tempest*, he had seemingly so absorbed Vergil's thought that he was able to reproduce the mood and temper of the Aeneid without explicitly referring to Vergilian characters or incidents. His final assimilation of Vergil's thought, which enabled him to produce drama which was definitely "Vergilian", reminds us of a similar assimilation by Dante. "Just as the classical learning of the Middle Ages had crystallised in Dante, so the wider and more profound Humanism of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries precipitated this new brilliance [in Shakespeare], who, like Montaigne and Sir Thomas Browne may stand as our exemplars of the sort of mind that the Renaissance eventually produced."  

Shakespeare, coming at the end of an age of imitators and pedantic translators of the *Aeneid*, had gathered the fruit
of these classical scholars, had absorbed fragments which others had excerpted from the classics, and, with his outlook so formed, had studied and then portrayed men who lived and suffered as sensitively and as intensely as did Vergil's Dido and Aeneas. Though Shakespeare would claim none of his plays as replicas of Vergil's Aeneid, he could justifiably claim the kinship with Vergil, which was Dante's pride, for in his later plays, especially in The Tempest, we see that same sympathetic understanding and expression of the sufferings and joys of humanity, which we find in Vergil, and which made of both poets the spokesmen of all men of all time.

With Shakespeare's use of Vergil's Dido story I must conclude my discussion of the treatment of Aeneid IV in literature. This does not mean that writers since Shakespeare have ceased to show an interest in Vergil's heroine. In fact, my very reason for limiting this study to writers before Shakespeare was that, in literary works since the sixteenth century, more material was available than could be adequately covered in this thesis. English poets, like Milton, Dryden and Tennyson, among many others, treated of Dido, and, as recently as the Second World War, Sidney Keyes and Phyllis McGinley produced Dido poems. In the world of music, Dido's story inspired more than twenty European operas on the Dido theme between
1640 and 1860. And in French and German literature, writings owing their origin to Aeneid IV are numerous. It would be impossible to include within the limits of this thesis all the works which drew their inspiration from Vergil's tragedy of Dido.

The study I have made of the use of Vergil's Dido in literature is not exhaustive, but I think it provides sufficient evidence of the main trends that have governed writers in their handling of this theme.

Writers of schooltexts were content to present a mere outline of the story of Aeneid IV; rhetoricians and grammarians were interested only in Vergil's language; preachers and allegorists wanted the story of Dido and Aeneas to add weight to the arguments of their moralizing discourses; romance writers valued Vergil's Dido story only for its erotic and sentimental elements. All these writers took from the Aeneid just what they needed and nothing more. With an eye to externals, they generally failed to discern the deeper meaning that lay beneath the surface of Vergil's lines. Indeed, most of those who used the Aeneid in this way probably did not know the Aeneid at firsthand, but only from grammar books and simple redactions.

Translators at the close of the Middle Ages opened the way to a healthier, more scholarly approach to the Aeneid, and the fruit of their works is discernible in early Renaissance literature. But, even though familiarity with the Latin or a vernacular translation of the Aeneid rendered more widespread
an accurate knowledge of the facts presented by Vergil in his Dido story, still a perceptive awareness of what Vergil really intended in his portrayal of Dido and Aeneas was rare.

From about the twelfth century on, it became quite common to find the *Aeneid* details in any retelling of the Dido legend, but it was equally common to find the writer, in imitation of Ovid, wholly sympathetic with Dido and scornful of Aeneas. Men seemed loath to approve in Aeneas a deed, which offended against their ideas of chivalry, and which, from a merely natural point of view, appeared to them despicable. They likewise refused to accept the fiercely Oriental temperament of Vergil's passionate queen, for she offended against their ideal of a deserted heroine as gentle and all-forgiving. Thus they were unable to understand what for Vergil constituted the real tragedy of Dido and the true greatness of Aeneas.

Whenever Vergil's Dido story has been recounted, there have existed a majority who condemn Aeneas, and a small minority who praise him. But always there have been some, who have appreciated Vergil's commendation of Aeneas for leaving Dido.

When we find writers like Augustine and Dante interpreting Aeneas and Dido aright, and reflecting Vergil's firm conviction that he is the greatest victor who is able to conquer himself and his unruly passions, we realize that Vergil's attitude towards Dido and Aeneas can be valued only by those who know well Vergil's writings, who share his understanding and
appreciation of man's conflict between "the flesh and the spirit", and who are poetically sensitive enough to realize how charged with meaning is Vergil's every line. Some such men have lived in every age; and it seems highly probable that, so long as Vergil's Aeneid is retold, most men will be puzzled by Vergil's attitude towards his hero and heroine, but that a few, more spiritually minded, will see and appreciate what it was Vergil most valued in his Dido and Aeneas.

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5. *ibid.*, I, 114-117.


7. *ibid.*, I, 98.


17. cf. line 110.

18. cf. line 113.


22. Discussed in Chapter V.
23. See previous chapter.
29. Ennodius, *op. cit.*
30. *Aeneid IV*, 373.
32. Ennodius, *op. cit.*
36. See Chapter V.
37. Edited by E. Bagby Atwood and Virgil K. Whitaker. *Note:* While I have personally made a careful examination of this document for its rendition of the Dido story, I have relied exclusively on the introductory section of the above edition for the dating and for the background of the text.
42. *ibid.*, p. xv.
43. E.T. p. 33, ll. 3-21.
44. *ibid.*, p. 27, ll. 9-10.
45. ibid., p. 27, l. 27 to p. 28, l. 7.
46. cf. ibid., p. 28, l. 14-15.
47. ibid., p. 28, l. 18-23.
48. ibid., p. 30, l. 23.
49. ibid., p. 30, l. 26-7.
50. ibid., p. 35.
51. ibid., p. 36, l. 9-11.
52. cf. ibid., p. 34, l. 17-20.
53. Aeneid IV, 76.
54. E.T., op. cit., p. 32, l. 3-5.
55. ibid., p. 35, l. 4-9.
56. ibid., p. 36, l. 12-15.
57. cf. Aeneid IV, 393-440.
59. cf. Catullus, Poem 64.
60. Excidium Troiae, p. 36, l. 27 - p. 37, l. 4.
61. ibid., p. 37, l. 10-11.
63. Excidium Troiae, p. 38, l. 4-10.
64. cf. Nitchie, Vergil and the English Poets, p. 16.
65. Note: I have not seen the original of this work, which is not available in any Australian library. I have had to rely on Comparetti, Vergil in the Middle Ages, and Sandys, A History of Classical Scholarship.
67. ibid., pp. 110-111.


77. Migne, *P.L.* CCXII, p. 646.


82. *Policraticus VI*, ch. XXII, Migne *P.L.* CXCIX, p. 621.

83. *ibid.*, p. 621.


86. *ibid.*, p. 730.


89. *ibid.*, VI, ch. XIV, p. 609.

90. *Aeneid IV*, 38.


94. *ibid.*, p. 539.
95. *Note*: The Irish Aeneid was translated into English by G. Calder in 1907.
98. *ibid.*, ll. 725 ff.
100. *ibid.*, ll. 770 ff.
101. *ibid.*, l. 902.
102. *ibid.*, ll. 925 ff.
103. *ibid.*, ll. 141 ff.
104. *ibid.*, ll. 683 ff.
105. *ibid.*, ll. 361 ff.
111. Caxton, *Eneydos*, *op. cit.*, p. 120. ll. 13-22.
112. *Note*: What I say of Caxton applies also to the French author of the *Eneydes*, and vice versa.
115. ibid., p. 84, ll. 24 ff.
116. ibid., p. 79, ll. 7 ff.
117. ibid., p. 109, ll. 28 ff.
118. Culley, op. cit., p. xii.
119. Caxton, op. cit., p. 23, l. 36.
120. Vergil, Aeneid I, 714.
122. cf. Culley, op. cit., p. x.
124. ibid., p. 24, ll. 11 ff.
125. cf. D. Comparetti, Vergil in the Middle Ages, p. 239 ff.
127. ibid., p. 115.
128. Note especially The Faerie Queen, II. iii. 32-33, where Spenser models the meeting of Belphoebe and Trompart on that of Venus and Aeneas.
129. Act V, sc. i.
130. cf. F.S. Boas, Christopher Marlowe, p. 49.
132. Quoted by Boas, University Drama in the Tudor Age, p. 94.
133. Note: I have not seen the text of this play, but have had to depend on the very full treatment of it in F.S. Boas, University Drama in the Tudor Age, 1914.
134. Quoted in Boas, op. cit., p. 185.
135. Aeneid IV, 10-12.
139. ibid., p. 183.
140. ibid., p. 185.
141. ibid., p. 186.
142. ibid., p. 187.
143. ibid., p. 187.
144. ibid., p. 188.
146. Marlowe, Dido, Queen of Carthage, III. i. 138 ff.
147. ibid., III. iii. 6-7.
148. ibid., III. iv. 50.
149. ibid., V. i. 107-8.
150. ibid., II. i. 88-9.
151. ibid., III. iv. 32-3.
152. H. Levin, The Overreacher, A Study of Christopher Marlowe, p. 34.
153. ibid., p. 34.
154. Marlowe, op. cit., I. i. 163.
155. ibid., II. i. 305-6.
156. ibid., III. ii. 1.
157. ibid., IV. v. passim.
158. ibid., III. i. 11-13.
159. ibid., III. iii. 64.
160. ibid., III. iii. 9.
161. ibid., IV. ii. 36.
162. ibid., IV. ii. 34.
163. ibid., IV. iv. 109.
164. ibid., V. i. 72.
165. Aeneid IV, 294-5.
166. Marlowe, op. cit., IV. iii. 31-36.
167. ibid., IV. iii. 41-42.
171. Hamlet, II. ii. 420-482.
178. Vergil, Aeneid IV, 569.
179. Aeneid IV, 32-34.
181. Augustine, De Civitate Dei, Bk. IX, ch. IV.
182. Vergil, Aeneid IV, 419.
188. cf. ibid., p. 97.
189. ibid., p. 101.
190. Dante, Divina Commedia, I, Canto V, 48-49.
191. ibid., I, Canto V, 67-69.
192. ibid., I, Canto V, 61-62.
193. ibid., I, Canto V, 85.
194. Charles Williams, The Figure of Beatrice, p. 118.
197. Written about 1590.
200. ibid., p. liii.
201. Chaucer, Legend of Good Women, Skeats' text (1906), lines 229-236.
203. II Henry VI, V. ii. 62-66.
204. Julius Caesar, I. ii. 112 ff.
207. ibid., III. ii. 26-28.
208. The Taming of the Shrew, I. i. 158-9.
209. III, ii. 117.
210. V. iii. 82.
211. II. ii. 468.
216. ibid., I. iii. 149-150.
220. Othello, I. ii. 68.
221. Major, op. cit., p. 125.
223. Ovid, Heroides VII, 139.
225. ibid., I. iii. 89-95.
226. Antony and Cleopatra, IV. xiv. 50-54.
227. Hamlet, II. ii. 468 ff.
231. ibid., p. 222.
232. Hamlet, II. ii. 462-475.


240. *The Tempest*, V. i. 301.

241. *ibid.*, III. iii. 52 ff.

242. *ibid.*, IV. i. 25.

243. *ibid.*, IV. i. 75-83.

244. *ibid.*, IV. i. 102.


In this thesis I have traced the Dido legend from its literary origin in the history of Timaeus; I have examined its transformation in the *Aeneid* of Vergil; and then I have discussed the various ways in which writers from Ovid to Shakespeare have handled the Dido theme.

The versions of the Dido legend written by Timaeus and Justinus in their historical chronicles, and by Vergil in the *Aeneid*, and the emotional pro-Dido, anti-Aeneas attitude adopted by Ovid in the *Heroides*, proved the sources of the three main forms assumed by the Dido story in the centuries since Vergil.

From the Timaeus-Justinus Dido account - the most historically accurate of these traditions - sprang the African patriotic esteem for Dido as a noble ancestor, who had died rather than re-marry, so as to save Carthage from barbarism. African writers frequently defended the chastity of their Dido against the "slanders" uttered against her by Vergil and Ovid.

Christian moralists also, from Tertullian and Jerome in the second and fourth centuries to Boccaccio and Lydgate in the fourteenth and fifteenth, used the Justinus Dido story in their exhortations. Dido was to be a model for Christians in her perseverance in chaste widowhood, and in her courage in face of persecutions.
Those writers, who followed Justinus rather than Vergil or Ovid, were usually familiar with the latter versions of the Dido story, but they chose to use the Justinus account because it was so well suited to the aim of their writings. Africans naturally told the Dido story, which favoured the reputation of their compatriot; and Christian moralists, especially in the early centuries of Christianity when Christian exempla were not numerous, chose to tell the tale of the widow Dido, the martyr for chastity in order to urge Christians to imitate Dido in living in chaste widowhood and in bearing sufferings courageously. These writers chose Justinus' Dido story because of its usefulness to their literary purposes, and not because his account was superior to Vergil's or Ovid's as history or as literature. Their choice was governed by no scholarly criterion.

Ovid's retelling of Aeneid IV meant that Vergil's story of the loves of Aeneas and Dido was reduced to a cheap, sentimental account of a forlorn maiden, deserted by a heartless lover. Ovid ignored the Vergilian picture of the soul-agonies of Aeneas and of Dido, and he deliberately rejected Vergil's concept of Aeneas as a hero, victorious in a cruel moral struggle.

Probably because Ovid's attitude towards Dido and Aeneas was the one more popularly adopted towards a woman deserted by a faithless lover, it prevailed in the many rhetorical exercises, poems and school textbook redactions, which treated of Dido in the early Middle Ages. The superficial approach to the Aeneid in these medieval writings favoured the Ovidian praise of Dido
and scorn of Aeneas rather than the Vergilian view; and the sentimental, erotic interests of the Romance writers found in Ovid's treatment of Dido an attitude consonant with their medieval code of courtly love and chivalry.

Ovid's Dido and Aeneas became the proverbial exempla of faithfulness and treachery, and were used as such by writers of every age since Ovid. Many of those who referred to the "false Aeneas" were merely repeating a well-worn catchword; but many others preferred to adopt Ovid's view of Aeneas and Dido because they were unable to grasp the spiritual values stressed by Vergil and so felt more at ease with Ovid's popular emotionalism.

Though many authors based their Dido stories directly on Aeneid IV, few succeeded in reproducing Vergil's sensitivity to the interior struggles of his characters. Schoolboys regarded the romance of Dido and Aeneas as an exciting story of love and adventure. Rhetoricians and grammarians used it merely to provide colourful examples of stylistic forms and word usage. Allegorists saw in it the symbol of a young man's love. Medieval translators reproduced it with varying degrees of verbal accuracy, usually placing it against a background of their own time and country. Early Renaissance playwrights seized on the fine dramatic structure of Aeneid IV and enacted Dido's tragedy on the stage.

All these writers presented some aspects of the Aeneid Dido story, but only those more sensitive and spiritual writers, like Augustine, Dante and Shakespeare, grasped what was for
Vergil of greatest significance in his presentation of his hero and heroine. They realized that Vergil's main interest was in portraying Aeneas and Dido as human beings with human hopes and fears, with human virtues and vices. They saw with Vergil that Dido's death was a tragedy because it was needless and was the outcome of her hurt pride and undisciplined passions; and that Aeneas' departure from Dido was heroic because he loved her deeply but yet was ready to sacrifice his personal happiness for his nation's welfare, in obedience to the will of Jupiter. Dido was, for Vergil, a tragic figure because she was completely dominated by her emotions. Aeneas was heroic because he was able to effect the triumph of his will over the tendencies of his lower nature.

Until the close of the Middle Ages, there existed side by side these three ways of handling the Dido theme. In didactic and patriotic writings, moralists and Africans used the Justinus Dido version. In lesser poems, in rhetorical exercises, and in Romance literature, writers adopted the tone of Ovid's Heroïdes. Vergil's account of Dido and Aeneas appeared in outline in several minor literary works, but the Vergilian interpretation of the Aeneid characters featured only in the more sensitive and perceptive writers, who knew the original of Vergil's epic, and who were able to appreciate the subtleties of his thought.

From the time Vergil gave such prominence to Dido in the Aeneid, the Dido legend has been a favourite theme of the literature of every age. I have tried to indicate the many
different ways in which writers have handled this topic, for in all the varied treatments of the Dido story no two writers have retold the legend in exactly the same manner. The changes of emphasis, which mark the countless renditions, reflect the spirit and interests of the various ages and countries they represent.

Dido's appearances in literature have been manifold, and her tragic love for Aeneas has been retold in a great variety of ways. But her popularity through the ages is the result of Vergil's successful "creation" of her. For whether Dido is presented as Vergil's tragic queen, or Ovid's deserted but faithful heroine; whether she is being upheld as a model of chastity, or as the love-lorn maiden of a popular medieval romance; whether she appears in the tragic grandeur of Berlioz's operas, or in the melodrama of the burlesques of nineteenth century England, she is always the Dido who owes her enduring place in Western literature to the sympathy and sensitivity of Vergil's presentation of her love for Aeneas in \textit{Aeneid IV}. Were it not for Vergil's arousing interest in the Queen of Carthage, by bringing her into the traditional story of Aeneas' wanderings, and by telling the story of her love, Dido would probably never have featured, as she does, in European literature, but would have remained but one more name in unread historical chronicles.
Epistula Didonis ad Aeneam.

from Poetae Latini Minores, ed. by Baehrens.
Poem No. 271, pp. 271-7.

Praefatio.

Sic tua semper ames, quisquis pia vota requiris, nostra libenter habe; quid carminis otia ludant, cerne bonus mentisque fidem probus indue iudex.
Dulce sonat, quod cantat amor; cui grata voluptas
Esse potest, modicum dignetur amare poetam.

Carmen.

Debuit ingrato nullam dictare salutem
Laesus amor. sed nulla iuvant convitia flentem,
Si modo flere vacet; nam me magis inproba mortis
Fata vocant: Troiane nocens, haec dona remittis?
Quamvis saepe gravis conponam carmine fletus,
Plus habet ipse dolor, nec conplent verba dolorem,
Quem sensus patientis habet, vel penna recusat,
Quae male dicta dedi miseris circumdata fatis.
Pendet amore dolor, vastus dolor auget amorem:
Dum studet iratas calamus celerare querellas,
Continuit dolor ipse manum, nec plura loquentem
Passus amor mentisque vias et verba ligavit.
A, quotiens revocata manus dubiumque pependit!
Quid factura fuit trepidanti pollice! dextram
Torpor et ira ligat, dum dura vocabula format,
Et minus explicitam condemnat littera vocem,
Torsit iter male tractus apex dubiaque remissus
Mente pudor, dum verba notat, dum nomina mandat.
Flamma nocens iram ridet; penitusque cecurrit
Sopitis per membra calor diroque medullas
Igne vorat: nullus confessam culpem amantem.
Conquibium nunc crimen erit? male credula votis
Cuncta dedi (nec mira fides) sub lege mariti,
Cuius et ipsa fui: numquam nec conscia reddent
Vota fidem, si talis erit non digna marito.
Hanc reddis, Troiane, vicem? meus ista meretur 
Affectus? non ille torus, non conscia lecti 
Sacramenta tenent? totum pro crimine perdo, 
Quidquid amore dedi. fatis licet, inprobo, tendas 
Aemula regna meis, nihil est quod, perfide, iactes: 
Fraude perit, non sorte, fides. 'sed regna petebas 
Debita nec rerum poteras convertere sortem.' 
Si datur ire, placet; nam quod fugis, unde recursus, 
Vota nocentis habes! nihil est, quod dura querellis 
Verba fidenque voco (quisquis mea vulnera deflet, 
Invidiam fecisse neget): trahit omnia casus. 
Dum sortem natura parit, sua taedia solus 
Fallere nescit amor. reparato Cynthia format 
Lucis honore iubar curvatis cornibus altum, 
Quod de fratre rubet; cessurus lege sorori 
Consumit sua iura dies: sic continet orbem, 
Dum recipit natura vicem. sua taedia solus 
Fallere nescit amor. mersum pallentibus umbris 
Circumdat nox atra diem fruiturque tenebrans 
Lege poli peraguntque micantia sidera cursus; 
Navifragi tacet unda salis nec murmurat auster 
Nec flexum aura nemus. sua taedia solus 
Fallere nescit amor. pinnis ad germina tendens 
Iam philomela tacet damno male victa pudoris, 
Amplexuque foven querulos sub culmine nidos 
Pensat amore nefas miserasque alitura querellas 
Nocte premit, quod luce dolet. sua taedia solus 
Fallere nescit amor. nunc iam bene iunctus amantes 
Ardor alit thalamique fidem sua pignera complent; 
Coniunx laeta viro, felix uxor maritus: 
Vota, recens et amor secretaque dulcia, somnus 
Concordat cum nocte torum. sua taedia solus 
Fallere nescit amor. fecundo semine rerum 
Mutat terra vices et alumni temporis auras 
Laeta vocat: spisso revirescit gramine campus 
Et vitreas levat herba comas nec fallit arista 
Proventum meliore fide. sua taedia solus 
Fallere nescit amor. fessus iuga soluit arator 
Et noctem per vota capitis: reparare labores 
Novit grata quies nec cessat reddere vires 
Infusus per membra sopor lucisque ministrans 
Ruricolis dat semper opem. sua taedia solus 
Fallere nescit amor. reparant sub litore ponti 
Successus per damna suos perituraque ludunt 
Incrementa maris dubii, regit aequora fluctus 
Lege sua vicibus suis quod deperit augens 
Officiis natura vacat. sua taedia solus 
Fallere nescit amor. gemmatis roscida visu 
Rident prata rosis et floribus arva tumescunt 
Pictus ager sub flore latet, dat fronde coronae
Lascivis natura rosis. sua taedia solus
Fallere nescit amor. - nec grata silentia noctis
Nec somni pia dona placet; nec munera lucis
Carpit et indutias fugientis non capit anni,
Sed sua victus amor tantummodo vulnera pascit
Inter mille dolos totidemque pericula fraudis.
Nota queror: vellem tacitis peritura querellis
Flere domo, vellem tacitos consumere fletus,
Sed negat ipse dolor, quod iam pudor ante negavit.
Scribere iussit amor miseram me, cuius honestam
Fecit culpa fidem. poteram dispergere ponto
Membra manusque tuas miseramque tumentibus undis
Praecipitare diem, poteram crescentis Iuli
Rumpere fata manu parvumque resolvere corpus
Morte gravi mersumque in viscera figere ferrum
Vel dare membra feris; sed nostro pectore pulsum
Cessit amore nefas et honesta pericula passus
Corda fatigat amor. quis tantum in hospite vellet
Hoc audere nefas? quis vota nocentis habere?
Nullus amor sub labe latet. cui digna rependes
Si mihi dura paras? miserandae fata Creusae.
Lamentans gemitusque trahens infanda peregi
Vota deiis durumque nefas sortemque malorum
Te narrante tuli, gemitus mentisque dolorem,
Et lacrimas prior ipsa dedi. cui digna rependes
Si mihi dura paras? dulcis mea colla fovebat
Ascanius miserumque puer figebat amorem,
Cui modo nostra fides amissam reddere matrem
Dum cupit, hoc verum mentito pignore nomen
Format amor gemitusque graves atque oscula figit
Confessus pietate dolor. cui digna rependes
Si mihi dura paras? nostro modo litore sospes
Nudus et exul eras, dispersa classe per undas
Naufragus, ut taceam clades quascumque videbas
Inpendisse tibi: licet haec tibi cuncta fuissent,
Regna tamen Carthago dedit. cui digna rependes,
Si mihi dura paras? nihil est quod dura reposcam
Hoc quidquid donasse velim. quae perdere possem,
Numquam damna voco. vel hoc mihi, perfide, redde,
Quod sibi debet amor, si nil pia facta merentur.
Esse deos natura docet; non esse timendos,
Rerum facta probant. quid enim non credere possum
Tutus fraude manes et nos pietate perimus!
Improve dure nocens cruelis perfide fallax
Officiis ingrate meis! quid verba minantur?
Non odi qui vota dolet, nec dicta rependit,
Quidquid rixa genuit. tibi nempe remissus habetur
Lege pudoris amor! cui tanta dedisse recusem,
Sceptra domum Tyrios regnum Cartaginis arces
Et quidquid regnantis erat? de coniuge fallis:
Non de iure queror, meritum si non habet ardor,
Sed quod hospes eras! nec te magis esse nocentem
Quam miserum, Troiane, puto, qui digna repellis,
Dum non digna cupis: nondum bene siccus ad aequor
Curris et extremas modo naufragus arripis undas.
Tutior esse times et honesta pericula poscis:
Cum mala vota cupis, solus tibi dura profecto
Damna paras. fugis, ecce fugis nostrosque penates
Deseris et miseram linquis Carthaginis aulam,
Quae tibi regna dedit, sacro diademate crines
Cinxit et augestum gemmato sidere frontem
Conplevit nostrumque tibi commisit amorem.
Nil puto maius habes et adhuc sine coniuge regnas,
Aeneas ingrate meus. negat ira dolenti
Consilium, sed praestat amor. mea vulnera vellem
Fletibus augeri, sed iam discrimine mortis
Victa feror. neque enim tantus de foedere luctus,
Quantus erat de fratre: licet simil inprobus exul
Et malus hospes eras et ubique timendus haberis,
Vive tamen nostrumque nefas post fata memento!
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