Parallels between Dido's Erotic Passion and the Trojans' Imperialist Exploits in the *Aeneid*

by

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Bachelor of Arts (Honours), University of Toronto, 2018
Master of Information, University of Toronto, 2020

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We acknowledge and respect the Lək̓ʷəŋən (Songhees and X̱ʷsepsəm/Esquimalt)
Peoples on whose territory the university stands, and the Lək̓ʷəŋən and W̱SÁNEĆ
Peoples whose historical relationships with the land continue to this day.

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Abstract

This thesis argues that Vergil's *Aeneid* contains a critique of imperial expansion from an Epicurean (specifically Lucretian) perspective. Vergil taints the Trojans' success in conquering the native Italians by associating the Trojans' martial/imperial activities with the act of succumbing to erotic passion. While most Roman ideologies condemned succumbing to erotic passion, they viewed imperial expansion favourably; Epicureanism is one of the few that condemns both.

Vergil plants the seeds for this association in the Dido episode, where he uses Lucretian language to condemn Dido's succumbing to erotic passion. Chapter 1 suggests that there is an Epicurean trajectory in Dido's story. Vergil initially presents Dido as a capable, Epicurean-coded leader of a newly established city. After she programmatically rejects the Epicurean philosophy, she suffers from specifically Lucretian lovesickness symptoms, then eventually takes her own life after being thoroughly disturbed by her lovesickness as well as phenomena resembling Lucretian *simulacra*. Therefore, the consequences of succumbing to passion are shown to be devastating, both personally and politically.

Chapter 2 closely reads passages from the Trojans' imperialist war against the native Italians, noting echoes of the Dido episode, Lucretius, and the erotic generally. Trojan warriors experience literal and metaphorical erotic passion in these battle scenes, where one would expect a showcasing of Roman prowess and power. In the final scene, Aeneas kills his rival, Turnus, in the grips of a passion resembling Dido's. This ending is damning; it conveys that his imperialist exploits are akin to her frenzied erotic passion.

The *Aeneid* is ostensibly a poem celebrating the rise of Rome. The fact that it contains a critique of its proto-Romans' imperialism also conveys a critique of Vergil's contemporaries in the nascent Roman Empire.

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I leave this degree not burnt-out, but inspired to continue engaging with the ancient world. That is a real gift.

I would also like to include a content warning. This thesis discusses suicide, murder, graphic depictions of violence, loss of loved ones, sickness, incest, and sexual violence. Take care while reading.

Introduction: Vergil, Lucretius, and Politics

This thesis proposes that one thread in Vergil's *Aeneid* is a pessimism about imperial expansion (imperialism within the text, and, arguably, in the nascent Roman Empire of Vergil's time), conveyed via references to Epicureanism. My argument forms two parts. The first part centers allusions to Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* (*DRN*) – particularly his diatribe against love (end of *DRN* Book 4) – in the Dido episode (Books 1-4 of the *Aeneid*). This episode shows a capable, Epicurean-coded leader turning away from the philosophy and succumbing to erotic passion; as a result, she is driven mad and eventually to suicide. The second part of my argument centers echoes of the Dido episode – especially the language of erotic passion – and echoes of *DRN* in the latter half of the *Aeneid*. These echoes taint Aeneas' martial – and, by extension, imperialist – exploits. Aeneas himself succumbs to a form of passion, not unlike Dido's, in the end. This ending is ominous, since it implies that Aeneas is at risk of falling like Dido, and conveys that his imperialist exploits are akin to her frenzied erotic passion.

Vergil and the *Aeneid*

Vergil (70 BCE – 19 BCE) lived during the late Republic; he also lived to see the early Empire.[1] In his youth he sojourned in the Bay of Naples, studying Epicureanism, then returned to Rome.[2] He wrote the *Eclogues*, the *Georgics*, and the *Aeneid*. All Vergil's works contain Epicurean sentiments; these sentiments arguably grow less apparent in his later writings.[3] Vergil wrote the *Aeneid* in the last decade of his life. It is an epic poem about the Trojan hero Aeneas, a survivor of the Trojan war, who was destined to settle in the area that would one day become

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[1] See Horsfall, 1995: 2-4 for a list of the extant ancient sources for Vergil's biography. See 1-25 for a detailed biography of Vergil.

[2] Nelis, 2010: 16 (*Companion to Vergil's Aeneid and its Tradition*). See also Horsfall, 1995: 7, citing Aug. *Ep*. fr.xxxv Malc., *Georgics* 4.564-5, and P.*Par.Herc*.2.

[3] Works generally considered apocryphal or written in Vergil's youth written prior to the *Eclogues*, e.g. *Ciris*, also contain Epicurean sentiments (see Lyne, 1978).

Rome. The poem tells Aeneas' journey to Italy and his encounters with the native Italians. It is likely that Vergil had finished the poem before his death, yet he had not edited it; although he asked for his work to be burned, his companions (Varius, maybe even Augustus) did not obey his wishes.[4]

The *Aeneid* alludes to many literary antecedents – Homer, various Greek tragedians, Apollonius, Roman epic poets such as Ennius and Naevius, Lucretius, etc. While Vergil does not allude to Lucretius as often or as obviously as some of his other predecessors, no one would deny that the allusions exist; many readers, myself included, would argue that these allusions form meaningful patterns. When Vergil refers to Lucretius' *DRN*, he not only prompts readers to consider Epicurean views on physics, ethics, etc. – he also brings Lucretius' *political* implications into his own work. Specifically, I argue, both authors question the greatness of Rome.

Epicureanism

Epicurus (341 BCE – 270 BCE) established his eponymous philosophical school in Athens. Epicureanism asserts that pleasure is the highest good. Epicureans define pleasure as freedom from bodily pain and mental disturbance, as opposed to indulging in desires and decadence.[5] They divide desires into three categories: natural and necessary (e.g. food and drink; one should fulfil these), natural and unnecessary (e.g. sex; one should either avoid these or fulfil

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[4] The legend that Vergil wanted to destroy the unedited *Aeneid* circulated shortly after his death (e.g. Ovid alludes to it at *Tr*. 1.7.16, 1.1.118, 1.7.38, 3.14.20) (Stok, 2010: 111). It is also possible that he had not even finished writing it (O'Hara, 2010: 98). I agree with Tarrant, who argues that the version that exists today is essentially finished; he uses elements such as structural symmetries (e.g. one can split the poem into the 6-book Odyssean half and the 6-book Iliadic half) to support his claim (2012: 2-3). See also Horsfall, 1995: 22, citing VSD 39 (the *Vita Suetonii/Donati*, a mid-4th century AD biography).

[5] Epicurus' *Letter to Menoeceus* (*Ep. Men.*), 131-132. See also *DRN* 2.16-19: "… Do you not see that nature barks after nothing else for itself than that pain be absent, separated from the body, and that it enjoy a mind with pleasant sensation, removed from care and fear?" (*nonne videre | nil aliud sibi naturam latrare, nisi utqui | corpore seiunctus dolor absit, mente fruatur | iucundo sensu cura semota metuque?*).

them in measured ways), and unnatural and unnecessary (e.g. luxury, power; one should avoid these).[6] Because of the way the Epicurean physics system works, they assert that there is no afterlife; therefore, one should not fear death.[7] They believe that the gods are tranquil and uninvolved in human affairs.[8] Acting on religious superstition is harmful to oneself and others; Epicureans recommend knowledge of physics as an antidote to superstition.[9] They also discourage involvement in politics, unless the situation is dire, encouraging adherents instead to live in communities devoted to the philosophy, separate from the city.[10] As with all ancient philosophical schools, there was a plurality of views among Epicureans. Each school provided guidelines for living a good life; followers could justify different actions using different teachings.[11]

Roman Epicureanism

Following the visit of three Greek philosopher ambassadors to the Roman senate in 155 BCE, more Romans sought to study Greek philosophies and more Greeks travelled to Italy to teach; thus, Greek philosophies became less Atheno-centric.[12] One notable example of this exchange of ideas is the Greek Epicurean philosopher Philodemus (c. 110 BCE – c. 30 BCE) practicing at Herculaneum, where his papyri were found. The Bay of Naples was known for being a hub for Epicurean study.[13] With this area being known for its country villas,[14] it is easy

[6] *Ep. Men*. 127-128. While Lucretius does not mention these categories explicitly, he discusses these things (food, drink, sex, wealth, power) in ways that align with Epicurus' view.
[7] *DRN* 3.417–614. Epicureans believe that the soul, like all other things, is composed of atoms. These atoms disperse at death, ending one's consciousness. See also *Ep. Men*. 124-125.
[8] *DRN* 1.44-49, repeated at 2.646-651.
[9] See *DRN* 1.62-101, where Lucretius extols Epicurus for freeing people from superstition. He explains how superstition can cause one to commit criminal acts, via the famous myth about the sacrifice of Iphigenia at Aulis. Throughout *DRN* Lucretius discusses the dangers of superstition and strategies for avoiding it.
[10] *DRN* 2.7-13; Cicero *De Republica* I 10-11.
[11] Griffin, 1997: 1-37.
[12] While an Epicurean was not among the ambassadors, and Epicureanism had already spread beyond Athens prior to this, with this movement *all* Greek philosophical schools spread more widely than before (Sedley, 2009: 30-32).
[13] D'Arms, 1970: 56 ff.
[14] D'Arms, 1970: 40-42.

to see how one could misinterpret (willfully or otherwise) Epicureans as promoting a sort of vulgar hedonism.

While many Roman Epicureans withdrew from the city to practice their philosophy – expressive perhaps of an Epicurean withdrawal from public duty – some prominent Romans practiced within the city. Although Romans never embraced it as much as Stoicism, it was by no means a fringe movement. Cicero, a contemporary of Lucretius, expresses disapproval of Epicureanism. The fact that he argues against Epicureanism shows that there were people arguing in favour of the positions he criticizes; he presumably wished to sway people from ideas which he may have thought to be counterproductive, or even harmful.

In the following passage, Cicero represents Epicureanism as vulgar hedonism – a view that some Romans, non-Epicureans and Epicureans alike, also adopted: "[Epicurus] does not censure profligacy, provided it be free from unbridled desire, and from fear of consequences. Here he seems to be making a bid for converts: the would-be *roué* need only turn philosopher" (*De Fin*. 2.30).[15] He also expresses its popularity: "Here is a famous philosopher, whose influence has spread not only over Greece and Italy but throughout all barbarian lands as well, protesting that he cannot understand what Moral Worth is, if it does not consist in pleasure; unless indeed it be that which wins the approval and applause of the multitude. For my part I hold that what is popular is often positively base" (*De Fin*. 2.49).[16]

Cicero in *De Republica* I 10-11 criticizes the Epicurean view that one should not get involved in politics unless it is necessary, and that an Epicurean should trust in his leadership

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[15] *non est enim vitium in oratione solum sed etiam in moribus. Luxuriam non reprendit, modo sit vacua infinita cupiditate et timore. Hoc loco discipulos quaerere videtur, ut qui asoti esse velint philosophi ante fiant.*

[16] *Philosophus nobilis, a quo non solum Graecia et Italia sed etiam omnis barbaria commota est, honestum quid sit, si id non sit in voluptate, negat se intellegere, nisi forte illud quod multitudinis rumore laudetur. Ego autem hoc etiam turpe esse saepe iudico…*

competencies despite his lack of experience. This shows, perhaps, that Epicurean ideas were entering the political realm and Cicero thought that they threatened the system. As I argue in Chapter 1, Vergil presents Dido as a capable, Epicurean-coded and Roman-coded leader, who took up power in a time of crisis. This contradicts Cicero's idea that Epicureans cannot be good leaders. Yes, she eventually fails, but that is not because of her lack of leadership experience (the aspect that Cicero criticizes). It is because of her turn away from a stabilizing philosophy, which is something that any politician of any philosophical background could succumb to.

In sum, Romans were discussing philosophy, including Epicureanism, in relation to politics. While this is the case, I wish to clarify that Romans did not associate philosophical schools with certain factions or parties; as Sedley notes, "no simple correlation between philosophical and political allegiance is evident."[17]

Lucretius and *De Rerum Natura*

Although little is known about Lucretius' life, it is relatively certain that he lived from 99/8 BCE to c. 55 BCE. He wrote *DRN*, a didactic epic poem on the Epicurean doctrine. It aims to teach its readers and addressee (Memmius, a Roman politician), about the truth and benefits of Epicurean beliefs. Lucretius explains the Epicurean system of physics and ethics, asserting that pleasure is the highest good. This assertion, along with his physics system, form the basis for arguments such as: one should not fear death, one should not engage in *religio* ("superstitious religious rites"), one should avoid the destructive forces of lovesickness, etc. It is likely that Lucretius repeats Epicurus' ideas and asserts some of his own.[18]

[17] 2009: 43. See also Schiesaro, who says that Lucretius is targeting no specific faction nor age – rather, "the very ideological and political superstructure of the Roman state itself" (2007: 54).
[18] Sedley, 2009: 42.

Lucretius' writing conveys that he lived through a time of civil strife.[19] He makes political statements in his discussions about philosophy; this further demonstrates the interwovenness of politics and the Epicurean philosophy in Rome.

***De Rerum Natura* and Politics**

Political and Social Metaphors

In many of his metaphors, Lucretius describes the universe through the lens of not only Roman thought, but Roman *political* thought.[20] I do not assert that Lucretius is making statements purely about contemporary politics, nor purely universal political/historical truths – he does both. McConnell comments on this concept, saying: "The work can function on both levels, the general and the particular, but the general scope takes clear precedence over the particular application."[21] I stand by the first part of his assertion, yet I lean into Lucretius commenting on contemporary politics more than McConnell does.

Lucretius' political references often challenge the worthiness of devoting oneself to Rome's politics; he also challenges the concept of an eternal Rome. The latter is most important for my project. While Lucretius does not directly address imperialism, he challenges Rome's empire when he disproves Rome's eternity, since the empire was conceptualized as eternal. I assert that Vergil also challenges Rome's eternity – by associating the Trojans (especially Aeneas, in the latter half of the poem) with Dido, it conveys that their leadership is in danger of

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[19] For example, at *DRN* 1.41-43 he writes: "For at this tempestuous time in my country's history, I cannot tackle my task with a tranquil mind, and the gravity of the situation is such that the noble descendant of the Memmii cannot fail the cause of public security" (*nam neque nos agere hoc patriai tempore iniquo | possumus aequo animo nec Memmi clara propago | talibus in rebus communi desse saluti*). It is possible that writing *DRN* was Lucretius' way of helping his state during a time of crisis. While he did not get involved in office (to our knowledge), he wrote a text that could sway those who were.

[20] Gladhill, 2016: 71.

[21] 2012: 109. I agree with McConnell's general assertion that: "Lucretius is faithfully presenting the Epicurean position on civil strife, but he has carefully tailored it so that it is most relevant to his Roman audience and the general socio-political conditions of the Roman republic" (110).

failure. As well, Anchises' vision of Rome is an eternal Rome – but Aeneas does not appear to be carrying out the founding of Rome in the way Anchises had laid out. This also raises the question whether the Rome Aeneas set up foundations for, Vergil's Rome, truly live up to Anchises' vision. In Chapter 1 I suggest that Vergil departs from Lucretius, in that he presents political involvement and good Epicureanism as capable of coexisting in a leader, and as a beneficial thing to that leader and their people. Lucretius does not speak for all Epicureans when he discourages political involvement; there would have been a plurality of views among adherents about this subject, as with all subjects, especially worldly ones.[22]

I still choose to discuss Lucretius' criticisms of devoting oneself to politics, since they help serve his challenge of Rome's greatness and eternity. One example where he challenges political pursuit is the proem of Book 2, where he uses political language and clichés to describe philosophers' Schadenfreude when they observe other men vying for power and wealth.

> sed nihil dulcius est, bene quam munita tenere
> edita doctrina sapientum templa serena,
> despicere unde queas alios passimque videre
> errare atque viam palantis quaerere vitae, 10
> certare ingenio, contendere nobilitate,
> **noctes atque dies niti** praestante **labore**
> ad summas **emergere** opes **rerumque potiri**.
> *DRN* 2.7-13
> But nothing is more delightful than to possess lofty sanctuaries serene, well fortified by the teachings of the wise, whence you may look down upon others and behold them all astray, wandering abroad and seeking the path of life: the strife of wits, the fight for precedence, all labouring night and day with surpassing toil to mount upon the pinnacle of riches and to lay hold on power.

In this passage, the philosophers are elevated (*edita doctrina sapientum templa serena*) while the unwise men "strive night and day with extraordinary toil to raise themselves up to the summit

[22] See page 3, note 11 of this introduction.

and to obtain dominion of things" (*noctes atque dies niti praestante labore | ad summas emergere opes rerumque potiri* 2.13-14). "Making it to the top" was a well-known political metaphor in Rome; words and phrases like *niti*, *labore*, *emergere*, *rerum potiri*, and *noctes atque dies* are "common in political discourse."[23] Lucretius uses such language again at 5.1123-1135 (particularly the image of the summit), where he recounts the fall of monarchy;[24] this conveys that his contemporary situation resembles this historical example of a failure of a flawed system. 3.68-86, which describes men killing their kin, fearing their friends, and envying those in higher stations, would have hit close to home for Lucretius' contemporaries, who had participated in civil wars. Lucretius finishes this passage by undermining these men, comparing their fears to a child's fear of the dark; he asserts that the sole remedy is practicing Epicureanism (3.87-93). Therefore, he undermines his contemporaries and holds up his philosophy as the superior path. Other passages from *DRN* subtly undermine the Roman military. According to Schiesaro, 4.843-847 conveys that the Roman army is no more refined than the primal fighting of early humans.[25] To further convey this sense of Roman soldiers being animalistic, he describes an account of early men trying to use bulls, boars and lions in battle (5.1308-1349). The result is chaotic; "boundaries between men and animals collapse."[26] Criticizing Rome's military is adjacent to criticizing its empire, since the empire is formed by conquest.

In addition to these phrases recalling and undermining contemporary politics, Lucretius employs "social metaphor" (coined by Fowler) by likening atoms to citizens, compounds to pacts, and inevitable dissolution to inevitable civil war.[27] Lucretius uses the word *foedera*

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[23] See Fowler, 1989: 134-135 for more detail on this example and others. See note 64 in Fowler for instances and analysis of the listed words and phrases. See also Schiesaro for a couple other examples (i.e. *salus* and *ruina*) (2007: 42).
[24] Schiesaro, 2007: 53.
[25] 2007: 53.
[26] Schiesaro, 2007: 53.
[27] Fowler, 1989: 147-149.

(meaning "pacts," "alliances," "laws") in the context of nature and the cosmos, particularly in the phrase *foedera naturai*. The word *foedera* carries political and legal meanings which would be difficult, and unnecessary, to remove – in fact, if one did try to ignore its political connotations, one would lose a dimension of the poem's meaning.[28] He did not need to use a word with so much political baggage to describe the cosmos; in using it, he conjures a political image. One example of Lucretius using *foedera naturai* in political way is at 5.306-10. Here, Lucretius describes the inevitable collapse of both nature (stones, rocks) and civilization (turrets, temples, icons), and the eternal nature of the *foedera naturai*:

> denique non lapides quoque vinci cernis ab aevo,
> non altas turris ruere et putrescere saxa,
> non delubra deum simulacraque fessa fatisci,
> nec sanctum numen fati protollere finis
> posse neque adversus naturai foedera niti?
>
> And do you not also see how stones are overcome by time, how lofty turrets collapse and rocks are worn away and decay and how the temples of gods and their worn out icons crumble away, how sacred divine energy is unable to prolong the limits of fate nor struggle contrary to the *foedera* of nature?[29]

In this passage, Lucretius presents a world where humans have molded nature to serve civic purposes (rocks/stones are made into towers, temples, and religious icons), and all these things, whether natural or man-made, are doomed to decay eventually. Towers represent military might; temples and icons represent *religio*. Lucretius shows that the *foedera naturai* will overpower and outlive Rome's military as well as Rome's religious institutions; this is a threat to the popular Roman view that these things were eternal, or at least powerful and significant parts

[28] Gladhill, 2016: 70-71. See also Gladhill, 2016: 77-79 for uses of *foedera* in the political sphere in Lucretius' time.
[29] Citing an example given in Gladhill, 2016: 92, where a detailed analysis of the lines can be found.

of their civilization.[30] Misunderstanding the fragility of manmade *foedera* not only has political consequences, but also personal. I discuss this further in Chapter 1.[31] Again, Lucretius asserting the impermanence of the manmade is threatening to the Roman conception of their empire.

Allusion to Thucydides' Athenian Plague

In this section, I argue for a connection between Thucydides' plague passage, Lucretius' plague passage, and certain elements in the *Aeneid*. There is no doubt that Lucretius heavily borrows from Thucydides to write his own plague passage, but where does the *Aeneid* fit in? Lovesickness symptoms resemble plague symptoms; Dido suffers from lovesickness (specifically Lucretian lovesickness) and her tale cautions against succumbing to this. Civil war and plague also resemble each other (see below); the latter half of the *Aeneid* can be seen as a civil war, and in this war echoes of the Dido episode abound. I link the Dido episode and the latter half of the *Aeneid* to form my argument. Plague also naturally links these two parts of the *Aeneid*. This further damns the Trojans' imperialist exploits. Not only do they resemble succumbing to erotic passion, which is a negative thing, but they also resemble plague, another negative thing. This detracts from any sense of triumph or hope for the Trojans' exploits in Italy. Plague causes breakdown in society; civil war also does this, and so does lovesickness if experienced by a leader (e.g. Dido). It causes people to act immorally, destructively, and based on personal hurts (as opposed to the collective) – so too do civil war and lovesickness. Plague, civil war, and lovesickness are all ominous things to allude to, especially in an epic about the origins of a society.

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[30] Gladhill, 2016: 92. See also Schiesaro, 2007: 53 for more discussion on how Lucretius presents Rome as a city like any other – i.e. doomed to eventual decay, and 42-43 for the argument that Lucretius challenges the notion of Rome's eternity.
[31] Pages 57-58.

The final passage of *DRN* is a retelling of Thucydides' description of the plague at Athens during the Peloponnesian war;[32] both passages make political statements. Thucydides' account shows the disconnect between Perikles' idealized account of Athenian character and the reality of Athenians' actions during the plague. Lucretius, in alluding to it, also makes a political statement. Like Thucydides, he shows the fragility of human institutions; he adds that practicing Epicureanism would lessen suffering. I argue that Vergil, in his allusions to Lucretius and the Dido episode, conveys that Aeneas' martial/imperial activities in Italy resemble lovesickness, which can often resemble plague; plague and civil war also resemble each other, and the war in Italy is a civil war (the Trojans and native Italians would become one people). All these associations taint Aeneas' battles and eventual victory. In broad strokes, all three authors show a person/people falling short of a value system, then suffering as a result. I discuss these connections in more detail below.

Thucydides describes the plague's symptoms, its origins, and people's reactions to the crisis. It is significant that this passage immediately follows Perikles' funeral oration (2.34-47).[33] The sequence of these passages undermines the funeral oration because the Athenians' behaviour in the plague passage contradicts so many of the idealistic values which Perikles attributes to Athenians. Thucydides is satirizing, or at least questioning, the sanitized, idealistic account of Athenian character which his Perikles puts forth, by showing this dissonance. Below, I provide several examples.

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[32] *DRN* 6.1138-1286; Thucydides 2.48-54. Lucretius' plague passage nearly translates Thucydides in some parts. Foster notes that many in Lucretius' audience would have been familiar with Thucydides (2011: 90-91).

[33] It is unlikely that Thucydides knew and recorded exactly what Perikles had said, so Thucydides inevitably took creative liberties when writing the oration. One can assume that Thucydides wrote the oration to fit the message he wished to convey in his text.

Perikles praises Athenians' piety (2.38), which completely crumbles in the plague passage. Thucydides exposes the irony of Perikles' "throwing open our city to the world" (2.39) – in the plague passage, letting people into the city causes the plague. At 2.39, Perikles says that Athenians can anticipate danger and face it honourably; this is particularly on-the-nose, since no one predicted the plague, and many did not face it honourably. At the end of 2.40, where Perikles praises Athenians for helping others, the parallel in the plague passage is bleak – people who helped others were ineffectual and even fell sick themselves. At 2.42, Perikles' Athenians do not shrink from duty because of wealth, hopes of enjoying current wealth, or hopes of gaining wealth. In the plague, Athenians spend their wealth in vulgar ways.[34] Lastly, Perikles' funerary oration honours the dead; during the plague, Athenians abandon rites and indifferently throw their own dead onto others' pyres.[35]

When examining the plague/plague-adjacent passages of Thucydides, Lucretius, and Vergil, I draw on an observation by Orwin. He argues that it is not simply the case that civil war causes plague – plague and civil war *resemble each other*. Both civil war and plague are destructive forces which break down kinship, men's laws, and divine law.[36]

Lucretius' Plague

Lucretius' plague passage also describes the plague's origins, its symptoms, and people's reactions to the crisis. Like Thucydides' plague, Lucretius' plague is a metaphor for a breakdown of society. Keeping in mind the link proposed by Orwin, likening plague to civil war, a possible purpose of this passage is to emphasize the dangers of civil war. More concretely, Schiesaro observes linguistic parallels between plague symptoms and contemporary political language –

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[34] Orwin, 1988: 842.
[35] See Orwin, 1988: 844.
[36] 1988: 836-8 for discussion of these elements; 841 for how they relate to plague; 843 for the major difference between *stasis* and plague – i.e. in *stasis* men care about the future, and in plague they do not.

e.g., as discussed above, the phrase *noctes diesque* ("night and day") is used of political striving and plague symptoms.[37] Broadly speaking, both plague and civil war in Lucretius are entail a breaking of social bonds and society more generally.[38]

Many of Lucretius' readers were involved in politics. Foster asserts that the Epicurean movement was losing prominent members, since those men were becoming preoccupied with their current-day civil discord; Foster sees this passage as a reminder to those men not to stray from proper Epicurean practice.[39] In a similar spirit, Commager argues that while Thucydides aims to aid posterity, Lucretius aims to warn his contemporaries of a present-day moral sickness.[40]

An added layer to Lucretius' plague passage is its statement about Epicureanism. Many scholars assert that Lucretius' Athenians represent non-Epicureans, and the plague represents the mental anguish suffered when one does not live by Epicurean doctrine.[41] Despite its gloominess and horror, many agree that Lucretius' plague passage is not pessimistic – at least for a reader who grasped the text. Gardner argues that the reader who had truly grasped Lucretius' lessons would know that renewal always follows destruction.[42] Bright and Commager note that the plague passage brings together many of the poem's earlier lessons, the latter describing it as the "moral culmination" of the work.[43] Gale also notes that this passage brings together the poem's arguments; the plague symptoms parallel "the excessive desires and excruciating anxieties of the non-Epicurean."[44] Likewise, Gale also notes that Lucretius uses the metaphor earlier in the

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[37] 2007: 55-56. Political: 2.12-13, 3.62-63; plague: 6.1158-1160. He provides several other striking examples.
[38] Schiesaro, 2007: 56.
[39] 2011: 97-99. She concludes that Lucretius was unsuccessful.
[40] 1957: 113-114.
[41] See Commager 1957, Bright 1971, Gale 1994, Ferguson Smith 2001, Schiesaro 2007, Foster 2011, etc.
[42] 2019: 111.
[43] 1957: 113; 1971: 623, 632.
[44] Gale, 1994: 227; 2001: 40. Others have also argued this – see Gale n. 80 on page 227 for more information.

poem, showing mental *curae* ("anxieties," "cares") as similar to disease.[45] Gale argues that this passage is a sort of 'final exam' to test the reader's grasp of the text; this passage shows nature at its most devastating, so, if one is able to face that part of the text with equanimity, one can take heart.[46] Gale also emphasizes that it is a warning – you could suffer like this if you do not practice Epicureanism.[47] Similarly, Ferguson Smith argues that there would be no reason to despair – as long as one follows Epicurean principles, one will not suffer as the unenlightened Athenians did.[48]

Vergil's 'Plague'

Vergil's Dido resembles both Thucydides' and Lucretius' plague sufferers; she is an example of someone falling short of a value system when put under pressure and she suffers immensely. Her lovesickness resembles the plague symptoms. For example, she suffers from: fire (*Aen*. 4.2, 4.67; *DRN* 6.1145-1146, 6.1163-1169); unquenchable thirst (*Aen*. 1.749; *DRN* 6.1170-1177); wounds (*Aen*. 4.2, etc.; *DRN* 6.1166, etc.); trouble sleeping (*Aen*. 4.5, etc.; *DRN* 6.1180-1181); etc. As I discuss in Chapter 1, Dido resembles Lucretius' plague sufferers specifically in that her literal symptoms are a metaphor for the suffering experienced by non-Epicureans. The failure in her body and mind reflects her moral failure; such is the case with Lucretius' Athenians, as well.

Echoes of Dido in the latter half of the poem remind the reader of this. I also argue that many key moments in the Trojans' martial/imperial quest in the latter half of the poem resemble lovesickness; either the characters (like Dido) experience literal lovesickness and are lead astray, or Vergil describes their martial/imperial actions using the language of Didonian

[45] 1994: 227.
[46] 2001: 40.
[47] 1994: 228.
[48] Ferguson Smith, 2001: xxxiv.

lovesickness/passion, which taints the legitimacy of these actions; after all, in Chapter 1 lovesickness was shown to be unambiguously negative. Additionally, the war in Italy is presented as a civil war.[49] This relates to plague if one recalls Orwin's likening of plague and civil war. So, although the *Aeneid* does not have a plague passage, Vergil creates parallel passages in his depictions of love and civil war.

Vergil had linked lovesickness and plague in his earlier work. In Book 3 of the *Georgics*, he describes bulls under the influence of erotic passion fighting each other for mates. These bulls can be seen as a metaphor for prominent men who vie for power – and in doing so, bring about destruction – when attempting to create or maintain empire. Vergil ends *Georgics* 3 with a plague among the animals. Here, he uses a lot of the same imagery as in the passages on erotic passion – fire, neglecting one's usual activities, tearing others apart with teeth, their strength wasting away, etc. In Chapter 2, I discuss how Vergil echoes the bull fight from the *Georgics* in a simile about Aeneas and Turnus fighting in Book 12.[50] With this in mind, it is reasonable to expect Vergil to juxtapose erotic passion and plague again in the *Aeneid*.

Philosophy and Politics in the *Aeneid*

Scholars often use philosophical lenses to interpret ambiguous and troubling parts of the *Aeneid*. My research focuses on an Epicurean approach to passion in the *Aeneid*. Other scholars, especially Putnam and Galinsky, have examined Aeneas' passion-driven killing of Turnus at the end of the poem through a Stoic lens.[51] I add to the discourse by pointing out that Dido, when she gives into passion, becomes an example of failed Epicureanism, serving as a cautionary tale

[49] Jupiter says so at *Aen*. 10.5-15.
[50] *G.* 3.219-223 is echoed in *Aen*. 12.715-724.
[51] While there is some speculation that the *Aeneid* is unfinished, and that Vergil had not intended for this to be the last scene, Tarrant's observations about the text (especially the points about structural symmetry within the extant poem) convince me that we can accept this as the ending of the poem (2012: 2-3).

about the dangers of passion when establishing a city. I argue that echoes of this tale taint Aeneas' victory; this expands on Putnam's arguments, since he argues that Aeneas killing Turnus is an act of violent passion, which the audience would have viewed negatively.

I, like others before, assert that the *Aeneid* is eclectic.[52] This means that it uses images and concepts from various, often conflicting, philosophies/ideologies throughout. I believe that it is futile and limiting to view the *Aeneid*, or its author, as fitting into one category; the poem's multiple perspectives can coexist without need for justification.[53] One can interpret a scene as promoting or condemning an ideology, or anything in between, depending on one's argumentation. Below, to demonstrate past philosophical approaches to the *Aeneid*, I summarize the discourse around Aeneas' characterization and the poem's ending in relation to Stoicism.

Stoics hold virtue as the highest good; virtue is necessary and sufficient to live a good life. They define virtue as living in accordance with reason.[54] To live rationally, one must eradicate all passions. Passions are "irrational movements in the soul, or impulses to excess."[55] This does not mean all emotions are negative to a Stoic[56] – rather, a Stoic has knowledge of what is worthy of feeling (i.e. what is in accordance with right reason) and what is not. They call things in the latter category "indifferents;" these are out of one's control and have nothing to do

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[52] Galinsky, 1988: 337-338; Fowler, 1997: 31-33; Gill, 2003: 216-218; Zanker, 2023: 34-36. Edwards also acknowledges the *Aeneid*'s eclecticism, though less directly than the others (1960: 160).
[53] Braund especially argues in favour of this view (1997: 206-207).
[54] Seneca, *Letters* 76.9-10: "(1) What is best in man? Reason: with this he precedes the animals and follows the gods. Therefore perfect reason is man's peculiar good, the rest he shares with animals and plants . . . (2) What is the peculiar characteristic of a man? Reason - which when right and perfect makes the full sum of human happiness. Therefore if every thing, when it has perfected its own good, is praiseworthy and has reached the end of its own nature, and man's own good is reason, if he has perfected reason, he is praiseworthy and has attained the end of his nature. (3) This perfect reason is called virtue and it is identical to rectitude."
See also Cicero *Academica* Book 2, section 26: "For reason provides a starting point for inquiry, which perfects virtue when reason itself has been strengthened by inquiring," and Seneca *Letters on Ethics* 124.4: "But surely it is reason which is in charge of that matter; that is what makes the decisions about good and bad, just as is does about the happy life, about virtue, and about the honourable."
[55] *Diogenes Laertius* 7.110.
[56] A wise person feels joy (rational elation), caution (rational avoidance), and wishing (rational appetency) (*Diogenes Laertius* 7.116).

with how much virtue/reason one has. Stoics include many things in this category, including one's health, wealth, and reputation.[57] The Stoics believe in one god – often called Zeus/Jupiter – who is rational and carries out his plan (fate); this god both acts on the cosmos and exists throughout it as part of it.[58] The Stoics have a compatibilist view of fate – while they believe in determinism, they also believe in some human agency.[59] They also acknowledge that one must go through trials before becoming a Stoic sage.[60] Stoicism easily went hand-in-hand with a certain flavour of Roman imperial aspirations, in that both ideologies encourage "self-denying duty" and a "method of war [which] involves dispassionate, rational bravery and employs judicious, rational mercy"; they both oppose *furor* ("violent passion").[61]

Many scholars have argued that Aeneas falls short of the Stoic ideal. I agree with these scholars; Aeneas' act of violent passion at the end of the poem does not align with Stoic values. I depart from them by emphasizing the significance of Epicurean allusions. One of the things that sets Epicureanism apart from other Roman philosophies/ideologies is its questioning of Rome's eternity and the value of expansion (e.g. these ideas can fit neatly into the Stoic ideology). Therefore, I argue that Vergil, with all his allusions to Epicureanism, not only condemns passions, but also Rome's activities. But for now, I explore the previous discourse around Aeneas, the passions, and Stoicism.

Stoicism, unlike Epicureanism, is compatible with Rome's imperialism. Zavadil observes that the Stoics liken both the city and the cosmos to the human body, and therefore the city and

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[57] "… life, health, pleasure, beauty, strength, wealth, reputation, noble birth, and their opposites, death, disease, pain, ugliness, weakness, poverty, low repute, ignoble birth and the like." *Diogenes Laertius*, 7.106.
[58] *Diogenes Laertius*, 7.88, 135-136.
[59] Cicero and Chrysippus explore this in their discussion of "the Lazy Argument" (i.e. they argue against the attitude which asks, "if things are all fated, why do anything?") (see Brennan, 2005: 270-287).
[60] Seneca, *De Providentia* 1.4: "No one becomes a sage; it is simply a state of being to which Stoics strive."
[61] Lyne, 1983: 189-190.

the cosmos are likened to each other; this is the "two cities" metaphor.[62] This differs from the Epicurean belief that all manmade things are impermanent and inferior to the *foedera naturai*. This "two cities" metaphor existed in Republican Rome and the early Imperial period, only increasing afterwards. Cicero, who favoured Stoic views, used both the city-as-body and cosmos-as-body metaphors.[63] He more directly links the cosmos and the city in the following passage from *De Natura Deorum* 2.154, when he writes: "For the world is as it were the common dwelling-place of gods and men, or the city that belongs to both; for they alone have the use of reason and live by justice and by law."[64] While Seneca, who also favoured Stoic views, wrote after Vergil, it is worth noting that he used this metaphor to justify having an emperor. The emperor is the rational brain, and the people the rest of the body, and both need each other.[65] Therefore, Seneca used a Stoic principle to justify empire. Zanker observes that Vergil presents the founding of Rome as a thing that happens according to the Stoic concept of fate[66] (e.g. Vergil's Jupiter aligns with the Stoic god[67]), and the founding of Rome is unambiguously an imperial project (Jupiter and Anchises both explicitly say that Romans will rule the world); therefore Vergil conveys that this imperial project is in line with Stoicism. Additionally, Jupiter and Anchises present Rome's destiny to rule the world as eternal, inevitable, and beneficial to all.[68] Therefore, part of Vergil's eclecticism is presenting Stoicism as aligned with imperial exploits.

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[62] 2009: 219.
[63] Observed by Zavadil (2009: 224-225). City as body: "Romans must not try to take from their neighbours, just as a body's limbs must not try to take strength from the neighbouring limbs" (*On Duties*, 3.21-22). Cosmos as body: "just as the body is ruled by one rational mind, so is the cosmos" (*De Republica*, 1.23, 2.16).
[64] Observed by Schofield (1991: 65). (*Est enim mundus quasi communis deorum atque hominum domus, aut urbs utrorumque; soli enim ratione utentes iure ac lege vivunt*).
[65] Observed by Zavadil (2009: 225-226). Seneca, *De Ira* 1.3.5–4.1.
[66] Zanker, 2023: 167.
[67] Zanker, 2023: 166.
[68] Zanker, 2023: 170.

Some early 20th century scholars argued that Aeneas was a Stoic. Heinze asserts that Aeneas goes through trials in the first half of the poem and embodies the philosophy in the second half. In the first half Aeneas resists his fate, acts in self-serving ways, and gives into his passions; in the second half, he accepts and fulfils his fate, and serves his state (Heinze does not acknowledge that Aeneas killing Turnus could be an act of passion).[69] Heinze also takes Jupiter to be equivalent to the Stoic god/providence.[70] Bowra agrees with many of Heinze's observations, yet he acknowledges that Aeneas' moments of violent passion in the latter half of the poem do not align with Stoicism. However, because he says that where Aeneas falls short of Stoicism, he embodies Augustan/Roman values, he conveys that Vergil's audience would have seen Aeneas' actions as justified.[71] Pease also characterizes Aeneas as a Stoic, because of his devotion to state, kinsmen, and gods over self; his submission to fate; and his approach towards being a sage.[72]

More recent scholars observe Stoic language in the *Aeneid*, often arguing that Vergil conveys sympathy towards the philosophy. For example, Vergil includes Stoic language and concepts at significant parts of the poem, such as Anchises' advice to Aeneas about sparing the vanquished; the language here resembles other authors' pro-Stoic writings.[73] However, most of the more recent scholarship, unlike Heinze, argues *against* Aeneas' effective adherence to Stoic ideals. Below, I focus on the discourse around Aeneas' final act of the poem – i.e. killing Turnus – and how scholars have read this in relation to Stoicism.

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[69]The following summarizes Heinze's list of Aeneas' Stoic actions in the latter half of the *Aeneid*: Jupiter intervenes less, showing trust in Aeneas; grief for Pallas does not derail him from fulfilling his fate; he has confidence in the fates and instils this in his men; he reacts calmly and practically when he is wounded and the battle is not in his favour in Book 12; he gives a wise, composed farewell speech to Ascanius (1915: 226).
[70] Heinze, 1915: 227. Epictetus *Discourses* 1.4.1 coins the terms προκόπτων ("progressing") and προκοπή ("progress").
[71] Bowra, 1933: 19.
[72] Pease, 1935: 42-47. Since he focuses on Book 4, he does not comment on the latter half of the *Aeneid*.
[73] Putnam, 1990: 16-18.

Many have argued that Aeneas killing Turnus is a failure to adhere to Stoic values; they argue that this conveys the difficulty – maybe the impossibility – of perfect adherence. Where Aeneas falls short is in his succumbing to passion (rage), as opposed to acting in accordance with a rational motivation.

> … incidit ictus
> ingens ad terram duplicato poplite Turnus.
> consurgunt gemitu Rutuli totusque remugit
> mons circum et vocem late nemora alta remittunt.
> ille humilis supplex oculos dextramque precantem 930
> protendens "equidem merui nec deprecor" inquit;
> "utere sorte tua. miseri te si qua parentis
> tangere cura potest, oro (fuit et tibi talis
> Anchises genitor) Dauni miserere senectae
> et me, seu corpus spoliatum lumine mavis, 935
> redde meis. vicisti et victum tendere palmas
> Ausonii videre; tua est Lavinia coniunx,
> ulterius ne tende odiis." stetit acer in armis
> mp Aeneas volvens oculos dextramque repressit;
> et iam iamque magis cunctantem flectere sermo 940
> coeperat, infelix umero cum apparuit alto
> balteus et notis fulserunt cingula bullis
> Pallantis pueri, victum quem vulnere Turnus
> straverat atque umeris inimicum insigne gerebat.
> ille, oculis postquam saevi monumenta doloris 945
> exuviasque hausit, **furiis accensus et ira**
> **terribilis**: "tune hinc spoliis indute meorum
> eripiare mihi? Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas
> immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit."
> hoc dicens ferrum adverso sub pectore condit 950
> **fervidus**; ast illi solvuntur frigore membra
> vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras.
> *Aen*. 12.926-952
> Under the blow [dealt by Aeneas], with his knee bent down to earth beneath him, huge Turnus sank. The Rutulians start up with a groan; all the hills re-echo round about, and far and near the wooded slopes send back the sound. In supplication he lowered his eyes and stretched out his right hand: "I have earned it," he cried, "and I ask no mercy; use your chance. If any thought of a parent's grief can touch you, I beg you—you too had

> such a father in Anchises—pity Daunus' old age, and give me—or, if you prefer, my lifeless body—back to my kin. You are the victor; and the Ausonians have seen me stretch forth my hands as the vanquished: Lavinia is your wife; do not press your hatred further." Fierce in his armour, Aeneas stood still shifting his eyes, and restrained his hand; and now, as he paused, these words began to sway him more and more, when high on the shoulder the luckless baldric met his gaze, and the belt flashed with its well-known studs—the belt of young Pallas, whom Turnus had wounded and stretched vanquished on the earth, and now he wore on his shoulders his foeman's fatal emblem. Aeneas, as soon as his eyes drank in the trophy, that memorial of cruel grief, **ablaze with fury and terrible in his wrath**: "Clad in the spoils of one of mine, are you to be snatched from my hands? Pallas it is, Pallas who sacrifices you with this stroke, and takes retribution from your guilty blood!" So saying, **in burning rage** he buries his sword full in Turnus' breast. His limbs grew slack and chill and with a moan his life fled resentfully to the Shades below.

This scene alludes to Achilles killing Hektor in the *Iliad*. It is troubling, however, because it provides none of the resolution that its antecedent did. Priam, Hektor's father, begs Achilles to return his son's corpse (24.478-506). This resembles Turnus' plea to Aeneas; both begging men appeal to the heroes' humanity by asking them to remember their (the heroes') fathers, and how they would wish to have their sons' corpses returned (*Il*. 24.486-492; *Aen*. 12.932-936). In response, Achilles weeps together with Priam (24.507f.), agrees to return Hektor's body and joins the group that prepares the body (24.560-561; 24.572-590), and agrees to a truce while the Trojans held a funeral for Hektor (24.656-670). Aeneas, in contrast, considers mercy then kills Turnus in an angry passion.[74]

Aeneas' succumbing to rage in Book 12 also resembles his behaviour in Book 2 (his retelling of Troy's fall), when he nearly kills Helen (2.567-624) and nearly leads a suicidal charge towards the attacking Greeks (2.638-729, especially 668-670). This is also troubling,

[74] Achilles does threaten to kill Priam if Priam provokes him verbally (24.560-570). Although violent, this shows restraint that Aeneas does not.

since the *Aeneid* conveys that the Trojans must leave behind the past – not repeat it.[75] As well, Aeneas' actions in Book 12 are more alarming because he does not hold back from acting on his passion as he did in Book 2.

Left with the shock of Aeneas' violent act and nothing to provide closure afterwards, readers are likely to reflect on Aeneas' motives and/or pass judgment on his action. Interpretations using philosophy can help provide closure which the text itself does not provide. Specifically, interpreting the hero as falling short of the Stoic doctrine and asserting that this is an inevitability, or a depiction of the practical reality, would provide some closure. Instead of leaving the poem feeling uncomfortable with what the hero has done (most readers wish to see the hero do 'the right thing,' especially at the ending), a reader with this interpretation would feel allowed to pardon the hero, which may come as a relief. The scholars discussed below each argue a variation of the above interpretation.

Edwards notes many examples of Vergil using Stoic language (particularly phrases about "following fate"), yet he also observes that Vergil presents non-Stoic concepts (such as passions) and non-Stoic characters (such as Dido, Turnus, and Mezentius) favourably.[76] Lyne argues that Aeneas falls short of the Stoic-imperial standards set out by Anchises (which echo Cicero, Sallust, and Horace), i.e. to show mercy to the conquered; this shows the "truth (we might say) of imperial ideals, what actually happens to them in practice."[77] Fowler argues that Vergil depicts emotions negatively and in Stoic language (e.g. the phrase *furiis accensus*, "inflamed with furies"). He sees Aeneas' final act as a loss of control – one in a series of instances where characters do so. He also asserts that Vergil conveys "the absolute necessity of emotional control

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[75] Quint, 1993. Quint argues this point generally, though his conclusion is that the ending of the Aeneid marks a departure from the cycle the Trojans had been repeating (65-83). I argue the opposite.
[76] 1960: 151-154 (following fate); 160 (favourable depictions of non-Stoic things).
[77] Lyne, 1983, especially 199 and 203.

and its complete impossibility."[78] Gill asserts that, overall, the first half of the *Aeneid* is Stoicizing (i.e. Vergil's views seem to be in line with Stoicism), but the latter half is more ambiguous.[79] He tentatively concludes that Aeneas killing Turnus is a falling short of the high standards of "morality and rationality" which he lives up to in other parts of the poem.[80] Zanker, in a recent monograph about Stoicism and the *Aeneid*, argues that the Stoic idea of fate is prevalent throughout the epic and that Aeneas is a hero with Stoic qualities (especially his desire to fulfill his fate). In the end, Aeneas both succeeds and fails as a Stoic – he fulfils his fate (albeit passively, not actively), yet he gives into anger and does not show mercy. This represents the inevitability of failures in one's path in Stoicism.[81]

Galinsky and Putnam debated about how to interpret Aeneas' behaviour in the end of the *Aeneid* over several articles.[82] Their discourse shows how scholars can use philosophy to advance opposing interpretations.

Galinsky argues that Aeneas' anger and killing of Turnus are justified, if one views it from the perspective of most Roman philosophies/ideologies; he refers to passages from a judicial perspective, as well as from Platonist, Peripatetic, and Epicurean perspectives. The only prominent Roman ideology with which Aeneas is not aligned, Galinsky argues, is Stoicism.[83] Galinsky argues that the precedent of judging Aeneas by Stoic standards has caused scholars to unfairly judge Aeneas – to judge him in ways that an ancient audience would not have. While I disagree with Galinsky's overall argument, I believe that he illustrates a valuable point – that past philosophical readings of a character can have a significant influence on how one views them

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[78] Fowler, 1997: 33-34.
[79] Gill, 2003: 216-221.
[80] Gill, 2003: 225-226.
[81] 2023: 151-156.
[82] Galinsky 1988, 1994; Putnam 1990, 1995.
[83] Galinsky, 1988.

(e.g. because of the early discourse on Aeneas being a Stoic, it seems like many scholars feel it necessary to comment on this assessment). While Galinsky acknowledges the *Aeneid*'s eclecticism,[84] his following claim undercuts the spirit of eclecticism – he claims that Vergil uses ambiguity at the *Aeneid*'s ending to purposefully reinforce a definitive message (i.e., that Aeneas' killing of Turnus was justified).[85]

Putnam argues that Aeneas' anger and actions would *not* have been seen as justified by most Romans. He cites many of the same authors as Galinsky, to counter Galinsky; Putnam shows authors like Plato and Cicero being sympathetic to Stoic views (or views that had a similar perspective on emotions as Stoicism), and they therefore would have disapproved of Aeneas' killing of Turnus.[86] He observes Stoic language in Anchises' advice to Aeneas in Book 6; this advice is later reinvoked for Aeneas and the reader at the end of Book 12, when the conquered Turnus mentions Anchises.[87] Therefore, when Aeneas fails to heed his father's advice, he is also failing to live up to Stoic ideals. He also argues that Aeneas' primary motive in killing Turnus was intense emotion based on a personal hurt, as opposed to vengeance.[88] This is further highlighted by Vergil departing from the parallel Homeric version (where Achilles kills Hektor outright); Vergil gives Aeneas a chance to show mercy, which he does not take.[89] Like many of the authors cited above, Putnam sees Aeneas as a sort of "Roman everyman," through whom Vergil shows human responses to the extraordinary yet familiar situations some Romans found themselves in during civil conflict.[90]

Thesis Structure

[84] Galinsky, 1988: 337-338. 1994: 196.
[85] Galinsky, 1994: 192f.
[86] Putnam, 1990: 11-14.
[87] Putnam, 1990: 16-18.
[88] Putnam, 1995: 155, 159. See also 1990: 15.
[89] Putnam, 1995: 153. See also 211 for a brief mention.
[90] Putnam, 1995: 166.

In Chapter 1, I examine the Dido episode (Books 1-4). I argue the following: Dido begins the episode as an effective Epicurean-coded leader; she rejects the Epicurean doctrine programmatically; she succumbs to lovesickness, which Vergil describes in Lucretian language; finally, Vergil in showing her suffering a terrible end, demonstrates his agreement with Lucretius on the dangers of lovesickness. This episode makes it that the reader has in mind Lucretian ideas – particularly the criticisms of lovesickness. In Chapter 2, I examine the latter half of the *Aeneid*, i.e. the war in Italy between the Trojans and the native Italians (Books 7-12); in particular, I return to the discussion of Aeneas killing Turnus with a close reading. I argue that Vergil uses references to the Dido episode and the language of erotic passion generally, in situations where characters are carrying out martial and imperial action, to taint his depictions of these actions. I show how characters on both sides resemble Dido at times, and embody a passion resembling the one which led to her destruction. This conveys that the martial/imperial drive is one akin to lovesickness – a connection most Romans would not make, but one that does match an Epicurean perspective. It challenges how Aeneas and the Trojans carry out their imperialist exploits, and, more broadly, how Romans have carried out and are carrying out theirs.

Chapter One: Dido's Departure from Epicureanism

The 'Dido episode' spans Books 1-4 of the *Aeneid*. In Book 1, Aeneas and his fellow Trojan refugees land in North Africa near Carthage, a city in the process of being built by its queen, Dido. Venus – Aeneas' mother and the goddess of love – tells Aeneas about Dido's flight from her homeland and settlement in Carthage. The Trojans meet Dido, who welcomes them with opening lines that echo Lucretius and holds a banquet for them. Dido falls in love with Aeneas (influenced by Cupid), then, after a bard's song which resembles *DRN*, she urges Aeneas to recount his journey from Troy. His story spans Books 2 and 3.

Book 4 opens with Dido experiencing intense lovesickness for Aeneas, expressed in Lucretian language. She is conflicted about whether to act on her feelings. Her confidante, Anna, encourages her to do so; Dido does. When the Trojans and Carthaginians go on a hunt, Dido and Aeneas flee to the same cave for shelter from a storm, where they become lovers. After rumour of this spreads, a spurned suitor of Dido, Iarbas, draws Jupiter's attention to it. Jupiter sends Mercury to remind Aeneas of his destiny to go to Italy; Aeneas reluctantly agrees to leave Carthage. Dido discovers this and the pair argues. Aeneas, not swayed by Dido, leaves. The book ends with Dido becoming increasingly distraught and eventually taking her own life.

Vergil alludes to *DRN* unevenly throughout the *Aeneid*; these allusions are particularly dense in the Dido episode. In particular, the Dido episode nods to Lucretius' diatribe against love at the end of *DRN* Book 4 (1058-1191). In this section, Lucretius explains that the lovesick person (i.e. someone erotically obsessed with one person) is plagued by *simulacra*, which are illusory images of their beloved. He recommends either banishing lovesick thoughts, or having emotionally detached sexual relations with multiple people, none of whom is one's beloved – this way, a release occurs without perpetuating one's lovesickness. Lovesickness is a wound

which always worsens with time; it is best to avoid it altogether, but if this is impossible, one must banish it as soon as one can. For erotic desire, unlike other impulses like hunger and thirst, is insatiable. Lucretius uses common classical love topoi to describe the disadvantages and dangers of love. Lovesick men neglect their duties, waste money on their lover, are blind to reality, etc. All love brings misery, even a relatively stable and harmonious one. He reassures his reader that escaping lovesickness while in its throes is possible, if one lets oneself see reality (i.e. if one does not romanticize their beloved).

I argue that the passages in the Dido episode which are dense with Lucretian allusion form a trajectory. Vergil introduces Dido as a capable, Epicurean-coded leader, both in her first appearance and in the backstory provided by Venus. Dido falls in love with Aeneas and asks him to tell his heroic epic tale immediately following a Lucretian song from her court bard; thus, she programmatically rejects Lucretian doctrine in favour of heroic epic. After this, she is no longer presented as an Epicurean; she resembles the *exemplum malum* ("bad example") which Lucretius describes in his diatribe against love. Specifically, she loses control of herself and neglects her city because she has given into lovesickness. Visions and dreams resembling the Lucretian concept of *simulacra* drive her to suicide. This is a consequence of unchecked lovesickness more severe than any described by Lucretius.

I would like to emphasize two takeaways from the trajectory given above. Firstly, I argue that the Dido episode conveys that Epicureanism and good leadership can go hand in hand; when a leader rejects the philosophy, it hinders not only their ability to govern themselves, but also their city. This has political implications for Vergil's audience, which I discuss later. Secondly, I assert that the *Aeneid* is more Epicurean than one may initially think, and the Dido episode encourages readers to engage with it thoughtfully. I assert that Vergil, at least in the Dido episode

and in its echoes later in the poem, conveys agreement with Lucretian doctrine. This is a departure from much of the existing scholarship, which argues that Vergil typically alludes to Lucretius to contradict him.[91]

I would like to clarify that most Roman philosophies and literary antecedents would condemn lovesickness – this is not unique to Epicureanism. As well, many of the love-related topoi and concepts which Vergil uses, such as the flame of love, are commonplace in classical literature. Nor is Lucretius the only antecedent from which Vergil draws in this episode; I do not wish to create a skewed picture. However, I hope to demonstrate that these Lucretian allusions happen frequently, many of them contain unmistakeable linguistic similarities, and many of the pivotal moments in the episode contain these allusions. Therefore, Vergil is purposefully alluding to Lucretius, and thus conveying a message about Epicureanism.

Does the epic environment of the *Aeneid* make it useless to consider Epicureanism as part of Vergil's world and his characters? Scholars such as Ferguson (1990) and Feeney (1991) argue this. Ferguson sees Epicureanism as completely incompatible with the poem. He writes that the only Epicurean element is Dido, whom the poem 'proves wrong' (e.g. she expresses doubt in the gods, yet gods exist in the *Aeneid*); he sees Vergil's allusions as insubstantial and unsystematic.[92] Feeney also takes Dido as an Epicurean-coded character whom the poem 'proves wrong;' he argues that metaphorical approaches to the poem (i.e. the gods are metaphor for human thoughts and feelings) are a failure to accept and appreciate the epic genre.[93]

Hamilton (1993) and Dyson (1996) also argue that the world of the *Aeneid* is incompatible with Epicureanism; however, they deeply analyze Lucretian allusions in the poem

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[91] One of the first to argue this is Hardie, in *Cosmos and Imperium* (1986), where he argues that Vergil engages with Lucretius through contrast imitation (see his chapter on Lucretius and Vergil, 157-240).
[92] 1990: 2266-2267.
[93] 1991: 172-173.

nevertheless. Their main evidence for incompatibility is the existence of interventionist gods. They both argue that proper adherence to Epicureanism is futile in such a world – even if one did adhere perfectly, one is not guaranteed the peace which Lucretius promises because the gods could interfere.[94] Dyson also argues that Dido's later appearance as a ghost undermines Epicureanism, despite the Lucretian description of her soul leaving her body.[95]

I disagree with those scholars, instead adopting a compatibilist view of the gods. This allows for human responsibility and divine intervention to exist simultaneously. This view is informed by treatment of the gods in earlier epic. In Homer, characters do not tend to attribute full responsibility for actions to the gods, even if the gods appeared to have a heavy influence. For example, when Achilles suggests that he and Agamemnon both set aside their anger, Agamemnon initially tries to blame divine intervention for his actions (*Il*. 19.85 ff.) – however, he ultimately takes responsibility (*Il*. 19.137-138).[96]

Lucretius presents the mainstream gods and religious concepts as purely metaphorical. For example, he says that while Tartarus (Hell) does not exist, humans create their own hell on earth.[97] He asserts that while gods exist, they are *semota ab nostris rebus seiunctaque longe* ("far removed and separated from our affairs" *DRN* 2.648). He permits calling certain natural phenomena by the gods' names (e.g. the sea as Neptune, the earth as Mother of the Gods), as

[94] Hamilton, 1993: 250-251; Dyson, 1996: 204, 206.
[95] 1996: 218-219.
[96] *Il*. 19.86-87: "But I am not the cause, rather Zeus and the Fates and Erinys, coming unseen" (ἐγὼ δ᾽ οὐκ αἴτιός εἰμι, | ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς καὶ Μοῖρα καὶ ἠεροφοῖτις Ἐρινύς); *Il*. 19.137-138: "But since I was blinded and Zeus took away my wits, I am ready to take it back and offer the appeasement of limitless reparation" (ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ ἀασάμην καί μευ φρένας ἐξέλετο Ζεύς,| ἂψ ἐθέλω ἀρέσαι, δόμεναί τ᾽ ἀπερείσι᾽ ἄποινα). Other examples of characters challenging that gods are solely responsible for mortals' actions include: Helen not accepting Priam's assessment that the gods (not Helen) were at fault for her actions (*Il*. 3.164-177), and Zeus saying that mortals, through folly, create their own troubles beyond those which the gods ordain (*Od*. 1.32-34) Taplin, 1990: 75-76.
[97] *DRN* 3.1014-1023.

long as people remember that these are not the real gods.[98] Thus, since the gods are not at all involved in mortal affairs, mortals are *completely* responsible for their own actions.

Because Vergil draws so heavily on earlier epic, one can assume that his gods would operate in a similar way to those of his antecedents. His gods are more in line with Homeric gods than Lucretian ones; however, because Vergil shows sympathy towards Lucretian views throughout the poem, it is likely that he created his gods and their role in the narrative with Epicureanism in mind. The most relevant implication of a compatibilist view of the gods is that it makes characters at least partially responsible for their own actions. More specifically, it follows that even in the world of the *Aeneid*, adherence to Epicureanism could prevent, or at least lessen, the 'gods'' power over people. This implies that Dido's downfall was not completely out of her hands; perhaps if she had not turned away from Epicureanism, she could have escaped misfortune. If the Dido episode is a cautionary tale warning Vergil's contemporaries about their conduct, which I argue it is, Dido having some responsibility for her actions would be more likely to inspire reflection among readers.

Some scholars argue that the world of the *Aeneid* is compatible with Epicureanism. For example, Williams (1983) and Mellinghoff-Bourgerie (1990) argue that Aeneas' journey to the Underworld is metaphorical; thus, Vergil including a *katabasis* is not contradicting the Epicurean belief that there is no afterlife.[99] Williams also argues that the gods are a synecdoche – that is, they represent human thoughts and feelings.[100] Lyne allows for the possibility that Dido's ghost may undermine the Lucretian description of soul leaving body; he also considers that her ghost

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[98] "Here if anyone decides to call the sea Neptune, and corn Ceres, and to misapply the name of Bacchus rather than to use the title that is proper to that liquor, let us grant him to dub the round world Mother of the Gods, provided that he forbears in reality himself to infect his mind with base superstition" (*DRN* 2.655-660).
[99] Williams, 1983: 210-214. Mellinghoff-Bourgerie, 1990: 206.
[100] Williams, 1983: 213.

could be an illusion (therefore agreeing with Epicureanism). To support the latter point, Lyne observes that the description of Dido's soul, unlike similar descriptions later in the poem, "has Lucretian intertexts and lacks any rewriting that would return Lucretian annihilation to Homeric mystery."[101] Gordon also allows for both possibilities.[102] Adler argues that someone who adheres completely to Epicureanism (such as Dido's bard, Iopas) would be able to live a good life;[103] she does not say that gods would keep one from perfect adherence to the philosophy, as, for example, Hamilton and Dyson argue.

Scholars who deem it worthwhile to explore Epicureanism in the *Aeneid* have put forth various interpretations about how Vergil engages with the philosophy. I will specifically explore the claims of scholars who focus on the Dido episode. Dyson's 1996 article "Dido the Epicurean" explores this in the most detail. She discusses the following elements from the Dido episode, in the context of Epicureanism: Dido's overall adherence to the philosophy, her lovesickness, her death, the bard Iopas' Lucretian song, her relationship to politics and luxury, her tranquility, and her relationship to the gods. I discuss other scholars' views on these elements where relevant.

Dyson, Adler and I argue that Dido is a failed Epicurean, but this phrase carries different meanings for each of us. Dyson calls her an *exemplum malum* of the philosophy. Her Dido is a lot like Lucretius' hypothetical lover described at the end of *DRN* Book 4, who has no awareness of the philosophy, and whose lifestyle is an example of poor conduct.[104] Adler argues that Vergil's characters have awareness of the philosophy – even to the point of claiming that Dido is

[101] Lyne, 1994: 196.
[102] 1998: 206.
[103] 2003: 108.
[104] 1996: 204.

Iopas' pupil, and calling Carthage an "enlightened" city.[105] Some characters adhere more effectively than others; Iopas appears to be a paragon, Anna and Iarbas are vulgar hedonists, and Dido is somewhere in between.[106] Therefore, both Dyson's and Adler's Didos never properly adhere to Epicureanism. In contrast, I assert that Dido begins the episode as a good Epicurean, and her failure lies in her moving *away* from the philosophy. My view most closely aligns with that of Gordon, who argues that people can practice Epicureanism with varying levels of intensity and still be considered proper adherents. We both argue that Dido begins as a "less austere (but not debased)"[107] kind of Epicurean, and after she falls in love she no longer adheres to the philosophy.[108] Gordon does not analyze Dido's departure from Epicureanism further; I extend her ideas by doing so.

It is widely accepted that (1) Vergil draws from Lucretius' diatribe against love to describe Dido's lovesickness, (2) Dido's lovesickness is un-Epicurean, and (3) Vergil is in agreement with Lucretius about lovesickness being destructive. Each scholar uses these ideas to different ends. Dyson and Hamilton, both arguing for the vital role of interventionist gods in the *Aeneid*, conclude that Vergil ultimately conveys disagreement with Lucretius; where Lucretius proposes philosophy as a remedy for irritational thoughts/feelings, including lovesickness, Vergil shows that there can be no remedy.[109] Adler similarly argues that overcoming *furor* (lovesickness is a type of *furor*) is not as simple as Lucretius describes, yet she argues that it *would* be possible, if one adhered *completely* to Epicureanism.[110] Gordon argues that Vergil's Dido episode could convey sympathy for the Phaeacians, and, by extension, Epicureans (Gordon demonstrates how

[105] 2003: 104-105, 122. Enlightened, meaning embracing "science" (i.e. Epicureanism) and discarding the gods.
[106] 2003: 114 (Anna as vulgar hedonist); 121 (Iarbas as vulgar hedonist); 119: "what [Vergil] is representing in Dido and the Carthaginians is not Epicureanism proper but Epicureanism vulgarized …"
[107] 1998: 200.
[108] 1998: 204.
[109] Dyson, 1996: 209-210; Hamilton, 1993: 250-251.
[110] 2003: 106-107.

Dido resembles the Phaeacians from the *Odyssey*, and how the Romans associated Epicureans with the Phaeacians).[111] She also acknowledges that different readers would have different perspectives, but no matter one's views, some sympathy for Epicureanism comes through – "if the divine machinery of the *Aeneid* can be said to prove Epicurus wrong, the description of Dido's passion can be said to prove Lucretius right."[112] Autino, like me, argues that Vergil draws on the diatribe and is *expanding* on Lucretian ideas about the destruction of lovesickness, by presenting it more negatively than Lucretius does.[113] He interprets Vergil's narration of Dido's experience of love and sex as more judgmental and negative than Lucretius' descriptions of those topics. For example, Vergil describes Dido taking Aeneas as a lover as a *crimen* ("crime") (403), Vergil does not describe any of the happy parts of their relationship, only the unhappy ones (inevitably there would have been some happy ones, but one must imagine that they happen outside Vergil's narration) (406), and Vergil, unlike Lucretius, does not describe any of the potentially positive aspects of erotic passion, such as reproduction or enjoyable casual sex (407). Thus, we see Vergil presenting Dido's succumbing to passion (lovesickness, in her case) in Lucretian language.

While Dyson, Adler, and I agree that Iopas and his song are stand-ins for Lucretius and *DRN*, we interpret the scene differently. Dyson argues that Dido not being affected by Iopas' Epicurean song further demonstrates the futility of attempting to practice Epicureanism in the world of the *Aeneid*.[114] Adler argues that Iopas is a paragon of Epicureanism (he adheres to it completely, in contrast to Dido's incomplete adherence).[115] Adler also juxtaposes Aeneas' and

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[111] 1998: 202-204.
[112] Gordon, 1998: 203.
[113] 2021: 381-383, 406-408.
[114] 1996: 210-214.
[115] 2003: 108.

Iopas' songs, as I do, but to serve different conclusions. According to Adler, these songs both show Dido that she cannot be with Aeneas – Iopas' song, since it is Lucretian, implies the dangers of love, and Aeneas' song describes his destiny to settle in another land. This highlights her inability to restrain her passion – something which comes about because of her incomplete adherence to Epicureanism.[116] I discuss my views on Iopas in Section 2.

Dyson argues that Dido's involvement in politics and her possession of luxury goods are signs of her failed Epicureanism. She notes Dido's prominent political position as yet another contradiction in her character, which makes her an ineffective Epicurean.[117] She argues that Dido indulges in luxury, and notes the link between luxury with lovesickness – two dangerous, un-Epicurean things.[118] Autino notes that the gifts between Aeneas and Dido are similar to lovers' gifts described disparagingly in the diatribe against love.[119] Autino notes an additional layer of negativity around the gifts in the Dido episode, since Dido is the one giving the gifts; this sets up a 'shameful' gender role reversal.[120] I disagree that the depictions of Dido's palace, possessions, and political position convey bad Epicureanism, as discussed in Section 1.

Dyson argues that Dido's conduct resembles that of Vergil's contemporary Roman Epicurean politicians. I agree with this. She observes that the reader first sees Dido driving the building projects for her kingdom, enthroned in a temple to Juno, and giving laws and ordinances (*iura legesque*), and tasks to her people (*Aen.* 1.504-508). Dyson briefly explains that many of Vergil's Epicurean contemporaries also played prominent roles in state politics and/or religion, citing Cassius as an example – a "self-declared Epicurean" and one of those who instigated

[116] 2003: 107-108.
[117] 1996: 207.
[118] 1996: 208-209.
[119] 2021: 382.
[120] 2021: 396-397.

Caesar's assassination. To Dyson, Dido is similar to Vergil's contemporaries because their public roles contradict Epicurean doctrine – Dido "represent[s] the tension between Lucretius' poem and Roman practice."[121]

Although she does not say it directly, her argument implies that Vergil is making a political statement. Namely, Vergil creates an Epicurean *exemplum malum* character who resembles his contemporaries; she fails spectacularly. Therefore, he is criticizing his contemporaries' conduct. My interpretation of Vergil's political statement is different – because I assert that Dido was a capable Epicurean and leader at the beginning (who resembles Vergil's contemporaries), but she falls from grace when she turns away from Epicureanism. I am arguing that Vergil's political statement could be an endorsement of mixing Epicureanism and politics, and cautioning his contemporaries from turning away from it.

To conclude the survey of others' interpretations of Epicureanism in the Dido episode, I briefly discuss a few additional points. Dyson argues that Dido's initial tranquility is false, because the gods instilled it within her.[122] Gordon acknowledges Dido's loss of tranquility after she has fallen in love, but she does not provide further interpretation.[123] My view is that Dido's tranquility is at least partially her own, and it sets her up as capable leader and Epicurean. Dyson and Adler both observe that Dido at times expresses doubt in gods (an Epicurean action) but also prays to them and performs superstitious rites (un-Epicurean).[124] I do not centre the gods in my

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[121] 1996: 207. See also O'Hara for a minor similarity between Dido and a "Roman aristocrat," namely that she "associates birth and quality" at the beginning of Book 4 when she expresses admiration for Aeneas (2011: 20).
[122] 1996: 206.
[123] 1998: 204.
[124] Adler on Dido's superstition: 2003: 112 (Adler takes Anna saying "do you believe the ashes and buried shades [of your deceased husband] care about [you remarrying]?" as a reproach to Dido for turning to superstition), 116 (Dido's early Book 4 rites are similar to those in *DRN* Book 5), 121 (Dido and Iarbas, both non-philosophers, demonstrate vacillation between atheism and superstition). Adler on Dido's belief in the gods: 104 (Dido as 'godless'), 111 (Dido prays and appears to fear the gods early in Book 4), 124 (Dido does not mention the gods in her argument with Aeneas; he does a lot), 126 (Dido ridicules Aeneas for believing in the gods, especially when she, a human, actually saved him), 127 (she believes it is within her own power to punish Aeneas). Dyson on Dido's

analysis; I do acknowledge that Dido relates to them in contradictory, often un-Epicurean ways. I discuss her superstition in Section 3. There are mixed views about whether Dido, before her death, acts in an Epicurean way. Dyson argues that the manner of her death is un-Epicurean, pointing towards Dido's superstitious rites prior to it (Epicureans condemn superstition), and the fact that it is a suicide (Lucretius criticizes suicide).[125] Seneca, a Roman author writing in the 1st century CE, quotes a line from Dido's last words a few times across his corpus; each time he conveys that she died a dignified death, in line with Epicurean values.[126] My view, discussed in Section 4, takes both of these sides into account.

Dido's Connection to Vergil's Historical Context

Carthage was a historical city in the ancient world. Rome and Carthage fought against each other in the Punic Wars (mid-third to mid-second centuries BCE). Rome entered these wars as an emerging power and came out a great power, which destroyed Carthage in the end. Vergil's Dido episode serves as retrospective foreshadowing for the enmity between Rome and Carthage in the Punic Wars, and Carthage's eventual fall.

In Rome's cultural imagination – as seen in both epic and historical texts – Carthage is an integral part of Rome's rise to power. I do not claim that the real Carthage, or the Carthages mentioned by Naevius (a Roman epic poet preceding Vergil) or Polybius (a Hellenistic Greek historian writing about the rise of Rome) were Epicurean; indeed, such anachronisms were common in Vergil. Yet, it is significant that Vergil chose to inject Epicureanism in an episode

belief in the gods: 204 (Dido denies the gods' involvement in humans, then prays for their help soon after), 216 (Dido's relationship to the gods is one of a series of contradictions in her character). Both authors also discuss Iarbas, one of Dido's spurned African suitors, and his ambivalent relationship to the gods (he has set up many altars to Jupiter, yet he voices doubts about his existence) (Dyson, 1996: 215; Adler, 2003: 118-122).

[125] 1996: 217-218.

[126] I discuss this further in Section 4.

that is so important to Rome's history; linking Epicureanism with Carthage elevates and draws attention to the role of the philosophy in the *Aeneid*.

I see Dido's role in the grand scheme of the epic as an erotic obstacle to Aeneas fulfilling his destiny. It is significant that Vergil chose to characterize such a character as a leader, coded as Epicurean, and simultaneously appearing Roman and as an Eastern Other (particularly recalling Cleopatra). Vergil codes Dido as Roman by giving her multiple similarities to Aeneas, the proto-Roman hero. They are both leaders driven from their homeland by violent conflict (both losing a spouse in the conflict, who reappears to them as a ghost who helps them escape), and they established/seek to establish a settlement resembling their homeland (see Dido's backstory, *Aen*. 1.335-370). Dido herself remarks on the similarities between their journeys.[127] Dido's Roman-ness makes her relatable to Vergil's audience, and therefore could have encouraged reflection on her experiences and actions in relation to their own.

Yet it is impossible not to link Dido to Cleopatra. There are many parallels between Dido and the historical figure Cleopatra, as well as the Cleopatra of Horace's *Ode* 1.37.[128] To clarify, I am not arguing that "Dido is Epicurean, Dido resembles Cleopatra, therefore Cleopatra is Epicurean." While I argue in favour of the first two statements, I do not believe that third must necessarily follow; not every aspect of her character must neatly fit together.

Dido resembling Cleopatra serves a purpose beyond merely foreshadowing Dido's doom. Cleopatra, as represented in authors such as Horace and Propertius, is a nuanced mixture of Roman and Eastern. By 'Eastern,' I mean the Orientalist stereotype of decadence and debauchery

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[127] *Aen*. 1.628-630: "Me, too, has a like fortune driven through many toils, and willed that in this land I should at last find rest. Not ignorant of ill I learn to aid distress."

[128] Bertman observes around a dozen similarities between Dido and Cleopatra the historical figure (2000). Broadly speaking, their similarities lie in their political and geographical positions, their relationships with prominent men, and their suicides. See Benario (1970) for a close reading comparing Vergil's Dido and Horace's Cleopatra; see Section 4 for comparisons between Dido and Horace's Cleopatra.

common in classical literature. Dido is a similar figure. Such characters represent a tension between a Roman way of life and an Eastern one; they also serve as cautionary tales against the allure of Eastern decadence. This Eastern lifestyle resembles the lifestyle of a vulgar hedonist – someone who has either misunderstood Epicureanism's definition of 'pleasure,' or has fallen from it. I argue that Dido is the latter. Dido's succumbing to lovesickness can be seen as giving herself over to the vulgar hedonist (/Eastern) side and not returning to the Epicurean (/Roman) side of her personality. Antony and Cleopatra both did this, and they came to similar fates. So, in a way, Dido's story about falling from Epicureanism to vulgar hedonism also resembles stories about falling from Roman-ness to Eastern decadence. Because Cleopatra was a prominent part of recent history and a figure in recent literature, an association with such a figure would strengthen the message Vergil is conveying.

Dido's Carthage resembles Rome. The description of Carthage's 'sacred Senate,' temple to Juno, and theatre all anachronistically reflect Rome.[129] It is also important to note that this Epicurean city is not one of vulgar indulgence in desires. Nor is it an exact replica of the Garden (the Epicurean sanctuary), as Lucretius or Epicurus would have imagined. It is a more nuanced – more Roman – version of Epicureanism.

The fall of Carthage is caused by Dido's succumbing to lovesickness – this is a repetition of the fall of Troy.[130] Both stories use a device called 'figure to reality' to illustrate the cities' downfalls. The flames in Paris' heart (his love for Helen) eventually became literal flames destroying Troy; the flames and wound in Dido's heart (her love for Aeneas) eventually become

[129] Senate and temple: Giusti, 2018: 131-132, referring to *Aen*. 1.426 and 1.141-145. Theatre: Ganiban, 2008: 71, referring to 1.427-429.
[130] See Estevez (1978) for various linguistic parallels between Book 4 and the fall of Troy in Book 2.

literal flames of her funeral pyre and the literal wound that kills her.[131] Additionally, the fact that Aeneas' recounting of the fall of Troy is contained within the Dido episode, as a story told *to* Dido, further emphasizes the link between these stories; it foreshadows Dido's doom, and could be seen as a warning that she could have heeded, but failed to. A theme in the first half of the *Aeneid* is the necessity of leaving Troy behind and establishing a new type of city.[132] Carthage, as promising a city as it seemed in the beginning, resembles Troy after Aeneas' arrival – therefore, it is an unsuitable place to settle for Aeneas.[133]

Carthage's Trojan and Eastern associations foreshadow a downfall; the Roman associations add nuance and encourage audience self-reflection. Carthage, like Cleopatra's Egypt, is a rival and alter-ego of Rome … which fails. Readers can analyze Carthage and its leader to determine *why* it fails. I assert that Dido's failure lies in her turn away from Epicureanism and her succumbing to a type of passion – in her case, lovesickness. In chapter 2, I discuss Aeneas' (and other characters') succumbing to passion in a martial context, expressed in erotic language. It is worth noting that Vergil blends the types of passion – e.g., he discusses the erotic in the language of martial bloodlust, and vice versa.

Vergil could have written any sort of erotic obstacle for Aeneas[134] – but he specifically created one with significant political and philosophical implications. This characterization invites readers to think about Epicureanism in politics. Again, I argue that Vergil's Dido conveys that

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[131] Hardie, 1986: 232-233. While Vergil does not explicitly say that Carthage falls after Dido's death, it is clear that the city's progress depends on her; after all, when she fell in love, the building projects ceased. The death of its queen would be a severe setback for Carthage.
[132] Quint, 1993. See especially 64, where he argues that the *Aeneid* conveys the need to forget about one's tragic past – both for the Trojans, and for Vergil's contemporaries who had suffered in the recent civil wars.
[133] Quint, 2018: 70. Estevez imagines Troy and Rome on two ends of a spectrum with Carthage in the middle, closer to Carthage's end – Carthage is closer to the type of city that Aeneas must found, but too similar to Troy to be viable (1978: 108). While Quint and Estevez acknowledge Carthage's similarity to Troy, they treat the city's modus operandi as static. I argue that Carthage, before Aeneas' arrival, begins as a city which resembles Rome, not Troy; however, after Carthage's leader falls in love, Carthage resembles Troy.
[134] Perhaps readers would expect him to draw on Homeric antecedents such as Circe, Helen, etc.

Epicureanism and politics can go together well, and that a turn away from it could be harmful not only to oneself, but also to one's people and city.

I have divided this chapter into four sections. The first section describes Dido's default state as a capable and Epicurean-coded leader. The second shows her rejection of Epicureanism. The third shows her suffering from specifically Lucretian lovesickness; in this state, she is no longer an Epicurean, nor a capable leader. The fourth argues that Lucretian *simulacra* drive her to suicide; Vergil's failed Epicurean suffers worse consequences than Lucretius', therefore Vergil expands upon Lucretius' message about the dangers of erotic passion.

Section 1 – Dido the Epicurean Leader

This section discusses: Lucretian allusions before Vergil introduces Dido, Dido's Lucretian opening lines, her Phaeacian associations (which double as Epicurean associations), her characterization as a capable leader, and as an Epicurean leader. I also respond to an argument one could make against Dido being Epicurean.

In Book 1, Vergil includes multiple Lucretian allusions before introducing Dido; these prime the reader to have Lucretius in mind later in the episode.[135] While many of these are descriptions of nature, a couple are relevant to Dido; both foreshadow death.

Vergil uses the phrase *ora modis attollens pallida miris* ("raising his pale face in wondrous wise") to describe the ghost of Sychaeus, Dido's first husband who was murdered by her brother.[136] Lucretius uses this combination of words – *mirus* ("wondrous") and *modus*

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[135] Lucretian allusions unrelated to Dido: Austin, 1971: 42, *Aen*. 1.44 – thunder description (alludes to *DRN* 6.390ff.). Austin: 44, *Aen*. 1.52 – winds trapped in clouds (*DRN* 6.189ff.). Austin: 74, *Aen*. 1.166 – description of cliffs (*DRN* 6.195). Austin: 84, *Aen*. 1.205 – *sedes quietas* (*DRN* 3.18ff.). Austin: 115, *Aen*. 1.301 – description of birds (*DRN* 6.743). Ganiban, 2008: 66, *Aen*. 1.387-8 – breathing the breath of life (*DRN* 3.405). Austin: 147, *Aen*. 1.422 – paved streets (*DRN* 1.315f.). Ganiban: 84 and Austin: 177, *Aen*. 1.546-7 – *vescitur aura* (*DRN* 5.587).

[136] See *Aen*. 1.348-360 for the passage where Sychaeus' ghost visits Dido. Most relevant for my discussion is 1.354-355: *ipsa sed in somnis inhumati venit imago | coniugis; ora modis attollens pallida miris* ("But in her sleep came the very ghost of her unburied husband; raising his pale face in wondrous wise"). Ganiban observes the similarities

("way") – a few times.[137] Austin writes that "Lucretius (possibly Ennius too) and Vergil then gave [the phrase *mirus … modus*] a special tone of supernatural wonderment, in a way that adds poetic mystery to language." Since these authors are some of the only ones to use this phrase in this way (other authors use it in a less elevated way, according to Austin), it creates an association between them. The phrase does not appear again after Vergil.[138] Vergil using this phrase foreshadows the prominence of death, dreams, and *simulacra* later in the episode; it also invites the reader to recall the Lucretian view on these topics.

In a simile likening Dido to the goddess Diana, Vergil includes a reference to Latona (another name for Leto, Diana's mother) delighting in her daughter, which echoes *DRN* 3.895f.[139] Here, Lucretius describes the delights of life which a dead man will not be missing – including his children – because consciousness ceases after death.[140] Vergil alluding to this grim, death-related passage in the reader's first glimpse of Dido, which at first glance is joyful, subtly foreshadows death to come.

It is also worth noting that the description of Dido surrounded by a throng of youths recalls Horace's Cleopatra, who is surrounded by a throng of depraved men.[141] Since this allusion to them is unsympathetic, it would create an unsettling, negative feeling around Dido.

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between this scene and Hector's ghost helping Aeneas (2.270-295) (2008: 62). This is yet another parallel between Dido and Aeneas.

[137] *DRN* 1.123 and 1.726, especially 1.123, are the closest to the phrase which Vergil borrows. *DRN* 1.123 is particularly significant. It appears in *DRN*'s proem, which makes it more likely that a reader would remember it and recognize it alluded to in another work. The context at *DRN* 1.123 is also relevant. There, Lucretius introduces the idea that heroic epic is false and therefore inferior to philosophy. Later in the episode, Dido is seduced by the false images of heroic epic away from the path of true philosophy, as discussed in Section 2.

[138] Austin, 1971: 129-130.

[139] *Aen*. 1.498-504 for simile; 1.502 for Latona reference: *Latonae tacitum pertemptant gaudia pectus* ("joys thrill Latona's silent breast"). Austin, 1971: 168-169.

[140] *DRN* 3.895-896: *nec dulces occurrent oscula nati | praeripere et tacita pectus dulcedine tangent* ("no longer will your sweet children race to win the first kisses, and thrill your heart to its depths with sweetness").

[141] Dido: *Aen* 1.497, *...magna iuvenum stipante caterva* ("…with a vast company of youths thronging round her"). Cleopatra: Horace *Odes* 1.37.9-10: *contaminato cum grege turpium | morbo virorum* ("…with a foul herd of men shameful with disease").

This section primarily focuses on Dido's opening lines, since they are dense with Lucretian allusion. A character's opening lines establish the 'feel' of the character, and how one should interpret them.[142] Dyson suggests that a reader would expect Dido's first lines to be "Homeric or Apollonian" – not Lucretian.[143] Subverting readers' expectations would draw attention to these lines and this character, thus amplifying any message or 'feel' which they convey. Below are the first five lines of Dido's opening speech:

> Solvite corde **metum**, Teucri, **se**cludite **curas**.
> **res dura et regni novitas** me talia cogunt
> moliri et late finis custode tueri.
> quis **genus Aeneadum**, quis Troiae nesciat urbem 565
> virtutesque virosque aut **tanti incendia belli**?
> *Aen*. 1.562-566
> Free your hearts of **fear**, Teucrians [a.k.a. Trojans]; **put away** your **cares**. **Stern necessity and the new estate of my kingdom** force me to do such hard deeds and protect my frontiers far and wide with guards. Who could be ignorant of the **race of Aeneas' people**, who of Troy's town and her brave deeds and brave men, or of the **fires of that great war**?

The general thrust of the lines is Epicurean. She is welcoming and tranquil, encouraging her guests to be tranquil as well; freeing oneself from fear and cares are Epicurean goals. While setting aside one's worries would also align with other philosophies, such as Stoicism, the multiple Lucretian echoes convey that she is expressing this from an Epicurean angle. She also mentions the work she has done to protect her city, which highlights her role as a good leader. Below, I discuss how the following phrases echo Lucretius: the juxtaposition of *metus*, *cura*, and the prefix *se*-, the phrase *res dura et regni novitas*, the phrase *genus Aeneadum*, and the damning

[142] Dyson, 1996: 205-206.
[143] Ibid.

implications of the phrase *tanti incendia belli*. Dyson's article on Dido's Epicureanism briefly discusses most of these echoes in a footnote;[144] I recount and expand on her observations.

Aen. 1.562 parallels *DRN* 2.16-19, which is a "famous formulation of the Epicurean ideal."[145] Note the combination of the words *metus*, *cura*, and the prefix *se*- :

> … nonne videre
> nil aliud sibi naturam latrare, nisi utqui
> corpore **<u>se</u>**iunctus dolor absit, mente fruatur
> iucundo sensu **cura** **<u>se</u>**mota **metuque**?
> Do you not see that nature barks after nothing else for itself than that pain be absent, separated from the body, and that it enjoy a mind with pleasant sensation, removed from care and fear?

The *se*- prefix is particularly Lucretian. Vergil does not use the verb *secludere* often, and this is the only instance of him using it in a figurative sense.[146] Lucretius often uses the *se*- prefix. *se*- denotes separation, which is a major concept in Epicurean doctrine. Epicureanism, especially for a hedonistic philosophy, is 'negative' in the sense that it condones *removing* pain, rather than *adding* pleasure. Epicureans separate themselves mentally from fear/cares; they also separate themselves physically from the rest of society. Vergil did not need to use the *se*- prefix here; using a different prefix still would have fit the line's meter. Because of these factors, I argue that his use of the *se*- prefix is a subtle, yet, significant, Lucretian echo.

The phrase *res dura et regni novitas* at line 563 also echoes *DRN*. Lucretius uses the word *novitas* frequently, including in the well-known *novitas mundi* passage (*DRN* 5.780-1135), which I discuss below.[147] He also uses the linguistically similar phrase *novitas mundi* a couple

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[144] Dyson, 1996: 206-207, note 10.
[145] Dyson, 1996: 205-206. Epicurus himself uses similar concepts and phrases in his writings (Epicurus III.128, III. 131, as noted in Leonard and Smith, 1972: 313).
[146] Dyson, 1996: 206.
[147] Ibid.

more times in his work (5.780, 5.818),[148] which makes Dido's *regni novitas* more clearly a Lucretian echo. Vergil only uses the word *novitas* here;[149] this further highlights the allusion. Below is part of the *novitas mundi* passage, which is similar linguistically and conceptually to the Vergilian usage:

> Et genus humanum multo fuit illud in arvis 925
> **durius**, ut decuit, tellus quod **dura** creasset
> …
> multaque praeterea **novitas** tum florida **mundi**
> pabula **dura** tulit, miseris mortalibus ampla.
> *DRN* 5.925-926, 943-944
> And the race of men at that time was much hardier on the land, as was fitting inasmuch as the **hard** earth had made it … Many another kind of food besides the flowering **infancy of the world** then produced, **hard** but amply sufficient for poor mortals.

In Dido's opening lines and Lucretius' *novitas mundi* passage, the topic is a newly established civilization (Dido's new city; early humans forming the first civilizations). Although Dido's city is prosperous and wealthy (as opposed to Lucretius' first humans, who lived in harsher conditions), she and her people are still undergoing a miniature version of what Lucretius' first humans experienced (i.e. the transition from a lack of civilization to civilization), since her city is still in the process of being built.

The use of *genus Aeneadum* at line 565 also has Lucretian parallels. The only time *Aeneadum* appears in an extant text before the *Aeneid* is in the very first line of *DRN*.[150] Readers tend to remember the proems of texts more than the middle – especially a proem's opening line. Lucretius often uses *genus* plus a genitive plural noun (19 times, according to Dyson). Although

[148] Bailey, 1963: 1746.
[149] Dyson, 1996: 206.
[150] Dyson, 1996: 207.

this phrase does not directly relate to Epicureanism, this linguistic borrowing builds the Lucretian feel of these opening lines.

The phrase *tanti incendia belli* at 1.566 parallels Lucretius' description of the Trojan war (*DRN* 1.471-477).[151] It echoes *DRN* 1.475 conceptually (i.e. both describe the Trojan war) as well as linguistically – compare Lucretius' *saevi certamina belli* to Vergil's *tanti incendia belli*:

> denique materies si rerum nulla fuisset
> nec locus ac spatium, res in quo quaeque geruntur,
> **numquam** Tyndaridis forma **conflatus amore**
> **ignis**, **Alexandri Phrygio sub pectore gliscens**,
> **clara accendisset saevi certamina belli**, 475
> nec clam durateus Troiianis Pergama partu
> **inflammasset** equos nocturno Graiiugenarum
> *DRN* 1.471-477
> Again, if there had been no material for things, and no place and space in which each thing is done, **no fire fanned to flame by love** through the beauty of Tyndareus' daughter, and **glowing beneath the breast of Phrygian Alexander [a.k.a. Paris], would ever have set alight blazing battles of savage war**; no wooden horse, unmarked by the sons of Troy, would ever have **set** Pergama **in flames** by its night-born brood of Grecians

Bailey writes that "Lucr[etius] thinks of the fire in Paris' heart as the flame which destroyed Troy."[152] As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, Lucretius uses the literary device 'figure to reality' in this passage – i.e., he depicts something metaphorically, then later depicts it literally.[153] Vergil does the same. Dido too has a metaphorical flame of love (*Aen*. 4.2), *sub pectore* (*Aen*. 4.67, which parallels *sub pectore* in *DRN* 1.474). Her flame of love becomes the flame on her pyre, which Aeneas and his men see at the beginning of Book 5. This phrase foreshadows Carthage's fate to become a repetition of Troy.

[151] Ibid.
[152] 1963: 679.
[153] Coined by Hardie, 1986: 232-233.

An additional layer of Dido's Epicurean coding is in her many parallels to the Phaeacians. Agreeing with Gordon, I assert that any time Vergil creates a Phaeacian association with Dido, it doubles as an Epicurean association.[154] Gordon demonstrates that Romans commonly associated Epicureans with the Phaeacians, a fictional people from the *Odyssey* who enjoyed a pleasurable existence largely detached from the rest of the world. Authors such as Heraclitus (2nd/3rd century AD, not the earlier philosopher), and pseudo-Lucian claim that Epicurus appropriated the lifestyle of the Phaeacians, as described by Homer, for his own philosophy.[155] For example, Heraclitus notes that in *Od*. 9.5-11, Odysseus praises the Phaeacian way of life, which resembles Epicureanism. Horace, Vergil's contemporary, frequently uses Phaeacian imagery/words to refer to Epicureans.[156] Gordon also observes that Epicureans either chose to embrace the Phaeacian association or reject it; Philodemus embraces it, while Lucretius rejects it.[157] Therefore, Vergil uses this pre-established association; a Phaeacian Dido is shorthand for an Epicurean Dido.

The parallels between Vergil's Dido episode and Homer's Phaeacian episode in the *Odyssey* are numerous. The following are the major parallels between the two works' plots and characters: Aeneas/Odysseus,[158] a hero who has been wandering at sea for some time, lands on a shore and soon meets a royal lady, Dido/Nausikaa. She is associated with the huntress goddess Diana/Artemis (*Aen*. 1.498-504; *Od*. 6.101-109), and she has spurned all local suitors (*Aen*. 4.35-38; *Od*. 6.34-35, 6.283-4). Dido/Nausikaa greets Aeneas/Odysseus, the goddess favouring the hero beautifies him in the eyes of the lady (*Aen*. 1.586-595; *Od*. 6.227-237), and he finds

[154] 1998. Gordon argues that the Romans associated Epicureans with Homer's Phaeacians.
[155] Gordon, 1998: 190-191. Heraclitus *Homeric Questions*, 79.2; pseudo-Lucian *Parasite*, 11.
[156] Gordon, 1998: 196-198 (e.g. *nebulones Alcinoi* "Alcinous' young men," *Epistles* 1.2.28).
[157] Gordon, 1998. Philodemus: p. 195-196 (Epigram 27 subtly defends the Phaeacians against the accusation of excess). Lucretius: p. 194-195 (e.g. when he alludes to the splendour of a banquet to reject luxury (*DRN* 2.20-33 responding to *Od*. 7.81-102)).
[158] Dyson notes that Aeneas' opening lines recall Odysseus, 1996: 205-206.

hospitality in her palace. He tells his story to his hosts over the course of multiple books (*Aeneid* Books 2-3; *Odyssey* Books 9-12). Then he leaves, soon reaching his intended destination where he needs to fight the inhabitants to be able to properly (re)integrate.

Not only does Vergil present Dido as Epicurean – he also presents her as a capable leader, whose leadership aligns with Epicurean values. As mentioned in the introduction, I, like Gordon, understand Dido as one of the "less austere (but not debased)" Epicureans.[159] While some Epicureans would have shunned all political involvement, others allowed for involvement in situations of crisis.[160] As mentioned in the introduction, there was a plurality of views on issues in every philosophical school. I think it would be overly rigid to say that someone was either Epicurean and therefore not political, or political and therefore not Epicurean.

Early in the episode, Vergil presents Dido as a capable leader. Venus recounts Dido's backstory at 1.340-369. The beginning of line 340 juxtaposes *imperium* and *Dido*, emphasizing her leadership role.[161] After Dido learns that her brother, the king, had murdered her husband, she "made ready her flight and her company."[162] Vergil emphasizes her leadership in this flight, using the phrase *dux femina facti* ("the leader of the enterprise [was] a woman, 1.364").[163] Vergil also refers to the building of the *ingentia …moenia surgentemque novae Karthaginis arcem* ("huge walls and rising citadel of new Carthage"), and that the people *iura magistratusque legunt sanctumque senatum* ("they are choosing laws and magistrates and an august senate").[164] These aspects signal to a Roman reader that the city is to be taken seriously. Aeneas, the Roman

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[159] 1998: 200.
[160] Cicero *De Republica* 1.10-11.
[161] Ganiban suggests translating *imperium … regit* as "holds sway," writing that *imperium* means "the act or office of commanding," more than "empire" in this context (2008: 60). This fits with the idea that Dido is in power, but not over an expansionist state.
[162] 1.360: *his commota fugam Dido sociosque parabat*
[163] Ganiban notes the prominence of "courage and leadership" in Dido's characterization in Book 1 (2008: 63).
[164] 1.365-366, 1.426.

self-insert, marvels at Dido's city. After the lively description of building projects, Aeneas exclaims *o fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgunt!* ("'Happy they whose walls already rise!'" 1.437), which conveys awe and possibly jealousy. Further proof of her active role in building the city is at 1.503-504: *talis erat Dido, talem se laeta ferebat | per medios, instans operi regnisque futuris* ("such was Dido, so moved she joyously through their midst, pressing on the work of her rising kingdom").[165]

The city being within an ox-hide boundary conveys that it is contained and separate from the surrounding lands.[166] Being contained and separate are part of the Epicurean mindset, as opposed to the heroic epic and imperialist mindsets, which are expansionist (which are the mindsets of Aeneas and of Vergil's Rome). Dido also embodies Epicurean values as opposed to heroic epic/imperialist values through her (perhaps overly generous) invitation for the Trojans to stay forever in her city. This recalls the concept of Epicurean friendship and the Garden, where people live among friends in a peaceful, secluded setting. When two peoples are joined in epic and empire, there is always violence; with Dido's offer, there is only peace.

Therefore, up until she falls in love with Aeneas, she has been a capable, Epicurean-coded leader – otherwise, she would not have been able to orchestrate the founding of so great a city in alignment with Epicurean values. Carthage only begins to resemble a repetition of Troy once Aeneas arrives.[167]

One could argue that Dido's wealth precludes her from being an Epicurean. The strongest evidence for this position is the description of her palace. *Aen.* 1.725-727, which describes the

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[165] Ganiban notes that Dido's happiness (*laeta*) and grandeur "stark[ly] contrast to her imminent downfall" (2008: 80).

[166] *mercatique solum, facti de nomine Byrsam, | taurino quantum possent circumdare tergo*. ("[They] bought ground—Byrsa they called it therefrom—as much as they could encompass with a bull's hide").

[167] Scholars have called Aeneas "the Carthaginian horse" – just like the Trojan horse, he was let into the city and he brought about its destruction (Estevez, 1978: 101, who also cites Di Cesare, 1974: 28).

palace's magnificent ornamentation, alludes to *DRN* 2.20-36, a passage where Vergil argues that such ornamentation is unnecessary. This conveys criticism of Dido's wealth from an Epicurean perspective. I acknowledge that this is a valid line of argument. However, I stand by my view that Dido is an Epicurean at the beginning of the episode and I would like to provide some responses to objections regarding her wealth.

Firstly, in the epic genre it is expected for monarchs to have magnificent courts; Dido follows this convention. Regarding her politics and luxury – the main things one can cite as making her un-Epicurean in the beginning of the episode – she acts in accordance with the genre and does not overdo them. Just as she is a leader without being power-hungry or even expansionist, she possesses wealth without being gluttonous or avaricious. It was a view among the Roman elite that one could possess wealth and still be a good philosopher – one need not avoid or discard wealth, but one should use it in the pursuit of a good life (in a philosophical sense) and must not become attached to it.[168] Dido acts in this way. She uses the wealth she already had to escape Tyre and create a new city in which she and her people can settle (philosophers condone using existing wealth for good); Vergil does not characterize Dido as greedy or attached to her wealth.

This section has shown that Vergil introduces Dido as a capable, Epicurean leader. This characterization is significant because it shows the coexistence of these two identities – a combination not commonly found in classical literature. As well, it shows that a non-expansionist, Epicurean-coded government can be prosperous and even have a Roman flavour,

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[168] Seneca *De Vita Beata* 21.4: "For indeed the wise man does not deem himself undeserving of any of the gifts of Fortune. He does not love riches, but he would rather have them; he does not admit them to his heart, but to his house, and he does not reject the riches he has, but he keeps them and wishes them to supply ampler material for exercising his virtue." (*Nec enim se sapiens indignum ullis muneribus fortuitis putat. Non amat divitias, sed mavult; non in animum illas, sed in domum recipit, nec respuit possessas, sed continet et maiorem virtuti suae materiam subministrari vult.*)

which challenges the Roman imperialist ideal of Vergil's world. This is the first stage in her trajectory. The following stage shows her move away from the philosophy.

Section 2 – Dido Programmatically Rejects Epicureanism

Dido enters the banquet at the end of Book 1 an Epicurean, and leaves it having strayed quite far from the philosophy. The part of this transition to which I give the most focus is Dido's asking for a change of entertainment after the bard Iopas' Lucretian song. There are other moments which show a move away from Epicureanism, described using Lucretian language and/or concepts – i.e., her falling in love with Aeneas, and her literal and metaphorical drinking before and after Iopas' song. This section discusses: the moment Dido falls in love, Iopas as a stand-in for Lucretius, the meanings of Dido's drinking before and after his song, the definition and relevance of the Lucretian concept of *simulacra*, and Dido's programmatic rejection of Lucretian doctrine.

To clarify, I am not arguing that Dido falling in love and succumbing to it initially – as she does at this banquet – automatically make her a failed Epicurean. Lucretius acknowledges the possibility of falling in love; that is why he gives advice for getting out of it. He conveys that one can still be an Epicurean if they fall in love and even experience lovesickness – as long as one frees oneself eventually.[169] Dido never frees herself – therefore, she is a failed Epicurean.

Before discussing Iopas, it is important to discuss the moment Dido falls in love with Aeneas. I, agreeing with Dyson and Adler, assert that Vergil describes this moment using Lucretian language and concepts. Dido falls in love at 1.712-714, after Venus sends Cupid

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[169] In a similar vein, Fratantuono and Smith cite James Henry's observation: "the fire [in Dido's heart at the beginning of Book 4] is still smoldering and not yet in full vigor; perhaps there is, as yet, still time for correction and healing" (2022: 105).

disguised as Ascanius (Aeneas' son) to charm her.[170] Dyson notes that Vergil's phrase *ardescitque tuendo* ("she starts to burn through gazing") grammatically parallels Lucretius' *inveterascit alendo* ("[the wound of love] starts to grow inveterate through nourishing").[171] Both passages describe love. Vergil describes the flame of love, seeing illusions that spur it on, and experiencing insatiable desire; Lucretius describes the wound of love that only worsens with time. Both authors discuss all these phenomena as parts of love. Adler observes the flame of love when Dido first falls in love, as well as her insatiable desire and preoccupation with *simulacra* (i.e. illusions – in this context, Cupid/Ascanius), as homages to Lucretius' diatribe against love.[172] These linguistic and conceptual parallels at the moment of Dido falling in love are significant because it foreshadows her love becoming like love in the diatribe.

My argument for this section rests on two assertions: (1) Iopas and his song are stand-ins for Lucretius and *DRN*, and (2) Dido rejects them. This is the passage describing Iopas singing about cosmological phenomena using the language of didactic epic:[173]

> … cithara crinitus Iopas
> personat aurata, docuit quem maximus Atlas.
> hic canit errantem lunam solisque labores,
> unde hominum genus et pecudes, unde imber et ignes,
> Arcturum pluviasque Hyadas geminosque Triones;
> quid tantum Oceano properent se tinguere soles 745
> hiberni, vel quae tardis mora noctibus obstet.
> *Aen*. 1.740-746
> Long-haired Iopas, once taught by mighty Atlas, makes the hall ring with his golden lyre. He sings of the wandering moon and the sun's toils; whence sprang man and beast, whence rain and fire; of Arcturus, the rainy Hyades and the twin Bears; why wintry suns

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[170] *praecipue infelix, pesti devota futurae,| expleri mentem nequit ardescitque tuendo | Phoenissa, et pariter puero donisque movetur.* ("Above all, the unhappy Phoenician, doomed to impending ruin, cannot satiate her soul, but takes fire as she gazes, thrilled alike by the boy and by the gifts").
[171] *DRN* 4.1068. Dyson, 1996: 209.
[172] 2003: 106-107.
[173] Some direct echoes: *Aen* 1.743 ~ *DRN* 1.714f. with the mentions of rain (*imber*) and flames (*ignes*); *Aen*. 1.746 ~ *DRN* 5.699f. with mentions of long nights in winter (Austin, 1971: 224-225).

make such haste to dip themselves in Ocean, or what delay stays the slowly passing nights.

I agree with Dyson, Gordon, and Adler that Iopas is a stand-in for Lucretius, and his song a stand-in for *DRN*.[174] It is common for a bard in an epic poem to be a surrogate for a real poet. This is subtly highlighted by Vergil's use of the verb *cano* at 1.742, used for Iopas, which echoes the narrator's use of the same verb in the opening line of the *Aeneid* (*arma virumque cano* … "I sing of arms and the man"). I also assert that Dido having a Lucretian bard further characterizes her as an Epicurean.

Vergil models Dido's banquet scene on the Phaeacians' banquet scene in the *Odyssey*. The Phaeacians' bard, Demodocus, sings heroic epic tales.[175] Because Iopas is the Demodocus figure in the *Aeneid*, it stands out when he sings a song so unlike those of his Odyssean predecessor. By the end, however, as I discuss below, the audience eventually gets the heroic epic song which they were expecting – and it is Aeneas who sings it, at Dido's request. This is what follows Iopas' song and ends Book 1 of the *Aeneid*:

ingeminant plausu Tyrii Troesque sequuntur
nec non et vario noctem sermone **trahebat**
infelix Dido **longumque bibebat amorem**,
multa super Priamo rogitans, super Hectore **multa**; 750
nunc, quibus Aurorae venisset filius armis,
nunc, quales Diomedis equi, nunc, quantus Achilles.
"immo age et a prima dic, hospes, origine nobis
insidias" inquit "Danaum casusque tuorum
erroresque tuos; nam te iam septima portat 755
omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus aestas."
Aen. 1.747-756

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[174] Dyson, 1996: 210-212 for Iopas as Lucretius, 214 for Iopas' song as "a miniature *DRN*"; Gordon, 1998: 202-203; Adler, 2003: 105. Adler says that Iopas' song specifically echoes *DRN* Book 5, which discusses cosmological phenomena.

[175] Many have noted this parallel, including Segal 1971, Hardie 1986, Dyson 1996, and Gordon 1998. Demodocus' first song at *Od*. 8.72-83 recounts an argument between Odysseus and Achilles. His second song (*Od*. 8.266-369) is about Ares' and Aphrodite's affair. His third song retells the sack of Troy (*Od*. 8.499-521).

> With shout on shout the Tyrians applaud, and the Trojans follow. No less did unhappy Dido **prolong** the night with varied talk and **drank deep draughts of love**, asking **much** of Priam, of Hector **much**; now of the armour in which came the son of Dawn; now of the wondrous steeds of Diomedes; now of the greatness of Achilles. "Nay, more," she cries, "tell us, my guest, from the first beginning the treachery of the Greeks, the sad fate of your people, and your own wanderings; for already a seventh summer bears you a wanderer over every land and sea."

Since Iopas' song is framed by descriptions of her drinking, some scholars interpret her drinking as a metaphor for her adherence to Epicureanism. Dyson and Gordon observe that Dido drinks shallowly from her cup of wine before Iopas' song, then "drinks deep draughts of love" afterwards when she converses with Aeneas. Gordon and Dyson both interpret her shallow drinking as temperance (in line with Epicurean doctrine); the juxtaposition of this shallow drinking of wine (which, to Dyson, is a metaphor for shallow engagement with the philosophy) contrasts with her drinking deeply of love (not in line with Epicureanism).[176] McKay argues that her drinking deep draughts of love foreshadows "an altering of perceptions, mood-changes from delight to despair, and loss of control," as often happens when one drinks literal deep draughts of wine.[177] Additionally, her association with drink and intoxication align her with Horace's Cleopatra, further characterizing Dido as a mixture of Roman and Eastern; in this instance, she leans into the side of vulgar hedonism/Eastern decadence.[178]

The next point about drinking draws on the Lucretian concept of *simulacra*, which I define here. *Simulacra* (singular *simulacrum*) in *DRN* are ethereal, filmy images that cause thoughts when one is awake and dreams when one is asleep.[179] Although Vergil never uses the

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[176] 1998: 203; 1996: 212-213.
[177] 2004: 305.
[178] Horace *Odes* 1.37.11-12, 14.
[179] *DRN*. 4.30ff. and note 'b' on page 279 in the Loeb. Directly following Lucretius' definition of *simulacra* is an explanation that they can terrify the viewer and lead them to believing false things (e.g. if someone thinks they have seen a ghost, they will become scared and believe there may be existence after death). It is significant that he so quickly gives warnings about *simulacra* after introducing them; this matches his attitude when he discusses

word *simulacra* in the Dido episode, Dido clearly suffers from them.[180] I use *simulacra* to refer to the sight of one's beloved, thoughts of one's beloved, visions of one's beloved, visions of other things (see section 4 for this), and even physical intimacy with one's beloved (see line *DRN* 4.1103-1104).[181] One perpetuates *simulacra* by indulging in them. All these aspects of the *simulacra* appear in both Lucretius and Vergil. This is Lucretius' main passage about *simulacra* in an erotic context:

> namque in eo spes est, unde est **ardoris** origo,
> restingui quoque posse ab eodem corpore **flammam**.
> quod fieri contra totum natura repugnat;
> unaque res haec est, cuius quam plurima habemus,
> tam magis **ardescit** dira cuppedine pectus. 1090
> nam cibus atque umor membris adsumitur intus;
> quae quoniam certas possunt obsidere partis,
> hoc facile expletur laticum frugumque cupido.
> **ex hominis vero facie pulchroque colore**
> **nil datur in corpus praeter <u>simulacra</u> fruendum** 1095
> **tenvia**; quae vento spes raptast saepe misella.
> ut bibere in somnis sitiens quom quaerit et umor
> non datur, **ardorem** qui membris stinguere possit,
> sed laticum simulacra petit frustraque laborat
> in medioque sitit torrenti flumine potans, 1100
> **sic in amore Venus <u>simulacris</u> ludit amantis,**
> **nec satiare queunt spectando corpora coram**
> nec manibus quicquam teneris abradere membris
> possunt errantes incerti corpore toto.
> *DRN* 4.1086-1104
> "For their hope lies in this, that from the same body from which their **hot passion** arises, the **flame** can be extinguished. Nature protests that entirely the opposite happens, and this is the one thing of which however much we have, the more the breast **grows inflamed**

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simulacra in the context of lovesickness. Early in Book 4, Lucretius also mentions that *simulacra* deceive the mind (e.g. optical illusions) (4.379-386 is his conclusion; see the preceding and following lines for specific examples of such illusions). This also sets up his later argument that love is deceptive. He argues that the senses are not to blame for taking in the illusion, rather the mind. However, he does not provide guidance for how to use reason in the face of illusions (4.478-521).

[180] Hamilton, 1993: 250; Gordon, 1998: 203-204; Adler, 2003: 106-107; Autino, 2021: 382.

[181] These experiences can be visual and/or auditory. Lucretius mentions auditory *simulacra* of the beloved at 4.1061-1062.

> with dreadful desire. For food and liquid are taken inside within the limbs, and since they can occupy definite parts, the desire for fluids and bread is thereby easily fulfilled. **But from the face and beautiful complexion of a human being nothing is passed into the body to be made use of except fine images**, which pitiful hope often snatches. As when in a dream a thirsty person seeks to drink and liquid is not given which could extinguish the **heat** in the limbs, but he goes after the images of fluid and toils in vain and thirsts while quaffing in the midst of a rushing river, so, in love, **Venus mocks lovers with images and they cannot satisfy their bodies by gazing on bodies closely**, nor are they able to scrape off anything with their hands from the tender limbs as they wander uncertainly over the whole body."

Vergil showing Dido chasing *simulacra* in this episode foreshadows her doom. Lucretius presents *simulacra* as a phenomenon which one must not underestimate – they are deceptively powerful, and one should avoid them no matter how insubstantial they appear to be. He uses the verb *fugitare* ("to flee eagerly/hastily") when recommending avoidance. The use of the frequentative form of the verb *fugere* ("to flee") conveys intensity. Similarly, Lucretius conveys the dangers of "insubstantial and seemingly harmless" *simulacra* by using the verb *absterrere* ("to drive away") a "striking" verb.[182] He writes that using this verb likens *simulacra* to "an unwelcome visitor or enemy." In the Dido episode, Vergil adopts Lucretius' view when he shows how dangerous *simulacra* are, and the consequences of indulging in them.

How do *simulacra* relate to Dido's behaviour at the end of Book 1? Dido seeking conversation with her beloved, in the manner she does, is indulging in *simulacra*. Doing this exacerbates her erotic desire, which Vergil, like Lucretius, depicts as impossible to satiate. Dido "prolongs the night" (*noctem … trahebat*), implying indulgence in *simulacra* (here, the appearance of Aeneas) and insatiable desire. Additionally, she metaphorically drinks love to excess (*longumque bibebat amorem*), and therefore indulges in *simulacra* by speaking and

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[182] Brown, 1987: 206-207. *DRN* 4.1063-1064: *sed* ***fugitare*** *decet simulacra et pabula amoris* | ***absterrere*** *sibi atque alio convertere mentem* ("But it is fitting to flee from images, to scare away what feeds love, to turn the mind in other directions").

gazing excessively at Aeneas. Recall *DRN* 4.1086-1102 from above, where Lucretius compares a lover to someone dreaming about unquenchable thirst; Dido, in love, also cannot quench her metaphorical thirst for Aeneas. And finally, the "emphatic and chiastic repetition [of *multa*]" shows her "growing excitement" around these activities.[183] Therefore, Vergil, like Lucretius, links the imagery of unquenchable thirst, insatiable desire, and *simulacra*. Lucretius' message is that trying to satiate this is futile. It would be difficult not to have this in mind when reading about Dido's experience.

Below, I will discuss the implications of Dido asking Aeneas to tell his tale. In doing this, she continues her indulgence in *simulacra* – as Aeneas tells the story, she undoubtedly watches him and perpetuates her erotic desire. Yet, there is an additional, more significant un-Epicurean meaning to her action. I argue that, in seeking a heroic epic song directly after a Lucretian song, she programmatically rejects Lucretian doctrine.

One trend throughout the *DRN* is Lucretius' appropriation of language and concepts from the epic genre, and his assertion of Epicurus' and Epicureanism's superiority over epic heroes and their feats.[184] Here is one example of such a passage:

> ergo vivida vis animi pervicit, et extra
> processit longe flammantia moenia mundi
> atque omne immensum peragravit mente animoque,
> unde refert nobis victor quid possit oriri, 75
> quid nequeat, finita potestas denique cuique
> quanam sit ratione atque alte terminus haerens.
> quare religio pedibus subiecta vicissim
> obteritur, nos exaequat victoria caelo.
> *DRN* 1.72-79
> Therefore the lively power of his [Epicurus'] mind prevailed, and forth he marched far beyond the flaming walls of the world, as he traversed the immeasurable universe in thought and imagination; whence victorious he returns bearing his prize, the knowledge

[183] Ganiban, 2008: 105.
[184] Gale, 2001: 56. See also Gale 1994: 99-128 for an in-depth analysis of Lucretius' appropriation of epic.

> what can come into being, what cannot, in a word, how each thing has its powers limited and its deep-set boundary mark. Therefore Superstition is now in her turn cast down and trampled underfoot, whilst we by the victory are exalted high as heaven.

At 1.73-74 one could even interpret Lucretius as referring to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in succession; the mention of "flaming walls" is a nod to the *Iliad*, and "traversing" a nod to the *Odyssey*. Epicurus has done what epic heroes have done, but better, since his prize is superior (i.e. knowledge). He also describes Epicurus' victory over an enemy, Superstition (1.78-79); this is also superior because Superstition, as Lucretius shows, is real and harmful, unlike the enemies and monsters in epic. Likewise, Lucretius' atoms' *res gestae* ("things done") as superior to the *res gestae* of epic heroes because the former, unlike the latter, are real and eternal.[185] Iopas sings of the causes of natural phenomena, which are the eternal *foedera naturai* (mentioned in the introduction). Aeneas sings of heroes and wars, which are fleeting.

Misunderstanding of *foedera* is detrimental to Dido later, both politically and personally. Politically, her misunderstanding of *foedera* is part of her larger misunderstanding of Epicurean doctrine, which causes her leadership to suffer. Personally, the broken/misunderstood marriage *foedus* with Aeneas hurts her and increases her uncontrolled angry passion, which fuels her desire to die. Vergil uses the word *foedus* in the context of arrangements, political and personal, several times in Book 4: Venus describes a union (both political and erotic) between Dido and Aeneas as a *foedus* (4.112); during their argument, Aeneas claims that he never entered a *foedus* with Dido (4.339); Dido prays to whatever power cares for lovers in an unequal *foedus* (4.520); and finally, Dido curses the relationship between the Trojans and Carthaginians, wishing that there be no love nor *foedera* among the peoples (4.624). If Dido had understood that manmade

[185] Gale, 2001: 56; Gale, 1994: 109-110.

foedera are fragile and temporary, then the breaking/misunderstanding of her *foedus* with Aeneas would not have hurt her as badly; perhaps she would not have been driven to suicide.

Returning to the banquet – if Dido were following Lucretian doctrine, she would not have been interested in hearing Aeneas' tale. Or, perhaps she would hear it only so she could one-up it using Epicurean talking points. However, she is enamoured with his story – recall in beginning of Book 4 how she swoons over his story – and this only *increases* the erotic passion she feels for him.[186] Additionally, when she is expressing her admiration for Aeneas at the beginning of Book 4, she only has positive things to say about him, even though his story shows multiple flaws in him.[187] This is reminiscent of the lovers in Lucretius' diatribe, only seeing and sharing with others the positive aspects of their beloved, despite their obvious flaws.[188] Her request for a heroic epic song, driven by insatiable erotic passion, and her reaction to the song, are all deeply un-Epicurean.

Before Iopas' song, Dido is straying from Epicureanism. She is not avoiding her lovesickness, as Lucretius recommends; yet, in my view, she still has a chance to do so. Iopas' song, if anything, would have been the thing to return her to an Epicurean track. However, after his song, not only is she still not avoiding lovesickness, but she actively rejects Lucretian doctrine. This shows a firm break from the philosophy. This is not simply a general account of a character falling in love to their own destruction – it specifically shows a fall from Epicureanism. This is significant – *this* is the turning point where she goes from being an Epicurean to not an

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[186] *multa viri virtus animo multusque recursat |gentis honos; haerent infixi pectore vultus | verbaque … "quam forti pectore et armis! … heu! quibus ille |iactatus fatis! quae bella exhausta canebat!"* ("Oft to her mind rushes back the hero's valour, oft his glorious stock; his looks and words cling fast to her bosom … 'How brave in heart and feats of arms! … Alas! by what fates is he vexed! What wars, long endured, did he recount!'"). Fratantuono and Smith also argue that listening to Aeneas' story increases Dido's passion (2022: 103).
[187] Fratantuono and Smith specifically question Dido's judgment with regard to being infatuated with someone who did not save his wife from the siege (2022: 106).
[188] *DRN* 4.1153-1170. Lucretius recommends letting oneself see the reality of one's beloved: 4.1149-1152.

Epicurean at all. Her good Epicureanism and her good leadership go together; thus, this is also the turning point where she ceases to be a good leader. Section 3 explores her new un-Epicurean behaviours and ineffective leadership.

This banquet begins with Vergil describing Dido as stretching out on a couch using the phrase *se composuit* (1.697-8). This is ominous, since the phrase is often used to describe laying out a corpse for burial.[189] It is also ironic – the phrase can mean 'put oneself in order.' At the banquet the reader gets a taste of how Dido in love becomes *dis*ordered – and this only worsens as the episode progresses, as discussed in the next section.

Section 3 – Dido Suffers from Lucretian Lovesickness

In this section, I will discuss: the Lucretian re-introduction of the lovesick Dido, Anna's characterization and influence on Dido, Dido's Lucretian lovesickness after the conversation with Anna, and how Dido ceases to be Epicurean-coded and a capable leader after succumbing to love.

Books 2 and 3 are Aeneas' recounting of Troy's fall. It is understood that Dido is in Aeneas' audience. The story of Troy's fall foreshadows her own doom; as mentioned earlier, Carthage's fall is a repetition of Troy. Aeneas' story could have served as a warning about love leading to destruction, but Dido does not heed this warning. If anything, her lovesickness appears to have intensified between Book 1 and Book 4, perhaps because she spent the intervening Books admiring her beloved and immersing herself in the world of heroic epic – two things that Lucretius warns are harmful.[190]

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[189] McKay, 2004: 305. McKay also notes that she falls on a couch again before she says her last words and takes her life (4.648-650).
[190] Fratantuono and Smith note this increasing intensity of lovesickness: "Before Aeneas' tale began Dido's passion was described in language appropriate to banqueters at a feast (1.749, a metaphorical version of Dido's drinking feat of 1.728ff.); now medical imagery is employed as the wound of love grows more serious" (2022: 103).

Vergil re-introduces Dido in Book 4. The opening lines of this book, like Dido's first spoken lines in Book 1, are dense with Lucretian allusion. These lines show her in the throes of lovesickness; Dido resembles the lovesick figure in Lucretius' diatribe against love. Then she speaks to Anna, a "vulgar hedonist,"[191] who encourages her to succumb to lovesickness. Dido succumbs, and additional Lucretian lovesickness symptoms follow. Because she is so absorbed in her lovesickness, she makes some decisions which are un-Epicurean and not in the best interest of her city. Therefore, because of her rejection of Epicureanism and the resulting onslaught of ever-increasing lovesickness, she is no longer a capable leader nor Epicurean. I interpret this sequence of events as showing that an Epicurean politician who rejects Epicureanism could suffer from the phenomena which Lucretius warns about (in this case, lovesickness), and, *as a result*, cease to be an effective politician. If this is the case, then it would appear that Vergil is in agreement with Lucretius – one will suffer if one strays from the philosophy.

To clarify, I am not arguing that Vergil is conveying the dangers of lovesickness only. Lovesickness, according to Lucretius and (I argue) Vergil, is just one manifestation of passion. In the ancient world it was commonly held that one was susceptible to falling to other passions if one falls to one type of passion. Indeed, Vergil often describes passions in ways that recall other passions, such as erotic passion being described in martial terms or bloodlust in erotic language.[192] With this in mind, it would be ominous for the reader to see Dido falling in love; it means that she would be at risk for succumbing to other, more obviously dangerous passions.[193]

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[191] Adler coins this phrase and I agree that it is apt (2003: 114).
[192] This also blurs the political and the personal (erotic being personal, and martial being political); this recalls Vergil's treatment of *foedera*, which can have political and personal dimensions.
[193] Earlier philosophers, particularly Plato, suggest that if one succumbs to one vice, one is at risk of succumbing to others (*Resp*. 9.573a-b).

Since Epicureanism promotes the regulating all types of desires, if someone succumbs to one, it implies that they fundamentally misunderstood the philosophy. Dido's associations with Cleopatra would also encourage a reader to imagine that Dido could fall to other types of passion; Cleopatra was often depicted as indulging in alcohol, political ambition, love of luxury, etc.[194] Therefore, I argue that the message of the Dido episode is a broader warning against falling to passions, lovesickness being merely one manifestation. The language of lovesickness is significant here, and I do focus closely on it; however, it is important to bear in mind this broader perspective.

The following are the opening lines of Book 4, which serve as a Lucretian re-introduction of lovesick Dido after she has listened to Aeneas' story. The opening lines of a work or a new section of a work are an impactful, memorable spot for readers. The fact that Vergil chose to open Book 4 with such Lucretian lines conveys the importance of keeping Lucretius in mind.

> At regina gravi iamdudum **saucia cura**
> **vulnus alit** venis et **caeco** carpitur **igni**.
> multa viri virtus animo multusque **recursat**
> gentis honos; **haerent infixi pectore vultus**
> **verbaque**, nec **placidam** membris **dat cura quietem.** 5
> *Aen*. 4.1-5
> But the queen, long since smitten with a **grievous love-pang** (*cura*), **feeds the wound** with her lifeblood, and is wasted with **fire unseen**. Oft to **her mind rushes back** the hero's valour, oft his glorious stock; **his looks and words cling fast to her bosom**, and **longing** (*cura*) **withholds calm rest** from her limbs.

I will discuss how the following words/phrases are Lucretian: *saucia* (4.1); a blind flame (*caeco … igni* at 4.2); *cura* (4.1, 4.5); the phrase *placidam … dat … quietem* (4.5); various descriptions of love as wounds; one's mind constantly returning to their beloved (*recursat* at 4.3;

[194] A few examples follow. Alcohol: Horace *Odes* 1.37; love of luxury: Plutarch *Life of Antony* 26, Macrobius *Saturnalia* 3.16-18; hunger for power: Propertius *Elegies* 3.11.

4.77-79). Although these are love topoi in classical literature, Vergil uses them in ways that specifically echo Lucretius.

Lucretius uses *saucia* to describe pain caused by love. Brown notes that this word "has vivid physical connotations of bloodshed and swooning" in Lucretius, and is also used in the context of lovesickness.[195] *Caeco … igni*, the image of the "blind flame," is also seen in *DRN*.[196] Lucretius uses this phrase in a description about how one can be reawakened from sleep like a fire being rekindled (*DRN* 4.928).[197] This is similar to Dido's experience with love – Cupid stirs her *resides animos* (long-slumbering heart, *Aen*. 1.722) using the flame of love. Note also that "wound and flame frame the line," (4.2) – this further highlights these images which will both become literal at the end of the episode.[198]

Both authors use the word *cura* to convey the anguish of lovesickness (*Aen* 4.1 and 5 above, and *DRN* 4.1060 and 1067). Lucretius uses *cura* throughout *DRN* as the Latin equivalent of the Greek *tarache* ("disturbance," "anxiety").[199] Additionally, the Latin *quies* ("rest") corresponds to the Greek *ataraxia* ("tranquility").[200] Both authors set *cura* and *quies* in opposition. Vergil describes Dido's lovesickness preventing her from resting (4.5). Although it is not a passage about love, Lucretius also sets *cura* and *quies* in opposition at *DRN* 5.982-983, when he describes worries about wild beasts preventing the first humans from resting.[201] Jumping ahead in the episode, Vergil uses these terms again to describe Dido's sleeplessness and

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[195] O'Hara, 2011: 19 and Brown, 1987: 191. See *DRN* 4.1048 for a similar usage: *Idque petit corpus, mens unde est* ***saucia*** *amore* ("And the body seeks the thing by which the mind is **wounded** with love").
[196] Autino, 2021: 381. At *DRN* 4.1120, during the diatribe against love, Lucretius uses the similar phrase to describe the "blind" wound of love (*volnere caeco*).
[197] See 4.916-928 for the whole passage.
[198] Fratantuono and Smith, 2022: 104.
[199] Brown, 1987: 204. Hamilton, 1993: 249 and Gordon, 1998: 203 repeat and expand on this idea.
[200] Hamilton, 1993: 249. See also Gordon, 1998: 203.
[201] Hamilton, 1993: 249. *sed magis illud erat curae, quod saecla ferarum | infestam miseris faciebant saepe quietem*. ("Rather what troubled them [humans] was that the tribes of beasts often made their rest dangerous to the poor wretches").

emotional turmoil at *Aen*. 4.522-532, shortly before her suicide.[202] Here, he specifically echoes *Aen*. 4.5, using the words *curae*, *placidum* to describe *soporem* (similar in meaning to *quietem*) and *quierant* (a verb cognate with *quies*).[203] Hamilton notes the "strong Lucretian flavour" of this passage which again sets the concepts of *cura* and *quies* at odds:[204]

> Nox erat, et **placidum** carpebant fessa **soporem**
> corpora per terras, silvaeque et saeva **quierant**
> aequora, cum medio volvuntur sidera lapsu,
> cum tacet omnis ager, pecudes pictaeque volucres, 525
> quaeque lacus late liquidos, quaeque aspera dumis
> rura tenent, somno positae sub nocte silenti.
> lenibant **curas** et corda oblita laborum.
> at non infelix animi Phoenissa, neque umquam
> solvitur in somnos, oculisve aut pectore noctem 530
> accipit; ingeminant **curae**, rursusque resurgens
> saevit amor, magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu.
> *Aen*. 4.522-532
> It was night, and over the earth weary creatures were tasting the **peace of slumber**; the woods and wild seas had **sunk to rest**—the hour when stars roll midway in their gliding course, when all the land is still, and beasts and coloured birds, both those that far and near haunt the limpid lakes, and those that dwell in the thorny thickets of the countryside, are couched in sleep beneath the silent night. They were soothing their **cares**, their hearts oblivious of sorrows. But not so the soul-racked Phoenician queen; she never sinks into sleep, nor draws darkness into eyes or heart. Her **pangs** redouble, and her love, swelling up, surges afresh, as she heaves with a mighty tide of passion.

The description of animals at *Aen*. 4.525f echoes *DRN* 2.344-346.[205] If one recalls this *DRN* passage, one may also recall the passage immediately following it, where a cow obsessively searches for her sacrificed calf (*DRN* 2.352-366):[206]

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[202] Hamilton, 1993: 249. Fratantuono and Smith also note that Dido is unable to sleep at 4.80ff., after Aeneas' repeated retellings of his journey (2022: 110).
[203] Hamilton, 1993: 249-250. This passage recalls *DRN* 2.344 ff., where he describes the natural world in a similar list (Hamilton, 1993: 249 citing Williams' *Aeneid 1-6*).
[204] Hamilton, 1993: 249-250.
[205] Austin, 1971: 158.
[206] Fratantuono and Smith mention that Vergil may have had this passage in mind when writing 4.72 as well (*illa fuga silvas saltusque peragrat*), since he uses the verb *peragro* here, too, of a distressed animal.

nam saepe ante deum vitulus delubra decora
turicremas propter mactatus concidit aras,
sanguinis expirans calidum de pectore flumen;
at mater viridis saltus orbata peragrans 355
quaerit humi pedibus vestigia pressa bisulcis,
omnia convisens oculis loca si queat usquam
conspicere amissum fetum, completque querellis
frondiferum nemus adsistens et crebra revisit
ad stabulum desiderio perfixa iuvenci; 360
nec tenerae salices atque herbae rore vigentes
fluminaque illa queunt summis labentia ripis
oblectare animum subitamque avertere curam,
nec vitulorum aliae species per pabula laeta
derivare queunt animum curaque levare: 365
usque adeo quiddam proprium notumque requirit.
DRN 2.352-366

For often in front of the noble shrines of the gods a calf falls slain beside the incense-burning altars, breathing up a hot stream of blood from his breast; but the mother bereaved wanders through the green glens, and seeks on the ground the prints marked by the cloven hooves, as she surveys all the regions if she may espy somewhere her lost offspring, and coming to a stand fills the leafy woods with her moaning, and often revisits the stall, pierced with yearning for her calf; nor can tender willow-growths, and herbage growing rich in the dew, and those rivers flowing level with their banks, give delight to her mind and rebuff her sudden care, nor can the sight of other calves in the happy pastures divert her mind and lighten her load of care: so persistently she seeks for something of her own that she knows well.

The cow wanders, 'pierced with yearning for her calf' the way Dido wanders the city and is pierced with the metaphorical arrow and later a literal sword because of her love. Searching for her calf is described as a *cura*. Also significant in this passage is the concept of absence – Dido and the cow both feel painful obsession because of the absence of their loved one. Vergil also has Dido putting *cura* and *quies* at odds at 4.379-380; this is in her argument with Aeneas, where she, perhaps derisively, voices an Epicurean talking point about gods being at peace, but this *cura* (i.e. Aeneas fulfilling his fate) will disturb their peace.[207]

At 4.5, Vergil uses the phrase *nec placidam membris* ***dat*** [a form of the verb *dare*] *cura* ***quietem*** ("longing withholds calm rest from her limbs"). Vergil repeats this phrase elsewhere to

[207] Fratantuono and Smith, 2022: 110, 569-570.

mean death, before and after the Dido episode;[208] this foreshadows, and retrospectively foreshadows, Dido's doom. Vergil also uses the phrase *dare … quies* ("to give peace/sleep") to describe Tityos[209] in Book 6. How does this relate to Dido? Vergil aligns Dido with both his own Tityos and with Lucretius' Tityos. The link between Lucretius' Tityos and Dido is particularly significant, since both are characterized as an anguished lover.

Vergil's Tityos passage appears shortly after Aeneas sees Dido's ghost in the Underworld:[210]

nec non et Tityon, Terrae omniparentis alumnum, 595
cernere erat, per tota novem cui iugera corpus
porrigitur, rostroque immanis vultur obunco
immortale iecur tondens fecundaque poenis
viscera, rimaturque epulis habitatque sub alto
pectore, **nec** fibris **requies datur** ulla renatis. 600
Aen 6.595-600
Likewise one might see Tityos, nursling of Earth the mother of all. Over nine full acres his body is stretched, and a monstrous vulture with crooked beak gnaws at his deathless liver and vitals fruitful of anguish; deep within the breast he lodges and gropes for his feast; **nor is any respite given** to the filaments that grow anew.

Aen. 6.600, describing Tityos, echoes the description of Dido at *Aen*. 4.5 (and, to a lesser extent, 4.522-532 as discussed above): the use of the phrase *dare/datur … quies*/*requies*, body parts being in the dative case (*membris*; *fibris*), and the sense that *no* rest is given to these body parts. Linguistically and conceptually, these two passages are strongly linked. Thus, Vergil creates a "retrospective simile" between Dido and Tityos.[211]

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[208] E.g. Palinurus asking for a peaceful place to rest in death (*Aen*. 6.370-371). Palinurus' last words also contain this phrase. He refuses to cease keeping watch because he does not trust Aeneas; he dies shortly after he refuses (*Aen*. 5.848f.). Additionally, Priam likens peaceful rest to death (*Aen*. 6.522).
[209] Tityos is a giant who, after attempting to rape the goddess Leto, was punished in the Underworld by being made to lie down while vultures ate his innards (*Od*. 11.576-581). Dido being likened to Tityos subtly strengthens her characterization as an obstacle to Aeneas fulfilling his fate/Jupiter's plans. Tityos was opposed to Zeus/Jupiter because he was a giant; in the *Aeneid*, there are many references to the Gigantomachy – the war against giants and the Olympian gods led by Zeus/Jupiter.
[210] Aeneas interacts with Dido's ghost at *Aen*. 6.450-476.
[211] Hamilton, 1993: 251.

Vergil's Tityos and Vergil's Dido both resemble Lucretius' Tityos, described in the passage below:

Nec Tityon volucres ineunt Acherunte iacentem
nec quod sub magno scrutentur pectore quicquam 985
perpetuam aetatem possunt reperire profecto.
quamlibet immani proiectu corporis exstet,
qui non sola novem dispessis iugera membris
obtineat, sed qui terrai totius orbem,
non tamen aeternum poterit perferre dolorem 990
nec praebere cibum proprio de corpore semper.
sed Tityos nobis hic est, **in amore iacentem**
quem **volucres** lacerant atque **exest** anxius angor
aut alia quavis scindunt **cuppedine curae**.
DRN 3.984-994
No Tityos lying in Acheron is rummaged by **winged creatures**, nor assuredly can they find in eternity anything at all to dig for deep in that vast breast. Wide as you will, let that huge body be spread forth, enough to cover not nine acres only with the outstretched limbs, but the whole globe of earth: yet he will not be able to bear pain for ever, nor to provide food from his own body always. But Tityos is here among us, the man who, as he lies in love, is torn by **winged creatures** and **devoured** by agonizing anguish or rent by **anxieties** through some other **passion**.

Both Lucretius' and Vergil's Tityos passages begin with *nec*, soon followed by *Tityon* (the accusative case). This linguistic similarity aids the retrospective simile, where Dido is likened to Tityos.

Lucretius depicts Tityos as an anguished lover.[212] The phrase *in amore iacentem* ("lying in love") sets up an erotic context.[213] The linguistic similarity of *Acherunte iacentem* and *in*

[212] In fact, this Tityos-as-lover in Book 3 foreshadows the diatribe against love in Book 4. A striking linguistic parallel solidifies the link between these two parts: *haec Venus est nobis* at *DRN* 4.1058 and *sed Tityos nobis hic est* at *DRN* 3.992. Additionally, certain similarities in the style and structure of these two Books' conclusions encourage the reader to have one in mind when reading the other. Stylistic components: "pervasive metaphors and similes," vivid and often satirical vignettes, "quotation and parody," "reduction of mythological ideas," and mixing different techniques. Structure: both Book 3 and Book 4 have "a central climax and a decrease of intensity towards the conclusion" (Brown: 1987: 54-55).
[213] Kenney, 1970: 44. The phrase conjures imagery of *otium* (leisure), lamenting one's lovesickness while in bed, and remaining at a lover's doorstep (*DRN* 3.992-994).

amore iacentem[214] – same number of syllables, both at the ends of their respective lines – highlights how love is hellish, and both hell and love render the sufferer prone. Additionally, *volucres* at 993 can be taken as a metaphor for Cupids tormenting the lover.[215]

Lucretius' Tityos resembles lovesick Dido. I assert that the *volucres* of Lucretius' Tityos are equivalent to Dido's *simulacra*, which are also pestering, love-related things visible only to her. Hamilton notes that both Dido and Tityos are being consumed by love (Dido: ***est*** *mollis flamma medullas* at *Aen.* 4.66; Tityos: ***exest*** *anxius angor aut alia quavis scindunt cuppedine curae* at *DRN* 3.993-994).[216] While the lover being devoured by love is not unique to Lucretius, Vergil in the line immediately following uses a phrase which "has been shown to be dependent on Lucretius."[217] This strengthens the possibility that Vergil had Lucretius in mind when writing 4.66. Aligning Dido with this Tityos-as-tormented-lover foreshadows her own suffering in love.

Returning to the opening lines of Book 4 – the phrase *vulnus alit* ("she nourishes the wound") is similar to the following line from Lucretius' diatribe against love: *ulcus enim vivescit et inveterascit alendo* ("for the wound comes to life and starts to grow inveterate through nourishing"). *ulcus* is a synonym for *vulnus*; *alit* and *alendo* come from the same verb, meaning "to nourish."[218] Vergil picks up the concept of a "living" wound at 4.67.[219] When Dido first falls in love in Book 1, Vergil describes this love (which he later associates with wounds) as living: *et*

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[214] Kenney, 1970: 44.
[215] Kenney, 1970: 45-46. Leonard and Smith take *curae* as "the anxieties caused by other unsatisfied passions, e.g., avarice" if "*volucres* … stands for sexual desire" (1968: 509-510).
[216] Hamilton, 1993: 251. *Aen*. 4.66: "the flame devours her tender heartstrings;" *DRN* 3.993-994: "devoured by agonizing anguish or rent by anxieties through some other passion." Vergil's Tityos is also being eaten, but the word he uses is *tondeo*.
[217] Hamilton, 1993: 251. *vivit vulnus* ("the wound lives"), *Aen*. 4.67.
[218] Fratantuono and Smith note that *alit* is an uncommon word in epic, especially in a context that is wounding as opposed to healing; both these elements would draw attention to it (2022: 104-105).
[219] Hamilton observes that this phrase is "dependent on Lucretius" (1993: 251).

vivo *temptat praevertere* ***amore*** ("and he [Cupid] tries to turn [her mind] by means of a **living love**," 1.721).

Vergil specifically describes Dido's wound as a piercing from a projectile. At 4.4 he describes Aeneas' appearance and words as "clinging fixed in her breast" (*haerent infixi pectore vultus verbaque*). At 4.67, *tacitum vivit sub pectore vulnus* ("deep in her breast lives the silent wound"), immediately following her succumbing to lovesickness, describes a similar phenomenon. At 4.69-73, Dido is like a wandering deer pierced by the arrow of an unknowing shepherd (Aeneas).[220] Note both passages' use of *fixit* and *infixi*, as well as forms from the verb *haereo* ("cling").[221] Dido's metaphorical wound by love becomes a literal one at the end of the book, when she falls on Aeneas' sword. Compare *Aen*. 4.4-5: *haerent infixi pectore vultus* | *verbaque* to *Aen*. 4.689: *infixum stridit sub pectore vulnus*.[222] Note the aural similarity of *vultus* and *vulnus*; they are similar in meaning, too, in that they are both the thing harming Dido (the *vultus* is a *simulacrum*, the *vulnus* a literal wound).[223] In both passages, the *vultus* and *vulnus* get fixed (*infixi*, *infixum*) in her heart (*pectore*).[224] This projectile imagery resembles Lucretius' *simulacra*, the insidious images of one's beloved, which he describes as projectiles at *DRN* 4.1052-1054.[225]

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[220] Fratantuono and Smith include this as part of the figure to reality of Book 4 – Dido, enflamed, wanders the streets just as flames wander the streets at Troy (2022: 198).
[221] Hamilton, 1993: 250; O'Hara, 2011: 20.
[222] O'Hara, 2011: 19. *Infixi* is used metaphorically at 4.4-5 (memories, arguably *simulacra*, of Aeneas' face and words are fixed in her heart), and literally at 4.689 (the wound [from the sword] is fixed in her heart). Thus, Dido's love is fixed in her figuratively at the beginning of the book, then literally by the end.
[223] O'Hara observes an association between *vultus* here and Lucretius' concept of the absent beloved's *simulacra* (*DRN* 4.1061-1062) (2011: 20).
[224] To answer Hamilton's question (page 250, note 19), *yes*, I do think there is wordplay between these two phrases.
[225] Brown, 1987: 72. *sic igitur Veneris qui telis accipit ictus, | sive puer membris muliebribus hunc iaculatur | seu mulier toto iactans e corpore amorem* … ("so therefore, if one is wounded by the shafts of Venus, whether it be a boy with girlish limbs who launches the shaft at him, or a woman radiating (literally: throwing) love from her whole body…").

The last Lucretian concept I will discuss in the opening lines of Book 4 is the use of *recursat* ("[her mind] rushes back"), and more broadly, the concept of one's mind repeatedly returning to the beloved. I argue, as others have before, that this is Vergil's rendition of Lucretian *simulacra*.[226] At 4.3-5, Vergil describes her obsessive thoughts about Aeneas' appearance and stories.[227] In the same way that *multa … multa* at the end of Book 1 shows Dido's excitement about hearing Aeneas' story,[228] I assert that the repetition of *multa … multus* at the beginning of Book 4 shows her excitement as she replays her interactions with him in her mind, multiplying her excitement. The use of the word *recursat* conveys her insatiability.[229] *Recursat* appears rarely in the *Aeneid*, and when it does, it is always with *cura*: it appears at *Aen*. 1.662 and 12.801-802, which both refer to Juno's obsession with thwarting Aeneas; this is another manifestation of a character indulging in destructive desire.[230] This passage recalls Lucretius' explanation that *simulacra* remain even when one's beloved is absent (Aeneas is not present at the beginning of Book 4):

> nam si **abest** quod ames, praesto simulacra tamen sunt
> illius, et nomen dulce[231] obversatur ad auris.
> sed fugitare decet **simulacra** et pabula amoris
> absterrere sibi atque alio convertere mentem
> et iacere umorem conlectum in corpora quaeque, 1065
> nec retinere, semel conversum unius amore,
> et servare sibi **curam** certumque dolorem;
> *DRN* 4.1061-1067
> For if what you love is **absent**, yet its images are there, and the sweet name sounds in your ears. But it is fitting to flee from images [*simulacra*], to scare away what feeds love,

[226] Hamilton, 1993: 250; Gordon, 1998: 203-4; Autino, 2021: 382.
[227] *multa viri virtus animo multusque recursat | gentis honos; haerent infixi pectore vultus | verbaque* … ("Oft to her mind rushes back the hero's valour, oft his glorious stock; his looks and words cling fast to her bosom ...")
[228] Ganiban, 2008: 105.
[229] Austin, 1971: 26.
[230] Fratantuono and Smith, 2022: 107.
[231] Vergil also uses *dulce* ("sweet") in an amatory context at *Aen*. 4.318, when Dido begs Aeneas to stay (s*i bene quid de te merui, fuit aut tibi quicquam | dulce meum, miserere domus labentis et istam*; "if ever I deserved well of you, or if anything of mine has been sweet in your sight, pity a falling house") (Leonard and Smith, 1968: 616).

> to turn the mind in other directions, to cast the collected liquid into any body, and not to retain it, being wrapped up once for all in the love of one, nor to cherish care [*curam*] and certain pain for yourself.

Aen. 4.83-85 echoes *DRN* 4.1061f; both authors use the word "absent" (adjectives *absens, absentem* ("absent"),[232] and verb *abest* ("he/she is absent")) in the context of a lover perceiving their beloved who is not present.[233] The construction of line 83, where "Dido locks Aeneas in her thoughts, … [as] shown in the word order," draws attention to this concept.[234] As well, Vergil using a form of *imago* ("image") at 4.84 is the closest he gets to calling these false images *simulacra*; indeed, Lucretius uses the word *imago* to refer to *simulacra* at 4.379.[235] When Dido is holding Ascanius at the feast, she is purposefully increasing her exposure to *simulacra* (Ascanius is the *imago* of his father).

There are a few more instances of Dido being characterized as one who indulges in *simulacra* and insatiable erotic desire. At 4.77-79,[236] Vergil describes Dido repeatedly asking Aeneas to tell his stories and listening intently. Dido seeking to gaze at and listen to Aeneas repeatedly shows her insatiable pursuit of *simulacra*. Vergil uses *demens* ("frenzied") as a descriptor for Dido (4.78), which highlights her lack of control in a pejorative way, echoing the spirit of Lucretius' diatribe against love.[237]

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[232] O'Hara notes that repetition of *absens*, *absentem* in Vergil's description "stresses the contrast between Aeneas' physical absence and his constant presence in her mind (2011: 30). This draws attention to these lines.
[233] *Aen*. 4.83-85: … *illum* ***absens absentem*** *auditque videtque, | aut gremio Ascanium genitoris imagine capta | detinet* … ("Though absent, each from each, she hears him, she sees him, or, captivated by his look of his father, she holds Ascanius on her lap …"). *DRN* 4.1061-1063: *nam si* ***abest*** *quod ames, praesto simulacra tamen sunt | illius, et nomen dulce obversatur ad auris. | sed fugitare decet simulacra* … ("For if what you love is absent, yet its images are there, and the sweet name sounds in your ears. But it is fitting to flee from images …"). Hamilton notes the echo in Vergil's *absens, absentem* and Lucretius' *abest* (1993: 250).
[234] Austin, 1971: 47-48.
[235] Hamilton, 1993: 250.
[236] *nunc eadem labente die convivia quaerit, | Iliacosque iterum demens audire labores | exposcit pendetque iterum narrantis ab ore.* ("Now, as day wanes, she seeks that same banquet, again in her madness craves to hear the sorrows of Ilium and again hangs on the speaker's lips"). Autino cites this passage as an instance where Vergil engages with Lucretian *simulacra* (2021: 382).
[237] Austin, 1971: 47.

As demonstrated, Dido's lovesickness at the beginning of Book 4 resembles Lucretian lovesickness. This, coming so soon after Dido's programmatic rejection of Lucretius, conveys that when one rejects Lucretius, one suffers from Lucretian consequences as a result. As discussed below, her new un-Epicurean way of being hinders her ability to rule effectively.

Before that, however, I would like to discuss Anna's role. I, like Adler, interpret Anna as a vulgar hedonist.[238] It is significant that Vergil includes multiple characters who follow Epicureanism to differing degrees and appear to have differing takes on the philosophy (Dido, Iopas, Anna); this further demonstrates how he gives Epicureanism a nuanced treatment in this episode. Vergil also creates an unsettling feeling around Dido and Aeneas' love story by associating Anna with Phaedra's Nurse from Euripides' *Hippolytus*.

Anna uses a combination of Epicurean and non-Epicurean talking points to persuade Dido to give into her love for Aeneas (a non-Epicurean goal). Anna's 'Epicurean' argument is this: *id cinerem aut manis credis curare sepultos?* ("'Do you believe that the ashes or the buried shades [Dido's deceased husband] care about this [i.e. Dido's love for Aeneas]?'" *Aen*. 4.34).[239] Anna sandwiches this between exhortations to give into erotic passion: *solane perpetua maerens carpere iuventa, | nec dulcis natos*[240] ***Veneris*** *nec* **praemia** *noris?* ("'are you, lonely and sad, going to pine away all your youth long, and know not sweet children or **love's rewards**?'" *Aen*.

[238] As Adler notes, "Anna's is an Epicureanism in the service of the passions, a vulgar hedonism; not knowing what true pleasure is, she uses the bits of Epicurean doctrine she has picked up from Iopas' poetry as rhetorical resources in pursuit of false pleasures" (2003: 114).

[239] In her Epicurean point, one could interpret her as saying that Sychaeus is simply a *simulacrum*, and therefore not worth Dido's attention (recall Venus' backstory, where the phrasing linked Sychaeus' ghost to Lucretian *simulacra*).

[240] Fratantuono and Smith note that this phrase echoes *DRN* 3.894ff., where Lucretius says that the dead man will not miss his wife or children (2022: 144). See page 41, where I discuss how this passage also influences *Aen*. 1.498-504 (the Latona simile).

4.32-33 [emphasis is my own]); and a bit later: *placitone etiam pugnabis amori?* ("'will you even fight a pleasing love?'" *Aen*. 4.38).[241]

One of Anna's un-Epicurean traits is political ambition.[242] She encourages a marriage with Aeneas not only to indulge in erotic desire, but also as a profitable alliance. Anna fantasizes not merely about a safe Carthage, but a powerful one: *quam tu urbem, soror, hanc cernes, quae surgere regna | coniugio tali! Teucrum comitantibus armis, | Punica se quantis attollet gloria rebus!* ("'What a city you will see rise here, my sister, what a realm, by reason of such a marriage! With Teucrian [a.k.a. Trojan] arms beside us, to what heights will Punic [a.k.a. Carthaginian] glory soar?'" 4.47-49). An Epicurean may consider an alliance for safety, since they get involved in politics insofar as it allows them to keep practicing their philosophy in a peaceful setting. However, any involvement beyond that, especially with the intention of gain, would be discouraged. Although Dido succumbs to her lovesickness more than her political ambition, it is still worth noting that political ambition could have been a factor in her decision.

Vergil aligns Anna with Phaedra's Nurse, thus creating a feeling of unease around Dido falling in love with Aeneas.[243] Anna and the Nurse are both pseudo-philosophical characters,[244]

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[241] I agree with Adler, who observes: "Anna's question suggests that in her opinion it is both undesirable to fight against the pleasing and impossible to succeed in such a fight" (2003: 112). Such a sentiment is not Epicurean – Lucretius would urge fighting against such feelings of erotic passion, no matter how difficult.

[242] This time, I disagree with Adler. She argues that Anna encourages Dido to choose love over founding a city (2003: 111). I argue that Anna says Dido can have *both* if she succumbs to her feelings.

[243] There are numerous parallels between *Hippolytus* and the Dido episode more generally. A goddess (Venus; Juno) is angry at a man (Hippolytus; Aeneas) for a slight (refusing to worship her; being a Trojan, like the Trojan Paris who rejected her). This man aligns himself with a different goddess (Artemis; Venus). The angry goddess takes revenge on the man by making a woman (Phaedra; Dido) fall in love with him to thwart his higher purpose (chastity oath; founding Rome). The woman suffers from lovesickness; she does not wish to feel it nor yield to it. A confidante consoles them to disastrous effect (Nurse; Anna). The woman in love has been married to a man other than the one she has fallen in love with (Theseus; Sychaeus). The woman uses ineffectual, superstitious magic. Eventually, distraught, she takes her life.

[244] I.e., both try to persuade using various unrelated or even contradictory arguments; they keep arguing like sophists (saying whatever is convincing, as opposed to the truth) in an attempt to make the loved one happy.

not meant to be taken seriously, whose well-meaning yet misguided advice to embrace[245] lovesickness ultimately leads to extreme distress and eventual suicide in the heroines. Allusions to Euripides' *Hippolytus* would generate a feeling of unease and repulsion around Dido's and Aeneas' relationship, which would not have otherwise existed. Phaedra's love for Hippolytus, her stepson, also is echoed in Dido's fascination with Ascanius, who, if she married Aeneas, would also be her stepson.[246] Phaedra's desire for Hippolytus was not only quasi-incestuous but also adulterous (her husband, Theseus, was alive). A reader with Phaedra in mind may feel more strongly that Dido owes loyalty to Sychaeus, and that there is something too similar/familiar between Aeneas and Dido,[247] than they otherwise would react to a widow remarrying.[248] To add another layer of unease, Phaedra was the daughter of Minos and Pasiphae. Pasiphae felt (and acted on) lust for a bull, which is another instance of inappropriate desire which may come to mind for the reader who sees Phaedra in Dido.[249] Although Dido pursuing Aeneas is not morally wrong by most Romans' standards, the Dido episode's antecedents – which call to mind infidelity, incest, and bestiality – could condition the reader to *feel* that it is wrong.[250]

I would like to mention a couple other instances where Vergil creates an unsettling feeling around Dido and Aeneas. Firstly, even before they meet, a reader would feel wary hearing that Aeneas (a proto-Roman) landed at Carthage, the historical enemy of Rome. It is also

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[245] I use the word "embrace" loosely. Phaedra's Nurse says she will cure Phaedra's lovesickness with a potion, and in the meantime not to feel ashamed about her feelings; Anna encourages Dido to act on her erotic desires.
[246] *Aen*. 4.83-85, and to a lesser extent at 1.717-719.
[247] Giusti, (citing Hardie, 2006) observes the many similarities between Dido and Aeneas, and argues that, on some level, their love for each other is inappropriate and even has an incestuous undertone (2018: 112, note 89; 132).
[248] Autino briefly addresses Roman views on women remarrying (2021: 384-385).
[249] As a retrospective nod to this, Dido in the Underworld is surrounded by a group of pained lovers including and Pasiphae (*Aen*. 6.445-451). See Quint, 2018: 73-74 for more discussion of the people from myth surrounding Dido in the Underworld.
[250] Vergil's departures from Euripides also create drama. For example, in *Hippolytus*, Phaedra's feelings are made known because her Nurse betrays her confidence. In the *Aeneid*, Dido acting on her feelings makes them known to the world. This adds a layer of guilt to Dido that does not exist for Phaedra.

unsettling that Juno, the god who opposes the hero, favours Carthage so greatly; the Carthaginians (including Dido herself) also favour Juno.[251] This foreshadows that Dido will eventually oppose Aeneas, as Juno does.

Secondly, Vergil initially presents Dido as a Nausikaa figure (a Phaeacian princess in the *Odyssey*).[252] Although Homer hints that Nausikaa and Odysseus may marry, he never follows through on this. Vergil's parallel couple does. A version where 'Nausikaa' and 'Odysseus' become lovers would be unsettling to readers.[253] In the *Odyssey*, Odysseus returns to his home, Ithaka, immediately after his stay with the Phaeacians; thus he gets significantly closer to fulfilling his purpose. Aeneas, in 'marrying' Dido, holds himself back from his purpose in a way that Odysseus did not. In short, Vergil initially aligns Dido with Nausikaa and Aeneas with Odysseus, then later contrasts them. This "contrast imitation" further highlights Dido as yet another obstacle to Aeneas fulfilling his fate. And, as mentioned earlier, any Phaeacian echo doubles as an Epicurean echo; an echo which conveys unease and doom for a love story agrees with the spirit of the Lucretian diatribe against love.

Anna's persuasion is instantaneous.[254] Immediately after this, Dido performs superstitious rites (*Aen*. 4.56-66). The rites themselves contain a few noteworthy phrases.[255] The conjunction

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[251] *Aen*. 1.446-447 – Dido herself is setting up a temple to Juno. This parallels Odysseus' landing at Phaeacia, where they especially worshiped Poseidon, the god opposing Odysseus (*Od*. 6.266).
[252] See page 46-47 for the major parallels in plot and character.
[253] To add to the feeling of unease in the *Aeneid* relative to the *Odyssey*, recall the caution which Aeneas and Venus exercise when landing in Carthage. Odysseus stumbles onto Phaeacian lands in an almost comical way, and Athena gives him minimal assistance. Venus protects Aeneas in many ways: she prompts Jupiter to pacify Dido and the Carthaginians (1.227-304), hides Aeneas in a cloud (1.411f.), and sends Cupid to make Dido fall in love with Aeneas, to further protect him (1.657f.). Aeneas hides during the initial meeting with Dido, until he deems the situation safe. This caution conveys a feeling of unease and higher stakes in the *Aeneid*; this feeling would also taint the love story between Dido and Aeneas.
[254] *His dictis incensum animum inflammavit amore | spemque dedit dubiae menti solvitque pudorem*. ("With these words [Anna] fanned into flame the queen's love-enkindled heart, put hope in her wavering mind, and loosed the bonds of shame").
[255] I focus on 4.62-64: *aut ante ora deum pinguis spatiatur ad aras, | instauratque diem donis, pecudumque reclusis | pectoribus inhians spirantia consulit exta*. ("Or in presence of the gods moves slowly to the rich altars, and day by day renews her gifts, then, gazing into the opened breasts of victims, consults the quivering entrails").

aut at the start of line 4.62 conveys an anxious, unfocused energy in her actions.[256] Line 63 begins with simply giving gifts to the gods, and ends with gazing into animal entrails; this marks a transition in Dido's actions towards "the darker arts,"[257] and darker, more violent happenings more generally.

After describing the rites, the narrator intervenes: *heu vatum ignarae mentes! quid vota furentem, | quid delubra iuvant?* ("Ah, the blind souls of seers! Of what avail are vows or shrines to one wild with love?" *Aen*. 4.65-66). Vergil use the word *vates* ("seer") only one other time in Book 4, when Dido is terrified by the *praedicta vatum* ("sayings of seers") soon before she decides to take her life. Fratantuono and Smith note that in both instances where Vergil uses this word (a word heavily associated with superstition, I would add), Dido is *furentem* ("raging," "wild");[258] therefore, it links superstition and not being in one's right mind. *vatum ignarae mentes* could be translated two ways: "minds ignorant of prophets" (i.e. Dido and Anna know nothing of the rites they are performing), or "ignorant minds of prophets" (i.e. prophets are charlatans).[259] The latter interpretation agrees with Lucretian doctrine.[260] The former way presents Dido as incompetent; her lovesickness renders her incompetent in other ways, so this could be yet another way that it negatively affects her. Either way, there is ambiguity in an activity from which Dido intends to gain clarity; it ends up being fruitless.

Before she fell in love, Lucretian allusions made her appear more Epicurean (Section 1). After falling in love, as seen in this section, the Lucretian allusions now associate her with the hypothetical lovesick person in Lucretius' diatribe against love. This person is not an Epicurean

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[256] Fratantuono and Smith, 2022: 187.
[257] Fratantuono and Smith, 2022: 188.
[258] Fratantuono and Smith, 2022: 192.
[259] O'Hara, 2011: 28.
[260] Fratantuono and Smith also consider this "something of an Epicurean sentiment … a sly nod to Lucretian philosophy" (2022: 192).

– Lucretius uses them as an example of how *not* to act. Likewise, Dido no longer acts/appears Epicurean – she stops appearing tranquil, and begins acting erratically. Gordon notes that all Phaeacian associations end once Dido has fallen in love, which strengthens the claim that her Epicurean coding also ends after she falls in love.[261]

She also ceases to be a capable leader after – and, I argue, *because of* – her succumbing to lovesickness. After she succumbs, her kingdom no longer appears to be in her hands. Initially it stagnates: "No longer rise the towers begun, no longer do the youth exercise in arms, or toil at havens or bulwarks for safety in war; the works are broken off and idle—great menacing walls and cranes that touch the sky."[262] Later, Aeneas oversees Carthage's building projects: "[Mercury] sees Aeneas founding towers and building new houses."[263] There are no mentions of Dido overseeing or ruling in her city; contrast this to Book 1, there are numerous examples.

This resonates with a part in the diatribe against love: "duties are neglected, good name [*fama*] totters and sickens" (*languent officia atque aegrotat fama vacillans*, *DRN* 4.1123). Dido ceasing to oversee her building projects is her neglecting her duties. The account of Dido and Aeneas' winter of leisure (*Aen*. 4.193-194) given by Fama (Rumour personified) also demonstrates neglected duties.[264] Dido also ceases to care about, and ceases to have, a good reputation. After she speaks to Anna, she *solvitque pudorem* ("and she loosed the bonds of shame," *Aen*. 4.55); after becoming lovers with Aeneas in the cave, *neque enim specie famave movetur* ("no more is Dido swayed by fair show or fair fame," 4.170). Fama personified works against Dido, by delivering the news of Dido's new lover to a previously spurned suitor, Iarbas.

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[261] 1998: 204.
[262] 4.86-89: *non coeptae adsurgunt turres, non arma iuventus | exercet portusve aut propugnacula bello | tuta parant; pendent opera interrupta minaeque | murorum ingentes aequataque machina caelo.*
[263] 4.260-261: *Aenean fundantem arces ac tecta novantem | conspicit*
[264] Benario suggests that this passage recalls Antony and Cleopatra (1970: 4, citing Mackail, 1930). Note also that Dido taking Aeneas as a lover, especially over a long span of time, is her indulging in *simulacra* – recall how Lucretius writes that intimacy with one's beloved perpetuates lovesickness.

Iarbas, angry at the situation, asks the gods to interfere with Dido's new love affair (4.211-218). She reflects on her ruined reputation near the end of her life at 4.534-535 ("'See, what am I to do? Shall I once more make trial of my old wooers, only to be mocked …?'") and 4.591 ("'Shall the intruder [Aeneas] have made of our realm a laughingstock?'").[265] Thus, Dido's lovesickness causes her to do things which ruin her reputation, just like the Lucretian lover does.

At this point, Dido and Carthage contain some parallels to Lucretius' and by extension Thucydides' plagues. This deepens the political and philosophical implications of the Dido episode. The plague passages of Lucretius and Thucydides show people in difficult circumstances failing to live up to an ideal (Epicureanism; the Athenian ideal described by Perikles), and suffering greatly as a result. Dido, similarly, is in the tough position of being struck by lovesickness; she fails to live up to the Epicurean ideal and suffers. Lucretius' plague shows his sufferers' painful physical symptoms, which are a metaphor for the mental pain of not being Epicurean; Vergil shows Dido's lovesickness symptoms, which are only perpetuated because she fails to follow Epicurean doctrine. He shows her extensive mental pain, as I discussed in this section and the following one.

This is the stage in the trajectory where she is no longer an Epicurean; the changes in her which make her an ineffective Epicurean also make her an ineffective leader. Stepping away from specific passages and looking at the big picture, one can see that once Dido has succumbed to lovesickness, she is acting upon that instead of the best interests of her city and people. This makes her un-Epicurean – an Epicurean would not act upon lovesickness, and a political Epicurean would do the best for their people in a time of crisis. Taking Aeneas as a lover, an action done out of lovesickness, was a sure way to burn bridges with the surrounding leaders

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[265] 4.534-535: "*en, quid ago? rursusne procos inrisa priores | experiar …?*"; 4.591: "*et nostris inluserit advena regnis?*"

(and this happened – when Iarbas heard the news, he was angry and asked the gods to interfere). Additionally, when she is hostile towards Aeneas in their argument – another action done out of lovesickness – she burns bridges with him, even though he was her only remaining ally. Aeneas himself is forgiving towards her; there were no consequences for her city within either of their lifetimes.[266] However, her curse towards Aeneas made Carthage and Rome enemies. Therefore, her actions doomed her city in its far future; Vergil frames Dido's curse as an explanation for the Punic wars, in which Rome triumphed and Carthage was razed. Therefore, *because* of actions driven by lovesickness, she loses all possible allies, which is negative for her city. While her poor decisions could have caused external factors to bring about her doom, it is inner turmoil which ultimately does so.

Section 4 – Dido's Death as an Extension of Lucretius' Diatribe Against Love

Lucretius strongly advises readers to avoid and cease from lovesickness, claiming that it worsens with time. The worst consequences he mentions are the pain of lovesickness symptoms, squandering one's wealth, and ruining one's reputation.[267] I argue that the conclusion of Dido's trajectory – her suicide – is Vergil showing a 'worst case scenario' of lovesickness left unchecked; thus he agrees with the diatribe against love and expands on its ideas.

Nobody would deny that Dido's suicide was driven by lovesickness. I expand on this by asserting that Dido's disturbing visions, which drive her to suicide, resemble Lucretian *simulacra*. In particular, I draw on the idea that Lucretius likens a lover to someone sleeping.[268] Someone sleeping cannot tell the difference between reality and illusion; a lover also cannot

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[266] However, Anna, reasonably, fears negative consequences within her lifetime as she voices at 4.682-683: "You [Dido] have destroyed more than yourself—me, and the people | And the noble men of Sidon and your city."
[267] Squandering wealth: 4.1123-1125. Reputation: 4.1123; see previous section.
[268] Brown, 1987: 84. In addition to Lucretius, Plato also condemns awake people who are in a dreamlike state. He asserts that the most evil type of person is one who "in his waking hours has the qualities we found in his dream state" (ἔστιν δέ που, οἷον ὄναρ διήλθομεν, ὃς ἂν ὕπαρ τοιοῦτος ᾖ.) (*Resp*. 9.576b).

make this distinction. Dido, an anguished lover, cannot see past her terrifying visions and dreams – with dire consequences. Perhaps Vergil is showing that the *simulacra* at the beginning of a bout of lovesickness can seem harmless and even pleasant, but as one continues to indulge in them, they worsen with time (as Lucretius warns), to the point where they become disturbing visions.

Lucretius connects dreaming and erotic passion. His discussion of dreams in Book 4 segues into his diatribe against love;[269] Brown interprets the diatribe as "the culmination of the theme of illusion in Book 4 … [where love] proves to be the most profound and destructive illusion."[270] Lucretius also likens dreams to daydreams and visions, particularly in an erotic context.[271] He warns that dreams can be disturbing and encourage false beliefs, as shown in this passage at the beginning of his definition of *simulacra*:[272]

> … [simulacra] volitant ultroque citroque per auras,
> atque eadem nobis vigilantibus obvia mentes
> terrificant atque in somnis, cum saepe figuras
> contuimur miras simulacraque luce carentum, 35
> quae nos horrifice languentis saepe sopore
> excierunt; ne forte animas Acherunte reamur
> effugere aut umbras inter vivos volitare
> neve aliquid nostri post mortem posse relinqui,
> cum corpus simul atque animi natura perempta 40
> in sua discessum dederint primordia quaeque.
> *DRN* 4.32-41
> [*simulacra*] flit about hither and thither through the air; it is these same that, encountering us in wakeful hours, terrify our minds, as also in sleep, when we often behold wonderful shapes and images of the dead, which have often aroused us in horror while we lay languid in sleep; lest by chance we should think that spirits escape from Acheron or ghosts flit about amongst the living, or that anything of us can be left after death, when

[269] Brown, 1987: 82.
[270] 1987: 86-87.
[271] 1987: 83, especially note 67. Lucretius observes the similarity between the phenomenon of thinking much about something then later dreaming about it, to erotic obsession leading to daydreams about the beloved.
[272] 1987: 86-87.

> body and mind both taken off together have dissolved abroad, each into its own first-beginnings.

It is also significant that Lucretius associates *simulacra* with death in this passage; this further solidifies the link between Lucretius' concept of *simulacra* and the end of the Dido episode. Additionally, Dido has created for herself a hell on earth. She takes her life due to fear of the hellishness of her life, just like the men in *DRN* 3.79-82: "And often it goes so far, that for fear of death men are seized by hatred of life and of seeing the light, so that with sorrowing heart they devise their own death, forgetting that this fear is the fountain of their cares."[273] In summary, Lucretius' discussion of love and dreams supports a reading where Dido, the anguished lover, experiences visions/hallucinations which drive her to suicide.

In this section, I focus on Dido's disturbing visions: her vision of holy water turning to blood (4.453-456), hearing voices from Sychaeus' tomb (4.457-465), and her nightmare of Aeneas (4.466-473). Vergil frames these three experiences with windows into Dido's mental state (4.450-451 and 4.474-476). As well, I briefly discuss how her actions before death are mostly un-Epicurean; these are additional ways that she strays from the philosophy. However, there are a couple small moments where she could be seen to recover some of her Epicureanism before the end; this shows nuance in her character.

After Anna's unsuccessful attempt to persuade Aeneas to stay in Carthage, Dido's mental state is this:

> Tum vero infelix fatis exterrita Dido 450
> mortem orat; taedet caeli convexa tueri.
> *Aen*. 4.450-451

[273] *et saepe usque adeo, mortis formidine, vitae | percipit humanos odium lucisque videndae, | ut sibi consciscant maerenti pectore letum | obliti fontem curarum hunc esse timorem.* Note the phrase *lucis … videndae*, which is loosely echoed in *lucem relinquat* of *Aen*. 4.452 – both phrases are used when describing an un-Epicurean sufferer wishing to die ("leave/hate seeing the light").

> Then, indeed, awed by her doom, luckless Dido prays for death; she is weary of gazing on the arch of heaven.

Note that Dido is *fatis exterrita* ("awed by her doom," more literally, "terrified by the fates") – this is superstitious and therefore un-Epicurean. Then, Vergil describes Dido experiencing a series of disturbing incidents (sights, sounds, dreams). After these, her mental state and feelings about suicide have changed:

> Ergo ubi concepit furias evicta dolore
> decrevitque mori, tempus secum ipsa modumque 475
> Exigit …
> *Aen*. 4.474-476
> So when, outworn with anguish, she caught the madness and resolved to die, in her own heart she determines the time and manner …

In modern terms, she begins the passage with suicidal ideation and ends it with suicidal intent. Vergil attributes her newfound resolve for suicide to these disturbing sights, sounds and dreams; his narration prefaces their descriptions thus: "And to make her more surely fulfil her purpose and leave the light [i.e. take her life], she saw … [the visions]" (*quo magis inceptum peragat lucemque relinquat, | vidit …*).[274] The phrase *lucem relinquat* (4.452) echoes Lucretius, who uses it a few times.[275] At *DRN* 3.1025 he uses the phrase in an explanation to the reader not to fear death, because many good people before you have also died, like Ancus, the fourth king of Rome. Echoing this phrase in Dido's suicidal ideation is an interesting choice. This could convey disapproval for Dido's wishes, because one is reminded of good men dying when their time comes, as opposed to Dido, in a frenzy, hastening towards an untimely, self-inflicted death.[276]

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[274] *Aen*. 4.452.
[275] O'Hara, 2011: 69. Lucretius also repeats this phrase at *DRN* 3.542 (an explanation that the soul is mortal) and 5.989 (explanation that the first humans did not die more often than people nowadays).
[276] *Aen*. 4.696-697: "she perished neither in the course of fate nor by a death she had earned, but wretchedly before her day" (*nam quia nec fato, merita nec morte peribat | sed misera ante diem subitoque accensa furore*).

Holy water turning to blood is the first instance of disturbing *simulacra*. Although such a thing could be possible in the world of the *Aeneid*, I find it noteworthy that Vergil goes out of his way to state that nobody saw or knew about this except for her. This could signal that it is a hallucination.[277] Whether or not it was a hallucination, Dido's world becomes increasingly fantastical, due to her engagement with *simulacra* – to dire effect. *Turicremis* ("incense") only appears here in Vergil; it echoes the Lucretian passage, discussed earlier, about the cow seeking her calf (which, as I argued, resembles Dido seeking her beloved).[278] Also, in this scene she is engaging in superstitious rites; as mentioned before, this shows her straying from Epicureanism.[279]

vidit, turicremis cum dona imponeret aris,
(horrendum dictu) latices nigrescere sacros
fusaque in obscenum se vertere vina cruorem; 455
hoc visum nulli, non ipsi effata sorori.
Aen. 4.453-456
She saw, as she laid her gifts on the altars ablaze with incense—fearful to tell—the holy water darkened and the outpoured wine change into loathsome gore.[280] Of this sight she spoke to no one—not even her sister.

The second incident is Dido hearing voices from Sychaeus' tomb.[281]

praeterea fuit in tectis de marmore templum
coniugis antiqui, miro quod honore colebat,
velleribus niveis et festa fronde revinctum:
hinc exaudiri voces et verba vocantis 460
visa viri, nox cum terras obscura teneret,
solaque culminibus ferali carmine bubo

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[277] Pease puts forth this idea (1935: 372).
[278] Fratantuono and Smith, 2022: 658-659. Fratantuono and Smith argue that Dido is like the calf, and Anna like the cow, since Dido's death has a sacrificial air.
[279] 2022: 659.
[280] This loosely echoes the ritual scene at the beginning of Book 4, where Dido also initially gives gifts, then moves to something gorier, signalling a turn towards darkness (see my discussion on page 74-75).
[281] *Aen*. 4.460-463: *hinc exaudiri voces et verba vocantis | visa viri, nox cum terras obscura teneret* ("From here [Sychaeus' tomb] she heard, it seemed, sounds and speech as of her husband calling, whenever darkling night held the world").

saepe queri et longas in fletum ducere voces;
multaque praeterea[282] vatum praedicta priorum
terribili monitu horrificant. … 465
Aen. 4.457-465
Moreover, there was in the palace a marble chapel to her former lord, which she cherished in wondrous honour, wreathing it with snowy fleeces and festal foliage. Thence she heard, it seemed, sounds and speech as of her husband calling, whenever darkling night held the world; and alone on the housetops with ill-boding song the owl would oft complain, drawing out its lingering notes into a wail; and likewise many a saying of the seers of old terrifies her with fearful boding.

This also suggests hallucination, since Vergil uses the word *visa* – she *seemed* to have heard, or "she heard, it seemed" as given in the translation.[283] Generally, ghosts in the *Aeneid* (e.g. Anchises, Sychaeus) are helpful. I believe that Sychaeus would not do anything to scare or harm Dido; he helps her after her brother murdered him, and in the Underworld, when they are reunited as ghosts, he only shows care for her. Therefore, I do not believe that *he* was calling to her – it was a hallucination from her lovesick madness, a *simulacrum* of his voice. This scene also picks up the theme of superstition. This time it especially shows that it has a negative effect, because it increases her suffering ("many a saying of the seers of old terrifies her with fearful boding" 463-464); this recalls 4.65, where the narrator interjects a disapproving exclamation about *vates* (discussed previously).[284]

Lastly, Dido has disturbing nightmares:

… agit ipse furentem 465
in somnis ferus Aeneas, semperque relinqui
sola sibi, semper longam incomitata videtur
ire viam et Tyrios deserta quaerere terra,
Euiadum veluti demens videt agmina Pentheus

[282] *Multaque praeterea* is a Lucretian phrase (*DRN* 2.109; 3.358; 5.943; 6.588; 797; 903; 1182) (Fratantuono and Smith, 2022: 670).
[283] Tilly also interprets this as a hallucination (cited by Fratantuono and Smith, 2022: 667). O'Hara discourages speculation about whether this was real (2011: 70).
[284] Fratantuono and Smith, 2022: 671.

et solem geminum et duplices se ostendere Thebas, 470
aut Agamemnonius Poenis agitatus Orestes,
armatam facibus matrem et serpentibus atris
cum fugit ultricesque sedent in limine Dirae.
Aen. 4.465-473
In her sleep fierce Aeneas himself drives her in her frenzy; and ever she seems to be left lonely, ever wending, companionless, an endless way, and seeking her Tyrians in a land forlorn—even as raving Pentheus sees the Bacchants' bands, and a double sun and twofold Thebes rise to view; or as when Agamemnon's son, Orestes, hounded by the Furies, flees from his mother, who is armed with brands and black serpents, while at the doorway crouch avenging Fiends.

As mentioned earlier this section, Brown notes that Lucretius likens the "awake lover to the sleeping dreamer."[285] Sleeping people sometimes suffer from terrifying false images (*simulacra*) and feelings of insatiable desire; lovers, even when awake, suffer from the same things.[286] Dido, both when asleep and awake, suffers as if in a nightmare. There are a few *DRN* passages which are relevant to Dido's visions/dreams. *DRN* 4.760-767 explains that the dreaming mind does not question the false images of dreams because the senses are obstructed. In other words, a sleeping person is impaired, not in their right mind.[287] Lovesick Dido is in a similar state; in fact, she may be doing exactly what the passage describes (perceiving a deceased person and not being able to see that this is untrue) when she hears voices from Sychaeus' tomb. Additionally, *DRN* 4.991-997 explains that a dog awoken from a dream may momentarily continue acting as if its dream is a reality.[288] Similarly, Dido acts as if her visions are real. Dido, lovesick and sleep-deprived, is in a sort of dreamlike state; again, in such a state, she would be able to tell when a dream/illusion ends and reality begins. One final point: even a sane, awake

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[285] 1987: 84.
[286] Recall *DRN* 4.1086-1102, where both the dreamer and the lover suffer from unquenchable thirst.
[287] Lucretius also uses dreaming as a metaphor for irrationality elsewhere (1.105, 3.1048).
[288] Brown notes the similarities between dreaming horses and lovers having sex, and between dreaming dogs chasing empty images and lovers chasing *simulacra* (1987: 84).

person only sees what they want to see/are already looking for (4.811-817). Dido, lovesick and distraught, has no chance of seeing anything other than terrible visions related to her love. Although Lucretius does not mention this, I believe that this tendency would also perpetuate lovesickness.

Dido's death recalls Cleopatra. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, Cleopatra in the Roman imagination is a nuanced combination of Roman and Eastern. Associating Dido with Cleopatra highlights that Dido too is such a character. Aeneas chasing Dido in her dream recalls Octavian pursuing Cleopatra, especially since both women are likened to animals and the men to hunters.[289] Horace and Vergil describe both women as being insane.[290] Both, despite previously being described as insane and distraught, have a moment of tranquility before their deaths.[291] Both women also have a moment where they choose to die.[292] As well, Vergil mentions snakes at 4.472; although not an exact parallel, Cleopatra's manner of death is famous enough that this image would still recall her. Lastly, Vergil describes his Cleopatra at 8.709 as *pallentem morte futura* ("pale at the coming of death"), which echoes Dido at 4.644 as *pallida morte futura* ("pale at the imminence of death"); this retrospectively associates Dido with Cleopatra.[293]

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[289] Aeneas in dream: 4.465-466; O'Hara argues that this dream-Aeneas reinforces the image of Aeneas-as-hunter in the deer simile at *Aen*. 4.69-73 (2011: 70). Octavian chasing Cleopatra, and Cleopatra likened to a dove and a hare: 1.37.16-19. See also Benario, who suggests that these similes would evoke pity for the queens (1970: 3).
[290] Horace: *Capitolio | regina* ***dementis*** *ruinas* "the queen [was planning] mad ruin for the Capitol" (1.37.6-7); *mentemque lymphatam Mareotico* "crazy with Mareotic wine" (1.37.14). Vergil, 4.469: Dido, like Pentheus, is ***demens*** (insane); he also compares Dido to Bacchantes (crazed followers of Bacchus) at 4.300-303. See Benario for all references to Dido's and Cleopatra's insanity (1970: 3).
[291] Dido expresses tranquility and acceptance in a line quoted favourably by Seneca, which I discuss later (*vixi et, quem dederat cursum Fortuna, peregi* at 4.653); Dido also appears serene before Anna, once she has resolved to die (*spem fronte* ***serenat*** "on her brow a cloudless [serene] hope" 4.477). Cleopatra: 1.37.26 *voltu* ***sereno*** ("with a serene expression").
[292] Dido: *decrevitque mori* ("she resolved to die") 4.475. Cleopatra: *deliberata morte* ("she having chosen death") 1.37.29.
[293] Bertman, 2000: 396, citing Knight (1932: 25) and Guillemin (1931: 91).

It is also notable that neither Dido nor Cleopatra is afraid to die by the sword.[294] Dido kills herself with an *ensis*, which is the type of sword that epic heroes bring into battle (4.646-647, 664). It is relevant here to discuss Dido's similarities to the Homeric hero, Ajax, who also killed himself in a frenzy with a sword not gifted to him for that purpose.[295] Ajax was the best warrior among the Greeks, apart from Achilles (*Il*. 17.278-280; *Od*. 11.550-551). Homer's *Iliad* and Sophocles' *Ajax* mention Ajax receiving a sword from Hektor after their duel.[296] Sophocles' *Ajax* recounts Ajax's descent into madness and suicide. He felt slighted by his fellow warriors, Agamemnon, Menelaus and Odysseus, because they decided to give the deceased Achilles' armour to Odysseus. Ajax madly kills a flock of livestock thinking they were his comrades; he kills himself because he feels shame for what he had done. Dido also descends into madness, acts in ways misaligned with her values, and kills herself in a state of distress over her current situation – in which she had a hand in creating.[297] Dido's similarity to Ajax continues in Book 6, where she too refuses to speak to the hero towards whom they still have negative feelings (Ajax: *Od*. 11.541-567. Dido: *Aen*. 6.451-476). Dido's similarities to Ajax elevate her to the status of epic heroes, especially since Ajax is the best hero, barring Achilles. This would make a Roman reader admire her and take her more seriously than a purely Eastern heroine. The parallel to Ajax creates a further parallel between Dido and Turnus, since their stories contain many elements of

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[294] Dido kills herself with a sword; Horace 1.37.22-23: *nec muliebriter* | *expavit ensem* ("[Cleopatra] did not have a feminine dread of the sword").

[295] *Aen*. 4.646–47; *Ajax* 665. Panoussi (2002) observes other similarities, which I list here: both hope for their sibling to be the first to find their bodies (103); both suffer from inner turmoil, where before they had mostly been concerned with the world outside of them (107); both experience the worst of their madness at nighttime (107); their suicides are not driven by their madness, rather "their mental agony leads them to a new consciousness and enables them to gain clearer vision" (107); both suffer from feelings of isolation (107).

[296] *Iliad* 7.181-312 for the entire duel; 7.299-305 for the exchange of gifts. *Ajax* 661-665, 1026-1035.

[297] Panoussi, 2002: 104. Ajax was known for his *aidos* ("responsibility to others and a sense of their importance to oneself"), which he violates when he attempts to kill his comrades. Dido valued *pudor*, which she violates when she takes a new lover in Aeneas. Turnus, similarly, considers suicide after a moment when he violates his own values (i.e. chasing the phantom Aeneas in Book 10, discussed below in pages 137-141, goes against his duty to put his people before himself) (Panoussi, 2002: 123, 126). As well, both Ajax and Turnus represent an outdated model of heroism, while their counterparts, Odysseus and Aeneas, represent the new way (Panoussi, 2002: 128).

tragedy.[298] I discuss parallels between Dido and Turnus, and the implications, below on pages 136-146. Lastly, Panoussi also compares Aeneas to Ajax, when the former kills Turnus in cold blood; he is "as much a deluded hero as the blinded Ajax who brought death to the sheepfolds of the Achaeans."[299] In agreement with my assertions in Chapter 2, Panoussi says that Aeneas' deluded passion "problematizes his heroic identity."[300]

Dido's death is the culmination of her becoming un-Epicurean. Her death completes the figure to reality in this episode, where the figurative symptoms of lovesickness (flame and wound) become literal flames and wounds. She is so afraid of demons beyond the grave (as seen when she fears the voices from Sychaeus' tomb) that she kills herself. Dyson also observes that suicide is at "the climax of the Lucretian catalogue of human folly."[301] Dyson adds that Dido's death is ritualistic, a human sacrifice, which is "the climax of the Lucretian exposition of the evils of *religio*."[302] These rites are not in earnest (they are a ruse to hide from Anna her plans to kill herself);[303] however, the allusion remains and would remind readers of Lucretius' warnings against *religio*.

One phrase among Dido's last words echoes a line Aeneas had said in Book 2. It is ambiguous what it conveys about her Epicureanism. Aeneas recalls how he nearly led a suicidal charge against the Greeks, saying *numquam … moriemur inulti* ("'let us never die unavenged'" 2.670); Dido says *moriemur inultae* ("'let me die unavenged'" 4.659) before her death. Both instances of the phrase appear at the end of the line, emphasizing the phrase and making this echo easier to perceive. It can be seen as un-Epicurean because it recalls another suicide done out

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[298] Panoussi, 2002: 96. Panoussi also observes similarities between Ajax and Turnus – e.g., both are compared to cornered lions (2002: 116-117).
[299] 2002: 129-130.
[300] 2002: 129-130.
[301] 1996: 217.
[302] 1996: 217-218. She cites Tupet's 1970 article "Didon Magicienne."
[303] Adler also acknowledges that the rites are a "pretext" (2003: 129).

of passion, it shows that she is still hung up on Aeneas (as shown by her repeating his words), and it reinforces that Carthage is a repetition of Troy because it recalls Troy's fall just as Carthage's sole leader is about to fall. Yet it is Epicurean, in a way, because an Epicurean would not care about being avenged. While Aeneas remains passionate and driven by vengeance, Dido embraces death, expresses indifference to what happens beyond it, and therefore regains some tranquility.

Finally, there is one line among her last words that is more firmly Epicurean: *vixi et, quem dederat cursum Fortuna, peregi* ("my life is done and I have finished the course that Fortune gave" 4.653). Seneca quotes this line three times across his corpus; each time he conveys that she died a dignified death, in line with Epicurean values.[304] Her soul leaving her body – which close the book – are a Lucretian description, which ends the episode on a Lucretian note.[305] These last few Epicurean flourishes add nuance to the character and reinforce the importance of the philosophy throughout the episode.

Conclusions to Chapter One

I have argued that the passages in the Dido episode which are dense with Lucretian allusion follow a trajectory, as follows: Dido begins as an Epicurean and capable leader, she rejects Epicureanism, she suffers from Lucretian lovesickness phenomena and is no longer presented as an Epicurean nor a capable leader; then, overwhelmed and deluded by false images (which resemble Lucretian *simulacra*), she is driven to take her life. This trajectory conveys that good political leadership and Epicureanism are not mutually exclusive. In fact, acting in an un-Epicurean way makes good leadership impossible. Therefore, one facet of the Dido episode is a

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[304] Gordon, 1998: 207-210. *De Vita Beata* 19, see also 13; *De Beneficiis* 5.17.5 (also 5.17.6-7); *Epistles* 12.9 (see also 12.8).

[305] Lyne, 1994: 196. Dyson, 1996: 219. Dido's death at 4.704-705: *omnis et una | dilapsus calor atque in ventos vita recessit* ("and therewith all the warmth passed away, and the life vanished into the winds"). Cf. *DRN* 3.128, 3.286.

cautionary tale about how politicians ought to conduct themselves. Succumbing to vulgar hedonism – both in the sense of un-Epicurean conduct and Eastern decadence/debauchery – endangers oneself and one's city. Lucretius only discusses personal consequences of giving into passion, but Vergil makes it clear that there are both personal and political consequences; the personal and the political are inevitably entwined. The wellbeing of one's city impacts how well *all other* Epicureans can practice their philosophy (the ideal form of government for Epicureans is simply one that can provide stability) – therefore Vergil implies that Dido was hindering all other Epicureans from practicing.

This setup creates a strong foundation upon which to engage with Epicureanism, specifically *DRN,* later in the poem. My aim in this chapter was to demonstrate that, rather than being a mere tragic detour in Aeneas' journey towards fulfilling his fate, the Dido episode is a significant part of this journey. This episode influences how one reads the rest of the poem; it haunts Aeneas' later actions and eventual victory.

Chapter Two: Echoes of the Dido Episode in the Second Half of the *Aeneid*

In the previous chapter I argued that the Dido episode warns about the dangers of succumbing to erotic passion. It is an insatiable desire, it is destructive, and one should avoid it; it does not play any useful role in public or private life. In this chapter I observe that, in the latter half of the *Aeneid*, Vergil often likens the martial (i.e. elements in the text related to war) to the erotic. He often uses allusions to the Dido episode to make this connection. In making this connection in this way, Vergil taints, and even foreshadows failure for, Aeneas' and the Trojans' forays into the martial – and, by extension, their broader imperial goal.

Aeneas engages in martial pursuits in Italy to fulfil his fate. As described by Jupiter in Book 1, Aeneas' fate is an imperial quest.[306] Jupiter says that "[Aeneas] shall wage a great war in Italy, shall crush proud nations, and for his people shall set up laws and city walls."[307] Jupiter describes the infinite nature of the Romans' power in this well-known passage:

> his ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono;
> imperium sine fine dedi. …
> 1.278-279
> For these [the descendants of Aeneas] I set no bounds in space or time; but have given empire [*imperium*] without end.

Jupiter also describes the Romans as *rerum dominos*, "lords of the world," at 1.282. I am not suggesting that Vergil condemns *all* manifestations of war and imperialism. Rather, I argue that Vergil discredits the Trojans and their goal by implying that they are at risk of repeating Dido's mistakes – i.e. being leaders who succumb to passion and fail at leadership as a result. Vergil conveys that imperial action, at least the way the Trojans are doing it here, is a destructive,

[306] 1.257-296.
[307] *bellum ingens geret Italia populosque Feroces* | *contundet moresque viris et moenia ponet* (1.263-264).

insatiable desire (literally without natural limits, according to Jupiter) which has no place in public or private life – just like erotic passion in the Dido episode.

While most Roman ideologies agree that passions (especially erotic passion) are insatiable, destructive, and not playing a useful role in society, most of these ideologies do not portray imperial action this way. Roman authors do not often address the rise of Rome,[308] but when they do, they present imperial action, and the martial in general, positively – or at least as a means to achieving a positive outcome. For example, Cicero writes that "The only excuse … for going to war is that we may live in peace unharmed."[309] It may seem odd that a people with this ideology would gain control over much of the known world; Cicero famously explains this by writing "our people, by defending their allies, have gained dominion over the whole world."[310] Caesar and Augustus also frame their conquering as a means to help allies and/or create peace.[311] Propertius also addresses Rome's dominion and justifies it, albeit relying less on the explanation that war is last resort to achieve peace: "[Rome] is a land more fit for war than disposed to crime: Fame blushes not for your history, Rome. For we stand a strong nation as much through humanity [*pietate*] as through the sword: our anger stays its hand in victory."[312] *Pietas*, mentioned in this quote (in the form *pietate*), is also the trait Vergil constantly associates with

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[308] Erskine, 2010: 34-35.
[309] *De Officiis* 1.35.
[310] *De Re Publica* 3.35.
[311] *Gallic War* 1.11: "All these events [i.e. the Aedui and the Allobroges asking Caesar for aid] drove Caesar to the decision that he must not wait till the Helvetii, having wasted all the substance of the Roman allies, should penetrate into the land of the Santoni [i.e. do a pre-emptive strike]." (*Quibus rebus adductus Caesar non exspectandum sibi statuit, dum omnibus fortunis sociorum consumptis in Santonos Helvetii pervenirent*).
Res Gestae 26: "I extended the boundaries of all the provinces which were bordered by races not yet subject to our empire. The provinces of the Gauls, the Spains, and Germany, bounded by the ocean from Gades to the mouth of the Elbe, I reduced to a state of peace. The Alps, from the region which lies nearest to the Adriatic as far as the Tuscan Sea, I brought to a state of peace without waging on any tribe an unjust war." (*Omnium próv(inciarum populi Romani), quibus finitimae fuerunt ‖ gentés quae n(on parerent imperio nos)tro, fines auxi. Gallias et Hispa|niás próviciá(s et Germaniam qua inclu)dit Óceanus a Gádibus ad ósti|um Albis flúm(inis pacavi. Alpes a re)gióne eá, quae proxima est Ha|driánó mari, (ad Tuscum pacari fec)i nullí gentí bello per iniúriam | inláto*).
[312] 3.22.19-22. *armis apta magis tellus quam commoda noxae: | Famam, Roma, tuae non pudet historiae. | nam quantum ferro tantum pietate potentes | stamus: victricis temperat ira manus.*

Aeneas (*pius Aeneas* is a common phrase in the *Aeneid*). Anchises speaks about conquering and war in similar ways to many of these Roman authors, when he says to Aeneas: "you, Roman, be sure to rule the world (be these your arts), to crown peace with justice, to spare the vanquished and to crush the proud."[313] In contrast, Polybius, a Greek historian writing about the rise of Rome, attributes Rome's expansion to an imperialist drive. While this imperial drive is aggressive, it is not a mad desire resembling lovesickness; Polybius describes it as calculated and rational.[314]

So, Roman authors present their imperialist actions as positive and justified. Vergil tainting Aeneas' imperialist actions with associations to erotic desire challenges the popular Roman view. Vergil's unpopular view fits with his earlier Epicurean sentiments – after all, Epicureanism, unlike other Roman perspectives, is incompatible with an imperial agenda.

To further reinforce Vergil's challenging of imperial action, he sets up a binary between Roman rule and those opposing it, which he later blurs, in ways which discredit Roman rule. The side in favour of Roman rule is characterized as ordered, rational, masculine, noble, and in line with Olympian Jupiter's plans. The opposing side is chaotic, passionate, feminine, monstrous, and chthonic (i.e. divinities from the underworld, as opposed to Olympus). Vergil blurs this binary using passion; i.e., he shows characters in favour of Roman rule acting in chaotic, passionate ways when a reader would expect them to act rationally. The ordered becomes disordered, the masculine feminine, the rational passionate, the noble monstrous, etc.

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[313] *tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento | (hae tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem, | parcere subiectis et debellare superbos* (*Aen*. 6.851-853). Cicero, similarly, advises in *De Officiis* 1.35: "when the victory is won, we should spare those who have not been blood-thirsty and barbarous in their warfare" (*parta autem victoria conservandi ii, qui non crudeles in bello, non immanes fuerunt*).

[314] 1.3.6; 1.63.9.

In the first half of the poem, Vergil characterizes Aeneas – and those helping him establish rule in Italy – in the ordered way. Meanwhile, the characters who are obstacles to Aeneas' goals are characterized in the disordered way. In the first lines of the poem, Vergil establishes Juno as opposing Aeneas, and by extension Jupiter's plans. She is female and she acts chaotically based on passionate feelings about personal slights; she opposes Jupiter and enlists chthonic gods to help her sabotage Aeneas, starting with the storm at the beginning of Book 1. Dido is also an obstacle to Aeneas fulfilling his fate; similar to Juno, she is also female, she acts on passion, and prioritizes revenge for personal hurts (additionally, Vergil shows her specifically worshiping Juno). On the other hand, Jupiter is characterized as masculine, rational, and supportive of Aeneas' goals; Anchises is also characterized in this way. They also both prioritize the collective as opposed to the personal – they both put first the goal of establishing Rome, as opposed to personal vendettas. In my discussion, I will show how Aeneas is depicted in ways that belong to the disordered side of the binary.[315] This discredits his role as a bringer of Roman order to Italy.

In this chapter I discuss passages which echo the Dido episode and blend the erotic with the martial: the coming of war to Italy (which happens in a chaotic, chthonic, feminine way), scenes depicting pairs of lovers on the Trojan side (Nisus and Euryalus, Aeneas and Pallas), and Aeneas' and Turnus' interactions (which are metaphorically erotic).

Section 1 – War Comes to Italy

In this section I discuss the narrator's invocation of Erato, and Allecto's attacks on Amata, Turnus, and Ascanius' hounds. Vergil signals the beginning of the Italian war programmatically

[315] One episode that foreshadows the hero taking on monstrous qualities when facing his monstrous rival is the recounting of the myth of Hercules and Cacus (*Aen*. 8.184-279), where this happens with Hercules. E.g. Hercules and Cacus are both described as experiencing fury, and associated with blackness (black fires, black rage), as observed by Putnam (1985: 3-5, 14.).

through an invocation to Erato, which not only announces that there will be erotic elements in this war, but also recalls the Dido episode via allusion to the invocation to Erato in the *Argonautica*. He presents the war's beginnings as resulting from Allecto's attacks – all these attacks include echoes of Dido's passion, and the language of erotic desire more broadly. There are two ways of viewing the passion present in Amata and Turnus; they may seem opposing, but I suggest that they can coexist. If one sees the Trojans and Italians as anachronistically already one people (i.e. not only Aeneas, but also Turnus and Amata are ancestors of the Romans), then it is alarming that such Dido-like passion can originate on Italian soil. This implies that the Romans are a people not immune to destructive passion, and are therefore at risk of failing in their dominion – this is not merely the stuff of the foreign Other. The second way of looking at their passion is that the Trojans and Italians, for now, are two separate peoples. Vergil, in presenting Turnus and Amata as clearly passionate and the enemy to Aeneas, sets up the expectation that this will be a straightforward story about the rational triumphing over the passionate. However, starting with Ascanius, then Nisus and Euryalus, and eventually Aeneas himself, Vergil shows that Trojans also experience destructive, Dido-like passion. Each time Trojans embody such passion – especially when their leader, Aeneas, does – this calls into question whether the Trojans can establish successful leadership.

The ultimate purpose of this war is for the Trojans to establish proto-Roman rule in Italy. Vergil decidedly sets up the war's beginnings as being driven by chaotic, feminine forces, with clearly erotic undertones. Consider the idea of the Roman/non-Roman binary mentioned earlier. In light of this, Vergil sets up an odd beginning to a quest where proto-Romans are supposedly fighting to bring order and peace. Again, it calls into question whether the

Roman/rational/masculine side of the binary will triumph … and whether it even exists in these proto-Roman Trojans.

Erato

The invocation to Erato in *Aeneid* Book 7 marks the shift from the "Odyssean" half of the poem to the "Iliadic" half – i.e., the shift from a tale of wanderings to a tale of war (7.37-45). At first glance, this is an unexpected choice; Erato is the muse of amorous writings, yet Vergil promises to recount martial, not erotic, events. However, this choice of muse is fitting because it programmatically sets up the blending of the erotic with the martial – a pervasive theme throughout the latter half of the poem.

> Nunc age, qui reges, Erato, quae tempora, rerum
> quis Latio antiquo fuerit status, advena classem
> cum primum Ausoniis exercitus appulit oris,
> expediam, et primae revocabo exordia pugnae. 40
> tu vatem, tu, diva, mone. dicam horrida bella,
> dicam acies actosque animis in funera reges,
> Tyrrhenamque manum totamque sub arma coactam
> Hesperiam. maior rerum mihi nascitur ordo,
> maius opus moveo. … 45
> *Aen*. 7.37-45
> Awake now, Erato! Who were the kings, what were the times, what the state of affairs in ancient Latium, when first that foreign army landed on Ausonia's shore—this will I unfold; and the prelude of the opening strife will I recall. And you, goddess, prompt your bard! I will tell of grim wars, will tell of battle array, and princes in their valour rushing upon death—of Tyrrhenian bands, and all Hesperia mustered in arms. Greater is the story that opens before me; greater is the task that I attempt.

One significant aspect of this invocation is its calling back to Dido. Vergil does this via allusion to Apollonius' *Argonautica*. At the beginning of *Argonautica* Book 3, the narrator invokes Erato, to tell "how … Jason brought the fleece back to Iolcus with the aid of Medea's

love" (3.2-3).[316] This programmatically announces the "theme of love which is to dominate the third book and in many ways the rest of the poem."[317] As well, if the muse invoked at the start of *Argonautica* 4 is Erato again, as Pavlock argues it is, the narrator asks her to tell "of the distress and thoughts of [Medea], O Muse, daughter of Zeus, for truly the mind within me whirls in speechless stupor, as I ponder whether to call it the lovesick affliction of obsession or shameful panic, which made her leave the Colchian people" (4.1-5).[318] Both of these Apollonian invocations to Erato refer to Medea, and specifically her lovesickness.

Vergil models Dido partially on Apollonius' Medea; [319] both characters act irrationally because of lovesickness for the hero. Apollonius' invocations to Erato refer to Medea; Vergil, in invoking Erato, recalls this Apollonian antecedent and therefore too his own Medea figure, Dido. I agree with Pavlock's suggestion, that this invocation shows Dido's continuing and meaningful impact on the story.[320] I also agree with McCallum, that the use of Erato is a shorthand conveying the importance of erotic themes in the proceeding half of the poem.[321] Vergil invoking the muse of amorous writings to tell of the war, and echoing Dido in doing so, sets up the programme of the blending of martial and erotic, and recalls previous writings (earlier in the poem and in earlier literature) where lovesickness causes irrational, even destructive behaviour. Pavlock notes that "Vergil's address [to Erato in Book 3] evokes a context in which the hero himself is deeply implicated in a problematic female passion."[322] This primes the audience for

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[316] ἔνθεν ὅπως ἐς Ἰωλκὸν ἀνήγαγε κῶας Ἰήσων | Μηδείης ὑπ᾽ ἔρωτι
[317] Nelis, 2001: 268.
[318] Αὐτὴ νῦν κάματόν γε, θεά, καὶ δήνεα κούρης | Κολχίδος ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, Διὸς τέκος· ἦ γὰρ ἐμοί γε | ἀμφασίῃ νόος ἔνδον ἑλίσσεται ὁρμαίνοντι, | ἠέ μιν ἄτης πῆμα δυσίμερον ἦ τό γ᾽ ἐνίσπω | φύζαν ἀεικελίην, ᾗ κάλλιπεν ἔθνεα Κόλχων
[319] See Nelis, 2001:125-172 for an in-depth analysis.
[320] 1992: 75.
[321] 2023: 46. At the beginning of Book 7, Vergil conveys the importance of love (by referring to Erato) and death (by referring to Caieta) for this section half of the poem.
[322] 1992: 73.

Aeneas toeing the line into the disordered side of the binary, thus foreshadowing his succumbing to passion at the end of the poem.

Some also explain the choice of Erato by recalling that the impetus for war is two men (Aeneas and Turnus) contending for Lavinia.[323] This sets up the war in Italy as a second Trojan war, since that war was also two men's fight over one woman (Menelaus and Paris for Helen). Juno even refers to Aeneas as 'a second Paris' in her speech to Allecto (7.321-322). [324] Amata also likens Aeneas to Paris; this likens her to Juno.[325] If Aeneas is Paris and Lavinia Helen, then Turnus is Menelaus. The Greeks win the Trojan war; these parallels do not bode well for Aeneas. As well, a recurring message in the first half of the poem is the need to leave Troy behind – Vergil reminding readers and setting up the possibility that this war in Italy is a second Trojan war further discredits Aeneas and his actions and goals.[326]

Aeneas' Italy is in danger of resembling Troy and, loosely, Carthage (via the Dido references mentioned earlier). These are two cities which fell because someone succumbed to passion (Dido in Carthage and Paris in Troy, both succumbing to lovesickness). Throughout the poem, Vergil conveys that Rome cannot be like these failed cities in his past – Rome needs to be a new kind of city.[327] Aeneas resembling Paris, Dido haunting the invocation, and the Italian war resembling the Trojan war, foreshadow doom for the city and its future leader.

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[323] Williams, 1973: 169-170.
[324] *quin idem Veneri partus suus et Paris alter, | funestaeque iterum recidiva in Pergama taedae* ("'No, Venus has the like in her own child, a second Paris, another funeral torch for re-born Troy'").
[325] *Aen*. 7.363-364: *an non sic Phrygius penetrat Lacedaemona pastor, | Ledaeamque Helenam Troianas vexit ad urbes?* ("'Or was it not thus that the Phrygian shepherd [Paris] entered Lacedaemon and bore off Leda's Helen to Trojan towns?'"). Amata says this after having been attacked by Allecto, when she tries to persuade Latinus not to marry Lavinia to Aeneas.
[326] Quint, 1993, especially 64. See also at *Aen*. 6.84-94, where the Sibyl predicts the war in Italy to be a repeat of the Trojan war (observed by Nelis, 2001: 269), as well as the Italian warrior, Liger, bringing up Aeneas' Trojan origins at 10.581-583.
[327] Quint, 2018: 70.

The invocation to Erato introduces the start of the imperial conquest portion of the Trojans' quest. So, from the very beginning, Vergil conveys a clear link between the martial/imperial and the erotic, which taints the martial/imperial quest. Vergil continues making these associations, both by showing characters succumbing to literal lovesickness and by describing their martial/imperial activities with erotic language and imagery. Both methods convey that the martial/imperial activities are akin to erotic passion, which, as seen in the Dido episode, ought to be avoided.

Allecto and Amata

Amata is the queen of the Latins, and wife of King Latinus; they are native to Italy. They are the parents of Lavinia. Amata wishes for Lavinia to marry Turnus, a Rutulian king (also native to Italy). However, Latinus wishes for Lavinia to marry a foreign leader, in order to fulfil a prophecy; he sets his sights on Aeneas. Allecto finds Amata when she is seething about this disagreement. Allecto is a Fury, a goddess of the Underworld, whom Juno sends to incite destructive chaos for the Trojans in Italy. While Juno realizes that she cannot ultimately alter Jupiter's plans, she wishes to delay their fulfillment and hurt the Trojans as much as possible.

In this section, and the section on Turnus, I observe how Vergil is characterizing these characters as Dido-like – i.e. experiencing and acting on destructive passion. This characterization is expected. They are on the losing side, so it makes sense that they would resemble a failed leader from earlier in the epic. They are opposing Roman rule and Jupiter's plans, so it makes sense that they are on this passionate, feminine side of the binary. The more firmly Vergil associates these characters with that side of the binary, the more clearly he sets up the plot to be one side of the binary triumphing over the other. So, because he sets up this expectation, it is especially impactful when he shows the Trojan side sliding into that passionate,

feminine, non-Roman side. As well, Dido appearing in these characters who oppose Aeneas is a manifestation of her curse already taking effect after her death, making Aeneas' quest more difficult.[328] I would add that Dido-like elements appearing in the Trojans, too, can also be taken as Dido's curse haunting and hindering them.

Even before she is attacked by Allecto, Vergil draws attention to Amata, creates associations between the martial and erotic, and aligns her with Dido (and the erotic more generally). Vergil ending line 7.343 with Amata's name comes as a surprise, since the reader would expect Allecto to attack Latinus; he is more directly related to the affairs Juno wishes to sabotage.[329] This part being surprising draws attention to it. The verb *petit* ("[Allecto] seeks [Amata]") at 7.343 is the verb used of Turnus pursuing Lavinia as a suitor (7.55); thus, Allecto is likened to a suitor.[330] The mention of Amata's threshold (*limen*) evokes the elegiac topos of the locked-out lover. This adds both an erotic and a martial element to the scene; the locked-out lover seeks to enter his lover's house, wishing to penetrate both the house and his lover.[331] This topos is in line with the meanings of the characters' names: *amata* means "beloved woman," and *allecto* means "I entice/allure;" both have sexual connotations.[332] Reed observes that Dido, in Semitic, also means "beloved;" this further links Amata with her.[333] Additionally, Vergil referring to Amata as *regia coniunx* (7.56) associates her with Juno, who is also often described as *regia*. This link specifically associates Amata with Juno's destructive side, since in every instance of Juno as *regia*, she is demonstrating hatred for the Trojans (1.443, 4.114, 7.438, 10.62).[334]

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[328] Clark, 1994: 64.
[329] Clark, 1994: 63. McCallum (2023: 58) expands on this by noting the wordplay which also draws attention to Amata's name, first proposed by O'Hara (2017).
[330] McCallum, 2023: 60.
[331] Lyne, 1987: 14-15. Clark, 1994: 63, McCallum, 2023: 61.
[332] Clark, 1994: 63. McCallum also notes Erato's amatory name (2023: 58).
[333] 2007: 140-141.
[334] McCallum, 2023: 59.

In the glimpse of Amata before the attack, she resembles Dido in a few ways. While I still take a compatibilist view of the gods, (I see Allecto's attack on Amata as partially metaphorical and partially literal),[335] I think it is significant to observe that Amata's default state, one could say, is already a frenzied one: "with a woman's distress, a woman's passion, was seething with frenzy over the Teucrian's coming and Turnus' marriage."[336] Already, even without influence from the goddess, she is concerned about a marriage which is not going her way, she is described as *ardentem* ("burning)", and her *curae* ("cares/anxieties" – a word used frequently with Dido) and *irae* ("anger" – Dido also has this) were "cooking/roasting her" (*coquebant*). Like with Dido, Amata's "fiery emotional state [is] … a manifestation of *amor*."[337] The *curae* and *irae* are specifically described as *femineae*, "womanly;" this puts her in the anti-Roman side of the binary, which Dido eventually also came to embody once she succumbed to erotic passion. Fordyce mentions that *curae* and *irae* being in the plural indicates experiencing these repetitively; recall Dido's mind "rushing back" (*recursat*) to the object of her frenzy.[338] Additionally, both Amata and Dido have a strange, quasi-erotic fascination with a younger male for whom they would play the role of mother (by marriage, not by blood) if their desired marriage were to occur (Dido and Ascanius, Amata and Turnus).[339] This quasi-incestuous air

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[335] Lyne argues that Allecto "works with" both Amata's and Turnus' pre-existing dispositions and feelings (1987: 68-69). Horsfall also observes that "the Fury may actually be to some extent 'working with' pre-existing human passions" in Amata (2000: 237).
[336] *super adventu Teucrum Turnique hymenaeis | femineae ardentem curaeque iraeque coquebant* (7.344-345). I observe throughout this chapter that marriage is one rite in which Vergil mixes the erotic with the martial. Mitchell (1991: 225-226) notes numerous instances where Vergil conflates the language of marriage and politics – and at this part of the text, the political situation is one of war, and therefore martial. He repeatedly using words *adiungo* (join, connect) and *coniungo* (join, unite, marry) in political contexts. *Coniungo* resembles the word *coniunx* (spouse), and it has hymeneal connotations. *Adiungo* does not have as strong hymeneal connotations, but Vergil uses it earlier in the poem and gives it sexual connotations (*Aen*. 1.71-73).
[337] McCallum, 2023: 61.
[338] Fordyce, 1977: 127. See also Chapter 1, page 69.
[339] McCallum, 2023: 57-58.

around Amata recalls that around Dido, who resembled Phaedra.[340] This conveys that Amata's desire, like Dido's and Phaedra's, is dangerous and unnatural, and should not be fully realized.

The frenzy which Allecto puts in Amata resembles Dido's erotic passion in several ways. McCallum notes the use of *venenum* ("poison") in both Cupid's attack on Dido and Allecto's attack on Amata.[341] Both queens experience their passion as a wound – specifically from a projectile weapon.[342] The passion situates itself in a similar place in both cases: for Amata, *inque sinum praecordia ad intima* ("into her bosom, into her inmost heart" – 7.347); for Dido, *pectore* (4.4), *sub pectore* (4.67) ("in her breast, under her breast"). Neither queen perceives being penetrated by passion.[343] The passion passes over/through the queens' limbs.[344] One particularly strong association between the queens' passions is the phrase *ossibus implicat ignem* ("entwine flame with her bones") used at 1.660 of Venus' plans for Dido's passion, and at 7.355 of Amata's passion – and nowhere else in the poem.[345] In general, both queens' passions are described with plenty of fire imagery.[346] Additionally, as mentioned in the Erato section, any allusion to Apollonius' Medea also serves as an echo of Dido. Nelis writes that "Allecto's attack on Amata is meticulously modelled on Eros' arrow-shot at [Apollonius'] Medea."[347]

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[340] Mitchell, 1991: 223, n. 4. See also my Chapter 1, page 72-73.
[341] 2023: 60. Dido: 1.688; Amata: 7.341.
[342] 7.346-348: "On her the goddess flings a snake from her dusky tresses, and thrusts it into her bosom, into her inmost heart, that maddened by the pest she may embroil all the house." This topos also echoes Lucretius, as discussed in Chapter 1, page 68.
[343] 7.350; Dido in Book 1 is unknowingly acted upon by Cupid (1.717-722).
[344] 7.353; 4.5. This also recalls Lucretius, who mentions limbs often in his diatribe against love.
[345] Fordyce, 1977: 129; Clark, 1994: 64.
[346] For Dido, see page 14 and the discussion throughout Chapter 1, e.g. pages 51 and 62. For Amata, see 7.355, 356, and at 392 and 397 of the matrons Amata has inspired, which, I assume, also includes her. Again, *DRN* also uses flame imagery when discussing erotic passion.
[347] See Nelis, 2001: 290-291 for the many parallels: the significance of the deity crossing the threshold, a projectile weapon piercing the woman, a burning deep in the woman's heart, a curling of love/the snake around the woman's heart, the woman being unaware of the deity. Nelis also observes that many of these similarities also appear in the Dido episode (290).

Shortly after the passion has set in, Vergil provides a simile describing how each queen wanders the city, out of control. Dido is compared to a deer wounded with an arrow from an unaware hunter, picking up the image of the projectile wound once again (4.69-73); Amata is compared to a spinning top (7.378-384). Although there are no linguistic parallels between the two similes, both describe the uncontrolled wanderings of something set in motion by violence – the deer was shot, and the top was hit by a group of boys. Williams also notes that Vergil uses two words from this spinning top simile – *inscia* ("unaware") and *perrerat* ("wander through") – of Dido (1.718 and 4.363 respectively). Although he says that their contexts are "entirely different," I would argue that they are similar; both women wander, unaware, due to a destructive passion.[348] McCallum also notes the sense of powerlessness conveyed in the top metaphor; Dido was also powerless as a wounded deer.[349] As well, the blows from the boys playing with the top resemble the metaphorical torments of love.[350] Likewise, both women had violence done to them by goddesses, and wander uncontrolledly as a result. Both women are also *infelix* ("unfortunate," "wretched").[351]

Broadly speaking, both queens are upset about wedding arrangements that have not gone their way. One could argue that they both misunderstand *foedera* and prophecies – Dido thinks that her love affair with Aeneas, a man destined to live in Italy, was a marriage; Amata thinks that her daughter can marry a man who does not fit Faunus' prophecy (which says that Lavinia must marry a foreign man). Both queens, like Juno, resent and resist prophesied events – this

[348] 1973: 196.
[349] 2023: 65.
[350] 2023: 66.
[351] Amata: 7.376, 401. Dido: 1.712, 1.749, 4.68, 4.450, 4.529, 4.596, 6.456. Williams, 1973: 195, 198; McCallum, 2023: 64.

ultimately costs the two mortal queens their lives, and although Juno compromises with Jupiter in Book 12, she does not ultimately get her way.

The following examples are echoes from later in the Dido episode. Amata strongly recalls Dido when she calls Aeneas *perfidus* (7.362); she also invokes the *data dextra* (literally "the right hand given," which means "the promise/oath"), as Dido had (4.314; 7.366).[352] In Amata's argument with Latinus, much like Dido's argument with Aeneas, the man is unmoved. Fama spreads word of Amata's passion, as she had with the passion of Dido.[353] With Italian matrons and Lavinia, Amata performs Bacchic rites in the woods; Dido is also compared to a Bacchant.[354] Both queens in their Bacchic frenzies are described as having *sanguineam … aciem* ("blood-shot eyes").[355] Soon after Vergil's use of *sanguineam … aciem*, he describes Dido as *furibunda* ("in a frenzy"). The only other time he uses this adjective is to describe Amata at 7.348.[356] Like Amata and her band, Dido goes into nature to perform perverse marriage rites – while Amata sings the marriage song for her daughter in a Bacchic frenzy, Dido starts her love affair with Aeneas in a cave while hunting.[357] These parts with women opposing Jupiter's plans recalls the Trojan women burning Trojan ships in Book 5, which reinforces the theme that women oppose Jupiter's plans.[358]

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[352] Williams, 1973: 194 for the *perfidus* echo. Clark, 1994: 64 and McCallum, 2023: 64 for both echoes. Clark argues that the mention of oaths – specifically broken oaths – in these passages would bring to mind the Furies in the reader's mind, since Furies punish oath breakers. The Furies are chthonic goddesses who oppose Jupiter's plans, therefore they are on the same side of the binary as Dido and Amata.

[353] 7.392. Clark, 1994: 65. In Amata's case, Fama helps rather than hinders, because she causes a frenzied band of matrons to gather.

[354] 4.300-303. Williams, 1973: 196; Clark, 1994: 64.

[355] Williams, 1973: 198. Clark, 1994: 65. Fordyce observes that Lucretius often uses *aciem* in this way to mean "eyes" (1977: 136).

[356] Horsfall, 2000: 243; McCallum, 2023: 62-63.

[357] Pavlock, 1992: 85. Pavlock makes this point to compare Lavinia to Dido, not Amata. I think both parallels can be made, but I lean more towards centring Amata because she seemed to be more in charge of the rites than Lavinia.

[358] 5.604-679. Juno incites the Trojan women to burn the ships and settle there in Sicily. When they are found by the men, they retreat to the woods (like Dido and Amata, they seek places in nature – yet they do this out of shame, as opposed to using nature as a spot to do nefarious things). Clark also argues that women in the *Aeneid* oppose Jupiter's plans (1994: 62).

Amata appears a few more times in the poem.[359] At 12.54-63, Amata begs Turnus not to fight; he is unmoved. The situation – a queen asking a warrior to stay and the warrior deciding to leave anyway – echoes the argument between Dido and Aeneas.[360] As well, McCallum notes that both queens say that they will die if the hero leaves.[361] The passage begins with *at regina* ("but the queen"), which echoes the opening line of Book 4. Amata is *moritura* ("about to die"), as is Dido.[362] Amata's plea echoes Dido's: both use a phrase meaning "by these tears;"[363] both convey the sentiment 'if you have ever seen me favourably, do this thing for me;' they say their own name to evoke sympathy;[364] they use their soon-to-be-ruined house as another way to evoke sympathy;[365] and they both say the man is all they have left.[366] Amata also says *simul haec invisa relinquam lumina* ("with you I will quit this hateful light," 12.62-63); Dido uses a similar phrase, *lucem relinquat* (4.452), to refer to suicide.[367] Lastly, both queens feared captivity if the hero were to leave.[368]

Digression on Lavinia

Here it is fitting to mention Lavinia. She does not have a large role in the poem, despite being one of the ostensible causes of the war in Italy. She is introduced as being highly desirable

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[359] Outside of the two passages I discuss here, she also appears in passing at 11.475-485, praying alongside Lavinia and the Latin matrons to Minerva for good fortune in the war.
[360] Tarrant, 2012: 102.
[361] 2023: 142.
[362] Lyne, 1987: 116-117; Tarrant, 2012: 102; McCallum, 2023: 141-142. McCallum notes that Vergil only uses this word for heroines whose deaths are connected to love.
[363] Amata, 12.56: *per has ego te lacrimas*; Dido, 4.314: *per ego has lacrimas* (Tarrant, 2012: 103).
[364] Tarrant, 2012: 103; McCallum, 2023: 144. Amata at 12.56-57 says: "'by any reverence for Amata that yet may touch your heart,'" (*per si quis Amatae | tangit honos animum*) and Dido at 4.317-318 says: "'if ever I deserved well of you, or if anything of mine has been sweet in your sight'" (*si bene quid de te merui, fuit aut tibi quicquam | dulce meum*). Dido mentions her own name at 4.308; Amata does so at 12.56.
[365] Tarrant, 2012: 104.
[366] Amata at 12.57-58 says: "'you are now my only hope, the comfort of my sad old age'" (*spes tu nunc una, senectae | tu requies miserae*). Dido at 4.315 says: "'nothing else [other than Aeneas], alas, have I left myself'" (*quando aliud mihi iam miserae nihil ipsa reliqui*).
[367] This is a phrase that echoes Lucretius (see Chapter 1, page 81). Tarrant does not make the parallel between Amata's phrase and Dido's at 4.452, rather Dido's at 4.631 (*invisam quaerens quam primum abrumpere lucem* "seeking how most quickly to end the life she loathed") (2012: 104).
[368] Tarrant, 2012: 105.

and attracting many suitors; in this way, she resembles Dido.[369] After Amata's plea to Turnus, Lavinia blushes (12.64-71). Vergil's description of the blush recalls Menelaus' injured leg at *Iliad* 4.141-147,[370] which reinforces the association between the erotic and the martial. Pavlock observes that Menelaus received the injury in single combat with Paris to get Helen back, and the injury is a "physical sign of Menelaus' passion for Helen."[371] Her manifestation of erotic desire (the blush) is expressed in the language of martial wounds, and this blush further incenses Turnus to fight (12.70-71), reinforcing the idea that erotic passion spurs on martial passion (an idea which appears in *Georgics* 3). The word *calefacta* ("[her face] made warm") at 12.66 only appears here and once more in a military context (12.269, referring to Turnus' men); this reinforces the link between the erotic and martial.[372] Lyne notes the multiple references to the metaphorical flame and wound which Lavinia experiences, which associates her with Dido.[373] The language Vergil uses to describe the blush aligns with his negative views towards erotic passion – use of the verb *violo* ("stain," "wound," "profane") at 12.67 conveys that experiencing desire has harmed Lavinia.[374] McCallum observes that a phrase from Lavinia's blush closely resembles one from Venus' seduction of Vulcan (Lavinia at 12.66: *rubor et calefacta per ora cucurrit*; Vulcan at 8.390: *calor et labefacta per ossa cucurrit*); this also links the martial and the

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[369] McCallum, 2023: 53. McCallum provides Nausikaa (from the *Odyssey*), Antaeus (from Pindar) and Cydippe (from Callimachus) as other examples of heroines who attract many suitors, but she does not mention Dido.
[370] Mac Gorain, 2017: 401.
[371] 1992: 84.
[372] Tarrant, 2012: 106.
[373] Lyne, 1987: 120-121. Tarrant also notes other instances of heroines blushing, including Apollonius' Medea when she sees Jason; again, an association with Apollonius' Medea doubles as an association with Dido.
[374] Lyne, 1987: 120-121. Μιαίνω, the word in the Homeric simile which corresponds with *violo*, while it does have some connotations of defiling, it is not as severe as *violo* (Lyne, 1987: 120).

erotic.[375] Her blush also resembles that of Apollonius' Medea, which subtly aligns Lavinia with Dido.[376]

Additionally, her blush may indicate that she desires Turnus, which is a loose echo of Lucretius' passage on mutual desire between the sexes (*DRN* 4.1192-1208); there are a few other Lucretian parallels in this passage.[377] I agree with Lyne when he says that Lavinia feeling desire for Turnus is "troubling."[378] I interpret Lavinia desiring Aeneas' rival as yet another instance where Aeneas fulfilling his fate seems to be a struggle; this calls into question whether he is fulfilling it in the right way, and perhaps it even challenges the notion that this is a fate that ought to be fulfilled.[379] Indeed, McCallum notes that Lavinia will be "the founding mother of Rome,"[380] and it is troubling to see passion – especially for Aeneas' rival – in someone meant to have that role.

Returning to Amata

Amata's suicide resembles Dido's (12.593-608). While Amata's suicide is prompted by Aeneas' approach, rather than his departure, the two suicides are similar in that the women take their lives because they think the object of their passion is gone forever (Amata thinks Turnus is dead). Amata observes the Trojans from the walls, as does Dido.[381] As seen before in Book 7,

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[375] McCallum, 2023: 147. Lavinia: "a blush … mantled her glowing face;" Vulcan: "warmth … ran through his melting frame."

[376] McCallum, 2023: 147-148.

[377] Another Lucretian concept reflected in this passage is blood rushing to the wound – Lavinia's blood rushes to her face, the source of Turnus' metaphorical wound of love (4.1050). Additionally, her blush echoes concept of "silent but lustful blushing" (*DRN* 4.1057), and "a woman radiating love from her whole body" (*DRN* 4.1054) (Mac Gorain, 2017: 401-402).

[378] 1987: 115.

[379] Putnam, 1985: 3. Putnam notes that, several times in the poem, Aeneas fulfilling his fate seems to be a struggle (e.g. the golden bough hesitating to be taken by him, Vulcan hesitating before agreeing to make new arms for Aeneas); this calls the hero and his actions into question.

[380] 2023: 146.

[381] Amata: 12.595 *regina ut tectis venientem prospicit hostem* ("when from her palace the queen sees the foe approaching"). Dido: 4.586-587 *regina e speculis ut … vidit* ("Soon as the queen from her watchtower saw …"). Tarrant, 2012: 242.

Amata like Dido is *infelix* (12.598), *demens* (12.601), and *moritura* (12.602).[382] The purple robes which Amata wears (*purpureos amictus*, 12.602) also recall Dido.[383] Additionally, the description of her people mourning right after her death recalls Dido, as well as Fama spreading the news of their deaths.[384] Pavlock notes that Lavinia's extreme displays of grief at Amata's suicide echo Anna's response to Dido's suicide.[385]

Amata's actions have consequences for the war. After Turnus is stirred by Allecto and Ascanius kills the sacred stag, the frenzied matrons call for war and surround Latinus' palace (7.580-585). Vergil notes that the war they desire is "despite the omens, despite the oracles of gods" (*contra omina … contra fata deum*) and "unholy, unspeakable" (*infandum*).[386] Latinus tries not to engage, but he is powerless to resist, and "all goes as cruel Juno wills" (7.591-592).[387]

Both Amata and Dido undergo passion which ultimately leads to their suicide; this conveys that frenzied passion leads to destruction and death.[388] There is no denying the many parallels between these two characters. As mentioned earlier, I suggest that this association serves two functions. It sets up the latter half of the poem to be a clear 'us vs. them' narrative, which Vergil soon destabilizes; it also gives the reader pause, that an ancestor of the Romans can experience such Dido-like passion.

Allecto and Turnus

[382] Tarrant, 2012: 242-243.
[383] Tarrant, 2012: 243. Dido wears *purpureos vestis* at 4.139.
[384] Tarrant, 2012: 244-245; McCallum, 2023: 162. People mourning Amata: 12.604f. People mourning Dido: 4.667-668. Fama announcing Amata's death: 12.608. Fama announcing Dido's death: 4.666.
[385] Pavlock, 1992: 85.
[386] 7.583-584; 7.583.
[387] … *saevae nutu Iunonis eunt res*
[388] McCallum, 2023: 66.

After Amata, Allecto visits Turnus. Disguised as an elderly priestess of Juno, she urges him to go to war with the Trojans. He dismisses her by saying that he had already heard about the Trojans' arrival, and that she should keep to her domain (honouring the gods) and leave war to men. Angered, she shows him her true form, which terrifies him. Similarly to her interaction with Amata, she penetrates him with passion and sends him into a frenzy. Turnus' frenzy is one of the factors which starts the war.

Before discussing the Allecto scene, it is important to note that Vergil sets up Turnus and Aeneas as rivals and equals. Vergil uses *pulcherrimus* ("most beautiful," "exceptionally beautiful") to describe both Aeneas (4.141) and Turnus (7.55-56), thus presenting them as equals and rivals "for supremacy in love and war."[389] This early association between the two warriors primes the reader to see them as similar. It is also worth noting that Dido is also *pulcherrima* ("most beautiful") (1.496, 4.60). Thus, both Aeneas and Turnus are linked to Dido in this way; this is especially so with Aeneas, since both he and Dido are described with this word in the same scene – the hunting scene in Book 4 – within less than 100 lines of each other. McCallum also argues, based on the Etruscan etymology of his name, that Turnus, like Aeneas, may have been descended from an amatory deity. Setting up Aeneas and Turnus as rivals, similar in their birth and beauty, makes later scenes more impactful.[390]

Turnus is introduced as someone who is on, or at least closer to, the rational/masculine side of the binary than Amata. Allecto's attack makes him impassioned, feminized, and firmly working against Jupiter's plans. This is especially ironic when one recalls that Turnus says that war should be left to the men; indeed, he chooses to engage in the war only after Allecto's attack

[389] McCallum, 2023: 54-55.
[390] 2023: 55-56.

has feminized him. He, now a Dido figure, engages in war, which goes against his original sentiments about gender and war.

Vergil's description of Allecto visiting Turnus encourages readers to associate him with Dido.[391] Allecto prepares for this encounter by disguising herself. Similarly to how Cupid *alas exuit* ("lays by his wings") before approaching Dido at 1.689, Allecto *membra exuit* ("puts off her … limbs") before approaching Turnus (7.415-416).[392] At 7.420, Allecto appears *ante oculos* ("before his eyes"), a phrase used twice previously in the poem to refer to dreaming; it is also used in *DRN* for that context.[393] Dido is also afflicted by nightmares, and "nighttime obsession," as Draper phrases it.[394] The phrase *fixit sub pectore taedas* ("she fixed the torch under his chest") (7.457) recalls Dido's experience with her erotic passion *sub pectore* ("under her chest") (4.67), as well as the deer simile where she is also pierced. In fact, Vergil uses *coniecta cerva sagitta* ("a hind, smitten by an arrow") (4.69) for Dido and *facem iuveni coniecit* ("she hurled at the youth a torch") (7.347) for Turnus; these phrases use the same verb and they each put the word for the victim on the inside of the phrase and the word for the projectile and verb on either side of this word.[395] Draper argues that the torch is Dido's flame, wound, and arrow of love all rolled into one.[396] Recall also that Amata is penetrated by Allecto's snake; all three characters are violently penetrated by a destructive passion.[397] Turnus, Amata and Dido also experience a metaphorical burning of their bones.[398] The attack on Turnus resembling the attacks on Dido and Amata

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[391] Nelis also notes that Allecto's attack on Turnus resembles Eros' attack on Medea; the character is shot by a projectile, there is abundant flame imagery, and there are direct or indirect references to love (2001: 291-292). This indirectly associates him with Dido.
[392] Horsfall, 2000: 285. Note also that the phrases are in the same place in their lines (*alas* and *membris* are at the end of the line and *exuit* starts the next line).
[393] Horsfall, 2000: 286. The phrase is used at *Aen*. 2.270 and 3.150.
[394] See Chapter 1, page 83-85 for Dido's experiences with bad dreams. Draper, 2022: 690.
[395] McCallum, 2023: 69-70.
[396] 2022: 690.
[397] McCallum, 2023: 69.
[398] McCallum, 2023: 70. Dido: 1.660; Amata: 7.355; Turnus 7.458.

feminizes him; while at first glance his attack is more masculine and of the epic genre, it is impossible not to make the link between his experience and those erotic experiences of Dido and Amata.[399] Additionally, *amens* ("out of one's mind" – a word that closely resembles *amans*, which means "loving") (7.460) and *amor* ("love") appear each in consecutive lines, both as the second word – this forms "vertical juxtaposition," which signals a link between them.[400] This links the martial and erotic yet again. Additionally, Turnus does his call to arms in his bedchamber, which evokes the erotic/hymeneal.[401]

The torch with which Allecto penetrates Turnus could be seen to symbolize both warfare and marriage, which further creates a conflation between the erotic and the violent/martial.[402] Turnus is described using the phrase *saevit amor ferri* ("his love of the sword rages") (7.461); Dido is described similarly: *saevit amor* ("her love rages") (4.532). Both phrases appear at the beginning of their lines, which connects them further.[403]

Digression on Civil War

7.461 contains the words *saevit* and *scelerata*, words strongly associated with civil war.[404] The war in Italy is depicted as a civil war sometimes (the Trojans and Italians are anachronistically one people), and other times as a war against a foreign enemy (the Trojans and Italians are two different peoples). This plurality of depictions also exists in Roman commentary on their own history – e.g., the war against Antony/Egypt is sometimes presented as a civil war,

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[399] McCallum, 2023: 67-72.
[400] McCallum, 2023: 70.
[401] Ibid.
[402] Lyne, 1987: 69.
[403] Nelis, 2001: 310.
[404] Horsfall, 2000: 309-310.

and sometimes a foreign war.[405] The shield of Aeneas in Book 8, which prophesies the course of Roman history, also reflects these subtly opposing depictions of that war.[406]

> omnigenumque deum monstra et latrator Anubis
> contra Neptunum et Venerem contraque Minervam
> tela tenent. saevit medio in certamine Mavors 700
> caelatus ferro, tristesque ex aethere Dirae,
> et scissa gaudens vadit Discordia palla,
> quam cum sanguineo sequitur Bellona flagello.
> *Aen*. 8.698-703
> Monstrous gods of every form and barking Anubis wield weapons against Neptune and Venus and against Minerva. In the middle of the fray storms Mavors, embossed in steel, with the grim Furies from on high; and in rent robe Discord strides exultant, while Bellona follows her with bloody scourge.

In this abstract rendition of the war against Antony, it shows the Olympian gods fighting against Egyptian ones. So, it appears to be a foreign war. However, it shows Bellona and Discordia, two Furies, fighting on the side of the Romans. Gransden notes that Discordia is the personification of civil war; this conveys that it is a civil war.[407] It is also significant that Jupiter, when discussing the war in Italy at the council of the gods, refers to it as *discordia*. Jupiter clearly distinguishes between this forbidden civil war, which he did not allow, and justified foreign war, which he does wish to take place (i.e. the Punic wars):

> considunt tectis bipatentibus, incipit ipse: 5
> “caelicolae magni, quianam sententia vobis
> versa retro tantumque animis certatis iniquis?
> abnueram bello Italiam concurrere Teucris.
> quae contra vetitum **discordia**? quis metus aut hos
> aut hos arma sequi ferrumque lacessere suasit? 10

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[405] E.g. in Horace’s *Ode* 1.37, his “Cleopatra ode,” within the same poem he presents Cleopatra both as a foreign Other, and as resembling a Roman.
[406] It is also worth noting that the shield of Aeneas, which shows all of Roman history, was made (or at least overseen) by Vulcan in the grips of lust for Venus. This implies that not only Aeneas’ victory, but also all the events in Roman history predicted to come afterwards, are touched by erotic passion. As I have argued previously, this passion and eroticism taints these events, which one would expect to be firmly in the rational/etc. side of the binary.
[407] Gransden, 1976: 181. Also note the use of *saevit* at 8.700, which Horsfall observes is a word associated with civil war (2000: 309).

> adveniet iustum pugnae (ne arcessite) tempus,
> cum fera Karthago Romanis arcibus olim
> exitium magnum atque Alpes immittet apertas:
> tum certare odiis, tum res rapuisse licebit.
> nunc sinite et placitum laeti componite foedus." 15
> *Aen*. 10.5-15
> In the double-doored hall they take their seats, and the king begins: "Mighty sons of Heaven, why is your decision reversed, and why do you quarrel with hearts so discordant? I forbade Italy to clash in war with Troy. What **feud [*discordia*]** is this, in face of my command? What terror has bidden these or those to rush to arms and provoke the sword? There shall come—do not hasten it—a lawful time for battle, when fierce Carthage shall one day let loose upon the heights of Rome mighty destruction, and open upon her the Alps. Then it will be lawful to vie in hate, then to ravage; now let be and cheerfully assent to the covenant I ordain."

The war in Italy goes against Jupiter's plans. This is ominous and calls into question whether the war is being carried out in the right way. It is important to know that the Roman view of civil war is extremely negative – neither side leaves a civil war morally unscathed. This implies that Aeneas, participating in a civil war, is at serious risk of losing his *pietas*, his defining trait. Even if Aeneas does survive the war morally unscathed (which, I argue, he does not), victory in a civil war can never be as triumphant as victory in a foreign war.

Additionally, the mention of the Furies on the Roman side blurs the binary I mentioned earlier, between the chthonic/feminine/passionate vs. Jupiter's plans/the masculine/the rational. Perhaps it conveys that, in order to succeed in bringing about Roman rule/carrying out Jupiter's plans, inevitably the Roman side will slide into the non-Roman way of being. To bring about triumph of that which is rational/masculine/aligned with Jupiter, first those actors must become passionate/feminine/aligned with chthonic deities.

This is an idea which Vergil explores in *Georgics* 3. Bulls and horses are stronger when not engaging in erotic activities (3.209-11, 215-216).[408] But it is inevitable that all animals will so engage, otherwise they would die out; yet in doing so they become forgetful of all else, as well as destructive (3.242f.).[409] When enflamed by erotic desire, bulls fight each other in competition (3.219-241). This is an analogy for humans – people are stronger when not engaged in passions, but engaging in passions is inevitable, and it will lead to violent conflicts, including civil wars. Vergil's metaphor conveys that the aggression these actors will unleash upon each other is not a rational kind – it is one resembling the violent, sexual impulses of animals. I assert that Vergil is conveying the same concept in the *Aeneid*; he concludes his epic about the founding of Rome with a civil war, where both sides are fuelled by destructive passion resembling the erotic. Making the war resemble a civil war, especially using erotic imagery to describe it throughout, taints the larger imperial project.

Returning to Allecto and Turnus

Turnus' cauldron simile resembles Amata's seething mindset before Allecto's attack;[410] not only that, but Turnus-as-boiling-cauldron and Amata-as-spinning-top both show that these characters are out of control. As well, it is clear that Turnus is acting on passion and a personal hurt (as opposed to duty), putting him on the irrational/Junonian side of the binary, when he gives his speech at 7.577-579, complaining that the Trojans are called to rule these lands while he, Turnus, is "spurned from the door [*limine*]."[411] The use of *limen* here frames this as an erotic

[408] "But no care so strengthens their powers as to keep from them desire and the stings of secret passion, whether one's choice is to deal with cattle or with horses. … For the sight of the female slowly inflames and wastes his strength." (*Sed non ulla magis vires industria firmat, | quam Venerem et caeci stimulos avertere amoris, | sive boum sive est cui gratior usus equorum … carpit enim vires paulatim uritque videndo | femina*).
[409] "Every single race on earth, man and beast, the tribes of the sea, cattle and birds brilliant of hue, rush into fires of passion: all feel the same Love …" (*Omne adeo genus in terris hominumque ferarumque, | et genus aequoreum, pecudes pictaeque volucres, | in furias ignemque ruunt: amor omnibus idem*).
[410] McCallum, 2023: 71.
[411] McCallum, 2023: 78-79.

rejection (recall the locked-out lover topos). By embodying the *militia amoris* (the "soldiery of love," where a lover engages in metaphorically martial activities in pursuit of their beloved) then literally fighting in a war for his beloved, Turnus is another example of figure to reality. I also note that Turnus, like Amata and Dido, thinks that a relationship is a marriage when it is not – he reacts as if someone has stolen his wife (he, like Menelaus whose actual wife was stolen, starts a war to get her back), though he is still only a suitor of Lavinia.

The description of Turnus' arms reinforces the mixing of the martial and the erotic. His helmet depicts a chimera (a mythical fire-breathing monster) and his shield Io (a mythical woman, a lover of Zeus/Jupiter, who was transformed into a cow). The Chimera represents the fiery attack on Turnus and Turnus' fiery passion.[412] The Chimera also aligns Turnus with the chthonic/passionate side of the binary, since it is a chthonic creature; this reinforces the necessity to eliminate him, since he opposes Jupiter's plans.[413] Io reminds the reader of the erotic element in his motivation to fight, as well as the dangers of Juno's wrath over personal hurts (in some versions of the myth, Hera/Juno transforms Io into a cow out of jealousy).[414]

As mentioned earlier, Vergil presenting Aeneas' rival as resembling Dido has two effects: it sets up the expectation that a rational Aeneas will triumph over a passionate Turnus (soon to be undermined), and it plants a seed of doubt in the Roman reader about their own origins, which are haunted by references to the cautionary tale of Dido. Turnus appears again throughout this chapter, embodying Dido and the erotic in various ways.

Allecto and Ascanius

[412] McCallum, 2023: 80.
[413] Gale, 1997: 185-186.
[414] McCallum, 2023: 80-82.

The final element of the Italian war's impetus is Ascanius killing Silvia's sacred stag (7.475-522). Allecto stirs Ascanius' hounds into a frenzy, they follow the scent of a stag, Ascanius spots the stag, and, unknowing of its significance to the native Italians, he shoots it. The stag is not instantly killed; it flees to its home. The Italians are angered and take up arms; the Trojans quickly meet them for battle. Fordyce writes that this occurrence makes the Trojans "the innocent cause of offense."[415] In other words, according to my understanding, the plot required a war to break out among the Italians and Trojans, but perhaps Vergil did not wish for the Trojans to appear aggressive, or appear to be starting an unjust war – they were merely defending themselves. This aligns with Roman views of their own participation in wars and territorial expansion – i.e., Romans were not meaning to fight or expand, yet circumstances merely dictated that they did so, to protect themselves and/or their allies.

This passage also echoes the Dido episode.[416] Nelis observes that Allecto's *ars nova* ("new wiles") (7.476) resembles Venus' *novae artes* ("new wiles," in the plural) on Dido.[417] Clark argues that Amata's wandering and the shot stag combine to echo Dido's deer simile. I agree, though I would add that the stag is not immediately fatally wounded, so it does also wander, injured. Clark also argues that the deer to which Dido is compared is a victim; Dido, Amata, Turnus, and the literal stag, are "all victims of love, of Aeneas, and ultimately victims of Juno."[418] Lyne and Pavlock argue that Ascanius is a surrogate for Aeneas, who unknowingly shoots a stag metaphorically, to disastrous effect.[419] Lyne expands on this idea by presenting it as

[415] 1977: 147.
[416] Williams says there is a "faint reminiscence (no more)" of the deer simile in the Dido episode. I agree that this is not the strongest echo, so I will not devote much time to it, but it is still worth mentioning (1973: 203).
[417] Nelis, 2001: 294; McCallum, 2023: 73. Lyne also argues that Amata resembles Dido, and Allecto resembles Venus and Cupid. He gives multiple examples of martial language used of Dido (1987: 18).
[418] 1994: 66.
[419] Lyne, 1987: 200; Pavlock, 1992: 75. McCallum also notes Ascanius' similarities to Aeneas – they both hunt on the shore (Aeneas: 1.184, Ascanius: 7.477), and are described as beautiful (Aeneas: 4.141, Ascanius: 7.477) (2023: 73).

a generational pattern of destruction; from this line of thinking, it follows that fathers and sons have kept perpetuating this clearly destructive pattern to the present day. It calls into question the cost of *imperium sine fine*, and whether it is worth paying.[420] This forms another figure to reality – Aeneas figuratively wounds a stag to disastrous effect, then Ascanius literally does so. The wound also has sexual overtones, since it is shot in the groin.[421] Horsfall adds that the description of the stag at 7.500, *saucius at quadripes nota intra tecta refugit* ("But the wounded creature fled under the familiar roof"), resembles Dido's last appearance in the poem (i.e. in the Underworld): *atque inimica refugit | in nemis umbriferum* ("and, still his foe, [Dido] fled back to the shady grove [to seek comfort from Sychaeus]") (6.472-473).[422] Allusion to Apollonius' Medea strengthens the link to Dido – Medea is likened to Artemis, then, eventually, to a hunted deer. It is likely that Vergil borrowed this for Dido – after all, he likens her to Diana, then to a hunted deer. Silvia's stag, like the deer representing Medea, is terrified by hounds.[423] This solidifies the link between Dido, Silvia's stag, and Medea. McCallum adds that certain words/phrases in the description of Silvia's stag dying recall descriptions of Dido's wound of love and her death.[424]

Part of what causes the outbreak of this war, which is the war which establishes proto-Roman rule in Italy, is Ascanius wounding this sacred stag. The description uses erotic language and imagery and clearly echoes the Dido episode's description of lovesickness as metaphorically being hunted and wounded. Vergil had clearly condemned lovesickness in the Dido episode.

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[420] Lyne, 1987: 200.
[421] Pavlock, 1992: 75-76. There are additional parallels between Silvia's stag and Dido mentioned here in Pavlock, such as: the transferral from nature to human society (Dido does the reverse), both resembling sacrificial victims, and both having protracted deaths.
[422] Horsfall, 2000: 335. I add that *saucia* is also used of Dido in the opening line of Book 4.
[423] Nelis, 2001: 295.
[424] "The dire image of the dying stag—wounded (*saucius*), groaning (*gemens*), covered in blood (*cruentus*), and crying out in lament and distress (*questu*, *imploranti*)—elicits memories of Dido from her initial amatory wound (*saucia*, A. 4.1) to her prolonged, agonizing death (cf. *ingemuit*, A. 4.692; *gemitu*, A. 4.687; *cruore* |…*sparsasque manus*, A. 4.664–65; *lamentis gemituque*, A. 4.667; *querar*, A. 4.677)."

Therefore, anything after the Dido episode resembling lovesickness is tainted with the same condemnation. The Trojans' first act in this war of imperial conquest resembles erotic conquest; this is a damning way to begin the war that would bring about Rome.

Conclusion to Section 1

All three of Allecto's attacks contribute to the beginning of the war between the Trojans and Italians. All three of these attacks not only have erotic overtones, but also clearly echo the Dido episode. Vergil seems to want the reader to have Dido, and the erotic more generally, in mind when they think about the beginnings of this war. As mentioned earlier, the Italian characters experiencing such passion both sets up an expectation which will later be snatched away (i.e. that this is the story of the rational/masculine unambiguously triumphing over the passionate/feminine) *and* conveys the uncomfortable truth that Dido-like passion can emerge from the Italian people – not just foreign Others like Dido.

Ascanius' hounds being frenzied and prompting him to shoot the stag is the first inkling the reader gets that the Trojan side – the winning side – is far from immune to destructive passion. Vergil showing a character on the winning side contributing to the start of this imperial conquest in such sexualized language and imagery gives the reader pause; is this war going to be successful, and if so, at what cost? It is not a promising start, having the beginning of one's imperial conquest echoing the language of lovesickness. Vergil associating imperial action with the language of lovesickness taints the former; he continues to do this throughout the rest of the poem. In the next two sections I discuss other Trojans who more directly resemble Dido. Passion clearly touches both sides of the war in Italy – perhaps it touches the Trojan side even more severely than the Latin side.

Section 2 – Trojan Lovers and Beloveds

In the previous section, I mostly discussed Italian characters acting like Dido. In this section, I show how the Trojans embody her destructive passion, too. This blurs the binary Vergil had set up; the blurring subverts expectations that this will be a straightforward story about the rational/masculine/Olympian triumphing over the passionate/feminine/chthonic. Showing the Trojans' martial/imperial activities resembling the actions of a frenzied lover also taints their imperial project.

This section focuses on two pairs of lovers on the Trojan side – Nisus and Euryalus, and Aeneas and Pallas.[425] These proto-Roman men experience literal and metaphorical lovesickness, both of which lead them astray. By "metaphorical lovesickness," I mean that characters engage in non-erotic activities (specifically martial activities) under the influence of feelings that resemble lovesickness, and/or the narrator describes their martial activities using erotic language. To further taint these pairs of lovers, Vergil alludes to Dido often when discussing them. Any similarity to Dido in these characters, or even a general echo of her in their scenes, recalls her failure in leadership and raises the possibility that these characters will fail similarly. In this section, I show how being lovers is shown to be detrimental; their imperial goal is compromised by their engaging in desire.

Nisus and Euryalus

Nisus and Euryalus are a pair of Trojan warrior lovers, [426] who both resemble Dido at times. Additionally, there are many Lucretian allusions in their episode; I suggest that Vergil uses Lucretius, as he had in the Dido episode, to denounce their giving in to passion. One of the main

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[425] While Pallas is not a Trojan, he is fighting on the Trojan side.

[426] 9.182 says: *his amor unus erat*, "a common love was theirs." The description of Euryalus is as "an intensely erotic object of homosexual desire," particularly with the mention of the down on his cheek (Hardie, 1994: 107). See also Reed, 2007: 23, note 24 for sources which discuss their homosexuality.

influences for this episode is Diomedes' and Odysseus' raid in *Iliad* 10.469-514.[427] Odysseus and Diomedes were not lovers; Vergil departing from his antecedent by making Nisus and Euryalus lovers further draws attention to the mingling of the martial and erotic.

Nisus, the older and more experienced warrior, expresses to Euryalus his desire to do battle; he explains that the Rutulians (a group on the Italian side) are essentially undefended that night (9.184-196). The language he uses to express his battle-lust recalls Dido. Nisus, like Dido, experiences *ardorem* ("fire") and *cupido* ("longing"). *Cupido* described here as *dira* echoes Lucretius at 4.1090 in the diatribe against love.[428] He also uses the phrase *nec placida contenta quiete est* ("and peaceful quiet contents it not") at 9.187, "it" referring to his heart/mind wishing to do battle. This phrase recalls 4.5 in the Dido episode: *nec placidam membris dat cura quietem* ("longing does not give quiet peace to her limbs"). Both Dido and Nisus cannot experience peace, due to their passions. Nisus did not need to describe his plan for martial activity using the language of Didonian lovesickness; he could have simply laid out the plan. His plans are in service of the larger imperial project. Vergil using erotic/Didonian language and allusions in this passage conveys that the Trojans are doing the martial/imperial in a way akin to giving in to lovesickness; this undermines their actions.

Nisus and Euryalus, and the Trojan leaders, are awake when all other creatures are sleeping (9.224f.); this resembles the description of the same situation with Dido (4.522f.). Certainly Nisus (and all the Trojan leaders[429]) is kept awake by his passion, as was Dido. Hardie notes that *placida … quiete* is another Lucretian collocation.[430]

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[427] Williams, 1973: 290-291; Hardie, 1994: 130.
[428] Hardie, 1994: 109.
[429] Farrell, 1997: 235. This description also appears at 8.26f., where Aeneas worries about the war; however, because he falls asleep soon after the description, I see it as fundamentally different from Dido's and Nisus' situations.
[430] Hardie, 1994: 109. He also notes that *percipe porro* ("learn, then …") at 9.190 is a "Lucretian tag" (1994: 110).

There are also a few Lucretian echoes in this early part of the episode. Farrell notes the use of *Aeneadum*, the first word of *DRN*, twice at the beginning of the episode (9.180 and 235).[431] As well, the juxtaposition of *primi, delecta* ("first, chosen," referring to leaders at the Trojan council) at 9.226 echoes Lucretius' *delecti, prima* at 1.86.[432] In that passage, Lucretius condemns the leaders who agreed to sacrifice Iphigenia at Aulis. Farrell argues, and I agree, that Vergil echoing this passage agrees with Lucretius, and he conveys disapproval of the Trojans' meeting and what they are discussing.[433] Hardie also notes the echo of *DRN* 1.922-925 in *Aen*. 9.197, *magno laudum percussus amore* ("he [Euryalus] was struck with great love of praise" – praise either in the sense that Euryalus is in awe of the praise Nisus gets, or he revels in praise which Nisus gives him).[434] At this part of *DRN*, Lucretius sets out his project; while the two passages are not related in subject matter, an echo of a well-known Lucretian phrase here would evoke Lucretius for the reader. Note also that this phrase appears elsewhere in the Vergilian corpus; each instance gives the reader pause about characters' destructive, often passion-driven actions. At *Aen*. 6.823, Anchises describes a scene of civil war and familial bloodshed, i.e. Brutus killing his sons because they wished to restore the Tarquin kingship; at *Aen*. 7.496 Ascanius feels an urge to kill the sacred stag, which is one of the events that starts the war; at *G*. 3.112 horses race each other passionately, which is a metaphor for politicians vying for power.[435] This

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[431] 1997: 234.
[432] Farrell, 1997: 235.
[433] Farrell argues that the *Aeneadum* are "blinded by their desire for material gain and worldly power," as are the leaders sacrificing Iphigenia. They suffer from other problems common to non-Epicureans, such as a restless mind, as demonstrated in Nisus' speech, and by Trojan leaders meeting at night when all other creatures are sleeping (9.224f.) (1997: 235). See Williams for the opposing view, i.e. that Nisus is an Epicurean mouthpiece (1973: 292).
[434] Hardie, 1994: 111.
[435] *Aen*. 6.823: *vincet* ***amor*** *patriae* ***laudum****que immensa* ***cupido*** ("yet shall a patriot's love prevail and un-quenched thirst for fame"). *Aen*. 7.496: *eximiae* ***laudis*** *succensus* ***amore*** ("fired with longing for chiefest honour"). *G*. 3.112: *tantus* ***amor laudum*** ("so strong is their love of renown").

reinforces the sense that Euryalus is acting on an irrational passion which could bring about destruction.

In the small, relatively dense cluster of Lucretian allusions here, Vergil appears to agree with Lucretius, as he had in the Dido episode. This taints the war/imperial project not only because it recalls the cautionary tale of Dido's failed leadership, but also because Lucretian doctrine would disapprove of the Trojans' war/project.

Nisus, at the Trojan council, proposes his plan to attack the sleeping Rutulians. Ascanius agrees, in a manner that echoes Aeneas' praise of Dido (compare 9.249-254 with 1.603-606); Hardie observes that "in both cases extravagant praise is followed by disaster."[436] Ascanius offers him various gifts, including "an ancient bowl that Dido of Sidon gave" (9.266). The mention of this gift from Dido, similar to the one which will be mentioned at Pallas' funeral, reminds the reader of Dido. It shows that Dido's gifts are often linked with death – Ascanius offers the bowl to the men about to die, and Aeneas puts Dido's cloak over the dead Pallas. These ill-omened objects is one way that Dido continues to haunt the Trojans.

After the meeting, Nisus and Euryalus approach the Rutulians. Nisus kills many, with Vergil comparing him to a hungry lion;[437] Euryalus kills just as many but gets carried away: *incensus et ipse* | *perfurit* ("all aflame, [he] storms madly," 9.342-343). Note the fire and the language of frenzy, also used in the Dido episode. Nisus notices this – *sensit enim nimia caede atque cupidine ferri*[438] ("for he saw his comrade swept away by reckless lust of carnage," 9.354)

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[436] 1994: 120.
[437] McCallum notes that Vergil will later describe Turnus using a similar lion simile (12.4-9).
[438] Depending on how one translates the sentence, *cupidine ferri* could mean "swept away with desire" (*ferri* being a present passive infinitive) or "from desire of the sword" (*ferri* being the noun *ferrum* in the genitive case) and it would go with *absistamus* (so, altogether, "let us cease from desire of the sword") (Hardie, 1994: 137). Regardless of the translation, but especially if it is the latter, it recalls Turnus' *amor ferri*.

– and urges Euryalus to flee with him. Euryalus complies but first takes spoils from his victims' bodies.

Rutulian reinforcements pursue Nisus and Euryalus. While Nisus gets to safety; Euryalus, weighed down by his spoils and feeling fearful, gets lost (9.384-385). Nisus, when wondering aloud where Euryalus is, calls him *infelix*, recalling Dido (9.390).[439] The Rutulians capture Euryalus. Nisus deliberates his options, loosely recalling Aeneas' deliberations on how to respond to Dido's anger;[440] Dido also has a couple passages of deliberation (9.399-401). Resolving to save Euryalus, Nisus prays to the goddess Diana. From his hiding place, he throws his spear and hits an enemy soldier; the description echoes Lucretius twice.[441] A Rutulian, Volcens, threatens to kill Euryalus; in a panic, Nisus leaves his hiding place and begs them to kill him instead. Hardie notes the echoes of Dido in 4.419-420 and 4.450 at 9.426 and 9.424 respectively; the first parallel discusses being able to endure agony, while the second shares language about being terrified.[442] Nisus says that Euryalus is not at fault – *tantum infelicem nimium dilexit amicum* ("he [Euryalus] but loved his hapless [note again the use of *infelix*, this time for Nisus] friend too well").

Volcens kills Euryalus anyway:

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[439] Hardie notes that this situation is a reverse of Orpheus and Eurydice (Euryalus even sounds like Eurydice) (1994: 142). Orpheus is allowed to save Eurydice from the Underworld as long as he leads her out without looking backwards at her. He looks backwards, and she is brought back to the Underworld. Aeneas also reverses this story in Book 2, where he describes fleeing Troy and *not* looking back at his wife Creusa; she gets lost and dies. In the same way, Nisus does not look back for Euryalus, and he ends up dying. These connections reinforce their status as lovers (as opposed to close friends) and the inevitability of an unfortunate fate.

[440] Hardie, 1994: 144. This is one of a few echoes upon which these lines draw, others being Catullus' Ariadne and Orpheus from the *Georgics*.

[441] Hardie, 1994: 147. *Noctis diverberat umbras* at 9.411 ~ *DRN* 2.150-152 (*at vapor is quem sol mittit lumenque serenum | non per inane meat vacuum; quo tardius ire | cogitur, aerias quasi dum diverberat undas.*); *calidum de pectore flumen* at 9.414 ~ *DRN* 2.354 (*sanguinis expirans calidum de pectore flumen*).

[442] Hardie, 1994: 149. 4.419-420: *hunc ego si potui tantum sperare dolorem, | et perferre, soror, potero* ("'If I have had strength to foresee this great sorrow, I shall also, sister, have strength to endure it'"); 9.426: *amplius aut tantum potuit perferre dolorem* ("no longer could he hide himself in darkness or endure such agony"). 4.450: *Tum vero infelix fatis exterrita Dido* ("Then, indeed, awed by her doom, luckless Dido"); 9.424: *tum vero exterritus, amens* ("Then indeed, frantic with terror").

talia dicta dabat, sed viribus ensis adactus
transabiit costas et **candida** pectora rumpit.
volvitur Euryalus leto**, pulchros**que per artus
it cruor inque umeros cervix conlapsa recumbit:
purpureus veluti cum flos succisus aratro 435
languescit moriens, lassove papavera collo
demisere caput pluvia cum forte gravantur.
9.431-437
Thus was he [Nisus] pleading; but the sword, driven with force, passes through the ribs and rends the **snowy** breast. Euryalus rolls over in death; over his **lovely** limbs runs the blood, and his drooping neck sinks on his shoulder, as when a purple flower, severed by the plough, droops in death; or as poppies, with weary neck, bow the head, when weighted by a chance shower.

The description of Euryalus' death combines the martial and erotic. Reed notes that not only is Euryalus' manner of death erotic (he is penetrated by a sword), but he is also described as attractive as he is dying.[443] Note the use of *candida* ("snowy," "white," "gleaming") and *pulchros* ("beautiful") to describe his chest and limbs – these are words usually used in love poetry to describe one's beloved.[444] For example, in Vergil's *Eclogues* 2.16 a shepherd describes a boy he loves as *candidus*; in Horace's *Ode* 1.18.11, *candidus* is used in an affectionate address to Bacchus.[445] Two flower similes describe Euryalus' death. These both allude to poems recalling marriage songs.[446] This presents Euryalus' death as a sort of marriage to Nisus. In the next subsection, I observe that Pallas' funeral is described as a sort of marriage to Aeneas.

Instantly afterwards, Nisus charges and kills Volcens, then is himself killed by Volcens' comrades:

tum super exanimum sese proiecit amicum
confossus, placidaque ibi demum morte quievit. 445

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[443] 2007: 18.
[444] Reed, 2007: 18.
[445] Reed, 2007: 18, note 4.
[446] Poppy simile: Catullus 11, a parody of a marriage song. Purple flower simile: Sappho 105c "probably from an epithalamium" (Fowler, 1987: 188-189; Hardie, 1994: 150; Reed, 2007: 23). It also alludes to the death of Gorgythion in *Iliad* 8.306-308.

> Then, pierced through and through, he flung himself on his lifeless friend, and there at length, in the peace of death, found rest.

Again, Vergil includes a phrase using *placida* ("peaceful") and a word related to *quies* (*quievit*) ("rest," "found rest"). Like Dido, Nisus finds peace only in death. This conveys a general theme that people who succumb to desire can only experience peaceful rest by dying, thus showing the destructive nature of the various types of desire.[447] The phrase describing his death also recalls a Lucretian phrase, as did Dido's.[448] It is worth noting that the echoed Lucretian phrase belongs to the plague passage, where Lucretius passes judgment on the plague victims. If the trend continues, i.e. that Vergil is agreeing with Lucretius in the Nisus and Euryalus episode as he did in the Dido episode, then in these characters' final scenes Vergil is conveying disapproval for the characters' conduct. This subtle disapproval is in stark contrast to the sudden, triumphant authorial interjection praising Nisus and Euryalus.[449] Lastly, Fama lets Euryalus' mother know that he's dead. While Fama is used elsewhere in the *Aeneid*, not just for Dido and Euryalus, it would still recall Dido nevertheless.[450]

Nisus would not have felt the urge to go on this mission if he had not felt Dido-like passion about it. Euryalus probably would not have gone if it had not been for Nisus' passion, as well as the erotic passion he felt for Nisus. Nisus and Euryalus probably would have survived the

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[447] In Dido's death scene Vergil does not use the words *placidus* or *quies*, but he does use the verb *solvo*, as well as Lucretian language to describe her soul leaving her body (see page 88). There is a sense of Dido being freed and at peace in her death, similar to Nisus.
[448] Cf. *DRN* 6.1256-1258: *exanimis pueris super exanimata parentum | corpora nonnumquam posses retroque videre | matribus et patribus natos super edere vitam.* ("Sometimes you might see the lifeless bodies of parents lying upon their lifeless children, and contrariwise children yielding up their life upon the bodies of mother and father") (Hardie, 1994: 152).
[449] 9.446-449: "Happy pair! If my poetry has any power, no day shall ever blot you from the memory of time, so long as the house of Aeneas dwells on the Capitol's unshaken rock, and the Father of Rome holds sovereign sway!" (*Fortunati ambo! si quid mea carmina possunt, | nulla dies umquam memori vos eximet aevo, | dum domus Aeneae Capitoli immobile saxum | accolet imperiumque pater Romanus habebit*).
[450] Nelis 2001: 323-4.

mission if Euryalus had not gotten caught up in passion; they would have left within a safer window of time. Nisus would have survived if he had not felt erotic passion for Euryalus. He basically kills himself because of his passion for Euryalus – he leaves his hiding place to kill Volcens, knowing he is outnumbered. This is similar to Dido, who kills herself because she has lost her beloved, Aeneas. Obviously, this is not in the best interest of Nisus' people, since he is a good warrior and should be helping on the Trojan side, not getting himself killed over a personal hurt. Similarly, Dido killing herself out of passion and a personal hurt is not in the best interest of her people.

This shows that it is not merely the Italian side that experiences and acts on passion, to their own detriment – the Trojan side (the winning side) can succumb, as well. Nisus and Euryalus experience literal lovesickness which drives them to act in ways which harm themselves and their people (like Dido). Vergil also uses erotic language to describe some of their martial (and, by extension, imperial) scenes. This language taints these scenes, since Vergil had condemned erotic passion earlier in the poem. This adds to my argument that Vergil is conveying a pessimistic view on the Trojans' imperialism in the latter half of the *Aeneid*.

The story of Nisus and Euryalus foreshadows that of Aeneas and Pallas – the younger lover dies, which drives the older one to act irrationally. Both boys even have similar flower similes, which creates a link between them. As well, the dense Lucretian allusions prompt the reader to judge them using an Epicurean lens; because Aeneas' feelings and behaviour around Pallas are so similar to Nisus' with Euryalus (and there are Lucretian echoes in the parts about Aeneas and Pallas), it prompts the reader to pass Epicurean judgments on this couple, too.

Aeneas and Pallas

Pallas is a young Italian warrior, fighting on the Trojan side, who takes a liking to Aeneas.[451] I agree with Putnam, that there is an erotic aspect to their relationship.[452] They are also modeled on a Homeric antecedent – i.e. Achilles and Patroclus, who could be read to have had an erotic connection. There is also a similar plot trajectory: the hero (Achilles, Aeneas) has a connection with a younger warrior on his side of the conflict (Patroclus, Pallas); this young man dies in a duel against the hero's main rival (Hektor, Turnus); later, the hero savagely kills the rival.

The Nisus and Euryalus episode primes the reader for the martial/erotic connection between Aeneas and Pallas. Aeneas succumbs to a similar passion to Nisus, and, I argue, a more monstrous version. This shows that it is not merely random Trojans (e.g. Nisus) that can succumb to destructive passion – the hero can succumb, as well. In this section, I show how the relationship between Aeneas and Pallas resembles his relationship with Dido in some ways. I also show that Aeneas acts on destructive passion (which taints him as a character as well as his larger goal) because of his passionate desire for Pallas. It is particularly damning, when Aeneas repeats elements of the relationship with Dido, since, as argued in Chapter 1, Dido is a cautionary tale about failed leadership, and Aeneas' whole goal in this Italian war is to establish his own leadership there. I discuss four parts related to Aeneas and Pallas: their conversation on the boat (10.159-162), Pallas' death (10.474-509), Aeneas' murderous rampage after Pallas' death (10.510-604), and Pallas' funeral (22-99).

A brief moment in Book 10 shows the closeness between Aeneas and Pallas:

> hic magnus sedet Aeneas secumque volutat
> eventus belli varios, Pallasque sinistro   160
> **adfixus lateri** iam **quaerit sidera**, opacae

[451] This reflects how Pallas' father, Evander, had taken a liking to Aeneas' father, Anchises.
[452] 1985.

> noctis iter, iam quae passus terraque marique.
> 10.159-162
> There sits great Aeneas, pondering the changing issues of war; and Pallas, **staying close to his left side**, **asks him now about the stars**, their guide through the dark night, and now of his trials by land and sea.

Two things recall the Dido episode here. Firstly, Pallas clings to Aeneas; Vergil uses the words *adfixus* ("staying close," literally "fix, fasten") and *lateri* ("to his side"). This recalls the deer simile in the Dido episode, where the deer's side (*lateri*) has been pierced (*fixit*; *adfixus* is a version of this verb with the prefix *ad*-).[453] This casts Aeneas as the deer/Dido (the one pierced) and Pallas as the arrow/erotic passion (the source/object of affection). This implies that Aeneas is smitten with desire for Pallas. Pallas' constant questioning about Aeneas' experiences and knowledge also echoes Dido.[454] However, there is one key difference – while Dido rejects cosmological knowledge, Pallas seeks it. As I argued, Dido's rejection of Iopas' cosmological song is the beginning of her downfall. Pallas resembles Dido via contrast imitation here – he does not reject, but *seeks* cosmological knowledge. This would appear to be promising – perhaps these characters have a chance of not falling into the traps Lucretius warns about. Here, Pallas does what Dido ought to have done (though he does ask about Aeneas' heroic epic stories, so he is not exactly as Lucretius would wish). However, Aeneas, like Dido, eventually succumbs to destructive passion.

Unlike Euryalus' death, the moment of Pallas' death is not itself eroticized[455] – the eroticization happens at his funeral. There are a couple subtle exceptions. In general, both Pallas'

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[453] Putnam, 1985: 8-10. *qualis coniecta cerva sagitta, | quam procul incautam nemora inter Cresia* ***fixit*** *| pastor agens telis liquitque volatile ferrum | nescius; illa fuga silvas saltusque peragrat | Dictaeos; haeret* ***lateri*** *letalis harundo.* ("Even as a hind, smitten by an arrow, which, all unwary, amid the Cretan woods, a shepherd hunting with darts **has pierced** from afar, leaving in her the winged steel, unknowing: she in flight ranges the Dictaean woods and glades, but fast **to her side** clings the deadly shaft," 4.69-73).
[454] Putnam says Pallas resembles Dido, because they both hear cosmological accounts then Aeneas' exploits (1985: 8). I depart from Putnam to say that this is contrast imitation, not simply imitation.
[455] See Gillis for the opposing view, where he says "the language is phallic throughout (10.474-489)" (1983: 67-68).

and Dido's deaths were caused by "Aeneas' inattention."[456] As mentioned before, McCallum notes that Vergil uses a lion simile for Nisus, a warrior whose trajectory goes from *amor* ("love") to *mors* ("death").[457] A similar phrase and imagery appear at Pallas' death, linking him with this *amor*-to-*mors* trajectory as well. Turnus charges Pallas like a lion charging a bull (10.454-456).[458] Recall the bulls in the *Georgics*, who engage in aggression towards each other because of love; a bull simile will appear again when Aeneas and Turnus fight at the end of Book 12. As well, when Pallas falls, *terram hostilem moriens petit ore cruento* ("he smites the hostile earth with blood-stained mouth," 10.489) – this closely resembles *fremit ore cruento* from the previously mentioned lion simile.[459] Mitchell also argues that Pallas' death was a metaphorical defloration, because of the phallic nature of the wound and Vergil's characterization of Pallas as effeminate and a virgin.[460] Turnus is also feminized if we are to understand him killing Pallas as parallel to the myth depicted on Pallas' sword belt (described at 10.497-499) – i.e., the daughters of Danaus killing their husbands at their wedding.[461] I discuss this further in Section 3. Returning to Pallas – metaphorically, he is made a woman in death. This makes the hymeneal elements in his funeral more striking; this is his marriage to Aeneas. Additionally, he is living, loosely, a version of the Danaids myth – he "receives a marriage of death."[462] Related to marriage and virginity is the use of the word *intactus* ("untouched," "undefiled") to describe Pallas, when the narrator interjects,

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[456] Putnam, 1985: 13.
[457] *impastus ceu plena leo per ovilia turbans | (suadet enim vesana fames) manditque trahitque | molle pecus mutumque metu, fremit ore cruento* ("Just so, an unfed lion, rioting through full sheepfolds—for the madness of hunger constrains him—mangles and rends the feeble flock that is dumb with fear, and growls with blood-stained mouth") (9.339-341).
Later, in Book 12, Vergil describes Turnus as a hungry lion, too; Turnus' trajectory is also from *amor* to *mors* (McCallum, 2023: 126).
[458] McCallum, 2023: 126.
[459] McCallum, 2023: 126.
[460] 1991: 228.
[461] Mitchell, 1991: 230.
[462] Mitchell, 1991: 229-230.

saying that Turnus would one day wish he had left Pallas untouched/undefiled (10.503-505). Vergil also used this word to describe Dido before her marriage to Sychaeus (1.345-346).[463] This likens Pallas in battle to a virgin maiden and specifically to Dido, which is yet another example of this martial/imperial project being described in erotic language.

Another hint of eroticism in his death is a loose parallel to *DRN*. At *DRN* 4.1049, Lucretius writes of people in battle and people in love that *cadunt in vulnus* ("they fall towards the wound"). Pallas falls towards his wound (10.488: *corruit in volnus*). Also, Williams notes that "but his [Pallas'] welcome [literally, hospitality] of Aeneas shall cost him dear" (*haud illi stabunt Aeneïa parvo | hospitia*) at 10.494-495 recalls Dido – she too hosted Aeneas and ended up dead.[464] Williams also notes the narrator's foreshadowing at 10.501-506, a device which Vergil used a couple times in the Dido episode (1.712, 4.169f.).[465] I add that the phrase *prima dies* ("the first day"), where the narrator recounts Pallas' misfortune, resembles the narrator's interjection with *dies primus* when Dido has just taken Aeneas as a lover and he foreshadows Dido's misfortune (4.169-170).[466] It is also noteworthy that the ekphrasis of Pallas' sword belt comes right after his death, since it depicts a bloody wedding; this further mixes the martial with the erotic.

After Pallas' death, Aeneas kills many Italians (10.510-604). I argue that he carries this out in an irrational, impassioned way. While the rampage is partially intended to save his men, it is also driven by the loss of Pallas; Vergil describes him as *ardens* ("burning").[467] I agree with

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[463] Gillis, 1983: 71.
[464] 1973: 353.
[465] 1973: 354.
[466] Gillis, 1983: 72. Pallas: *haec te prima dies bello dedit, haec eadem aufert, | cum tamen ingentis Rutulorum linquis acervos!* ("This day first gave you to war, this also takes you from it, the day when yet you leave behind vast piles of Rutulian dead!") (10.508-509). Dido: *ille dies primus leti primusque malorum | causa fuit* ("That day the first of death, the first of calamity was cause") (4.169-170).
[467] 10.510-517. *Nec iam fama mali tanti, sed certior auctor | advolat Aeneae tenui discrimine leti | esse suos, tempus versis succurrere Teucris. | proxima quaeque metit gladio latumque per agmen | ardens limitem agit ferro, te, Turne,*

Putnam and Lyne, who primarily attribute the rampage to his intense feelings about losing Pallas.[468] In broad strokes, this resembles Dido's irrational violence after the loss of her beloved (Aeneas). Dido threatens merciless violence and eventually kills herself after losing him; Aeneas mercilessly kills many Italians after losing Pallas. Williams notes that Aeneas' behaviour would be expected of Turnus, or a Homeric hero, but not of this new, *pius*, controlled, empire-founding, Roman sort of hero Vergil seems to want to create in Aeneas.[469]

Digression on *pietas*

Pietas means duty and devotion – it can be to a god, a person, one's people. Nisus' love for Euryalus is described as *pius* (5.296). When he makes the choice to kill Volcens and avenge Euryalus, he is choosing personal *pietas* over *pietas* for the collective.[470] If he had prioritized the latter, he would have recognized that he could best perform his duty to his people by surviving and continuing to fight for the Trojan side. This foreshadows both Aeneas' rampage and his killing of Turnus. Both times, like Nisus, Aeneas prioritizes personal *pietas* – which has an erotic dimension – over collective *pietas*.[471] While one could argue that Aeneas' rampage and killing of Turnus were in the best interest of his people, because it makes sense to kill enemies in war, I argue that the manner in which Aeneas does these actions is troubling and does not align with the values of his larger quest. It is particularly misaligned with traits of Romans as described by

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superbum | caede nova quaerens. Pallas, Euandrus, in ipsis | omnia sunt oculis, mensae quas advena primas | tunc adiit, dextraeque datae ("And now no mere rumour of the bitter blow but a surer messenger flies to Aeneas—that his men are but a hair's breadth removed from death, that it is time to succour the routed Teucrians. With the sword he mows down all the nearest ranks, and fiercely drives a broad path through the host with the steel, seeking you, Turnus, still flushed with fresh slaughter. Pallas, Evander, everything is before his eyes—the board to which he came then, a stranger, and the right hands pledged").

[468] 1985: 10; 1987: 155, 160.

[469] 1973: 355.

[470] Carstairs-McCarthy, 2018. Carstairs-McCarthy presents devotion to personal *pietas* as a "redeeming quality" in Nisus and Euryalus (209-210), and in Aeneas (212, 219).

[471] For an opposing view, see Gale, 1997: 189. She argues that Aeneas contrasts with Turnus because the former fights for the collective and the latter for personal glory, as shown symbolically by the designs on their weapons.

Anchises (the main example being ‘spare the vanquished’).[472] And, generally speaking, Aeneas’ fate is aimed towards a city/people – not a personal duty. A Homeric hero such as Achilles does not have such a duty, so it makes sense and is easier to accept when personal hurts drive Achilles’ actions.

It is worth noting that Aeneas kills Lausus at 10.786-830 when Lausus is defending his father; in doing so, Aeneas kills an image of filial/familial *pietas*. At the beginning of the text Aeneas embodies this type of *pietas* well. For example, he chooses to carry his father and son out of Troy, but not his wife – so he chooses the familial over the erotic. However, whenever Aeneas chooses to kill a pleading person, in a frenzy of erotic loss, he is choosing the erotic over the familial because his father had told him to spare the vanquished. Aeneas symbolically killing this version of himself via killing Lausus sets it up that he will continue to disregard his father’s advice and instead prioritize personal/erotic *pietas*.

If Aeneas had adhered to “spare the vanquished,” he would have honoured both filial/familial *pietas* (it is something his father had instructed) and collective *pietas* (it is to be the Roman way, and Aeneas’ duty is to establish what would one day become Rome). As seen here and at the end of the poem, Aeneas lets his passion take priority over this tenet.

Returning to Aeneas and Pallas

Aeneas does a few things during his rampage that are particularly monstrous. These actions set the precedent for his ruthlessness at the end of the book. He kills men who plead for

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[472] Anchises says: “‘others, I doubt not, shall with softer mould beat out the breathing bronze, coax from the marble features to the life, plead cases with greater eloquence and with a pointer trace heaven’s motions and predict the risings of the stars: you, Roman, be sure to rule the world (be these your arts), to crown peace with justice, to spare the vanquished and to crush the proud.’” (“*excudent alii spirantia mollius aera | (credo equidem), vivos ducent de marmore vultus, | orabunt causas melius, caelique meatus | describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent: | tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento | (hae tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem, | parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*”) (6.847-853).

mercy (Magus: 10.521-536;[473] Tarquitus: 10.550-560; Liger: 10.597-601), and he rounds up men to be sacrificed at Pallas' funeral (10.517-520). None of these men have anything to do with Pallas' death; they are merely fighting on the Italian side. I suggest that these actions are *more* monstrous and irrational than his killing Turnus at the end. Although I do not personally agree, I do understand the case to be made for killing Turnus – he had killed Pallas, so killing him would carry out Evander's vengeance. But killing pleading men whose only connection to the death of Pallas is being on the same side as Pallas' killer – to me, that signals more than simply wishing to carry out the oath to Evander. That, along with certain words like *ardens* ("burning") at the beginning of the catalogue of killings (10.514), and *torrentis aquae vel turbinis atri | more furens* ("raging like a brook in torrent or a black tempest") at the end (10.603-604), signal Aeneas' impassioned, irrational violence sprung from erotic desire.[474]

To damn Aeneas further, Vergil likens him to Aegaeon:

> Aegaeon qualis, centum cui bracchia dicunt 565
> centenasque manus, quinquaginta oribus ignem
> pectoribusque arsisse, Iovis cum fulmina contra
> tot paribus streperet clipeis, tot stringeret ensis:
> sic toto Aeneas desaevit in aequore victor
> ut semel intepuit mucro. 570
> *Aen*. 10.565-570
> Like Aegaeon, who, men say, had a hundred arms and a hundred hands, and flashed fire from fifty mouths and breasts, when against Jove's thunders he clanged with as many like shields, and bared as many swords; so Aeneas over the whole plain gluts his victorious rage, when once his sword grew warm.

This simile compares Aeneas to a chthonic being, explicitly mentioning this being's opposition to Jupiter. It conveys that Aeneas' impassioned, violent actions run counter to Jupiter's plans. This

[473] Magus, like Turnus in the closing scene, mentions Aeneas' father (10.524). This ought to have reminded Aeneas of 'spare the vanquished,' but clearly it did not.
[474] See Williams 1973: 355 for more examples of phrases and words signalling Aeneas' violent passion.

undermines how the hero is attempting to carry out his fate. It firmly places Aeneas on the passionate/chaotic/opposing Jupiter side of the binary, which challenges the notion that he will be an effective leader.

Williams writes that while Turnus' behaviour in Book 10 is expected (he mostly refers to his arrogance), Aeneas' behaviour (frenzied killing, as well as the boastfulness we see in Turnus) is unexpected.[475] Aeneas resembling Turnus in these unfavourable ways is concerning. It recalls Aeneas' reckless behaviour in Book 2, which shows that he has not learned from that time – or, at best, he has momentarily forgotten those lessons. Williams also points out that while Aeneas shows some humanity towards Lausus, is a situation where things were going Aeneas' way. Vergil chooses to depict a hero who is not honourable all the time – rather, one who finds honour easier in moments of victory, and more difficult in moments of loss.[476]

Lastly, I discuss echoes of the Dido episode, and the erotic in general, at Pallas' funeral. Pallas' corpse is described as having a *nivei* ("snowy-white") face and a *levi* ("smooth") breast.[477] These words are often used in love poetry to describe a beloved (recall similar descriptions of Euryalus' dying body). As well, Vergil uses the phrase *pectore vulnus* ("wound in the chest") at 11.40, which recalls the *pectore vulnus* of Dido (4.67, 4.689).[478] These are the only three times the phrase appears in the poem.[479] Pallas' corpse is later described in the following way:

hic iuvenem agresti sublimem stramine ponunt:

[475] 1973: 354.
[476] 1973: 320-321.
[477] Putnam gives many examples of the adjective *niveus* being used in an erotic way in Vergil and other Roman authors. One particularly noteworthy example: the only other time Vergil uses the word to describe a body is in the scene where Venus seduces Vulcan. Putnam also notes that the adjective *levis* was used to describe where Allecto's snake penetrated Amata – this feminizes Pallas and recalls mixing the erotic with the martial (1985: 11).
[478] See Chapter 1, page 68.
[479] Those phrases also loosely recall lovesick Dido in the beginning of Book 4, when *haerent infixi* ***pectore vultus*** | *verbaque* ("his countenance and words cling fixed in her chest"). Aeneas is the cause of each of these wounds. Putnam, 1985: 12.

> qualem virgineo demessum pollice florem
> seu mollis violae seu languentis hyacinthi,
> cui neque fulgor adhuc nec dum sua forma recessit, 70
> non iam mater alit tellus virisque ministrat.
> *Aen*. 11.67-71
> Here they lay the youth high on his rustic bed, like a flower culled by a girl's finger, tender violet or drooping hyacinth, whose sheen and native grace have not yet faded, but no more does its mother earth give it strength and nurture.

This flower simile is highly allusive and erotic; it also recalls Euryalus' flower simile. Pallas is presented as a delicate flower, which feminizes him; it also feminizes Turnus, since he is the virgin who plucks the flower.[480] There is also some violence in its eroticism, since the flower is being "plucked;" as well, Putnam notes that the hyacinth in classical literature is a symbol for deflowering after marriage.[481] Fowler notes that this passage recalls Catullus 62.39-47, where a chorus of maidens sing part of a wedding song, using a similar flower simile. This likens Pallas to a virgin maiden, which increases the eroticism of the passage and more closely links it to the hymeneal.[482] Directly after this, Aeneas covers Pallas in a robe which Dido had made for him:

> tum geminas vestis auroque ostroque rigentis
> extulit Aeneas, quas illi laeta laborum
> ipsa suis quondam manibus Sidonia Dido
> fecerat et tenui telas discreverat auro. 75
> harum unam iuveni supremum maestus honorem
> induit arsurasque comas obnubit amictu
> *Aen*. 11.72-77
> Then Aeneas brought forth two robes, stiff with gold and purple, which Sidonian Dido, delighting in the toil, had once herself with her own hands wrought for him, interweaving the web with threads of gold. Of these he sadly drapes one round the youth as a last honour, and in its covering veils those locks that the fire will claim …

[480] Mitchell, 1991: 230.
[481] 1985: 11.
[482] Fowler, 1987: 188-189.

Similarly to how Ascanius' promise of gifting Dido's bowls to Nisus and Euryalus foreshadowed their tragedy, this mention of Dido's gifts highlights the tragedy that has already happened (i.e. Pallas' death).[483] It is worth noting that line 75 is a repeat of line 4.264 from the Dido episode: *fecerat et tenui telas discreverat auro* ("had wrought, interweaving the web with a thread of gold"). As well, the first line of Book 11 is a repeat of 4.129; 11.1 describes the morning of Pallas' funeral, and 4.129 the morning of the Carthaginians' and Trojans' fateful hunt.[484] Putnam assumes that Aeneas wraps himself in the second cloak, thus associating both Pallas and himself with Dido.[485] Vergil also uses a couple words in Pallas' funeral which denote marriage: *obnubit* ("he drapes") has a hymeneal meaning and appears only here in the poem; and *torus* ("bed"), the piece of furniture on which Pallas' corpse lies, can also mean "marriage bed."[486] Aeneas carries out a 'marriage' to Pallas and attends Pallas' funeral – he does neither with Dido.

Near the end of the ceremony, Aeneas carries out human sacrifices for Pallas (11.81-84). Williams notes that human sacrifice, even in the *Iliad*, is seen as crossing a line. He argues that Vergil, through showing Aeneas engaging in such an act, conveys the extent of his "anger and passion for vengeance." Williams also draws the parallel between Aeneas' human sacrifices, and Octavian (according to Suetonius) sacrificing humans for Caesar.[487] The act of human sacrifice also recalls Dido's suicide, since her suicide resembles a human sacrifice. As well, one can say that Dido's ambiguous relationship with Aeneas is a failed marriage, as is Pallas' funeral (which is vaguely hymeneal but also monstrous).[488] These improper rites show Aeneas slipping into the monstrous and irrational, like Dido did, as a result of erotic desire.

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[483] There is one more mention of Dido's gifts, other than the instances with Nisus and Pallas – Iulus' horse at 5.571f. This one does not appear to have a foreboding meaning (Carstairs-McCarthy, 2018: 200, citing Wiltshire, 1989: 46).
[484] Putnam, 1985: 12. *Oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit* ("Meanwhile Dawn rose and left the ocean").
[485] 1985: 12.
[486] Putnam, 1985: 13.
[487] 1973: 356.
[488] Pavlock, 1992: 80.

Conclusion to Section 2

Because Euryalus and Pallas are so clearly linked, it encourages readers to make parallels between Nisus and Aeneas. Nisus acted on Dido-like passion, to the detriment of his beloved, himself, and his people; he prioritizes personal *pietas* over the collective. As well, the many Lucretian echoes in this episode encourage readers to judge his actions through an Epicurean lens. We see Aeneas following a similar trajectory to Nisus: his beloved dies, and he acts destructively out of passion stemming from the hurt of this loss. This prompts the reader to also judge Aeneas, using an Epicurean lens, and to wonder whether Aeneas will continue on Nisus' trajectory, i.e. die because of his passionate actions.

Aeneas carrying out martial/imperial action under the influence of irrational, erotic passion further undermines his imperial project. As well, the erotic imagery in these martial scenes – even when no literal erotic desire is present in the characters – further taints the characters' imperial actions. Whenever Vergil likens martial/imperial action to the erotic, he challenges the former's validity.

Aeneas acting passionately and monstrously here, because of a personal hurt with an erotic dimension, foreshadows how he will act in the last scene of the poem. This is the first time (other than his self-described fury in Book 2) that Vergil shows Aeneas giving into Dido-like passion. This conveys that he may repeat her mistakes and fail in his quest of establishing and leading a city in Italy.

Section 3 – Aeneas Killing Turnus

This section focuses on Aeneas' succumbing to passion. I devote most of it to discussion about his killing of Turnus. Before that, however, I observe how Turnus resembles Dido and what this means for Aeneas. I also briefly discuss the surprising and troubling description of

Jupiter near the end of Book 12, which challenges the notion that Aeneas fulfilling his fate will be a rational, honourable thing.

Turnus Resembles Dido[489]

In addition to the part where he is attacked by Allecto, Turnus resembles Dido a few other times: when he taunts a phantom of Aeneas in Book 10, in a few descriptions of his emotional state at the beginning of Book 12, and when his being tormented by a Fury shortly before his death. In addition to the sense of foreboding that goes along with Turnus resembling Dido, many of these passages also echo Lucretius. This encourages an Epicurean judgment of these parts; an Epicurean would condemn his passion.

It may seem an odd choice to liken Aeneas' battle rival to his past lover. I have an explanation for this. In the Dido episode, Vergil, like Lucretius, emphasizes the dangers of erotic desire. At first glance, Dido's and Turnus' goals may appear different, even opposing – Dido wishes to act on her erotic desire for Aeneas; Turnus wishes to defeat Aeneas in battle. Yet both characters feel an intense passion related to Aeneas. Both things they wish to do to him are destructive, at least when using an Epicurean lens (which I have argued Vergil is). Whether it is bloodlust expressed in erotic language or straightforward lovesickness, passion is passion, and it is destructive.[490] Additionally, as Draper argues, the feminization of Turnus and the hymeneal references in this scene anticipate the events at the end of the book – i.e. Aeneas penetrating Turnus with his sword, and the murder being a metaphorical marriage.[491]

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[489] Tarrant argues that Book 12 most closely resembles Book 4, because both books focus on one character; he also notes that the opening line of each book quickly establishes the protagonist (*regina* ("queen") in Book 4, and Turnus in Book 12) (2012: 9, 83).
[490] Gale (1997: note 8) and Draper (2022: 688, 690) both argue that lust and bloodlust are very similar.
[491] Draper, 2022: 683.

Vergil uses much Lucretian language in the scene with the phantom of Aeneas (10.636-688); many of these are parallels he has made before, in the Dido episode. This encourages the reader to apply an Epicurean lens to judge Turnus. Vergil borrows in particular from Lucretius' introduction to the concept of *simulacra* at the beginning of *DRN* 4.[492] Vergil associates *simulacra* and phantoms with dreams and the erotic, which is something Lucretius does (in Book 4 he segues from *simulacra* to dreams to wet dreams), and something Vergil does in the Dido episode (she is erotically drawn to various *simulacra* of Aeneas, and is later disturbed by dreams). Vergil repeats this association between dreams/visions and the erotic in the last scene of the poem, too; this encourages Epicurean critique of that part.[493] While Lucretius' diatribe against love describes love in a militarized way, as does the Dido episode at times, Vergil's latter half of the *Aeneid* often describes the martial in eroticized ways.[494] There are even instances of figure-to-reality across Lucretius and Vergil, as Draper notes in the use of *inritat* ("rouses") and *telis* ("with shafts"), which Lucretius uses metaphorically and Vergil literally.[495] Additionally, and perhaps most significantly, Vergil uses Lucretian language to present Turnus, metaphorically, as a lover of Aeneas; he also characterizes Dido in this way. Like the Lucretian lover, Turnus fails to see reality and he chases *simulacra* without getting any satisfaction.[496] Turnus taunts a phantom of Aeneas using erotic, specifically marriage-related language, thus casting Aeneas in the passive role and presenting himself as a Dido figure. This scene does not directly anticipate

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[492] Draper has many examples (2022: 684-685). His examples include Vergil using the words *tenuis* ("thin"), *imago* ("image," "likeness" – here, "phantom"), *figura* ("shape"), and *volitare* ("to flit") at 10.636-644.
[493] Draper, 684. Vergil compares the image of Aeneas to a ghost and to "dreams that mock the slumbering senses" (*quae sopitos deludunt somnia sensus*, 10.642).
[494] Draper, 2022: 685.
[495] Draper, 2022: 685. *Irrito* (same as *inrito*) at *DRN* 4.1034 and 4.1045 and *tela* at 4.1052; Vergil has both words in line 10.644.
[496] Draper, 2022: 685-687.

Aeneas' succumbing to passion, but it does characterize Turnus as a Dido figure and Aeneas as his beloved, a dynamic which Aeneas will reverse in the final scene of the poem.

Juno, hoping to draw Turnus away from the middle of the battle, sends a phantom of Aeneas for him to pursue.[497] Turnus, Dido, and the Lucretian lover all "drink in" *simulacra* of the objection of their obsession, in vain. When Turnus sees the phantom, he is described as "drinking in [*hausit*] empty hope [that Aeneas had yielded and was fleeing]." Dido is also described as metaphorically drinking in the *simulacrum* of Aeneas and getting no meaningful satisfaction.[498] Draper also notes the language of fruitlessly drinking in *simulacra* in Lucretius (*DRN* 4.1094-1104).[499]

Turnus taunts the phantom with these words and actions:

> "quo fugis, Aenea? **thalamos** ne desere pactos;
> hac <u>dabitur</u> **dextra** <u>tellus quaesita per undas</u>." 650
> talia vociferans sequitur strictumque coruscat
> mucronem, nec ferre videt sua **gaudia** ventos.
> *Aen*. 10.649-652
> "Where are you fleeing, Aeneas? Forsake not your plighted **marriage** [lit. bridal chamber]; this **hand** of mine <u>will give you the land you have sought over the seas</u>." With such clamour he chases him and brandishes his naked blade; he does not see that the winds are carrying his **triumph/delight** away.

This speech feminizes both Turnus and Aeneas in multiple ways. Turnus is likened to a woman, and Aeneas is likened to Turnus, as well as with Dido, and he is in the passive role of the beloved.[500] Turnus asking *quo fugis?* ("'where are you fleeing?'") feminizes him because, as Draper describes: "[the question], meant to emphasize his masculine pursuit, instead foreshadows his feminized abandonment;" Turnus asking about his abandonment recalls various

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[497] A compatibilist view of this could be that it was partially divinely carried out, and partly his own instinct to flee.
[498] Chapter 1, page 53-56.
[499] 2022: 686.
[500] Draper also observes parallels between Turnus and Catullus' Attis, Catullus' Ariadne, and Horace's Europa (2022: 682).

heroines from myth.[501] Dido, similarly, asks if Aeneas is fleeing her (4.314: *mene fugis?* "'Do you flee me?'"). Turnus mentioning the marriage/bridal chamber (*thalamos*) casts him as the husband and Aeneas as the bride (*thalamos*). If one did not know that these lines come from a battle context where one warrior addresses another, one would assume that this comes from a husband speaking to his wife. Turnus, like Dido, also invokes the *dextra* ("promise," literally "right hand," 4.314).[502] She also promised him land across the sea (i.e. Carthage – recall that she offers the Trojans her city: *urbem quam statuo vestra est*, "'the city which I build is yours,'" 1.573). It is also noteworthy that Vergil uses the word *gaudia* – a word with sexual connotations – to describe the 'pleasure' Turnus feels in his martial pursuit of 'Aeneas' (10.652). This further likens him to Dido and the Lucretian lover. More generally, they are both victims of Rome's destiny and Juno's schemes, and both are deceived by a *simulacrum* of Aeneas which leads to their own destruction.[503] Being deluded by a divine scheme/illusion is something which Dido and Turnus also have in common with many mythical heroines; this feminizes Turnus.[504]

Having lost the phantom and realizing that he is now far from the battle, Turnus despairs. He even mentions Fama, which recalls the Dido episode (10.679). He deliberates suicide – specifically "whether because of disgrace so foul he should in madness throw himself on his sword and drive the cruel steel through his ribs."[505] Recall that Dido deliberated suicide and carried it out using a sword. Draper notes that this deliberation also resembles the speeches of other abandoned heroines, which further feminizes Turnus.[506] Also note the word *induat* at

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[501] Draper, 2022: 690.
[502] Draper, 2022: 688.
[503] Draper, 2022: 689.
[504] Draper, 2022: 695.
[505] 10.681-682: *an sese mucrone ob tantum dedecus amens | induat et crudum per costas exigat ensem.* Panoussi observes a "strong sense of honour and pride" in Turnus' speech which is reminiscent of Dido; both characters appear to think that the only way to maintain their honour and pride, after having transgressed, is by taking their own lives (2002: 127).
[506] 2022: 690-691.

10.682 (the verb "clothes" i.e. clothe himself with the sword), which Williams observes as a strange use of that verb.[507] Dido is also described using an unexpected verb of clothing – *praetexit* – for her situation (4.172 – she clothes her guilt with the name "marriage"). In the end, unlike with Dido, Juno intervenes and prevents Turnus from killing himself.

Draper argues that the final scene of the poem is the 'second act' which wraps up this unresolved abandonment of Turnus by the phantom Aeneas. This is a structure which its intertexts (Attis, Ariadne, Europa) also follow; the abandonment happens, then there is some form of marriage or compensation for their loss.[508] Draper argues that Turnus is in a worse situation than these heroines, who also do not have unambiguously happy endings, since he does not receive any form of compensation after the violence done to him.[509]

Another moment where Turnus recalls both Lucretius and Dido is at the beginning of Book 12, where Vergil likens him to a wounded Punic lion:

> … **Poenorum** qualis in arvis
> **saucius** ille **gravi** venantum **vulnere pectus** 5
> tum demum movet arma leo, gaudetque comantis
> excutiens cervice toros fixumque latronis
> impavidus frangit telum et fremit ore cruento:
> haud secus **accenso gliscit** violentia Turno.
> *Aen*. 12.4-9
> As in **Punic** fields a lion, when **wounded** in the **chest** by huntsmen with a **grievous stroke**, only then wakes to war, joyously tosses from his neck his shaggy mane, and undaunted breaks the robber's implanted dart, roaring with blood-stained mouth: even so in Turnus' **kindling** soul the fury **swells**.

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[507] 1973: 365.
[508] Draper, 2022: 697.
[509] E.g. after Europa is raped, the continent Europe is named after her. I am not saying that this is fair compensation, but some authors present it this way. For example, Horace writes: *mitte singultus, bene ferre magnam | disce fortunam; tua sectus orbis |nomina ducet*. "Away with sobbing; be resign'd |To greatness: you shall give your name | To half mankind," *Ode* 3.27.74-76.

Gale notes a similarity between Turnus' lion simile and Lucretius' description of the angry man who resembles a lion.[510] I add that Dido experiences a "tide/storm of anger" like Lucretius' lion.[511] This lion simile also recalls Nisus, which foreshadows Turnus' death ultimately brought about by passion.[512] It recalls Dido because she too was Punic (a.k.a. Phoenician, Carthaginian) and Vergil likens her to a wounded animal.[513] McCallum notes many parts where Turnus-as-lion recalls Dido. A few examples follow: Vergil uses the word *Poenorum* ("of the Carthaginians"), only in this lion simile and in the Dido episode; there is similar fire imagery (*ardet* (12.3), *accenso* (12.9); *ardet* (4.101), *accensa* (4.364)); they are both described as hunted, wounded animals (similar language is used to describe Dido's lovesickness and Turnus-as-lion's wounds: compare *saucius ... gravi ... vulnere pectus* at 12.5 to *gravi ... saucia cura* | *vulnus alit* at 4.1-2 and *pectore vulnus* at 4.4; Dido is also described as a deer shot by a hunter).[514] Vergil describes Turnus after this simile thus: "even so in Turnus' kindling soul the fury swells [*gliscens*]." Not only does this continue the fire imagery, but the word *gliscens* is noteworthy. McCallum notes that this is the only instance where Vergil uses this word in his corpus.[515] Lucretius uses it a few times in *DRN*, most notably in two amatory contexts (1.473-475 to describe Paris' love for Helen, and 4.1068-1069 to describe the insidious nature of love).[516]

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[510] 1997: 181-182.
[511] *Aen*. 4.532: *saevit amor, magnoque* ***irarum fluctuat*** *aestu* ("her love, swelling up, surges afresh, as she heaves with a mighty tide of passion"). *DRN* 3.298: *nec capere* ***irarum fluctus*** *in pectore possunt* ("nor can he find room in his heart for the storm of passion").
[512] McCallum, 2023: 126.
[513] Gale, 1997: 192, note 8. I agree with Gale: "sexual desire and battle-lust are always closely associated in Virgil, and sometimes barely distinguishable [Gale refers to Nisus and Euryalus' story, Turnus being enflamed for battle by Lavinia's blush, and *Ecl*. 10.44] … all such violent emotions are regarded as *furores*, and have similarly destructive effects on the individual and society."
[514] McCallum, 2023: 128-130. McCallum lists a few more linguistic parallels not included here.
[515] McCallum, 2023: 131.
[516] McCallum, 2023: 131.

Another way that Turnus recalls Dido is in the phrase *aegrescitque medendo* ("[Turnus' violence] grows sick through remedying," 12.46), used to describe Turnus growing angry when Latinus tries to calm him. It echoes both a Lucretian phrase describing the insidious nature of love (*inveterascit alendo*, "it starts to grow inveterate through nourishing"), and one in the Dido episode describing the moment she first falls in love (*ardescitque tuendo*, "she starts to burn through gazing").[517] This construction ("inchoative verb with an ablative gerund") rarely appears in the *Aeneid* and has a certain jingle to it, which mindful readers would notice.[518] As mentioned before, likening Turnus to Dido conveys the destructive nature of various passions – not just lovesickness.

It is also important to address Turnus' behaviour after he sees Lavinia's blush. At 12.70-71, he resembles Dido in a couple ways:

> illum turbat amor **figit**que in virgine **vultus**; 70
> **ardet** in arma magis paucisque adfatur Amatam
> *Aen*. 12.70-71
> Love throws Turnus into turmoil, and he **fastens** his gaze upon the maid [literally her face]; then, **fired** yet more for the fray, he briefly addresses Amata

Vergil describes Turnus as fixing on the face of his beloved; this recalls Dido having Aeneas' face fixed in her mind at the beginning of Book 4 (*haerent **infixi** pectore **vultus** | verbaque*). And, again, Vergil uses fire imagery here (*ardet*).

Turnus' announcement that he will fight Aeneas (after he is unmoved by Amata's pleas for him to stay out of danger) uses erotic language a few times. His wish to meet Aeneas when dawn reddens the sky echoes Lavinia's blush.[519] As well, McCallum notes a couple instances of

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[517] Dyson, 1996: 209, citing *DRN* 4.1068 and *Aen*. 1.713. McCallum adds that this phrase about Turnus also "mimics the sound of [Lucretius'] *aerumna gravescit* ("the tribulation grows heavier") [at *DRN* 4.1069]" (2023: 140).
[518] Dyson, 1996: 209.
[519] McCallum, 2023: 156-157. Turnus: *rubebit* (12.77); Lavinia: *rubor* (12.66), *rubent* (12.68).

the word *amor* appearing between two words: e.g. *Turno mora liber**a mor**tis* ("Turnus is not free to delay his death") at 12.74. Gillis notes the phallic language at 12.93-94, when Turnus seizes his spear; Turnus also verbally attacks Aeneas' sexual potency and virility at 12.97-100.[520]

Shortly after this, Vergil compares Turnus to a bull. This passage copies two lines and paraphrases another from the bull passage in the *Georgics*. This bull simile also uses fire imagery to convey Turnus' passion:

> his agitur **furiis**, totoque **ardentis** ab ore
> scintillae absistunt, oculis micat acribus **ignis**,
> mugitus veluti cum prima in proelia taurus
> terrificos ciet atque irasci in cornua temptat
> arboris obnixus trunco, ventosque lacessit 105
> ictibus aut sparsa ad pugnam proludit harena.
> *Aen*. 12.101-106
> Such is the **frenzy** driving him: from all his face shoot **fiery** sparks; his eager eyes flash **flame**—even as a bull, before the battle begins, raises a fearful bellowing, and, as he tries to throw wrath into his horns, charges a tree's trunk; he lashes the winds with his blows, and paws the sand in prelude for the fray.
>
> et temptat sese atque irasci in cornua discit
> arboris obnixus trunco, ventosque lacessit
> ictibus, et sparsa ad pugnam proludit harena.
> *G*. 3.232-234
> Anon he tests himself, and, learning to throw wrath into his horns, charges a tree's trunk; he lashes the winds with blows, and paws the sand in prelude for the fray.

Turnus and Aeneas are also compared to bulls fighting at the end of Book 12. This pervasive bull imagery prompts the reader to remember the message in the *Georgics* – i.e. that erotic desire leads to violent conflict and ultimately weakens strong animals … but succumbing is inevitable.

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[520] Gillis, 1983: 89. 12.93-94: "he seizes with strong hand his mighty spear, spoil of Auruncan Actor, and shakes it quivering" (*validam vi corripit hastam, | Actoris Aurunci spolium, quassatque trementem*). See also 12.97-100: "'Grant me to lay low the body of the Phrygian eunuch, with strong hand to tear and rend away his corslet, and to defile in dust his locks, crisped with heated iron and drenched in myrrh'" ("… *da sternere corpus | loricamque manu valida lacerare revulsam | semiviri Phrygis et foedare in pulvere crinis | vibratos calido ferro murraque madentis*").

Additionally, Turnus resembles Dido later when he is preparing to fight at 12.221: *tabentesque genae et iuvenali in corpore pallor* ("his wasted cheeks and by the pallor of his youthful frame"). His pallor recalls Dido about to die (4.449, 4.644); his wasted cheeks recall Dido in the Underworld (6.442).[521]

The next subsection discusses Jupiter's Junonian passion, and his (perhaps unexpected) closeness with chthonic deities, i.e. the Furies. It is worth noting that after Jupiter releases these Furies, Turnus being attacked by one resembles Dido. This Fury "shrink[s] to the shape of that small bird which often, perched at night on tombs or deserted roofs, sings her late, ill-omened song among the shadows" (12.862-864). This recalls Dido being tormented by the owl and voices from her husband's tomb (4.452f.).[522] Dido and Turnus are both tormented by Furies shortly before their deaths.[523] As well, Williams notes that Juturna's despairing words at the sight of the Fury resemble multiple phrases from Anna and Dido; particularly striking is the repetition of line 4.673 at 12.871: *unguibus ora soror foedans et pectora pugnis* ("the sister tearing her face with her nails, and beating her breast with her fists").[524]

Clearly, there are many moments near the end of the poem where Turnus resembles Dido; these moments often echo Lucretius, as well. As mentioned earlier, Turnus resembling Dido conveys a few things. It conveys that Dido-like passion is not limited to lovesickness – it can also be found in martial contexts. This conveys that martial action carried out in this way could yield similar results to Dido's passion-driven behaviour. The martial and the erotic are far from separate – and this means that the martial, if carried out in a Dido-like way, can be doomed to fail. Soon I discuss how Aeneas resembles Dido in the last scene, which calls into question his

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[521] McCallum, 2023: 158.
[522] Williams, 1973: 499, 501.
[523] O'Hara, 2011: 70.
[524] 1973: 499, 501, 502.

success. As well, of course, it is troubling to see intense passion arising in Turnus, an Italian, an ancestor of the Roman people. And lastly, Vergil setting up Turnus as this extremely passionate, Dido-like figure sets up the expectation that he will fail, and Aeneas, his rival, will unambiguously triumph. Aeneas does triumph, but not without some moral ambiguity. Aeneas' succumbing to a Dido- and Turnus-like passion at the end is especially impactful, with this setup fresh in the reader's mind.

Jupiter's Fury

Jupiter and Juno come to a compromise about the war near the end of Book 12 (12.791-860). Jupiter commands her to cease from influencing the war. She agrees, with certain conditions: the Italians keep their name, language and clothing; that they be part of the Roman stock; and that Troy, and its name, dies (12.823-828). Jupiter happily agrees to this, praising her wrath which is akin to his (12.834-840). Then Jupiter releases two Furies, who regularly sit by his throne, into the battle (845-854).

Here, even Jupiter himself – the one who orchestrated the plan for Rome's origins – embodies the passionate, chthonic side of the binary. Although it is a short passage, it is perhaps the most foreboding one, and the one which most strongly challenges the notion of this binary. For the whole poem the reader has been led to believe that Jupiter is a rational force, which Juno and other feminine, chthonic characters oppose. But here he likens himself to her ("'You are Jove's true sister, and Saturn's other child: such waves of wrath surge deep within your breast!'" 12.830-831), admitting that he experiences violent passion.[525] Jupiter also consorts with chthonic beings (Furies) ("These [the Furies] attend by the throne of Jove and on the threshold of that

[525] *es germana Iovis Saturnique altera proles, | irarum tantos volvis sub pectore fluctus*

grim [*saevi*] monarch" 12.849-850);[526] up until now, it seemed that that was solely Juno's territory. One more thing that I would like to note is the phrase *irarum … fluctus*, used at 12.831 to describe the anger of Juno and Jupiter. Recall its use in Lucretius' angry lion metaphor and in Dido.[527] Again, this prompts Epicurean judgement. In sum, if Jupiter himself is acting in this way, it destabilizes the whole notion that this is a story about one side of the binary triumphing over the other – this shows that no one is immune to passion.

Aeneas Gives in to Passion and Kills Turnus

The *Aeneid* ends with Aeneas killing Turnus. The battle is going badly for the Italians and Turnus considers fleeing (12.631-649). Williams notes that the ending of his deliberative speech loosely resembles Dido's last words.[528] His companion, Saces, reminds him that all are counting on him, and reports multiple negative developments, including Amata's suicide (12.650-664). Turnus decides to engage Aeneas in single combat to decide the outcome of the war, knowing that he himself will die (12.676-680, 693-695).

They fight. The pair is compared to two bulls fighting at 12.715-722.This resembles the bull passage at *Georgics* 3.219-23, as well as the one at *Aen*. 12.101-106:

pascitur in magna Sila formosa iuvenca:
illi alternantes multa vi proelia miscent 220
vulneribus crebris, lavit ater corpora sanguis,
versaque in obnixos urgentur cornua vasto
cum gemitu; reboant silvaeque et longus Olympus.
G. 3.219-223
She is grazing in Sila's great forest, a lovely heifer: the bulls in alternate onset join battle with mighty force; many a wound they deal, black gore bathes their frames, amid mighty

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[526] McCallum observes that these Furies resemble Allecto – this is even more disconcerting, since we have already seen her passionate, destructive nature (2023: 166).
[527] See page 141-142 of this chapter.
[528] 1973: 481. Turnus: "'I will descend to you a soul stainless and innocent of that reproach, never unworthy of my mighty forebears'" (*sancta atque istius ad vos anima inscia culpae | descendam magnorum haud umquam indignus avorum*, 12.648-649); Dido: "'and now in majesty my shade shall pass beneath the earth'" (*et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago,* 4.654). Tarrant notes other minor parallels to Dido in Turnus' speech (2012: 250-251, 255).

bellowing the levelled horns are driven against the butting foe; the woods and the sky, from end to end, re-echo.

ac velut ingenti Sila summove Taburno 715
cum duo conversis inimica in proelia tauri
frontibus incurrunt, pavidi cessere magistri,
stat pecus omne metu mutum, mussantque iuvencae
quis nemori imperitet, quem tota armenta sequantur;
illi inter sese multa vi vulnera miscent 720
cornuaque obnixi infigunt et sanguine largo
colla armosque lavant, gemitu nemus omne remugit
Aen. 12.715-722
And as in mighty Sila or on Taburnus' height, when two bulls charge, brow to brow, in mortal battle, in terror the keepers fall back, the whole herd stands mute with dread, and the heifers dumbly wait to see who will be lord of the forest, whom all the herds will follow; with mighty force they deal mutual wounds, gore with butting horns, and bathe neck and shoulders in streaming blood; all the woodland re-echoes with their bellowing

Gale notes that Aeneas is rarely compared to predatory animals, while Turnus often is; this matches the latter's more aggressive, animalistic nature and the former's "Roman ideal of fighting 'for the sake of peace.'"[529] In this final duel, however, the similes show that Aeneas is just as aggressive as Turnus, if not more.[530] Afterwards, Aeneas is compared to a hunter hound pursuing a deer (Turnus), which recalls the simile of Aeneas-as-hunter shooting a Dido-as-deer, likening Turnus to Dido yet again (12.749-755).[531] I agree with Gale that these animal similes "prepare us for the ambiguity of the ending, where it is Aeneas, not Turnus, who is on fire with anger and 'savage grief.'"[532] Since the bulls passage in the *Georgics* condemns erotic desire and civil war, and Aeneas-as-bull (*and* as a man) is engaging in both, it conveys that Aeneas' actions should be condemned.

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[529] Gale, 1997: 183.
[530] Gale, 1997: 184.
[531] Williams, 1973: 490-491.
[532] Gale, 1997: 185.

The battle continues and the compromise between Juno and Jupiter takes place. Then, Turnus, compared to a sleeping man, loses focus:

> ac velut in somnis, oculos ubi languida pressit
> nocte quies, nequiquam avidos extendere cursus
> velle videmur et in mediis conatibus aegri 910
> succidimus; non lingua valet, non corpore notae
> sufficiunt vires nec vox aut verba sequuntur:
> sic Turno, quacumque viam virtute petivit,
> successum dea dira negat.
> *Aen*. 12.908-914
> And as in dreams, when languorous sleep has weighed down our eyes at night, we seem to strive in vain to press on our eager course, and in mid effort collapse helpless: our tongue lacks power, our wonted strength fails our limbs, and neither voice nor words will come: so to Turnus, however bravely he sought to win his way, the dread goddess denies fulfilment.

This recalls Lucretian descriptions of sleep; remember also how the Lucretian lover is compared to someone sleeping/dreaming, and Dido in love struggled with dreams/illusions.[533] Recall how Turnus resembled the deluded Lucretian lover when he was pursuing Aeneas' phantom; here, as Draper notes, Aeneas is no longer a phantom but Turnus still resembles the Lucretian lover. As well, Draper observes that in the phantom scene Turnus mockingly offers his right hand to phantom-Aeneas, then in this scene he does so in earnest.[534] Additionally, *non lingua valet* ("our tongue lacks power") at 12.911 is "often a symptom of love-sickness."[535] This subtly likens Turnus yet again to a deluded lover. It also links Turnus to Dido again, since she also suffered from dreams of a lonely and difficult path.[536] Finally, I note that Tarrant suggests that this simile of the man dreaming "[appeals] to his reader on the basis of shared experience," which casts

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[533] Tarrant notes particular resemblance to *DRN* 4.455-457 (2012: 325). Draper adds that there is also a parallel between this part of the *Aeneid* and *DRN* 4.1097-1101, where Lucretius gives a simile comparing an obsessed lover to a thirsty person in a dream (2022: 700). See Tarrant 324-326 for the many Lucretian echoes in *Aen*. 12.908-912.
[534] Draper, 2022: 701.
[535] Tarrant, 2012: 325.
[536] Williams, 1973: 505; Fratantuono and Smith, 2022: 672.

Turnus in a sympathetic light.[537] Humanizing the enemy here makes the shock at the end of Aeneas' killing more impactful.

Aeneas wounds Turnus' thigh with his spear (12.919-927). Turnus lowers his gaze and extends his right hand (12.930-931); recall Dido's downcast gaze (1.561) and invocation of the right hand, i.e. the agreement (4.314). Turnus admits defeat (12.931-938). While he does not beg for his life – indeed, he even tells Aeneas that he deserves death, he is not asking for mercy, and he urges Aeneas to use this chance [i.e. to strike him down] – he is clearly yielding.[538] Aeneas hesitates, feeling moved to show mercy, until he sees that Turnus is wearing Pallas' sword belt:

> et iam iamque magis cunctantem flectere sermo 940
> coeperat, infelix umero cum apparuit alto
> balteus et notis fulserunt cingula bullis
> Pallantis pueri, victum quem vulnere Turnus
> straverat atque umeris inimicum insigne gerebat.
> ille, oculis postquam saevi monumenta doloris 945
> exuviasque hausit, furiis accensus et ira
> terribilis
> *Aen*. 12.940-947
> and now, as he paused, these words began to sway him more and more, when high on the shoulder the luckless baldric met his gaze, and the belt flashed with its well-known studs—the belt of young Pallas, whom Turnus had wounded and stretched vanquished on the earth, and now he wore on his shoulders his foeman's fatal emblem. Aeneas, as soon as his eyes drank in the trophy, that memorial of cruel grief, ablaze with fury and terrible in his wrath

The design on the sword belt depicts the myth of the Danaids. I discuss the significance of this below.

Digression on the Danaids

537 2012: 325.
538 *equidem merui nec deprecor inquit; | utere sorte tua* … (12.931-932).

When Turnus kills Pallas and takes his sword belt, Vergil provides a short ekphrasis of the engraving on it:

> … rapiens immania pondera baltei
> impressumque nefas: una sub nocte iugali
> caesa manus iuvenum foede thalamique cruenti,
> quae Clonus Eurytides multo caelaverat auro
> 10.497-499
> … [Turnus] tearing away the belt's huge weight and the story of the crime engraved on it—the youthful band foully slain on one nuptial night, and the chambers drenched with blood[539]—which Clonus, son of Eurytus, had richly chased in gold.

The belt being heavy with literal weight and with the weight of a crime (*nefas*) makes it an ominous object. Turnus "tearing"/seizing the belt, and the story of the crime, conveys that he is also taking with him the crime (*nefas*), i.e. he has done the same crime as the Danaids, metaphorically.[540] Vergil's use of zeugma here (a literary device where one word applies to two other words in different senses) draws attention to this part: Turnus literally takes the weight of the belt, and with that, he figuratively takes on the crime it depicts. Thus, his taking of the belt solidifies his engagement in a crime similar to that of the Danaids.

Later, the same crime will be done to him. Although Vergil never says it explicitly, one might imagine that Aeneas too will "tear away the belt's huge weight and the story of the crime engraved on it" – Aeneas will have done the same crime to Turnus, and taken on the same burden of the crime.[541] This is ominous because it implies that Aeneas in the future may have his fortune

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[539] The myth of the Danaids goes as follows. The Danaids were 50 daughters of Danaus. They were forced to marry the 50 sons of Danaus' brother, Aegyptus, all on the same night. Because of enmity with Aegyptus, Danaus gave his daughters daggers, with which 49 of them killed their husbands on their wedding night (Apollodorus, *The Library* 2.1).

[540] Gale suggests that a reader would note the word *nefas* (crime) which Vergil uses to condemn the Danaids, and since it is in such close proximity to Turnus killing Pallas, the reader would apply this condemnation to Turnus as well (1997: 188-189). Similarly, Mitchell notes that Vergil's description of the Danaids design only refers to it as a crime – he does not tell any more of the myth than that. This emphasizes the conflation of defloration and murder, present in the myth, in Turnus killing Pallas, and in Aeneas killing Turnus (1991: 228).

[541] Gale says that just as it was problematic for Turnus to kill Pallas with the Danaid associations looming, so too is it problematic that Aeneas does the same thing in killing Turnus. In this final scene of the poem, one will associate Aeneas with the Danaids, and therefore it follows that his action is a *nefas* as was theirs (1997: 188-189). To further

reversed the way Turnus had.[542] Additionally, the myth loosely conveys the idea of civil war, since it is wives/cousins killing their husbands/cousins.[543] This reinforces that the war in Italy is a civil war, with all the associated negative connotations. Another element that condemns the Danaids, and by extension the characters whose actions resemble them, is the use of the word *foede* ("foully") at 10.498; Lucretius also uses this word at *DRN* 1.62, in the well-known passage condemning the sacrifice of Iphigenia.[544] This further encourages the reader to condemn the violence done. Also noteworthy is the use of *pondera*, which means "testicles" elsewhere in Roman literature, as noted by Gillis; this means that Turnus, in taking the *pondera* of the belt from Pallas, symbolically castrates him.[545] I add that Aeneas, who presumably takes the belt from Turnus after killing him, also castrates him; this further feminizes Turnus and reinforces that the final action of the poem is a symbolic act of sexual violence.

Not only does the myth of the Danaids show a mixture of the erotic with the martial, but it specifically depicts a bloody wedding. This recalls all the metaphorically violent weddings in this poem – Dido's metaphorical wedding to Aeneas when she takes her life, Pallas' funeral as a metaphorical wedding to Aeneas, and Turnus' death serving as a metaphorical wedding between Aeneas and all the Italians.[546]

Vergil clearly condemns the Danaids and anyone who acts like them in his description of the sword-belt, as well as in his narratorial interjection after Turnus kills Pallas. When Aeneas

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condemn Turnus, this description of the sword belt is immediately followed by a narrator's interjection, foretelling that Turnus will regret taking the spoils (10.500-505).

[542] Putnam notes that Pallas also follows this pattern – before he died, he had "an *aristeia* with some ugly moments," where he was like a Danaid, and then his position was reversed when Turnus killed him (1994: 176).

[543] Putnam, 1994: 174.

[544] Putnam, 1994: 173, note 3.

[545] 1983: 70-71.

[546] Dido's death as metaphorical marriage: Gillis, 1983: 37-52, especially 44f. Pallas' funeral as metaphorical marriage: Putnam, 1985: 13. Turnus' death as metaphorical marriage: Mitchell, 1991: 234.

acts like the Danaids at the end of the poem, one would remember these previous condemnations; this further taints Aeneas' actions.

Returning to Aeneas Killing Turnus

Aeneas killing Turnus has been a subject of much scholarly debate, as discussed in the introductory chapter.[547] In essence, some view Aeneas' killing of Turnus as troubling and unjustified, while others do not. I agree with the former group. I am troubled both by the action (i.e. the killing itself) and the manner in which Aeneas carries it out; I find the latter more troubling than the former.[548]

Firstly I discuss why killing Turnus, regardless of manner, is troubling. Putnam notes that Anchises calls Aeneas *Romane* (the vocative form of *Romanus*, "Roman") at 6.851, as he lays out the Roman character and modus operandi (i.e. to rule the world, spare the vanquished, etc.). In calling him this, he is telling Aeneas what a Roman ought to be, and putting Aeneas in the role of exemplum of that type of behaviour.[549] Tarrant argues that ideals need not always be lived up to,[550] but to that I say that this is the final scene in a ktistic poem about Rome – it *is* the place to judge the hero's Roman-ness. As well, I disagree with Gross when he says that Rome has no personal significance to Aeneas and the only thing left to him of personal significance is avenging Pallas.[551] Yes, he loses basically everyone to whom he has a close bond (Creusa, Anchises, Dido, Pallas). Yet his son – his successor – still survives. Because of this, Aeneas still

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[547] There would not have been a unified Roman reaction to this scene; e.g. Servius defends Aeneas and Lactantius condemns him (Tarrant, 2012: 22-23).
[548] Tarrant (2012: 24), Horsfall (1995: 216), and Putnam (1995: 155, 159; see also 1990: 15.) also argue that the manner in which Aeneas kills Turnus is troubling. See Carstairs-McCarthy for a sympathetic reading of Aeneas' actions, focusing on the admirable *pietas* of his action, which resembles Nisus (2018, especially 209-210).
[549] Putnam, 1994: 180. this "grants [Aeneas] authority as standard for Roman behaviour now and in the future. [Aeneas] must remember to impose a custom for peace, which is to say to confirm the permanence of civil tranquility by making its regularity a force in life."
[550] 2012: 18-19.
[551] Gross, 2004: 152-154.

has a personal stake in Rome's future. As well, if one is arguing that Aeneas does right by the dead (i.e. Pallas) by killing Turnus, it is worth questioning whether it is not also important to do right by the late Anchises by following what he had set out for him. Aeneas chooses Pallas over Anchises, and does so in a fit of passion, which drives home that he chooses the personal/erotic over the collective/familial – as Dido had. And I agree with Williams, who argues that, in multiple instances, Vergil sets up the expectation that Aeneas will show mercy – this makes it even more impactful when he does not.[552] For example, at 938, Turnus urges Aeneas to "go no further in hatred" (*ulterius ne tende odiis*) and says that Aeneas has already achieved all his goals; this implies that killing Turnus would be gratuitous.[553]

I acknowledge the merit of Tarrant's points, that one could justify the action of killing Turnus in a few ways: he had consented to the duel, killing him would arguably avenge Pallas and fulfill the promise to Evander,[554] and there is a literary precedent for the hero to kill enemy suitors (i.e. in the *Odyssey*).[555] But none of Tarrant's points can cancel out the troubling manner in which Aeneas carries out the killing. If Aeneas had regulated his emotions after seeing the sword belt and had killed Turnus with a calm sense of duty, perhaps I could be persuaded that the action was unproblematic. Below, I discuss how Aeneas' emotional state in moments leading up to the killing are problematic in light of this thesis' earlier assertions.

The passage describing Aeneas' recognition of the sword-belt and decision to kill Turnus is rich with echoes of Aeneas' female/feminized opponents, i.e. Dido, Juno, Amata, and

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[552] 1973: 503, 509, treating lines 933, 938, and 938-9.
[553] Williams, 1973: 507.
[554] Zanker argues that nothing in Aeneas' promise to Evander required him to kill Turnus; he could have spared Turnus and still fulfilled the promise (2023: 152, note 114).
[555] 2012: 17-18.

Turnus.[556] Broadly speaking, he acts with violent passion stemming from a personal hurt that is erotic in nature.[557] Below, I provide a close reading of this scene.

> ille, oculis postquam **saevi** monumenta **doloris** 945
> exuviasque hausit, **furiis accensus** et **ira**
> **terribilis**: "tune hinc spoliis indute meorum
> eripiare mihi? Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas
> immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit."
> hoc dicens ferrum adverso sub pectore condit 950
> fervidus; …
> *Aen*. 12.945-951
> Aeneas, as soon as his eyes drank in the trophy, that memorial of **cruel grief**, **ablaze with fury** and **terrible in his wrath**: "Clad in the spoils of one of mine, are you to be snatched from my hands? Pallas it is, Pallas who sacrifices you with this stroke, and takes retribution from your guilty blood!" So saying, in burning rage he buries his sword full in Turnus' breast. …

Juno is *saevae* ("cruel") and has *iram* ("anger, wrath") (1.4), she is *dolens* ("grieving") (1.9), and she experiences *irarum saevique dolores* ("wrath and her bitter sorrows") (1.25), and these make her *accensa* ("enflamed") (1.29); Amata and the other Italian women are also *furiis accensas* ("enflamed with fury") (7.392); Dido is *furiis incensa* ("enflamed with fury") (4.376).[558] Tarrant provides other instances where Vergil uses phrases like *furiis accensus* and *ira terribilis* ("terrible anger/wrath"), arguing that these phrases indicate that a character is acting irrationally and out of control; Aeneas himself even admits this when he describes his actions at

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[556] Putnam 1994: 187. Putnam in an earlier article says that readers would expect Aeneas here to act like Neptune from the beginning of the poem (i.e. as a rational, calming statesman), not Juno from the beginning (someone raging because of a personal hurt with an erotic dimension) (1985: 2-3). See also Gale who argues that Aeneas resembles Turnus in this last scene (1997: 185).

[557] Putnam observes that Aeneas acts especially like Juno here: "acting out of deep personal grief, caused by deprivation, and … this drives him, as it does Juno, to a delirium of revenge" (1985: 15); and "the characters who appear as polar opposites [(Aeneas and Juno)] at the start of the poem have, by the end, become equivalents" (1985: 18).

[558] Putnam 1994: 187. Mentions of *ira* ("anger") prompt some to claim that Aeneas killed Turnus while feeling just anger ('just' in the sense of 'justified,' as opposed to 'solely'). Most Roman philosophies do condone just anger, Epicureanism included (Galinsky, 1988: 328-340; Tarrant, 2012: 18-19). I do not deem Aeneas killing Turnus a depiction of just anger; Aeneas so clearly embodies Didonian passion in this final scene, which is far from just anger. This Didonian passion was so clearly condemned earlier in the poem – I doubt it could be seen as a positive thing in this scene.

Troy in Book 2 in this language.[559] The combination of *monumenta* ("reminders") and *exuviae* ("spoils") is rare in Vergil – Putnam says that he only combines them here and at 4.495-498. Vergil uses this combination of words to show Aeneas' moment of recognition with the sword-belt; Dido says it when ordering Anna to make a pyre with Aeneas' belongings on it, so she can destroy the reminders of him. Reminders and spoils end up being deadly. Dido, remembering Aeneas, kills herself with his sword; Aeneas, remembering Pallas, kills Turnus because of the spoils of Pallas. Additionally, *haurire oculis* ("to drink in with the eyes") is used both here and in the Dido episode.[560] Aeneas' eyes drink in the sword-belt (12.945-946); Dido hopes that Aeneas will drink in with his eyes the sight of her flaming pyre (4.661-662).[561] So, Aeneas drinks in her fire (i.e. her curse) indirectly when he drinks in Pallas' sword-belt.[562] Recall also how Dido drank deep draughts of love (*longumque bibebat amorem*), and how Lucretius uses the verb *bibere* ("to drink") to describe someone consuming *simulacra* (*DRN* 4.1094-1104).[563] This conveys that Aeneas killing Turnus because he drank in the sight of Pallas' sword-belt is something akin to the Lucretian lover fruitlessly and to his own detriment consuming *simulacra*.

Tarrant notes language conveying Aeneas' intense emotions, used both by the narrator (descriptors such as *furiis accensus* ("ablaze with fury") and *ira terribilis* ("terrible anger")), and used when Aeneas speaks (e.g. repeating Pallas' name, using "loaded" terms such as *immolat* ("sacrifices") and *poenam … sumit* ("takes retribution")).[564] Tarrant says that Aeneas justifies killing Turnus, in his short outburst, by presenting it as both a sacrifice and retribution for a crime; he explains how these are mutually exclusive, and both problematic reasoning (basically,

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[559] Tarrant, 2012: 19-20.
[560] Putnam, 1985, 15.
[561] Putnam, 1985, 15.
[562] Putnam, 1985: 15.
[563] Draper, 2022: 686.
[564] Tarrant, 2012: 19.

there is a literary precedent for people labelling a killing as a sacrifice when it is not, and Turnus did not commit a crime). He uses this to argue that Aeneas is not thinking rationally in this moment.[565]

Turnus has been gradually feminized up until this final duel, and in the duel, he takes on the role of a woman – specifically a maiden being deflowered.[566] Aeneas penetrates Turnus in the thigh, then the chest. The former symbolizes the breaking of the hymen; the latter recalls Dido's death, which was a sort of symbolic intercourse.[567] Aeneas' action aligns him with Dido and other female characters in multiple ways; although he feminizes his enemy, he does not escape being feminized himself.

Aeneas does not have literal erotic desire for Turnus, but the description of the killing frames it as a metaphorically erotic act. Aeneas kills his rival under the influence of a passion resembling lovesickness. The act of killing Turnus symbolically solidifies Aeneas' victory and Rome's triumph … yet it is also, symbolically, a violent sexual act. Vergil framing this act of imperial success as a monstrous consummation of sexual desire taints the success, making for a troubling ending to his ktistic epic.

Dying Turnus Gets the Last Word

The poem ends with a description of Turnus' soul leaving his body:

> … ast illi solvuntur frigore membra
> vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras.
> *Aen*. 12.951-952
> His limbs grew slack and chill and with a moan his life fled resentfully to the Shades below.

[565] Tarrant, 2012: 21-22.
[566] Mitchell, 2001: 228.
[567] Mitchell, 2001: 233-234.

It is significant that Vergil chooses to end the poem with a sympathetic Turnus in the spotlight, as opposed to a triumphant Aeneas.[568] This adds to the ambiguity and feeling of unease around Aeneas' actions. This is not a straightforward story of Aeneas' triumph.

Turnus' death is similar to Dido's. Firstly, their manner of death is similar. They both die by Aeneas' sword, either directly or indirectly because of Aeneas. The language used is even similar (*sub pectore*).[569] Secondly, Vergil describes both Dido and Turnus as having unfair/untimely deaths. He does this by describing Turnus' fleeing life as *indignata* at 12.952 (his life is "resentful" to flee his body), and with Dido by specifically saying that her death is before its time (4.696-697).[570] Thirdly, descriptions of their souls leaving their bodies are similar. Lyne argues that because Turnus' death copies a line from Camilla's death, and Camilla resembles Dido in so many ways, that Turnus' death recalls Dido, too.[571] A more direct echo is noted by Tarrant, who compares Dido at 4.660 (*sic, sic iuvat ire sub umbras* – "'Thus, thus I go gladly into the dark!'") to Turnus at 12.952, which repeats the phrase *sub umbras*. As well, both have their limbs dissolved/released (12.95: *solvuntur*; 4.695: resolveret).[572] While Dyson argues that Dido's and Turnus' deaths are ultimately different because Turnus' soul puts up a fight and Dido's does not, I argue that her soul *does* put up a fight.[573] While Vergil does not explicitly describe her soul struggling, it does take a long time for her to die (4.663-705). Both Dido and Turnus, although opponents to Aeneas, are characterized by Vergil as similarly strong and sympathetic, which makes Aeneas causing their demises more troubling.

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568 Williams, 1973: 502-503.
569 Quint, 1993: 80.
570 Tarrant, 2012: 341.
571 Lyne, 1987: 136-137. 11.831=12.952: *vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras* ("and with a moan his/her life fled resentfully to the Shades below").
572 McCallum, 2023: 171-172.
573 Dyson, 1996: 218.

The final lines of Book 4 allude to *DRN*, ending the Dido episode on a Lucretian chord. While there are no direct linguistic parallels, I suggest that Lucretius' *calor ac ventus* ("heat and wind [leaving the body]"), which were present in Dido's death, are also represented in Turnus' death.[574] Turnus' limbs grow cold (12.951), therefore they have lost their heat.[575] The 'moan' of Turnus' life (*vita*) is an expulsion of air (12.952). It would be significant if readers had Lucretius in mind at the end of the poem – as much as Lucretius had had the last word in the Dido episode, it would be even more impactful if he did at the end of the poem as a whole. This would prompt Epicurean judgment about Aeneas' final action, as well as Epicurean reflection on his entire journey.

Conclusion to Section 3

In the introductory chapter, I shared some of the many interpretations which scholars have put forth about the poem's ending. I return to this concept here. What does it mean for Aeneas, that he killed Turnus the way he did? Aeneas' violent, passionate action prompts concern about whether his leadership will be successful – after all, in the Dido episode Vergil had shown the fall of a leader giving into passion, and, as shown above, Aeneas' passion resembles that of Dido and other characters who oppose Jupiter. Thus, Vergil challenges the validity of the way Aeneas carries out his imperial pursuits. As mentioned before, Vergil does not condemn *all* imperial/martial activities. I have argued that he does condemn those which are passionate and insatiable, by characterizing them as akin to lovesickness. Here, Vergil taints Aeneas' victory by likening it to a frenzied act of sexual violence.

Conclusions to Chapter Two

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[574] *DRN* 3.128-129: *est igitur calor ac ventus vitalis in ipso | corpore qui nobis moribundos deserit artus* ("it is therefore the heat and wind of life in the body itself which deserts our dying limbs").

[575] It is also significant that Turnus' coldness in death (*frigore*) contrasts with the heat he had throughout the book, and the heat which now consumes Aeneas (Tarrant, 2012: 341).

In this chapter, I have noted the many allusions to Dido, Lucretius, and the erotic more generally in the latter half of the *Aeneid*. Vergil associates these allusions with characters on both sides of the conflict; all associations are troubling. Allecto, Amata, Lavinia, and Turnus taking on Dido-like traits and being depicted in ways that mix the martial and the erotic show that these violent passions are capable of originating from the Italian people, who are the ancestors of the Romans – it is not simply the stuff of the foreign Other. As well, especially with Turnus in Book 12, Vergil sets up Aeneas' opponents as clearly acting in ways resembling Dido and Juno – i.e., frenzied, passionate, acting on personal hurts with an erotic dimension, prioritizing the personal over the collective, etc. It is set up as a story about that kind of character/people being conquered by a rational, collective-minded hero and his people. However, as seen with Ascanius, Nisus and Euryalus, Aeneas himself, and even Jupiter, the "winning" side acts on these un-Roman traits as much, if not more, than their opposition.

Aeneas, and others on the conquering side, acting on literal erotic passion and having their imperialist actions described in erotic language/imagery is also troubling.[576] I have shown that Vergil likens imperialism with lovesickness; he had condemned lovesickness in the Dido episode, so it follows that he is condemning Aeneas' imperialism as well by describing it in the language of Didonian lovesickness. The continuing Lucretian allusions also remind readers to view this condemnation through an Epicurean lens. As mentioned earlier, most Roman ideologies condemn lovesickness; most do not condemn imperialism, but Epicureanism does.

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[576] Other scholars also argue that Aeneas' actions taint his victory. A few examples follow. Mitchell emphasizes the immense and senselessly violent costs of the war in Italy ("the road to Aeneas' marriage to Lavinia has been polluted with the corpses of countless innocent victims which cast a long shadow over the joy which should surround a wedding. A symbolic marriage of violence thus appropriately undermines the empire-founding, war-based union of Aeneas and Lavinia," 1991: 235). Putnam argues that "the moment when empire is consolidated in the defeat of Turnus, Aeneas suffers his greatest loss" (1995: 168). He explains that Aeneas throughout the poem goes from victim of others' vendettas to perpetrator of his own; he lacks compassion at the end, even though he could only achieve his success because others were compassionate towards him (1995: 168-169). Draper argues that both Turnus' and Aeneas' passion in battle (which resembles erotic passion) are fruitless, and deluded (2022: 701-703).

Vergil, by including these Lucretian allusions, clearly likens and condemns both lovesickness and imperialism. Imperialism, at least the way Aeneas is doing it, is akin to a deluded, insatiable desire which will ultimately leads to one's own destruction. We do not see Aeneas' destruction here, but the threat looms that this will happen if he continues to succumb to his passion.

Obviously, Rome was established and had conquered many peoples by the time Vergil was writing the *Aeneid*. But Vergil writing the story of Rome's origins in this way – i.e. showing the constant inevitability of succumbing to passion, and the eroticism woven into the imperialist history of Rome – prompts reflection about what good leadership is, what roles passion and philosophy play, and whether current leaders who are expanding Rome's territory are acting on passion akin to lovesickness, and are therefore at risk of bringing themselves and their people to ruin.

Conclusion

This thesis follows in the footsteps of scholars who interpret Vergil's *Aeneid* using a philosophical lens – specifically, an Epicurean one. I argue that the *Aeneid* challenges the nobility of Rome's imperialism by comparing the proto-Romans' imperial activities to succumbing to erotic passion. Vergil condemns succumbing to erotic passion early in the epic, using Lucretian language and concepts. Therefore, echoes of Lucretius, the Dido episode, and the erotic in general, taint anything the author associates with them – even if those things are the martial/imperial pursuits carried out by the proto-Romans in service of bringing about Rome's dominion. It makes sense that Vergil draws on Epicureanism to do this (i.e. to condemn succumbing to erotic passion, then taint by association the Trojans' imperial activities). While most Roman ideologies (Epicureanism obviously included) condemn succumbing to lovesickness, Epicureanism is one of the few that also does not align with Rome's imperial project.

It has long been acknowledged that Vergil alludes to Epicureanism, particularly Lucretius' *DRN*, in the *Aeneid*. I assert that Vergil engages with Lucretius more deeply than it may appear at first glance. Chapter 1 focuses on the Dido episode, where the lovesick Dido serves as a cautionary tale against succumbing to passion (in her case, erotic passion). Chapter 2 focuses on the latter half of the *Aeneid*, where the Trojans carry out martial/imperial activities which resemble succumbing to erotic passion.

Chapter 1 provides close readings of Lucretian allusions in the Dido episode which relate to erotic passion. In Section 1 I note the Lucretian allusions early in the episode, such as Dido's opening lines, to argue that Vergil characterizes Dido as a capable, Epicurean-coded leader at the poem's beginning. Section 2 argues that Dido falls from her Epicureanism – she

programmatically rejects the philosophy at the banquet welcoming the Trojans, when she asks to hear Aeneas' heroic epic tale directly following her bard's *DRN*-like song. Section 3 discusses the many examples of Dido suffering from lovesickness for Aeneas – specifically lovesickness described using Lucretian language and concepts, mostly taken from Lucretius' diatribe against love. Therefore, here, Vergil engages with Lucretius to agree with him. I also show how Dido, once she stops adhering to Epicureanism, also stops being a capable leader. I argue that Vergil is subtly showing that these two identities can coexist (i.e. Epicurean and capable leader). Section 4 argues that Dido's death and the lead-up to her death contain Lucretian elements which continue to agree with *DRN*'s messages. In sum, the Dido episode is a story of a capable Epicurean-coded leader rejecting the philosophy, suffering from Lucretian consequences, and dying under circumstances which align with, but are far severer than, those which Lucretius attributes to those who succumb to erotic passion.

Chapter 2 notes the echoes of Dido, Lucretius, and the erotic in scenes where the Trojans are carrying out their imperial activities. I also discuss such echoes in the Trojans' opponents, the native Italians. These are relevant to my arguments because (1) they give the reader pause, because it is alarming that chaotic, destructive passions can exist in a people who are also ancestors of Rome, and (2) Vergil initially sets up that it will be a straightforward story about the rational Trojans triumphing over the passionate Italians, then switches the narrative – we see that neither side is immune to passion. Section 1 discusses the oddly erotic-coded beginnings of the war. These descriptions of the war's beginnings often allude to Dido and Lucretius. Section 2 discusses two pairs of warrior lovers on the Trojan side, who succumb to lovesickness to the detriment of themselves and their people, and whose martial activities are sometimes described using erotic language and imagery. These lovers' feelings, and language used to describe their

martial activities, often allude to Dido and Lucretius. Section 3 focuses on Aeneas and Turnus. Turnus resembles Dido in many ways, conveying that being one's rival in battle is just as destructive to someone as being the object of their affection. Additionally, the poem ends with Aeneas killing Turnus, which is a metaphorical act of succumbing to erotic passion and doing sexual violence. If one has been convinced by the assertions I have made previously, one must interpret this last scene as damning to Aeneas and his imperial pursuits.

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