Her dancers dancing on the banks of Eurotas or along the slopes of Cynthus, with a thousand mountain nymphs following in bands on this side and on that; she is taller than all other goddesses, as with her quiver slung from her shoulder she steps on her way, and a joy beyond words steals into Latona's heart. Like her was Dido, and like her she walked happily with the throng around her, intent on hastening the work for her future realm. And then facing the Goddess's doorway, under her temple dome, with her armed guards about her, she took her seat in the center on a raised throne.

L.494:

Haec dum Dardani Aeneae miranda videntur,
Dum stupte obtutuoque haeret defluxus in uno,
Regina ad templum forma pulcherrima Dido
Incessit magna iuvenum stipante caterva,
Qualis in Eurotas ripis aut per iuga Cynthia
Exercet Diana choros, quam mille secutae
Hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades, illa pharetram
Fert umero gradiensque deas supereminet omnis,
Latonae tacitum pertemptant gaudia pectus:
Talis erat Dido, talum se laeta ferebat
Per medios instans operi reguisque futuris.
Tum foribus divae media testudine templi
Saepta armis solioque alte subnixa resedit.

The dark drama of Dido begins with a happy scene. This contrast according to the rules of classical composition adds emphasis to the tragic aspect of the poem. In the mind of the reader Dido's joy contrasts with her subsequent sorrow, her constant interest in the growth of Carthage with that city's destruction. Her destiny, like that of Sophocles' Oedipus, is accomplished in a tragic reversal. At the same time the brilliant opening scene indicates an important start in the same way a clear full melody would. Vergil knew how to heighten the beginning and end of a sequence of action through imagery and how thereby to increase the inner movement.

DIDO

As Aeneas the Dardan looked in wonder at these pictures of Troy, rapt and intent in concentration, for he had eyes only for them, the queen herself, Dido, in all her beauty, walked to the temple in state, closely attended by a numerous, youthful retinue. She was like Diana when she keeps...
He has been criticized, however, for transferring the simile of Artemis’ joyous hunt from Homer’s dance of Nausicaa with her companions (Ody. 6.102 ff.) to Dido’s stately entrance. Probus, to whom we owe so much in the transmission of Latin literature, is the first in the circle of critics: “I remember hearing from Valerius Probus’ pupils,” says Gellius (N.A. 9.9.12), “that he used to say how Vergil had nowhere been more infelicitous than when he transferred the charming verses written about Nausicaa by Homer. In the first place, Homer had fittingly and properly compared Nausicaa, playing with friends, to Diana, hunting with rural divinities on mountain ridges. Vergil’s treatment simply was not fitting because the simile, conceived from Diana’s sporting and hunting, could not be applied to Dido as she proceeded in pomp and festive attire through the middle of the city. Second, Homer had spoken clearly and openly of Diana’s sporting pleasures, while Vergil, without mentioning the hunt, placed the quiver on Diana’s shoulder as if it were a piece of baggage or a burden. Probus was particularly puzzled that Homer’s Leto was both mentally and spiritually genuinely joyful—for this is the meaning of γέγονε δι’ τη φρένα Λητώ. Vergil, on the other hand, in imitating this, represented her joy as sluggish and superficial, and in a way, half-hearted. What else could ‘peremptrant’ mean? And worst of all, Vergil had skipped the line, ‘It is easy to recognize her though all of them are beautiful,’ when there is no greater praise of beauty than to say that among beauties she was more beautiful.”

The sensitive art critic, Sainte-Beuve, has adopted the essentials of this evaluation in his Etude sur Virgile (p. 292). As qualities of the Vergilian imitation, he praises only the rhythm and the splendor of the language. Heinze, too (p. 120, no. 1), following Ribbeck (Prolegomena zur Vergiulausgabe, p. 143) and Georgii (Die antike Aneiskritik aus den Scholien und anderen Quellen, Stuttgart, 1891, p. 44), approves Probus’ criticism. Cartault, who joins Sainte-Beuve, judges even more severely: “Quite certainly there is nothing in common between the dance of Diana and the attitude of Dido as she organizes her empire. In fact the comparison is inappropriate.” (A. Cartault, L’art de Virgile dans l’Enéide, Paris, 1926, p. 123). Yet Servius had already demurred: “Many who find fault with the simile do so because they are ignorant of the fact that chosen examples, parables, and similes do not always have a one-to-one correlation, but correspond sometimes in all parts, sometimes only in one.” The fact is, the poet does not need such a defense. The correspondence is actually much more thorough than Servius and Probus surmised. Even Scaliger, the most explicit and successful of Vergil’s apologists missed the point. It is true that the point of stress in Homer’s comparison, as well as in Vergil’s, is the beauty, not the movement. But this is not decisive, because always in Vergil and often in Homer, the whole simile and not just the so-called tertium comparationis serves to elucidate and heighten the action. Moreover, Dido’s entrance is filled with lively movement. It is by no means as solemn as Probus and others assume. It is tempo allegro moderato, not andante maestoso. In stark contrast to Aeneas’ melancholy contemplation of the Trojan relics, it ripples with joy. Here, Aeneas’ mournful quietude is contrasted with Dido’s joyous activity and his tears for the past contrast with her happy plans for her dominion’s future. Subsequently, this is all reversed. Troy will rise again more gloriously; Carthage will fall. The fatal reversal in Dido’s life is balanced by the happy change in Aeneas’ life.

Although there is more of a correspondence than has been acknowledged between the lively movement of the Diana simile and that of the queen’s entrance, the difference between the two situations is so great that the use of the simile may, indeed, seem dubious. But Vergil has taken this into account and has by no means adopted the simile unchanged. In Homer we read (5.102):
Artemis the Archeress has come down from the mount-
tain along the high ridge of Taygetos or Erymanthos to 
chase the wild boar or the nimble deer, and the Nymphs 
of the countryside join with her in the sport.

Vergil’s words “exercet Diana choros quam mille secuta, . . .” 
indicate that Diana leads her companions. Her behavior is 
comparable, therefore, to the regal dignity of Dido as char-
acterized in the words: “instans operique regnisque futuris.” 
Besides, Artemis’ and the nymphs’ hunting sport † has been 
replaced by composed ritualistic performance. This is made 
clear in “mille Oreades” as well as in the first words of the 
simile: “in Eurotae ripis aut per juga Cynthia.” The scene has 
shifted from the hunting grounds of Taygetos and Erymanthos 
to Artemis’ shrines in Sparta and Delos. Simultaneously, the 
goddess’ occupation has changed, too. With Vergil one can 
easily imagine Diana before or near the temple, in much the 
same way that Dido appears before the temple of Juno.

I believe that there would have been less criticism of this 
passage if the change of locale had not been overlooked. The 
change constitutes the reference to Dido’s movement, the 
absence of which caused the censure of Probus and the 
others. It has also been overlooked that Dido not only goes 
to the temple, but organizes and directs the activity of those 
engaged in the still unfinished work. This must be the con-
crete and simple meaning of “instans operi”—“constant 
interest in the construction.” It refers, therefore, just as much 
to the queen’s inspection of the progress of the building as to 
her thoughts. As in the simile the nymphs crowd around her, 
“hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades,” where she is sur-
rrounded by the men engaged in the building. But, if the 
phrase is understood to refer only to that part of Dido’s activ-
ities mentioned later (1.507): “operumque laborem partibus 
aequabat justis,” the latter mention would be a somewhat 
superfluous repetition, excusable, of course, on the ever-
ready grounds of incompleteness. One hesitates to resort to 
this. The proposed interpretation makes it evident that the 
comparison between the queen inspecting the building per-
formance and the goddess, leading the performance of the 
Oreades on the banks of the Eurotas and the ridges of Cynthos, 
is excellent; not only the queen grows thereby in stature, but 
the activity around the unfinished temple is invested with 
poetic splendor.

Indeed, Vergil has further transformed his material. In 
Homer, Odysseus is still far away and the beautiful spectacle 
is seen by none but the poet and reader. Aeneas, on the other 
hand, awaits and sees the queen. The germ of love in his 
heart sprouts from this first deeply stirring impression. In 
Homer’s similes, the action is suspended while the poet pauses 
to elaborate a point of the story. In Vergil’s similes the inner 
action continues in the emotions of the persons involved. To 
a much greater degree than Homer’s, Vergil’s similes are 
transparent signs for inner events. Although it constitutes 
only a special case of what Richard Heinze said about the 
“ethos” of the Vergilian story in general, this fact is of the 
 utmost importance to the interpretation of similes in the 
Aeneid and has been nowhere clearly stated.

What, then, of Eduard Norden’s thesis that Vergil added 
his similes subsequently, ornatus causa? In spite of Heinze’s 
attempt at refutation (p. 258, note 1), the possibility cannot 
be completely ignored. A close examination seems, indeed, 
to prove that many similes have been interpolated, or as I 
prefer to say, elaborated later. Norden, however, is wrong in 
assuming that they were added only ornatus causa, in the 
sense of external ornament (the “rhetorical” perception of 
“tropes” as mere embellishment is equally inadequate for 
prose and poetry because it is incompatible with the essence 
of true art). Vergil connected these similes most intimately 
with the interior action which accompanies the exterior 
events. As most of them were probably planned from the 
outset, they are an integral part of the work. To assign them.
contemptuously to "subsequent" adornment is to misjudge the slow laborious craftsmanship of Vergil as creator of a literary epic who executed his intention with careful details of depth and refinement. Assuming that the similes are interpolated, it is still true that their function is to give the poem depth and to bring it closer to the artistic idea as the poet either conceived of it from the beginning or gradually came to conceive of it. There is no reason to consider the similes less important or less valid because of a later conception. Rather, even as later interpolations they attest to the mature artistry and masterly accomplishment of the poet.

The Diana simile expresses a material event, that is, Dido's appearance. It also expresses an inner event: the spiritual behavior of Aeneas, albeit in a symbolic veil. His behavior is expressed as clearly in melody and rhythm as in imagery and thought. Sight and sound form an indivisible unit. The verses start with simple spondaic hexameters:

She was like Diana when she keeps her dancers dancing on the banks of Eurotas or along the slopes of Cynthus, with a thousand mountain-nymphs following in bands on this side and on that; she is taller than all other goddesses, as with her quiver slung from her shoulder she steps on her way.

I.498:

Qualis in Eurotae ripis aut per inga Cynthi
Exercet Diana choris, quam mille sectaeae...

The movement grows more vivid:

Hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades, illa pharetram,

and ends in pure dactylic hexameters:

Fert umergro gradiensque deas supereminent omnis.

The scene culminates in this line, for only here is the queen seen in all her divine splendor. The tension is then released and falls in a calm hexameter:

and a joy beyond words steals into Latona's heart.

Latonae tacitum pertempsant gaudia pectus.

The joyous sport in Homer's simile emerges here as a dramatic entrance, and the self-contented circle of the dancers has become an accelerating inner movement with a definite direction. Thus, the difference between the similes becomes a simile itself for the difference between the poets. But the real crux of the Diana simile rests in the joy that fills Latona's silent heart, which explains why Vergil, in contrast to Homer, has put it at the end. The hidden emotion of the still unseen spectator is thus revealed. To use an image of Schiller's: "We detect the bud from which Dido's drama develops in the emotion symbolized by the simile—Aeneas is moved by the queen's charm." Interpreted in this way, the verse is of an exceptional quality. The connection, so delicately hinted at, is underscored by another circumstance. At a later important stage in the drama of Dido, before the fatal hunt, it is Aeneas who appears before the adoring Dido in the simile of an epiphany of Apollo in Delos. Once again there are choirs (IV.145: instauratque choris = exercetque choris); again a festiv crowd presses around the divinity; and again the god, like Diana, proceeds over the ridges of Cynthis and "arms sound round his shoulders" (as in the Iliad I.46). This is to say that the similes which symbolize the "decisive pantomime of the erotic meeting" (H. v. Hofmannsthal) are plainly related. It is also to say that the change in locale of the Diana simile to the shrines in Sparta and Delos with the addition of the quiver was effected in view of the Apollo simile—inspired by Apollonius Rhodius in content, though not in function (Arg. I.307 ff.). Aeneas and Dido, predestined to fatal love, meet in the image of two correlated divinities. The power of love is symbolized in the triumphant force of their divine beauty: Dido is pulcherrima (I.496), Aeneas is pulcherrimus (IV.141). Co-ordination
of the two encounters reveals the first one as having a fatal meaning also. Upon Dido’s first entrance, the distant future is shown as already touched with tragedy. Aeneas is present, the trap is set. Dido, unaware, has started on the road to ruin. Moreover, there is a mysterious connection in the fact that Dido appears in the guise of the divine huntress Diana, for this appearance presents not only a parallel to the “arms” of the god in the Aeneas-Apollo simile, it also points to the fateful hunt. The *pharetra*, so severely censured by Probus, is the result of inner necessity. Venus the huntress (I.314 ff.), the simile of Diana as huntress, and Dido the huntress are marks of the destiny that brings Aeneas to Dido; the pictures appear as signs of tragic meaning. We have here a phenomenon which occurs elsewhere in the *Aeneid* and which deserves a separate discussion—the use of related symbols to denote connected events.

The example of the Diana simile plainly shows how Vergil gave a completely new and beautiful meaning to the inspired poetry of older works. Among the Latin and Romance literatures, as much as they neglect the outer in favor of inner originality, Vergil’s procedure was unique. His critics and his apologists, influenced by the obvious borrowings, overlooked the decisive changes beneath the surface. This may serve as a warning against the type of interpretation which almost always tacitly assumes that Vergil simply appropriated the content of older works along with the motifs, be it in relation to Homer and Apollonius or Naevius and Ennius. He did not do that! The secret of his originality is hidden in the transformation, connection, and deepening of the motifs to which he gave another meaning and a new beauty. He did this through sensitive changes, through a web of mysterious references, through novel light and sound effects. Such artistry with line and color, composition and combination, is the very nature of his poetry. In a word, it is the *form* through which a new soul emerges as if by magic from the borrowed material. And an inner readiness, a loving, if critical contemplation, is needed to recognize it. “The voice of beauty is a quiet one,” Nietzsche said. There is no easy open road to the beauty within the poems of the Roman magician, the chaste Vergilius, who in life retreated quietly from the world and who in his poetry veiled feeling in symbols as every real artist does. In a majestic picture the action caused by Dido’s entrance is gentled and smoothed into the *andante maestoso* that Probus missed:

> And then, facing the Goddess’s doorway, under her temple-dome, with her armed guards about her, she took her seat in the center on a raised throne. She was already announcing new laws and statutes to her people and deciding by her own balanced judgment, or by lot, a fair division of the toil demanded of them ...

I.505:

> Tum foribus divae, media testudine templi, 
> Saepa armis solioque alte subnixa resedit. 
> Iura dabat legisque viris, operumque laborem 
> Partibus aequabat iustis aut sorte trahebat ...

Divine protection and armaments, the foundations of royal power, are named in the first two lines. In the next two lines the contents of that power, the development and realization of justice, are named. All that is essential and important is compressed into a narrow form. This is a basic quality of classical style.

The queen’s virtues are revealed in symbolic gestures: in the first verse, *pietas*; in the second, *maiestas* and *dignitas*; *iustitia*, in the third and fourth. The relation of the queen to the divine powers is expressed in the image of herself as ruler enthroned in Juno’s temple before the gates of that goddess. The relation was already implied in the composition of the words which announce her entrance: “*regina ad templum.*” This, too, is classical style—the great is co-ordinated with
the great. The queen had to make her first appearance in the
temple because only there do her person and actions find a
worthy frame. At the same time, the inner tie between the
queen and her patron goddess is made visible, for enthroned
in the temple the queen is a human representative of Juno.

In the further course of the story, the queen's piety and
realization of religious duty play a large part. The arrival of
Aeneas and Dido's decisions for love and death are accom-
panied by ritualistic behavior showing the reverence in her
soul for the gods. Here, again, she is a match for Aeneas, but
her devotion cannot save her from the cruel fate awaiting
her. Aeneas' words, spoken in the face of the somber back-
ground of her destiny, sound like bitter derision:

But if Powers of the Beyond take thought for the good,
if there exists anywhere any justice at all, or some In-
telligence able to know the right, then may your true
reward come from them.

I.603:

Di tibi, si qua pios respectant numina, si quid
Usquam iustitia est et mens sibi conscia recti,
Praemia digna ferant.

And so these scenes enhance the tragic effect just as Aeneas' 
piety intensifies our compassion for his sufferings.\textsuperscript{29} The fol-
lowing scenes further enrich and deepen the inner image of 
the queen. Her humanity, already recognized by Aeneas from 
the Trojan war reliefs,\textsuperscript{24} is at its most beautiful and pure, 
first in the scenes with Ilioneus and then with the hero him-
self. It finds expression in the "voltum demissa" gesture which 
delicately shows her embarrassment at the harsh treatment 
afforded the shipwrecked Trojans.\textsuperscript{24} Humanity is the primary 
tone of her first conversation with Aeneas. After the intro-
ductive "coram quem quaeritis adsum," it starts with "O 
sola infandes Troiae miserata labores," and ends with the 
classical expression of humanity, "non ignara mali miseris 
succurre di disco."\textsuperscript{20} Her soul is also related to Aeneas' soul 
in the gentleness and generosity of her nature and her com-
passion for others. But at the same time this very atmosphere 
of humanity forms an intentional contrast with the irreconcil-
able hatred to come. And the complete reversal in the final 
scenes of the fourth book is possible only when related to 
this original warmth and sentiment.

Dido's tragedy develops from her great and noble soul. 
This has been contested with the plea that the ending of 
the Dido book is the result of the situation and not of the 
queen's character.\textsuperscript{28} The exact opposite is true. Everything 
she does and all that she suffers springs from her innermost 
being. She is doomed to die, not because of the situation, but 
because of the interaction of her character with the situation. 
The following considerations make this clear by showing that 
the images which illuminate her fate most distinctly, and the 
key and the style in which they are couched, have from the 
start a higher tragic coloring than the commentators have 
realized. This is so, not because the poet wished to "mo-
tivate" the queen's decision for death from the situation, but 
because he wished to cover the whole development with a 
cloud of foreboding. It is not true that Vergil intends to en-
force the unnoticed necessity of a tragic end upon the reader 
only from the moment when Anna's prayers remain un-
heard.\textsuperscript{27} In the \textit{Aeneid}, as in most tragedies, everything aims 
toward the tragic end from the start, so that nothing else can 
be expected. This is quite evident from the way in which the 
result of Amor's activity is described at the end of the first 
book:

\begin{verse}
(Dido), condemned now to sure destruction, 
could not satisfy her longing.
\end{verse}

I.712:

\begin{verse}
Infelix pesti devota futurae 
Expleri mentem nequit,\ldots
\end{verse}
And it comes ultimately from Vergil's notion, as expressed in the *Georgics*, that love is a demoniacal, tragic force. In the passage concerning the love of animals, the sinister influence of passion on human fate is represented most directly and with enormous power in the image of the young man mad with love (III.258 ff.). The tragic lights of the final scene in the last book, in which the queen's incipient fascination is intimiated, point in the same direction. And finally, the fourth book is bathed in a tragic mood from the very first verse. But the cause of the increase of her passion is concealed, as has been said before, in the very essence of Dido. Aeneas' tale can arouse love in her heart because his heroism touches a responsive chord in herself. Because she is every inch a queen, she cannot but love this regal hero of divine origin. The proddings by Venus and Juno at the decisive moments, the interference of Amor in the shape of Ascanius, the hunt and the convenient thunderstorm are only additional visual aids indicating inner events.

In Vergil's as in Homer's eyes, as shown by Walter F. Otto in his book, *Die Götter Griechenlands*, the divine, to a great extent, coincides with the natural. This does not mean that it is right to explain the interference of the gods in a purely rationalistic manner and to consider them purely as visible symbols of natural phenomena. It is a mistake to assume that Vergil "translated psychological facts and the 'educated' reader reinterprets them into psychological terms because he understands, e.g., the appearances of the gods 'allegorically'" (Heinze). Such a game cannot be reconciled with the religious spirit of the poet, nor is it fair to the nature of poetry. The great passions of the heart appear in Vergil's poetry as manifestations of the divine demoniacal just as they do in the poetry of the Greeks. They are quite naturally seen in this manner and are not being made "understandable" nor being given the dignity and ideal of sublimity. In the form of the myth with gods and demons, oracles and dreams, all that is mysterious and sinister in life becomes more tangible, less vague in outline; the higher forces, too, appear closer and more clear. But these forces are found elsewhere, too. The Age of Augustus was not yet blind and had not yet turned its back on the manifestations of the divine. Vergil truly believed in divine power and to this earnest and pious poet the myth was more than a poetic tale—it was a symbol of his religion. As Hugo von Hofmannsthal says in his "Conversation About Poems," which admits so much insight into the nature and symbolic language of poetry: "For the pious, only the symbol is truly real."

Having such reverence for the mystery of fate, having the religiosity of a Roman who believed in visible gods, and the classical man's sensory attitude, which is akin to the demands of poetry, Vergil did not conceive of the soul psychologically, but mythically and religiously. In writing poetry, he was, as Baudelaire said, in a state of "enfance retrouvée à volonté." The poet's world is not "more dignified and ideal," but more tangible and primitive. Vergil was not interested in "natural psychology." The gods were visible to him. Any other conception presupposes an idea of art only to be held by a non-artist and an opinion on religion that corresponds to a godless age. In Vergil, moreover, the role of the gods is most intimately connected with his concept of a divine plan controlling and directing universal events. For this reason, too, all that happens must be traced beyond the psychological conditions of individual fate and connected with the divine. Thus, by means of the poetic world of the gods, manifesting the poet's belief in a higher power, the two-fold character of history is expressed. Every historical happening occurs on two planes: one of human purpose, desires, and passions, and another, great and mysterious, held within the hand of the divine manipulator of all events. Understood in this way, Vergil rises to a level of thought common to philosophers of history as varied as Augustine, Hegel, and Jakob Burckhardt.
Dido's experience, also, is truly more than a psychological process. It is destiny willed by divine forces, an event of world history, as it were, and a link in the chain of Roman *fata*. Besides destroying her own existence it produces ruin far beyond her personal fate by putting an end to the existence of Carthage.

That the queen anticipates and represents her city's fate not only derives from the basic idea of the poem—Aeneas and Dido figure as mythical incarnations of the historical powers of Rome and Carthage (as do Jupiter and Juno on a higher plane)—but it is expressly stated in the lines describing the effect of the news of the queen's catastrophe:

A cry rose to the palace-roof. Carthage was stricken by the shock and Rumor ran riot in the town. Lamentation and sobbing and women's wailing rang through the houses, and high heaven echoed with the loud mourning; as if some enemy had broken through and all Carthage, or ancient Tyre, were falling, with the flames rolling madly up over dwellings of gods and men.

IV.665:

It clamor ad alta
Atria; concussam bacchatur Fama per urbem
Lamentis gemitique et femineo ululatu
Tecta fremunt, resonat magnis plangoribus aether,
Non aliter quam si immissis ruat hostibus omnis
Karthaquo aut antiqua Tyros, flammasque furentes
Culmina perque hominum volvuntur perque deorum.

This is pathetic intensification and transcendent symbolism as well. The simile is conceived from both the plot situation and from a higher view open to the reader. For a moment a larger context can be seen. Dido's fate has become transparent; it coincides with the fate of the city. Vergil has assumed this effect from a Homeric simile (*Iliad* 22.4081):

... and all his people about him were taken with wailing and lamentation all through the city. It was most like what would have happened, if all towering lion had been burning top to bottom in fire.

In this description of the lament for Hector there is also a presentiment of Troy's fate, for in the *Iliad*, Hector's destruction is more than once connected with the final destruction of Troy, which follows: 6.403 ff.; 22.382 ff.; 24.499,32

Anna's words also point beyond the poem to the same relation (IV.682):

Sister, you have destroyed my life with your own, and the lives of our people and Sidon's nobility, and your whole city too.

Within the narrow framework of the story these words are only a hyperbolic expression of a sister's grief. But they are also true in a much deeper sense than is surmised by Anna, for the drama of Dido ends in the destruction of Carthage.

The political and historical symbolism attached to Dido may be disregarded. Her tragedy can be explained in human terms without conflict between the natural and supernatural meanings. After Venus and Juno have instigated the affair, everything develops as a matter of course. Dido, speaking to her sister at the beginning of the fourth book, resists the love she feels for Aeneas because she is not yet willing to break faith with her dead husband. She solemnly exclaims:

But I could pray that the earth should yawn deep to engulf me, or the Father Almighty blast me to the Shades with a stroke of his thunder, deep down to those pallid Shades in darkest Erebos, before ever I violate my honor or break its laws.

IV.24:

Sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat
Vel pater omnipotens adigat me fulmine ad umbras
Pallentis umbras Erebi noctemque profundam,
Ante, Pudor, quam te violo aut tua iura resolvo.
This is much more than theatrical pathos. It is a curse on herself that is destined to be cruelly fulfilled. The verses conjure up the descent to the pale shades of Erebus which will become reality. In this way, the end of Book IV is foreseen at its beginning.

Anna is not the lascivious insinuator found in the Attic drama. She is not a Euripidean nurse, no Menandrian confidante. Her first words are those of a tender, loving sister: "O luce magis dilecta sorori." She engenders the idea in Dido's already loving heart that the exposed kingdom needs a protector and that only Aeneas can bring about the real greatness of Carthage:

And, Dido, only imagine, if you make this splendid marriage, what a great future lies in store for your city and our realm! With a Trojan army marching at our side, think what deeds of prowess will exalt the fame of Carthage!

IV.47:
Quam tu urbem, soror, hanc cernes, quae surgere regna
Coniugio tali! Teucrum comitantibus armis
Punica se quantis attollet gloria rebus!

Anna, in the above climactic words, appeals to the Queen's obligations to duty and glory, to the love she holds for the city she has founded and to which she has given all of her time and energy. In this way she kindles the flame from the embers and "loosens the modesty." It is not through the power of passion alone that Dido falls in love. Love comes to her just as much because of her inner inclination toward heroism, greatness, and glory, and through her devotion to her royal work. In fact, all of the nobility of her nature is appealed to: her talent for great love (proven to Sychaeus in life and death 29), her compassion for the Trojans (so easily converted to love), her feminine nature (also awakened by Anna in IV.33: "Nec dulcis natos Veneris nec praemia noris"), and her longing for fulfillment as shown in the tenderness with which she takes Ascanius upon her lap and cries sweetly from her heart, "si quis mihi parvulus aula luderet Aeneas."

Dido's love for Aeneas is closely interwoven with the great and noble characteristics of her nature—that is her tragedy. The innate grandeur of her royal soul—and, as a consequence, the depth of her fall—distinguish her from the Greek models to whom she is compared. She is not an intemperate barbarian, a bloodthirsty "lioness" like Euripides' Medea, nor the loving maiden of Apollonius, although she has some traits of both. For example, the sublime passion and antique grandeur of Dido connect her with Euripides, while her tenderness recalls Apollonius. Still, she is more human than Medea, and greater, though less tender, than the maiden. The pendulum of her fate makes a wider arc as it swings from the faith and honor that she holds for her dead husband as univira to the shame of free love, from the proud dignity and royal splendor of her first entrance to the worst humiliation (IV.412 ff.), from joy to deepest sadness, from warm humanity to cruel hatred, from royal work to neglect of her duty (IV.86 ff.), from the near-completion of the task of making a great kingdom to its utter destruction. The immensity of Dido's tragedy is in the size of the contrast—in the shattering reversal. This is the important reason why the book of Dido can be compared with the Greek tragedy, as (in the words of Friedrich Leo) no other Roman tragedy can.

The conversation with Anna releases the full force of feeling in Dido's heart. The destruction that advances through passion reaches its first climax in the mad dash through the city and in the simile of the deer. This simile develops in contrast to the preceding image of a Dido who sacrifices and prays for the peace of the gods:

Lovely Dido herself would take the bowl in her right hand and pour the wine between the horns of a pure white cow, or she would pace in the ritual dance near the gods' reeking altars before the eyes of their statues.
IV.60:
Ipsa tenens dextra pateram pulcherrima Dido
Candentis vaccae media inter cornua fundit,
Aut ante ora deum pinguis spatiatur ad aras.

Lying between the noble composure of this ritual and the wild frenzy of the simile, between the bright sacrificial scene and the dark feverish heat, is the divination scene which in its tragic coloring foreshadows the raging passion and the merciless obsession to which the queen falls prey:

She would peer with parted lips into the open breasts of sheep for the message of their still breathing vitals.

II.63:
Pecudumque reclusis
Pectoribus inhians spirantia consulit exta.

This is followed by the poet's painful outcry:

O why can man's mind not grasp the seer's meaning! 34
Heu vatam ignarae mentes, . . .

And the next verses, which lead directly to the wild wanderings of the queen, point to the fire that smoulders beneath ostensible calm:

There lay no help for her infatuation in temples or prayers; for all the time the flame ate into her melting marrow, and deep in her heart the wound was silently alive.

IV.65:
Quid delubra iuvant? est mollis flamma medullas
Interea et tacitum vivit sub pectore volnus.

This echoes the book's beginning. The same images—the wound, the flame, the arrow (IV.4: "haerent infixi pectore volitus verbaque"), the restlessness and delusion; these signal her sufferings. If the storm at sea represents the demoniacal power of nature (and by implication, history) and if Allecto's actions represent war, then Dido's wanderings and the deer simile represent the power of Eros:

There lay no help for her infatuation in temples or in prayers, for all the time the flame ate into her melting marrow, and deep in her heart the wound was silently alive. Poor Dido was aforesaid, and roamed distraught all over her city; like a doe caught off her guard and pierced by an arrow from some armed shepherd, who from the distance had chased her amid Cretan woods and without knowing it has left in her his winged barb; so that she traverses in her flight forests and mountain tracks on Dictae, with the deadly reed fast in her flesh.

IV.66:
Quid delubra iuvant? est mollis flamma medullas
Interea et tacitum vivit sub pectore volnus.
Uritur infelix Dido totaque vagatur
Urbe furens, qualis coniecta cerva sagitta,
Quam procul incuatam nemora inter Cresia fixit
Pastor agens telis liquitique volatile ferrum
Nescius; illa fugta silvas saltusque peragravit
Dictaeos; haeret lateri letalis harundo.

The scene above cannot be completely understood on a naively realistic basis. It represents a particular point in the story and at the same time is a symbol of a psychophysical event. Passion, according to the ancients, is a sickness of the whole person. Moreover, psychological facts are consistently made apparent through gods and demons (where we speak of symbolization) and especially through gestures, images, and similes. The ancients saw the body as expression of the soul and the outer life as expression of the inner. We miss the point if we speak of a "transformation into the symbolic" as if the symbolic-poetic life is secondary to the psychological. An insoluble unit is composed of both. The understanding of ancient man demands sensory contemplation of inner facts rather
than abstract analysis. Ancient man’s mind was still filled with images and not yet with concepts, as is the modern mind. Goethe expressed an antique axiom when he said in Propyläeneintritt, “He who cannot speak clearly to the senses, cannot speak directly to the mind either.” Someth[ing] of this attitude has always been inherent in poetry. The poet always inclines toward a symbolic perception of sensory fact as the inborn, original mode of human feeling. Just as an opera does not transpose inner events into music, but experiences them as such, so poetry presents them as sensory events. “Nothing could be more wrong,” says Gundolf of Shakespeare, “than to assume that the poet thinks abstractly first and looks for an image afterward, that he feels first and looks for sensory aid afterward. No, he lives, thinks, feels, suffers, and rejoices in images. This, next to the compulsion to react to the world as to rhythm, is the main characteristic of the poet’s true state.”

The beauty and depth of the famous, often imitated deer simile rests on several circumstances. The flight of the loving woman exhibits a psychological truth as deep as the thought that she is unprotected and exposed (incautam) to the danger of falling in love. At the same time, Dido’s inner restlessness, the dubia mens (IV.55), her shame, and the subjective feeling of guilt are reflected in the image of flight. It is like a last desperate attempt to escape from an inexorable fate. The tragedy of her objective innocence is shown in the word incautam, just as pastor nescius shows that Aeneas also is guiltless. Moreover, the image of the noble, suffering animal moves us to compassion. But the flight, like the prayer for pax deorum, is in vain: “haeret lateri letalis harundo.”

The final words expose the inner meaning of this simile just as the secret meaning of the Diana simile was made clear in its last verse. The simile partakes of two spheres of meaning; it illuminates a present state and reveals a destiny. In this function, it adds a new dimension to the event.

Homer is different. He aims at illumination of visible relations while Vergil aims to establish moods, interpret states of mind, and to intimate impending fate. Accordingly, the Homeric similes are more severely outlined, often surprisingly rational, and often strangely cold and seemingly insensitive. On the other hand, the Vergilian similes have fluid, flexible contours which allow them to be more felt than observed. Homer strives to make an event explicit. Vergil strives to explain and interpret it.

His similes are complicated structures. If it is possible to analyze what is inseparable, it can be said that the deer simile has a threefold function: (1) It makes the queen’s roaming more explicit (this is the original function of a simile in Homer —clarification of an exterior event); (2) it reveals Dido’s state of mind (clarification of an inner event); (3) it foreshadows her tragic end (symbolic prediction) through content, key, and pathos of the movement. It is the prologue that sets the mood for a tragic development. To enlarge upon the last point: the wild movement of the deer simile functions within the Dido drama in the same way in which the storm at sea functions within the framework of the whole, or the Allecto episode functions in the second half of the poem. In both cases, tragic action is introduced by a pathetic and dramatic scene and is thereby symbolically anticipated.

Just as in a Greek temple where the proportion and form determining the whole are repeated in the sections, or in a symphony where the parts mirror the whole, the Aeneid is in part and whole subject to the same principle of form. This type of scene is repeated a second time in a narrower sense in the course of the Dido drama, when the tragedy begins with the description of the wild action of Fama whose appearance leads in strict succession from Iarbas’ prayer to Jupiter’s interference with the departure of Aeneas. We meet it for a third time in the description of Dido’s rage after she learns of Aeneas’ decision to leave. All of these scenes, including
that of the sea storm, the Allecto episode, the Sibyl’s frenzy (at the beginning of Book VI), Laocoon’s death (at the beginning of Book II), Metabus’ and the child’s flight over the swollen river in the Camilla episode (XI.547 ff.), are variations of the same theme and their function is to accentuate the beginning of a tragic development.

In the next climactic scene, the tragic mood characteristic of this book is expressed in the sublimely terrifying cosmic events which echo the action—the thunderstorm accompanying the love union of the protagonists. Nature had already appeared as the sounding board of action in Homer as a reflection of the original Greek concept of the unity of man and physis, that is, the affairs of man are conceived of as being as one with the natural phenomena in which they take place. To this Vergil added the formative principle of classical art, which seeks for unification and refuses anything superfluous or unrelated. The lightning flashes are the marriage torches and the crying of the nymphs on the mountaintop mingling with and embodying the thunder is the hymeneal or marriage song. The love-marriage is expressed symbolically and need not be described. But the signs, multiplied by earth tremor (“Prima et Tellus et pronuba Juno dant signum”) 3t are not those of a gay wedding feast, but are rather related to the epiphanies of the gods of the nether world.38 They are omens of what is coming and bear an explicit comment in the Homeric manner: “Ille dies primus et primusque malorum causa fuit.”

Here begins the activity of Fama, which as an inescapable, growing demoniacal power, somewhat like another Allecto, announces and sets off the tragic development.39 The catastrophe is prepared through the atmosphere created by these images and scenes. This catastrophe, just like the queen’s love for Aeneas, is the necessary result of her nature. Her tremendous self-respect is her decisive trait. It is the core of her existence. Love of self in the high Aristotelian sense is perhaps the ultimate value in Roman and ancient ethics. And “glory” connoting so much splendor to the ancients, is most intimately connected with it. “Glory” is the visible brilliance of the inner fire of “self-love.” Because Dido is so full of self-respect, she is convinced that she owes her dead husband eternal faithfulness and curses herself should she ever be unfaithful.40 Therefore, when her love for Aeneas, for which she has paid the price of self-respect, is betrayed, she has no choice but to die. She speaks of death upon first meeting Aeneas (IV.308): “Nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido? Cui me moribundam deseris?” (323). And again in the first threat of casting a curse upon him:

I shall be near, haunting you with flames of blackest pitch. And when death’s chill has parted my body from its breath, wherever you go my spectre will be there.

IV.384:

Sequar atris ignibus absens,
Et cum frigida mors anima seduxerit artus
Omnibus umbra locis adero.

The words “sequar atris ignibus absens” hint darkly at the blazing omen of the funeral pyre to follow the departing Trojan fleet. As the following verses show, the torches of the Eumenides are immediately brought to mind (IV.385 ff.).41 But the reader, knowing the end, is capable of hearing the double meaning. It is an example of amphigogy, a very frequent device in Greek tragedy.42 The commentators choose one of Servius’ interpretations:

alii ‘furiarum facibus’ dicunt, hoc est ‘invocatas tibi immittam diras,’ aliis ‘sociorum’ ut paulo post (594) ‘ferte citi flammas.’ Melius tamen est, ut secundum Urbanum accipiamus ‘atris ignibus rogalibus,’ qui visi tempestatas significant, ut Aeneae sicut in quinto legimus, contigit.

But, for the very reason that the double meaning is intentional, there is no need to make a decision between the explanations. This fact is, of course, incomprehensible to the
rationism of Servius and his modern successors. The reference to the torches of the Eumenides can least of all be excluded (as proposed by Servius Danielis). Servius' reference to the ignes sociorum is utterly artificial if (as Thilo assumes with some justification) he was thinking of IV.594. If, on the other hand, he was thinking of the flames of war with which Carthage will pursue Rome ("exoriri alicuis nostris ex ossibus ultor, qui face Dardanios ferroque sequere colonos") there might be some truth in it. Again for a moment, the transcendental symbolism would be visible, as in the simile of the mourning for Dido.

Amphibology as a means of creating tragic tension can be found elsewhere in the Dido drama, for example:

I have found the way which will either give him back to me or release me from loving him.

IV.478:

Inveni, germana, viam, gratare sorori,
Quae mihi reddat eum vel eo me solvat amantem,

It is my intention to complete certain rites to Stygian Jupiter, which I have formally prepared and begun, and to put an end to my sorrow.

IV.638:

Sacra Iovi Stygio, quae rite incepta paravi,
Perficere est animus finemque imponere curis,

This is my last plea for indulgence, and you must bear with me as sister. And when he has granted it to me, I shall repay the debt with the interest, in death.

IV.435:

Extremam hanc oro veniam, miserere sororis,
Quam mihi cum dedereis, cumulatum morte remittam.

In the above passage, Heinze, too, missed the double meaning (p. 134, note 2). The words "cumulatum morte remittam" are: (1) a hyperbolic expression of gratitude (as understood by Anna), (2) a forecast of death (to the reader and, secretly, to Dido herself). A little earlier in the same speech there is a similar double meaning (IV.429): "Extremum hoc miserae det munus amanti," and (IV.435): "Extremam hanc veniam." As Anna understands this, it is the last favor Dido asks Aeneas to grant. And it is also the last favor Dido is ever going to ask in this life. Heinze is wrong in denying that Dido thinks of her death here. This fact is clearly shown (Book IV.308, 323, 385, and 415). A delay in sailing would mean only a delay in death. Without any consideration or reflection on the situation, she is quite sure that Aeneas' departure seals her death. Although her reaction may conceivably be understood as a consequence of her absolute passion, it is also a necessary result of her violated pride. She, alone, who involved herself in this unworthy situation, can find an escape from it.

The words of the nocturnal monologue in which she turns the situation over and over in a last attempt to find an alternative solution have been quoted to prove that Vergil wanted to "force the necessity of a tragic end upon the reader." On the contrary, they show most clearly that the situation will allow another solution, but her character will not. She could approach her former suitors, but since she has been scorned by Aeneas, she is too proud to do so (534 ff.). She could follow the fleet of Trojans, but this would be an unbearable humiliation (543: "Sola fugis nautas comitabor ovantis"). She could order the Tyrians to pursue the Trojans' fleet, but she is too humane to push them back into the sea from where they have only just come (544 ff.). Death is the only answer as nothing else can save her own ego, her self-respect, and her glory. Death is not only escape from the exterior emergency and a deliverance from unbearable pain, but also a self-imposed atonement (IV.577: "Quin morere ut merita es"), and the restitution of the "great image" which she wants to leave to posterity. In the curse that she casts upon Aeneas
and the Romans and in the grand manner of her death, her soul restores itself in greatness and liberty. The curse, besides being an expression of love become hate, restores her lost dignity. To the ancient man, revenge meant restoration of his spiritual existence. Thus, Dido in her “epitaph” glories in having avenged Sychaeus’ death and, thus, Evander stays alive in order to bring the news of revenge to his son in the realm of the dead (XI.177 ff.). Aeneas’ last gesture in the poem is revenge for Pallas just as revenge for Caesar marked the start of Augustus’ career.

The queen’s pride, her self-respect, her sense of dignity, and her thirst for revenge, all demand her death. Heinze realized this, but argued that Vergil did not allow the grief for her lost love to be the dominant reason “because he followed tradition closely” and “renounced individual characterization” (p. 139). The very character of Dido demands that she not seek death because of lost love, but because of the consciousness of her deep fall. That Queen Dido should commit suicide because of frustrated passion would seem far from great to Vergil. Such a motivation might be sentimental and touching, but Vergil’s aim here was to inspire.

The poet did not have to search for a “motivation” for Dido’s death, for it is the only solution. Rather, he had to show why the queen delays so long in seeking death. The best reason was that she had not yet abandoned all hope of changing the hero’s mind. The real alternative is shown in both of her speeches in the decisive talk with Aeneas. She does not waver, as Heinze assumes, between the possibilities of keeping Aeneas and destroying either him or herself. This vacillation between love and hate, union and destruction, dominates the whole story. She tries three times to alter fate: once when imploring Aeneas to stay, once in the message carried to him by Anna, and then in the monologue of the last tortured night before his departure when she considers the possibility of following her beloved. Every check she encounters leads her unconditionally back to the death decision. The threat of self-destruction and revenge comes after her imploring words. The preparation of the funeral pyre follows the rebuff of Anna’s entreaties. The resolution “to die as you deserve” replaces her thought of accompanying the hero.

The poet is at pains to retain a glimmer of hope to the end. Without it the drama would be far less tragic. Dido’s hesitation to die is solely the result of this deceptive hope, of her inability to abandon her love. At the moment when Aeneas cuts the ship’s painter, her fate is decided.

But before the inexorable judgment following her self-scrutiny, this very hesitation is an additional guilt. This is to say that the more Dido follows the dictates of passion in the face of the impending departure, the further she sinks from proud regality. Vergil is thus enabled to let us feel both the depth of her love and the vileness of her infamy and inner fall. For instance, though her wish to conceive a child of Aeneas’ before parting may be touching, it is still undignified. The messages which Anna bears to Aeneas entreat only empty delay: “Improbe Amor quid non mortalia pectora cogis?” In the night monologue she even considers following Aeneas in the event he will not take her on board his ship. She, the infinitely proud queen, slides into ever-deepening degradation. Her real tragedy lies in her knowledge of this and not in her obvious fate. In view of this inner disaster she chooses death as the means to liberty and atonement and thus tears herself free from the sinister labyrinth of passion in which she has been lost since the fatal night story of the fall of Troy. Her dignity is restored. The transformation of the ritual wine into blood, the calls of Sychaeus, the mourning of the bird of death, the magic of the priestess, the signs and dreams that pursue her, the feelings of guilt and humiliation that torment her, all considered by Heinze to be the motives of her decision, are really only symptoms, secondary in nature, symbols of her inner movement toward death.
THE PRINCIPAL FIGURES

sun (move down) across the sky

The capital of the granary-wings, sparkling like dew and

So decrease the nation-wings, sparkling like dew and

as the dawn

in the horizon, lower and the immortal founder of Cathagae.

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IV.700:
Ergo Iris croceis per caelum rosçida pennis
Mille trahens varios adverso sole colores.

If her death at first seemed to be the result of her passion and grief, it is now seen as the transfiguration and defeat of that passion and grief. Her vacillation between love and hate was apparently also a vacillation between humiliation and grandeur, with grandeur evident even in humiliation. Even though the queen's passion appears to be delusion and ignominy from the point of view of her dignity, we see it also—and this is an essential element of the tragedy of Dido—as the fulfillment of the human potentiality of her great and sensitive soul. In reality she wavers between the demands of her heart and her dignity—between her happiness and her glory.

The battle raging within Dido is related to the conflict which flares up again and again in Aeneas' heart and marks his destiny with tragedy. She, like the hero, suffers from the unrelenting tension between heart's desire and the harsh demands of self-respect and glory. In this inner relationship of personalities, Vergil meets Goethe's demand that the figures, while definitely separate and different from each other, should be of one kind. And the poet's soul is revealed in that which binds them together. Their conflicts are the very conflicts in his soul.

Goethe's second requirement that every part of the drama must represent the whole, is met in the book of Dido. The eruption and conquest of passion is a variation on the basic theme of the conquest of demoniacal forces. Because, in the narrowest sense, this battle is fought in Dido's own soul, the condition mentioned is most tragically expressed in her. Aeneas has to face these forces of passion (God, nature, loving, fighting) outside of himself and must conquer them like a hero and suffer them in open compassion. But his heroism, as well as his suffering, is kept almost free of guilt. In fact, anything that might be interpreted as a sign of guilt is weakened and pushed into the background. On the other hand, Dido (and less majestically, Turnus) falls deeply into sin. Through fate, grief, and sorrow, Aeneas takes part in the world's unhappy turbulence, but he never sinks into it. Like the poet, he is suffering yet elevated—he stands apart from the world. Dido is a more tense, more tragic figure. As Gestalt, she is the greater symbol of the tragedy of the poem because she is the embodiment of what the Aeneid as a whole separates into different forces. In this sense, the book of Dido can be considered the climax of the whole poem.