

Courtney, not to mention the *OLD*. *Rhoea* (ῥοιάς),<sup>1</sup> which in Latin is found only in Pliny, is a species of poppy, and the poppy is closely associated with the cult of Demeter; hence, according to Bömer, the reading is “evident.” The argument would be persuasive if all the other eleven items in the catalog (which includes poppies and *sine nomine flores*) were also thus associated. Incidentally, since *rhoea* is a flower, not a plant, should we not expect the plural?

Apart from the obviously interpolated *casiam*, the manuscript evidence points to *rorem*. This may well have puzzled copyists, but it does not deserve to be put aside or ignored (as by Wormell–Courtney) in favor of a flower unknown to extant Greek and Latin verse. Accidental omission of *pars* after *rorē* might account for the variants. We may suppose that *et* was inserted to provide a connective, leaving the meter deficient; hence *rores*, whence *flores*. Later it was perceived that *pars*, not *et*, is required.

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1. Bömer and the *OLD* justly assume that *rhoea* here too will represent ῥοιάς, not ῥοιά (pomegranate). The latter meaning is unattested for *rhoea*, and the Latin for pomegranate is (*malum*) *granatum* or *malum Punicum*. Confusion with ῥοιά presumably accounts for the Latin form.

The pomegranate tree does have a flower, though the other items in the catalog do not grow on trees.

## DIDO'S PUNS

Dido does not make any puns—at least not if we define a pun as a double meaning intended for humorous effect. There is no humor in Dido. But there are double meanings in her statements, some of which this paper discusses.

First let me dismiss a type of double meaning which I will not consider, an artistic double meaning in which all levels of meaning are simultaneously true. For instance, *Aeneid* 1. 12–14, “*Urbs antiqua fuit (Tyrii tenuere coloni) / Karthago, Italiam contra Tiberinaque longe / ostia*,” employs the word *contra* with a first level of meaning, geographically “opposite,” which constitutes the denotation of the word, and a metaphorical level, “opposed to,” which connotes the deadly hostility that would exist between Carthage and Italy until the city’s destruction.<sup>1</sup> Much of the *Aeneid* is composed with this type of diction, in which two or more levels of meaning can be perceived, all of which are simultaneously true. But this is not the subject of this paper. Instead I am concerned with a type of double meaning inherited from folktale, in which there is an obvious level of meaning that usually is later proven to be false (or at least is not fulfilled within the narrative in which the double meaning is uttered), and a hidden level that turns out to be true.

These are found usually in three related types of expressions: prophecies, curses, and promises. Most prophecies in Homer are straightforward: Achilles is told that he has a choice of a short life with everlasting glory if he fights at Troy or

1. Note that this second level of meaning is confirmed by Dido’s curse in 4. 628 *litora litoribus contraria*. The double meaning of *contra* in 1. 13 was recognized by Servius Auctus on the line.

a long life without fame if he does not fight. Achilles does not know how he will win fame and in particular does not realize that he will suffer the tragic loss of his friend Patroclus; but once he does decide to fight it is inevitable that he will win everlasting glory. The same inevitability attends the prophecies concerning the capture of Troy: if the horses of Rhesus eat the grass of the plains of Ilium and drink the water of the river Xanthus, Troy will not fall; the bow and arrows of Heracles are needed for Troy to fall; and so on.<sup>2</sup> But there is another type of ancient prophecy that could only be called deceptive. Oedipus is told that he is doomed to kill his father and marry his mother; he therefore leaves Corinth, where live (as he thinks) his father Polybus and mother Merope, and comes to Thebes, where he kills the king, Laius, and marries the queen, Jocasta, in ignorance that they are his real father and mother. The prophecy comes true, but it has served not to enlighten but to deceive Oedipus: if he had not received the prophecy, he would not have left Corinth, and probably would not have killed his father and married his mother. Words are used that mean one thing to the hearer and something different after the prophecy is fulfilled. Croesus, the wealthy king of Lydia, who was defeated by Cyrus, king of Persia, became the subject of legend and the reputed victim of several such deceptive prophecies. The Delphic oracle assured him that his monarchy would last until a mule became king of the Medes (Hdt. 1. 55). Croesus thought himself safe, but the kingship of the Medes and Persians was gained by Cyrus, the son of a lower-class Persian father and an upper-class Median mother, and therefore a hybrid, metaphorically a mule. Before invading Persia, Croesus consulted the Greek oracles, which told him that if he invaded, "Croesus a great kingdom will destroy" (Hdt. 1. 53. 3). He invaded, and destroyed his *own* kingdom. These oracles belong to the same class as two in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*: "Be bloody bold and resolute; laugh to scorn / The power of man, for none of woman born / Shall harm Macbeth" (4. 1. 79–81); and "Macbeth shall never vanquish'd be until / Great Birnham wood to high Dunsinane hill / Shall come against him" (4. 1. 92–94). These prophecies are deceptive to the point of being unfair, for surely someone born by Caesarian section is still born of woman.<sup>3</sup>

The *Aeneid* has its share of straightforward prophecies. For instance, in 1. 257–96 Jupiter reassures Venus by prophesying the founding of Rome and Rome's domination over the world. Jupiter does not tell Venus everything, and his diction is selected to satisfy the rhetorical needs of his reassurance, but the prophecy is not otherwise deceptive. Such a trustworthy prediction is needed as a control on more ambiguous predictions later in the poem, as a foreshadowing device, and as an indication of the course of events that lie outside the temporal scheme of the narrative. Although the narrative stretches only from the fall of Troy to the death of Turnus, there are constant allusions to earlier events and especially to events of Roman history down to Vergil's day, and even predictions of the future—relative not only to the dramatic date of the poem but also to

2. The oracles relating to the fall of Troy are summed up by Servius on *Aen.* 2. 13 *fatigue repulsi*. For greater detail on Rhesus, see *Aen.* 1. 469–72, with Servius Auctus on *Aen.* 1. 469; for greater detail on the arrows of Heracles, see Sophocles' *Philoctetes*.

3. The preceding discussions of *Macbeth*, Croesus, and Oedipus are indebted to the analysis given by J. Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle* (Berkeley, 1978), pp. 62–65, 110–12.

Vergil's day. In this temporal sweep, the *Aeneid* is closer to the Old Testament than it is to the epics of Homer, which rarely, if ever, look forward more than a generation from the dramatic date of the events.<sup>4</sup> If predictions of the future relative to the poet's day are to have credibility, the credibility must be established by the accuracy of predictions that have already been verified by the course of history.

But there is also another kind of prophecy, designed not so much to deceive as to convey an attitude toward the human condition: that man sees and understands only dimly what the fates and gods have in store for him. Often the reader is permitted a clearer comprehension than the characters in the narrative. In Book 3, the Trojans fleeing Troy visit Delos and are told by Apollo to "seek their ancient mother" (*Aen.* 3. 96). Anchises immediately exclaims that this must be Crete, from which the early Trojan king Teucer (the son-in-law of Dardanus, the founder of the Trojan race) had come (3. 104–18). Off the Trojans sail to Crete, where Aeneas sees the *penates* in a dream telling him that their ancient mother is really Hesperia, whence Dardanus himself had come (3. 147–71). Apollo's prophecy was correct, but man's ability to interpret it was defective. Later in Book 3, the Trojans visit the Strophades, where one of the Harpies, Celaeno, prophesies that the Trojans will reach Italy but will not found a city before dread hunger will drive them to eat their own tables (255–57). The Trojans are horrified; but later, in Book 7, they recognize it as a good omen when, after reaching Italy, they banquet and even eat the flat cakes of grain on which they have spread their food: Iulus jokingly exclaims, "We are even eating our tables"; and Aeneas recognizes it as a fulfillment of what had been thought to be a dread prophecy (7. 107–29; in one of the poem's inconsistencies, Aeneas attributes the prophecy to his father, Anchises).

Prophecies always come true in epic, but not necessarily in the way in which the characters, or sometimes even the readers, understand them. Similar in this respect are curses. The prophecy of Celaeno was essentially a curse, uttered in anger after the Trojans had driven the Harpies off with their swords. In Book 4, Dido utters several curses, the longest of which is in lines 607–29:

"Sol, qui terrarum flammis opera omnia lustras, tuque harum interpret curarum et conscia Iuno, nocturnisque Hecate triviis ululata per urbes et Dirae ultrices et di morientis Elissae, accipite haec, meritumque malis advertite numen et nostras audite preces. si tangere portus infandum caput ac terris adnare necesse est, et sic fata Iovis poscunt, hic terminus haeret, at bello audacis populi vexatus et armis, finibus extorris, complexu avulsus Iuli	610           615
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4. Exceptions would be etiologies, and comparisons of the greatness of the past with the inferiority of the present, which may in a sense look forward to time present, but normally without defining the present. The closest to referring to specific events of the historical past known to the poet is Hera's promise (*Il.* 4. 50–54) not to intervene to protect Argos, Sparta, and Mycenae, if Jupiter consents to the destruction of Troy. This seems to be an etiological explanation for the failure of the gods to prevent the destruction of these cities during the Dorian invasion. But these forward allusions are on a different order from the clear and specific allusions to events of Roman history found in the *Aeneid*.

auxilium imploret videatque indigna suorum  
 funera; nec, cum se sub leges pacis iniquae  
 tradiderit, regno aut optata luce fruatur,  
 sed cadat ante diem mediaque inhumatus harena. 620  
 haec precor, hanc vocem extremam cum sanguine fundo.  
 tum vos, o Tyrii, stirpem et genus omne futurum  
 exercete odiis, cinerique haec mittite nostro  
 munera. nullus amor populis nec foedera sunt.  
 exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor 625  
 qui face Dardanios ferroque sequare colonos,  
 nunc, olim, quocumque dabunt se tempore vires.  
 litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas  
 imprecor, arma armis: pugnent ipsique nepotesque."

All these wishes come true, but not necessarily in the sense Dido means. Aeneas is harried in war, by the Rutulians and Latins, and does go to seek aid, the aid of Arcadians, though the color of 616, "finibus extorris, complexu avulsus Iuli," suggests circumstances more dire than those in Book 8, when Aeneas leaves Iulus in camp at Ostia while he visits the Palatine hill in order to ask for the aid of Evander. There is a play on *extorris*, which normally means "exiled," but etymologically means simply "out of the country" (*ex terris*). Aeneas does see the undeserved deaths of those dear to him, notably Nisus and Euryalus in Book 9 and Pallas, the son of Evander, in Book 10. In both episodes the reader is given a reminder of Dido and so of her curse: in 9. 266 Iulus promises Nisus a mixing bowl, the gift of Sidonian Dido, as his reward for going on the mission that will cost him his life; in 11. 72 Aeneas wraps the corpse of Pallas in one of two robes, embroidered with gold and purple, made by the hand of Sidonian Dido. (We are not told what happens to the second robe, but its retention serves as a reminder, I believe, that the curse of Dido is not yet finished.) Aeneas does conclude a *pax iniqua*, but it is not *iniqua* in the sense that Dido means. Aeneas, though victorious, generously grants the Latins more than he has to, an equal share under equal laws; he also grants that they will keep the name "Latins," rather than be called "Trojans" after their conquerors. This indeed gave the conquered Latins more than the conquerors got: it was normal for a race to be called after the name of its founder, and yet no race called "Aeneans" or "Aeneids" will survive, while the name of the conquered king Latinus will be borne by the conquering race.

The rest of the items fall outside the timespan covered by the narrative. Everyone knows that Carthage and Rome were enemies throughout history, until Rome finally wiped the city off the face of the earth. It is also a matter of history, or rather legend, that Rome was founded not by Aeneas, but by Romulus and Remus. The sequence is given us in the prophecy of Jupiter to Venus in 1. 254–96: after defeating the Italians, Aeneas will found the city Lavinium and will reign for three years; Ascanius will then rule for thirty years and will move the capital to Alba Longa; three hundred years later Romulus will be born and will found Rome, calling the Romans after himself; the Romans will then rule forever. Hence Rome will not be founded until more than three hundred thirty-three years after the time of the end of the poem. Jupiter gives us the positive side (Aeneas will reign for three years and be succeeded by Iulus); Dido gives the negative side

(Aeneas will die before his day—something already implied in Jupiter’s prophecy, if Aeneas will be succeeded after only three years).

But what about the rest of 4. 620: *mediaque inhumatus harena*? Will Aeneas lie unburied in the middle of the sand, as Priam in 2. 557–58 and Palinurus, in Aeneas’ fears, at the end of Book 5? Our first clue within the poem is Jupiter’s prophecy to Venus in 1. 258–60, “cernes urbem et promissa Lavini / moenia sublimemque feres ad sidera caeli / magnanimum Aenean”: “You will see the city and promised walls of Lavinium, and you will bear on high to the stars of the sky great-hearted Aeneas.” “Bear on high to the stars” could be a metaphor, but it has a meaning in ancient Roman legend and worship. Aeneas was worshiped as a god called *Indiges*. According to one version of the ancient legend, Aeneas fell in battle, and when his body was not found, Iulus claimed that he had been received among the gods.<sup>5</sup> It is perhaps significant that Dido is made to pray not that Aeneas *lie* unburied, but that he *fall* (so as to be) unburied. So phrased, the curse is consistent with the legend that Aeneas was assumed into heaven. This version is confirmed in the last book of the poem in Jupiter’s address to Juno (12. 791–95):

Iunonem interea rex omnipotentis Olympi  
adloquitur fulva pugnas de nube tuentem:  
“quae iam finis erit, coniunx? quid denique restat?  
Indigetem Aenean scis ipsa et scire fateris  
deberi caelo fatisque ad sidera tolli.”

*Fatisque ad sidera tolli* is but the passive of 1. 259 *feres ad sidera caeli*. Therefore what at first seems like a dread curse that Aeneas, like the shade of Palinurus in Book 6, will find no rest after his death from the lack of burial and will never enjoy the Elysian Fields, turns out instead to be a prophecy that he will enjoy in heaven the eternal happiness of an immortal. In this respect, as in many other events of the poem, Aeneas is a paradigm for Augustus, who, as Vergil had predicted in *Georgics* 1. 24–25, is destined to be deified after his death. He is also a paradigm for Julius Caesar, who had already been deified by the time Vergil wrote.<sup>6</sup>

As I have said, prophecies and curses in epic always come true, though not necessarily as the speaker or hearer understood them. The same may be said of promises, at least of those that have the potential for double meaning. In 4. 416–36, Dido, seeing that Aeneas and the Trojans are preparing to depart, asks her sister Anna for a favor:

“Anna, vides toto properari litore circum:  
undique convenere; vocat iam carbasus auras,  
puppibus et laeti nautae imposuere coronas.

5. See Servius Auctus on *Aen.* 12. 794 and Scholia Veronensia on *Aen.* 1. 259. Essentially the same story (but without mention of Ascanius) was told by Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1. 64. The commentators and Dionysius had access to the historical and antiquarian tradition that antedates Vergil. For brief accounts of Aeneas’ apotheosis roughly contemporary with Vergil, see Tib. 2. 5. 43–44 and Livy 1. 2. 6 (who, however, claims that Aeneas was buried), and for a fuller account, see Ov. *Met.* 14. 581–608.

6. It is disputed whose deification is predicted by Jupiter in 1. 290. Servius interpreted the reference to be to Julius Caesar (as 288 *Iulius* suggests), with the *tum* of 291 introducing a switch to the time of Augustus. Many modern scholars disagree, including R. D. Williams, *The “Aeneid” of Vergil*, vol. 1 (London, 1972; repr. 1975), pp. 181–82, who refers even 286–90 to Augustus. Under either interpretation the prediction (“vocabitur hic quoque votis”) calls attention to the similarity between Aeneas and his supposed descendant.

hunc ego si potui tantum sperare dolorem,  
et perferre, soror, potero. **miseræ hoc tamen unum** 420  
**exsequere, Anna, mihi;** solam nam perfidus ille  
te colere, arcanos etiam tibi credere sensus;  
sola viri mollis aditus et tempora noras.  
**i, soror, atque hostem supplex adfare superbum:**  
non ego cum Danaïs Troianam excindere gentem 425  
Aulide iuravi classemve ad Pergama misi,  
nec patris Anchisæ cinerem manisve revelli:  
cur mea dicta negat duras demittere in auris?  
**quo ruit? extremum hoc miseræ det munus amanti:**  
**exspectet facilemque fugam ventosque ferentis.** 430  
non iam coniugium antiquum, quod prodidit, oro,  
nec pulchro ut Latio careat regnumque relinquat:  
**tempus inane peto, requiem spatiumque furori,**  
**dum mea me victam doceat fortuna dolere.**  
**extremam hanc oro veniam (miserere sororis),** 435  
**quam mihi cum dederis<sup>1</sup> cumulata morte remittam."**

436 *dederit* MP, agnoscit Servius: *dederis* abc, Servius *cumulatam* P, Servius:  
*cumulata* M, agnoscit Servius

I translate only the parts in boldface: "Accomplish this one thing for poor me, Anna. . . . Go, sister, and address the haughty enemy. . . . Where is he rushing to? Let him grant this last service to a poor lover. Let him wait for an easy flight and favoring winds. . . . It is mere empty time that I seek, a respite and intermission for my madness, until my own fortune teaches me to grieve in defeat." There now follow disputed lines, 435–36. In most editions, the lines read (with *dederit* in 436): "This last favor I pray (pity your sister), and when he has granted it to me I will repay it with interest at (or by) death."<sup>7</sup> This is not the only version known in antiquity. Servius knew two versions, one (which he claimed to have been adopted in the first edition by Tucca and Varius, Vergil's heirs) reading *dederis cumulata*, the other reading *dederit cumulata*. The version commonly printed, *dederit cumulata*, found in codex P, is a conflation of the two, but not, I think, correct.

There are several problems with it. First, the parenthetic *miserere sororis* immediately following *veniam* seems to be Vergil's clue that this request for a favor is addressed not to Aeneas but to Anna. There are two favors involved in the passage, the request of 420–21 ("miseræ hoc tamen unum, exsequere, Anna, mihi") and that of 429 ("extremum hoc miseræ det munus amanti"): Anna is

7. This is the reading chosen by the most recent editors, including Ribbeck (1896), Sabbadini-Castiglioni (1958), Mynors (1969; repr. 1980), and Geymonat (1973). Heyne-Wagner (1830) had read *dederis*, but Heyne interpreted *morte* as meaning *usque ad mortem*: it could bear this meaning only if we punctuate after *cumulatam* with Servius ("quod beneficium cum mihi cumulata dederis, sola morte derelinquam"), a punctuation generally rejected by editors, including Heyne-Wagner. Similarly, J. Henry, *Aeneidea*, vol. 2 (New York, 1873–92; repr. 1972), p. 745, interpreted *morte* with *dederis* as "when I am dead," that is, "my *manes* will be *piti* towards you." The Latin for that would have been *mortua pendam* or something similar. But Henry (p. 747) does make the important point that every one of the arguments put in Dido's mouth in this passage is imitated by Ovid in *Her.* 7. The lines he found to correspond to *Aen.* 4. 435–36 are *Her.* 7. 191–92, which form a striking apostrophe to Anna at the close of a letter addressed to Aeneas: "Anna soror, soror Anna, meae male conscia culpae, / iam dabis in cineres ultima dona meos." Henry found Vergil's *extremam veniam* to be imitated by Ovid's *ultima dona*; though the gift is different, nevertheless the gift in Ovid (and, as Henry argued, in Vergil) is to be given by Anna—a good indication that Ovid read *Aen.* 4. 436 with *dederis*.

asked the favor of going to Aeneas and begging him to wait; Aeneas is to be asked the favor of waiting. Either could be resumed in the final lines of the speech, but it makes for better structure if it is the first request, the favor asked of Anna, that is repeated at the end, thereby enclosing the speech in a sort of ring composition. This is a frequent feature of oral style (and direct address mimics oral style): what is said at the beginning is repeated at the end. Here it would serve a function of closure if, after speaking words really addressed indirectly to Aeneas, Dido concludes her appeal to Anna with words addressed to Anna.

But more important is the working of the double meaning that underlies Dido's promise. Dido promises that when the favor is granted she will return the favor with interest *morte*. Many scholars perceive that *morte* has a double meaning.<sup>8</sup> Its ostensible meaning is "I will return the favor with interest at the time of my death." Its concealed meaning is "by death," that is, either "by Aeneas' death" (if we read *dederit*), or "by my death" (if we read *dederis*).<sup>9</sup> To start with the ostensible meaning, it is inappropriate for Dido to promise that she will return Aeneas' favor at the time of her death: she has asked Aeneas to wait only a short while; it is rhetorically disastrous to leave an implication that he will be around until the time of her death. But Anna can appropriately be promised an inheritance, and probably succession as queen, without arousing any suspicion (Dido leaves vague what benefit she will confer on Anna, and that vagueness is appropriate to the delicacy of their relationship; Anna will expect whatever benefit she feels it appropriate to hope for). Most important, however, is the rule that promises, or at least ambiguous promises in an epic that plays upon ambiguity, must find some sort of fulfillment.<sup>10</sup> Aeneas does not grant Dido's request, and Dido does not kill him. But Anna does grant Dido's request and does appeal (unsuccessfully) to Aeneas; and Dido does kill herself. The promise is kept, but in a way different from what the addressee imagines. The double entendre works, but only if we read *dederis* in 435: "This last favor I pray (pity your sister, Anna), and when you have granted it, I will repay it with interest in my death," that is, as Anna understands, "when I die," but as the reader and Anna eventually understand, "with my death as the payment."

8. So R. D. Williams, "*Aeneid*" of Vergil, p. 372, reading *dederit*, explains that Anna presumably understood it "to be a vague reference to some intended benevolence . . . but the reader (prepared for Dido's tragic intention, 415) visualizes Dido paying Aeneas' loan of time at the price of her death." But he incorrectly states that *dederis* destroys the ambiguity. In fact the ambiguity does not work well with *dederit* precisely because there is no loan of time. As 415 indicates, Dido expects that, if her request is granted, she will not have to die.

9. For a discussion of the various interpretations given by scholars, see the commentary on the line by A. S. Pease, *Publi Vergili Maronis "Aeneidos" Liber Quartus* (Cambridge, Mass., 1935). I have limited my listing of possible interpretations to the most reasonable ones. As I have indicated in the preceding note, not everyone who reads *dederit* interprets *morte* as "by Aeneas' death." But since the loan of time is not granted, a consistent interpretation would require the promise contained in *morte* also not to be granted. Pease's own analysis is hampered by a failure to recognize the possibility of multiple, equally intended levels of meaning, and by the application of too strict a logic to the words of a distraught woman (e.g., a temporal interpretation of *morte* is rejected on the grounds that Dido had no obvious reason for supposing that she might not outlive Aeneas or Anna).

10. That is, it is not relevant that Dido breaks her promise to Sychaeus, or that treaties are broken in the *Iliad* and *Aeneid*. Ambiguity is introduced so that a prediction, curse, or promise can be fulfilled in a way not expected. And those promises that are prophetic—for instance, Jupiter's promise to Venus in l. 257–96, the many promises by the gods to Aeneas concerning his "promised land," and the promise by Aeneas to the Latins in ll. 187–94—are always fulfilled.

One last question needs to be addressed. I have classified the type of double meaning found in 4. 436 with that manifested in ambiguous prophecies, in which there is an obvious level of meaning that usually is later proven to be false, and a hidden level that turns out to be true. We have here an obvious and a hidden level of meaning, and the hidden level turns out to be true in the sense that it is fulfilled. But in what sense can the obvious level be said to be false (unfulfilled)?

In the type of double meaning in question, sometimes the two interpretations are mutually exclusive (as in the oracles given Macbeth), but sometimes it would be conceivable for both interpretations to come true. So, though the great kingdom that Croesus destroyed turned out to be his own and not Cyrus', it would have been conceivable for Croesus to destroy both Cyrus' kingdom and his own. It would have been conceivable for Oedipus to kill both his real and his adoptive father, and marry in succession both his real and his adoptive mother; but from the reported deaths of his adoptive parents we know that he did not. The Trojans could at one time have recognized in their eating of cakes the fulfillment of the prophecy that they would eat their own tables and at another time, beyond the narrative of the poem, have been driven by dire hunger to gnaw at real tables. The Trojans correctly recognized that, after a transferred meaning of the prophecy had been realized, they no longer had to fear a realization of the obvious level of meaning; nor should we readers anticipate that any such realization of the obvious level awaits the Trojans after the narrative ends. At the death of Dido, the reader can recognize that the meaning of Dido's promise that was obscure to Anna has been fulfilled. But has the meaning that Anna perceived also been fulfilled? Does she receive any boon from the death of Dido?

From the poem itself, the sole evidence is Anna's reaction to the death (4. 682–83): “extincti te meque, soror, populumque patresque / Sidonios urbemque tuam.” Anna did not believe that she had received any boon through Dido's death, but believed that it meant the downfall of herself and Carthage. The impending downfall of Carthage has already been symbolized in 669–70, “non aliter quam si immissis ruat hostibus omnis / Karthago.” The reference is to the wailing that follows the discovery of the dead Dido, and the line imitates *Iliad* 22. 410–11, on the wailing that follows the death of Hector, as if all Ilium were burning. Scholars have readily recognized in the Homeric lines the poet's symbolic declaration that the death of Hector ensures the downfall of Troy, and a similar symbolism should underlie the Vergilian imitation: Carthage will soon fall.

The learned reader of Vergil's day had the advantage of reading the *Aeneid* within the context of a previous tradition of poetry and legend. So Vergil did not need to narrate the events that led to Aeneas' assumption into heaven: the allusions contained in Jupiter's predictions and Dido's curse are sufficient clues to the version of Aeneas' fate that the poet means the reader to accept. There are only two versions of the fate of Anna known in antiquity, one of which is incompatible with Vergil's narrative. Varro claimed that Anna, not Dido, had been driven by love of Aeneas to kill herself on the pyre.<sup>11</sup> Some scholars therefore see Anna as in origin a byform for Dido, just as Vergil uses also the name Elissa of

11. Serv. Auct. on *Aen.* 4. 682 “EXTINXTI ME TEQVE SOROR Varro ait non Didonem sed Annam amore Aeneae impulsam se super rogum interemisse.” So also Servius on *Aen.* 5. 4.



Dido.<sup>12</sup> But clearly neither Vergil nor Naevius so used the name Anna. We are told by Servius Auctus (on *Aen.* 4. 9) that Naevius used the words “cuius filiae fuerint Anna et Dido.”<sup>13</sup> Naevius too therefore presented both Anna and Dido as sisters; and if, as is generally believed, Naevius introduced the love affair between Dido and Aeneas as a cause of the Punic War, Anna was in his *Bellum Poenicum* no substitute for Dido in killing herself on the pyre. We do not know whether Naevius bothered to relate anything about the fate of Anna following Dido’s death, or if Ennius’ account in his *Annales* of the Second Punic War led him to use the opportunity adopted by Silius Italicus (see below); but if any early poet did concern himself with Anna’s fate, our sole clue would be in the later poetic treatments.

As it happens, the only later non-Varronian versions are found in the *Punica* of Silius Italicus and in Ovid’s *Fasti*, a poem based on antiquarian research. Ovid (*Fast.* 3. 545–656) and Silius (*Pun.* 8. 50–201)<sup>14</sup> tell essentially the same tale: the ashes of Dido’s pyre have not yet cooled when Iarbas invades (Sil. *Pun.* 8. 54–55 “despectus taedae regnis se imponit Iarbas, / et tepido fugit Anna rogo”; Ov. *Fast.* 3. 551–59 “protinus invadunt Numidae sine vindice regnum, / et potitur capta Maurus Iarba domo. . . . pellitur Anna domo”).<sup>15</sup> Carthage falls and Anna flees for her life to Italy, where she reencounters Aeneas, who befriends her. Lavinia, however, is jealous and drives Anna to flee to the river Numicus, where she is transformed into the nymph Anna Perenna. It is often assumed that Ovid invented this version and that Silius adopted it from Ovid.<sup>16</sup> The latter is possible (Ovid will at the least have influenced Silius, though he need not be Silius’ only source; Silius differs from Ovid in having Anna flee from Carthage first to Cyrene rather than to Malta); but the former is most improbable. The story of Anna’s flight and transformation is introduced as one of several versions of the origin of Anna Perenna (*Fast.* 3. 543–44 “quae tamen haec dea sit quoniam rumoribus errat, / fabula proposito nulla tegenda meo”). The device of presenting more than one version is a mechanism, imitated from the commentaries of *grammatici*, for

12. So O. Rossbach, “Anna,” *RE* 1 (1884): 2223.

13. The words are not exact: Naevius would have used the form *quoius* for *cuius* (as would any republican author; in later citations the spelling is regularly adapted to contemporary standards); and the course of transmission may have introduced other simplifications. The full comment is: “ANNA SOROR ‘cuius filiae fuerint Anna et Dido,’ Naevius dicit.” The tag “(blank) dicit” is a formula for introducing a direct quotation: cf. Serv. on *Aen.* 6. 6 “SEMINA FLAMMAE σπέρματα πυρός, Homerus dicit.” The words “cuius . . . Dido” would make no sense as a comment on *Anna soror* if they were understood as spoken in the voice of the commentator, nor would the tense and mood of *fuerint* be justifiable. The scholium is a comment on Vergil’s use of *soror* as an appellation of Anna and means that even Naevius presented Anna as Dido’s sister.

14. Lines 144–223 of Silius, known to Constantius in his *Collectanea* (1508) and printed in the first Aldine edition, but missing from the MSS used by modern editors, are of suspect authenticity (though, if not authentic, they must fill a lacuna of similar contents). The question of authenticity does not affect the arguments in this paper.

15. There intervene before *pellitur Anna* in Ovid’s MSS lines 557–58 “tertia nudandas acceperat area messes, / inque cavos ierant tertia musta lacus.” The couplet has been taken to mean that Anna fled three years after the death of Dido. But this interpretation contradicts not only Silius’ version but also Ovid’s own lines, 551–54 (where *protinus* is followed not only by the statement that Iarbas captured the palace but also by 555 “diffugiunt Tyrii”) and 560 “germanae iusta dat ante suae” (where Anna’s performance of the funeral for Dido surely was not delayed until three years after Dido’s death). I shall argue elsewhere in *CP* that the couplet is out of position and belongs between 574 and 575.

16. H. J. Rose, *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* (New York, 1959), p. 309, and in the *OCD*, p. 54, repeated in the second edition, p. 65.

taking account of conflicting versions already known. Although we have no evidence that Vergil knew, or expected the reader to know, the later parts of this story of Anna, including the flight to Italy,<sup>17</sup> the first part of the story, that Carthage was invaded and sacked soon after the demise of Dido, seems alluded to in the simile of *Aeneid* 4. 669–70 and in Anna's words at 4. 682–83.<sup>18</sup> Anna, therefore, was in no position to benefit from Dido's death in any way that she could have imagined when she heard Dido's words in 436.

Interpretation of 436 as a promise by Dido to make Anna her heir met objection from Pease on the grounds that it contradicts "the form of the legend by which Anna later migrates to Italy."<sup>19</sup> Once it is recognized that Dido's words fit a pattern of ambiguous utterance in which the meaning understood by the hearer should not be fulfilled, the incompatibility with the remaining poetic tradition shows rather that Vergil has followed the pattern without deviation.<sup>20</sup>

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17. Anna's exclamation in 4. 682, "extincti te meque, soror," probably implies Vergil's awareness of a version in which Dido's death leads to Anna's. This is compatible with the version found in Ovid and Silius, where Anna's drowning in the river Numicus follows within three years (in Silius at least), and as a result of a chain of events started by Dido's suicide. But it is also compatible with other versions of Anna's demise which could be imagined. Servius evidently took the words as reflecting knowledge of Varro's version, in which Anna herself committed suicide. A. A. Barrett, "Anna's Conduct in *Aeneid* 4," *Vergilius* 16 (1970): 21–24, in an argument whose ultimate conclusions are completely improbable, found in both the Ovidian and the Vergilian version overtones of Varro's account, in which it was really Anna whom Aeneas loved (hence Lavinia was justifiably jealous when Anna appeared in Italy) and really Anna who killed herself on the pyre. Although it is possible that these versions show some knowledge of the Varronian account (Barrett points to *Aen.* 4. 421–22 "solam nam perfidus ille / te colere, arcanos etiam tibi credere sensus"), any such acknowledgment occurs as part of a rejection of that account. Hence Barrett is not right in arguing that 4. 436 is an offer by Dido to Anna to kill herself and leave Anna free to marry Aeneas. In the *Aeneid* it is Dido, not Anna, who is romantically involved with Aeneas, and Dido's death comes as a surprise to Anna, who could have perceived no implication of suicide in Dido's words.

18. The tradition that Iarbas invaded following Aeneas' departure and Dido's demise also seems to be acknowledged in the earlier mentions of Iarbas, 4. 35 and 4. 189–97 (where Iarbas' jealousy is motivated), and especially in Dido's words in 4. 325–26 "Quid moror? an mea Pygmalion dum moenia frater / destruat aut captam ducat Gaetulus Iarbas?" (where the vulnerability of Carthage to attack is established). I distinguish acknowledgment from allusion. Acknowledgment does not require adoption. The words in 4. 669–70 and 4. 682–83 lose in pathos and poetic artistry if they are not understood as allusions to Carthage's impending doom, which Vergil's version therefore supposes as part of its narrative context.

19. "*Aeneidos*" *Liber Quartus*, p. 361.

20. I am grateful to W. S. Anderson and to the Editor for helpful criticism of this paper.