

Virgil's Ptolemaic Relations*

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INVISIT APOLLO ... uel Apollini Aenean, <ut> in primo (498) Didonem Dianae, quomodo germanorum nuptiae esse non possunt.

APOLLO VISITS ... or, [he compares] Aeneas to Apollo, as Dido to Diana in the first book, even as a marriage cannot take place between siblings.

Servius Danielis on *Aeneid* 4.144

OVIDIAN AND VIRGILIAN TALES OF INCEST

Incest is a major and explicit theme of the erotic content of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, notably the brother-sister incest of Byblis and Caunus in Book 9, and the parent-child incest of Myrrha and Cinyras in Book 10. The latter forms part of a longer sequence within the Song of Orpheus containing hints of incestuous desire. Myrrha is descended from the union of Pygmalion with the living woman into which his sculptural masterpiece is transformed: Pygmalion's desire for his own creation (*Met.* 10.249: 'operisque sui concepti amorem') has something of the narcissistic and incestuous about it (love for a figurative daughter, the work of art as the artist's 'child'). Myrrha in turn is the mother of Adonis, a baby as pretty as a picture of a naked Cupid — a similarity that infects Venus' desire for the grown Adonis with a strong whiff of the incestuous.

Elsewhere Ovidian innuendo hints in passing at illicit desire. For example, at *Met.* 2.453–5 Diana retires to the cool grove where the result of her nymph Callisto's unchastity will be revealed; the goddess is heated from the hunt, 454 'cum dea uenatu et fraternis languida flammis', 'the goddess faint from hunting and the fire of her brother', language that to the impure mind could suggest an erotic heat and languor. The confusion between external heat and an erotic warmth is crucial to the stories of Narcissus (3.413–15) and of Cephalus (7.809–15). The reference in the previous line, 2.453 'orbe resurgebant lunaria cornua nono', to the ninth waxing of the moon, an indication of the passage of time since Jupiter's rape of Callisto, alerts us to the identification of Diana with the moon.

All very Ovidian, and far removed from the serious business of Virgil's *Aeneid*, one might say. I shall suggest, however, that Ovidian innuendo implies a certain reading of the *Aeneid*, a reading that this article will attempt to justify through a range of intertextualities. But I start with Ovid, and with the claim that many of Ovid's stories of frustrated or perverted desire rewrite, in different ways, the Virgilian narrative of Dido and Aeneas.¹ The first in the series of erotic stories in the *Metamorphoses*, and the one that *within* the text generates many of those that follow through what might be called Ovid's transformational grammar of myth, is the Apollo and Daphne story. This tale of a lustful god and a neurotically chaste virgin might seem as far removed as possible from the situation in which Dido and Aeneas find themselves. But there is a detail at the beginning of the Ovidian narrative that suggests both a half-submerged incest plot, and a Virgilian connection. Daphne, we are told, is (*Met.* 1.476) 'innuptaeque aemula Phoebes', 'a rival of unwed Diana', imitating the goddess in her lifestyle and looks. This is not a very proper

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¹ See P. Hardie, *Ovid's Poetics of Illusion* (2002), index s.v. 'Dido'.

object of desire for Diana's brother Apollo. Diana look-alikes come on stage at the beginning of the Virgilian narrative, firstly in the person of the disguised Venus, mistaken by Aeneas for Diana or one of her nymphs, and secondly in the entrance of Dido herself compared to Diana in a famous simile (*Aen.* 1.498–502). Further, Dido's erotic fall tragically undoes her vow to a perpetual state of chastity in memory of her dead husband Sychaeus.² Ovid's Daphne prays to her father for perpetual virginity (*Met.* 1.486–7), this too in imitation of Diana. In her second, and last, utterance praying for deliverance from her pursuer, she appeals to the Earth to swallow her, 544 'Tellus . . . hisce',³ in a repetition of Dido's initial attempt to reinforce her resolve at *Aen.* 4.24 'sed mihi uel *tellus* optem prius ima *dehiscat*', 'I would pray that the earth would sooner open to its depths to swallow me'.

Virgil explores figurative situations of both parent-child incest and sibling incest. Sibling incest is the focus of this article, but I briefly discuss the hints of parent-child incest, to which Ellen Oliensis has notably drawn attention.⁴ There are incestuous overtones in Aeneas' meeting with his disguised mother Venus in Book 1, a scene modelled on, firstly, the erotic encounter, leading to sexual intercourse, between Aeneas' father Anchises and his mother Aphrodite in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*,⁵ and, secondly, the meeting between Odysseus and Nausicaa in *Odyssey* 6, that *might* have been the prelude to marriage. Aeneas' first reaction to Dido herself is presented indirectly through the simile comparing the Carthaginian queen to Diana surrounded by her nymphs (*Aen.* 1.498–502). To the concealed viewer, Aeneas, looking at the mortal woman corresponds, in the simile, Latona's joyful gaze on her daughter Diana, 502 'Latonae tacitum pertemptant gaudia mentem', 'joy silently assails Latona's mind': *pertemptant* is an unexpectedly strong word,⁶ as if a more dangerous emotion felt by Aeneas spills over into the simile to infect Latona's innocent maternal love. Dido's continuing attempts to control her relationship with Aeneas are also figured as eroticizations of a mother-child relationship. Speaking of Dido's 'oddly maternal passion', Oliensis notes the channelling of her desire for the father Aeneas through the person of Cupid disguised as the son Ascanius (1.712–22). Meanwhile Venus has sent the real Ascanius to sleep and whisked him away to her Idalian grove (1.691–4). So far from being merely 'a comforting anaesthetic', as Austin puts it, Ascanius' slumber has an erotic, almost post-coital feel to it: the language is similar to that used of Venus' seduction of her lawful husband in Book 8.⁷ Later (4.327–30) Dido wishes that she might be pregnant with a 'little Aeneas' who would remind her of his father, a consolation but also an erotic substitute for the departed Aeneas.

² Sergio Casali, in his forthcoming commentary on *Aeneid* 4, suggests that the difficult phrase (*Aen.* 4.32) 'perpetua . . . iuuenta' contains the idea of the more expected collocation *perpetua uirginitate*, found in the Ovidian Daphne's prayer to her father at *Met.* 1.486–7.

³ 544–5 are often taken to be part of a double recension at this point in the text (on the issues see recently A. Barchiesi, *Ovidio Metamorfosi*, vol. I, *Libri I–II* (2005), 212–13). Daphne's alternative prayer is to her father, 546 "'fer, pater" inquit, "opem, si flumina numen habetis": Dido, after praying that the earth might swallow her, continues (25) 'uel *pater* omnipotens adigat me fulmine ad umbras'. If the Ovidian 'double recension' contains elements from, respectively, the two alternatives in Dido's oath, one might ask whether Daphne's 'si *flumina* numen habetis' makes a pointed contrast with the greater power of the *fulmen*.

⁴ E. Oliensis, 'Sons and lovers: sexuality and gender in Virgil's poetry', in C. Martindale (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil* (1997), 294–311, at 305–7.

⁵ See K. Reckford, 'Recognizing Venus (I): Aeneas meets his mother', *Arion* 3.2 (1995), 1–42, esp. 16–22, 'Venus, Anchises, and Aeneas'.

⁶ Used of sexual love at *Geo.* 3.250 (with the force of a Lucretian thunderbolt, *De rerum natura* 6.287).

⁷ 1.691–4 'at Venus Ascanio placidam per membra quietem | inrigat, et fotum gremio dea tollit in altos | Idaliae lucos, ubi mollis amaracus illum | floribus et dulci aspirans complectitur umbra': cf. 8.388 'cunctantem amplexu molli fouet'; 405–6 'placidumque petiuit | coniugis infusus gremio per membra soporem'; on the infection of this maternal Arcadia with the sexuality of the Venus and Vulcan scene see Reckford, op. cit. (n. 5), 25. *amaracus* 'marjoram' is the plant used by Hymen to bind his temples at *Cat.* 61.6–7, and is used by the *exclusus amator* to anoint the door-posts of the beloved at *Lucret.* 4.1177–9.

Thus Virgil uses the relationships between Latona and her daughter Diana, and Venus and her son Cupid, to reflect on the first stages of the relationship between Dido and Aeneas. But Dido and Aeneas also act out another Olympian relationship, that of the siblings, in some versions twins, Diana and Apollo.⁸ Dido's love may also be *infandus* 'unspeakable' (4.85) for the reason that, figuratively, it leads to sister-brother incest.⁹ A number of the salient aspects of this 'twinning' of Dido and Aeneas have been briefly discussed by Clifford Weber in an important article;¹⁰ it is the purpose of the present discussion to explore the detailed ramifications of this figurative incest.

THE USES OF INCEST

Before I look at the details, I want briefly to raise the question of *why* incest? What uses does the motif have for the writer beyond the salacious and titillating? Three kinds of answer may be suggested.

Firstly, a psychoanalytical approach to the dynamics of plot, of a kind associated with the work of Peter Brooks, whose Freudian analysis of plot has been productively exploited by a number of critics of ancient narratives.¹¹ Oliensis makes powerful use of this in her brief discussion of incest motifs in the *Aeneid*, identifying a regressive desire on Dido's part to conflate the future with the past, comparable to Andromache's futile attempt to create an exact replica of the lost Troy.¹² Oliensis sees in the incestuous overtones of the meeting between Aeneas and his disguised mother 'a recursive movement in time and space'. 'In so far as incestuous unions come to figure narrative regress, the plot of the epic depends on the separation of maternal origins from marital ends; otherwise, Aeneas will reproduce only the past, not the future.'¹³ In the second half of the poem the exogamous union of Aeneas and Lavinia that will ensure that this story does have a future is endangered by what Kenneth Reckford, anticipated by Oliver Lyne, describes as the 'strange erotic triangle [of] Amata-Turnus-Lavinia . . . where Amata's passionate concern for Turnus, her intended son-in-law, takes on incestuous colouring from Euripides' *Hippolytus*'.¹⁴

Secondly, the example of Pygmalion suggests incest as a model for the relationship between the artist or writer and his creation, figuring a forbidden desire for the artist's own 'child': forbidden both because the relationship is too close, but also because it is an impossible desire for an object that exists on the other side of the unbridgeable divide between the world of biological process and the unchanging world of mimetic representations. In the case of Ovid the closeness, verging on identity, of an incestuous relationship between siblings is analogous to the delusive identification of representation and reality. Note that Byblis and Caunus, the subjects of Ovid's major narrative of sibling incest, are not just brother and sister, but twins. Ovid's tales of incest are closely — incestuously, perhaps — related to an episode that has very frequently been read as a parable about the creation and reception of artistic productions, the story of Narcissus. We are here dealing not with the psychodynamics of plot, but with the psychology of creativity, or, to be more

⁸ In fact the idea that Apollo and Artemis are twins is rare outside Pindar: I. Rutherford, 'Pindar on the birth of Apollo', *CQ* 38 (1988), 65–75, at 72.

⁹ The etymologically synonymous *nefandus* is standardly used of incest (together with *nefas*, *nefarius*): P. Moreau, *Incestus et prohibita nuptiae. L'inceste à Rome* (2002), 43–5.

¹⁰ C. Weber, 'The Dionysus in Aeneas', *CP* 97 (2002), 322–43, at 338–40 (a first draft of the present article was completed before I read Weber's article). For a psychoanalytical approach to Dido as Aeneas' second self see T. Nortwick, *Somewhere I Have Never Travelled. The Second Self and the Hero's Journey in Ancient Epic* (1992).

¹¹ P. Brooks, *Reading for the Plot: Design and Intention in Narrative* (1984).

¹² cf. esp. *Aen.* 3.489–90 'o mihi sola mei super Astyanactis imago. | sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat' with 4.329 'qui te tamen ore referret'.

¹³ Oliensis, op. cit. (n. 4), 306–7.

¹⁴ Reckford, op. cit. (n. 5), 41 n. 45. R. O. A. M. Lyne, 'Lavinia's blush: Vergil, *Aeneid* 12.64–70', *G&R* 30 (1983), 55–64: 56 on the erotic quality of Amata's feelings for Turnus.

precise, with the psychology of the self-representation of creativity. J. T. Irwin's Freudian study of William Faulkner's novels offers much for the student of the narcissistic and incestuous mirrorings of Ovid, but perhaps less for the reader of Virgil.¹⁵

Thirdly, we can explore the meanings of incest within the culture and history of the Roman world. In literary-historical terms, incest is something of an obsession with the neoteric poets of the generation before Virgil; in the case of Catullus it is tempting to connect this obsession with the real-life personal and social circumstances of the poet.¹⁶ Charges of incest are a standard element of political and forensic invective in the Roman Republic.¹⁷ Rumours of incest will become a stock feature of hostile gossip about the imperial household. In the 30s B.C. political invective was directed against an alien royal household, the Ptolemaic dynasty of Alexandria, in which brother-sister marriage had become institutionalized as part of the practice and ideology of the ruling family, and it is this that will be the main focus of this article. Virgil's allusions to Ptolemaic brother-sister marriage can be read as a literary reflection of a historical reality, but it is also a major contributor to the dynamics of the plot of the *Aeneid* (the first of my 'uses of incest'): the threat of a quasi-incestuous union between Dido and Aeneas is one of the most serious obstacles to the successful working-through of the plot to its *fnis*.

CALLIMACHEAN RIVALRIES

Dido and Aeneas are coupled as Diana and Apollo by the famous similes at *Aeneid* 1.498–502 and 4.143–50.¹⁸ These similes are based on Apollonian models (*Argon.* 1.307–9, Jason like Apollo; 3.876–84, Medea like Artemis). Apollonius may suggest that Jason was meant for Medea, just as Apollo is Artemis' feminine double, but Virgil brings the hint of incest a step nearer by including both similes *within* the story of Dido and Aeneas, whereas the Apollonian comparison of Jason to Apollo occurs right at the beginning of the *Argonautica*, two books before Jason and Medea are brought together.

Callimachean allusion in the description of the party setting out for the hunt draws Dido and Aeneas yet closer. Immediately before the picture of Aeneas as Apollo, Dido is presented in the threefold golden magnificence of her quiver, hair-clasp, and brooch, 4.138–9 'cui pharetra ex auro, crines nodantur in aurum, | aurea purpuream subnectit

¹⁵ J. T. Irwin, *Doubling and Incest, Repetition and Revenge. A Speculative Reading of Faulkner* (expanded edn, 1996). Faulkner himself was fascinated by the Ovidian stories of Pygmalion and Narcissus. I examine this function of the theme of incest in Ovid in 'Approximative similes in Ovid. Incest and doubling', *Dictynna* (2004) <http://www.univ-lille3.fr/portail/index.php?page=Dictynna>.

¹⁶ Neoteric poets: cf. Cinna's lost *Zmyrna*; on the prominence of incest in Parthenius and his Hellenistic predecessors see J. Lightfoot, *Parthenius of Nicaea* (1999), 242–4. Catullus: H. D. Rankin, 'Catullus and incest', *Eranos* 74 (1976), 113–21; W. J. Tatum, 'Catullus 79: personal invective or political discourse?', *PLS* 7 (1993), 31–45; E. A. Schmidt, 'Catullus Anordnung seiner Gedichte', *Philol.* 117 (1973), 215–42: 229–33 on the cycle 88–91 attacking Gellius' incest; S. J. Harrison, 'Mythological incest: Catullus 88', *CQ* 46 (1996), 581–2. See also L. and P. Watson, *Martial. Select Epigrams* (2003), 255–7 (on Mart. 12.20).

¹⁷ Notable examples include Cicero's *Pro Caelio* and the pseudo-Sallustian *Invectiva in Ciceronem* 2.2 'filia matris paelex, tibi iucundior atque obsequentior quam parenti par est'. See Tatum, *op. cit.* (n. 16), 34–5; Moreau, *op. cit.* (n. 9), 33–4. In general on incest in Roman law and society see G. Hanard, 'Inceste et société romaine républicaine: un essai d'interprétation ethno-juridique du fragment du livre XX de l'histoire de Tite-Live', *RBPb* 64 (1986), 32–61.

¹⁸ See W. Clausen, *Virgil's Aeneid and the Tradition of Hellenistic Poetry* (1987), ch. 2 'Two similes and a wedding'; 23 'Dido and Aeneas are thus beautifully paired'. Aeneas *pulcherrimus* (4.141) mirrors Dido's first appearance at 1.496, *forma pulcherrima Dido*. The Apollo simile occurs in a context of allusion to weddings: Austin notes on 141 *pulcherrimus* 'Aeneas is worthy of her, just as Manlius was worthy of his young bride's beauty' at Cat. 61.189–92 'at, marite ... nihilo minus | pulcer es, neque te Venus | neglegit'. The setting out to the hunt is an ill-omened *deductio*: Austin on 4.133 'reginam thalamo cunctantem ad limina' compares Cat. 61.79 'tardet ingenius pudor'. With 4.150 '[Aeneas] egregio decus enitet ore' cf. Cat. 61.186 'ore floridulo nitens' (of the bride, but in the next stanza we are told that the groom is as beautiful). The model of Cat. 61 continues in Dido's futile wish at *Aen.* 4.328–9 'si quis mihi paruulus aula | luderet Aeneas, qui te tamen ore referret': cf. Cat. 61.209, 214–15 'Torquatus ... paruulus ... sit suo similis patri | Manlio'.

fibula uestem', 'her quiver was of gold. Gold was the clasp that gathered up her hair and her purple tunic was fastened with a golden brooch', in imitation of the triple χρυσ- at Callimachus, *Hymn to Apollo* 32–4 χρύσεια τῶπόλλωνι τό τ' ἐνδυτὸν ἢ τ' ἐπιπορπίς | ἢ τε λύρη τό τ' ἄμμα τὸ Λύκτιον ἢ τε φαρέτρην, | χρύσεια καὶ τὰ πέδιλα· πολύχρυσος γὰρ Ἀπόλλων, 'Golden is the tunic of Apollo and golden his clasp, his lyre and his Lyctian bow and quiver, and golden his sandals. For Apollo is rich in gold'.¹⁹ The Callimachean passage itself is engaged in a sibling rivalry with the triple use of χρυσ- in the *Hymn to Artemis*, 110–12, χρύσεια μὲν τοι | ἔντα καὶ ζώνην, χρύσειον δ' ἐξέυξασ δίφρον, | ἐν δ' ἐβάλεν χρύσεια, θεῆ, κεμάδεσσι χαλινά, 'Golden were your arms and belt, golden was the chariot that you yoked, and golden, goddess, were the bridles that you put on your deer'. Virgil intensifies the literary 'twinning' that already relates the two Callimachean hymns by making the Apollonian passage the primary model for golden Dido, who shares quiver and clasp with Apollo. The woman compared to Diana on her first appearance now appropriates the attributes of Apollo, as the Callimachean *Hymn to Artemis* encroaches on the territory of the *Hymn to Apollo*.²⁰

It is, then, as two images of Apollo that Dido and Aeneas set out on the journey towards the cave. This allusive merging into one of the two individuals can be compared with another kind of linguistic double-take that happens in that enclosed space: 4.165–6 (reproducing 124–5), 'speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem | deueniunt [125 -ient]', 'Dido and the Trojan leader take refuge in the same cave', where *dux* is naturally taken of Dido at first (cf. 1.364 'dux femina facti'), and two words later reassigned to Aeneas.

The Callimachean — and now Virgilian — rivalry between the hymns to Apollo and Artemis will be reused by Ovid to frame his Apollo and Daphne story. We are told that before Cupid engineers the episode with his two arrow-shots, Daphne had prayed to her father for eternal virginity in literary emulation of the Callimachean Artemis' prayer to her father, Zeus, at the beginning of the *Hymn to Artemis*.²¹ At the very end of the narrative we read that the newly-created laurel tree seemed to nod in answer to Apollo's address, replicating the shaking of the laurel that is the sign of the epiphany of Apollo in the first line of the Callimachean *Hymn to Apollo*.²² Apollo's conquest of Diana-look-alike Daphne is measured by the replacement of one Callimachean hymn by another.

SUN AND MOON

Diana is the moon, Apollo is the sun. Aeneas' first vision of Dido is in the likeness of Diana, his last is of her ghost compared in another simile to the barely visible new moon (*Aen.* 6.453–4).²³ Other glimpses of the moon are visible at the beginning of the story: the Diana-like Dido who first appears to Aeneas in Book 1 is a near-relative of the Diana-like Venus, whose meeting with her son is modelled on the goddess's appearance to Anchises

¹⁹ See J. Wills, *Repetition in Latin Poetry* (1996), 287.

²⁰ For the 'sibling rivalry' between the Callimachean hymns to Apollo and Artemis see M. W. Haslam, 'Callimachus' Hymns', in M. A. Harder, R. F. Regtuit, G. C. Wakker (eds), *Callimachus* (1993), 111–25, at 115; R. Hunter and T. Fuhrer, 'Imaginary gods? Poetic theology in the *Hymns* of Callimachus', in F. Montanari and L. Lehnus (eds), *Callimachea*, Entret. Hardt 48 (2002), 143–87, at 161–4; M. Plantinga, 'A parade of learning: Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis* (lines 170–268)', in M. A. Harder, R. F. Regtuit, G. C. Walker (eds), *Callimachus II* (2004), 257–77, at 258–64 'The jealousy-competitiveness theme'.

²¹ With *Met.* 1.486–7 "da mihi perpetua genitor carissime", dixit, | "uirginitate frui. dedit hoc pater ante Dianae" cf. Callim., *Hy. Artem.* 4–7 ἄρχμενοι ὡς ποτε πατρὸς ἐφεζομένη γονάτεσσι | παῖς ἔτι κουρίζουσα τάδε προσέειπε γονῆα· | 'δός μοι παρθενίην αἰώνιον, ἄππα, φυλάσσειν, | καὶ πολυωνυμίην, ἵνα μὴ μοι Φοῖβος ἐρίζη'.

²² With *Met.* 1.566–7 'factis modo laurea ramis | adnuit utque caput uisa est agitasse cacumen' cf. Callim., *Hy. Apollo* 1 οἶον ὁ τῶπόλλωνος ἐσειαστο δάφνινος ὄρπηξ; see Clausen, *op. cit.* (n. 18), 23–4.

²³ Dido as moon: see C. Weber, 'Intimations of Dido and Cleopatra in some contemporary portrayals of Elizabeth I', *Sph* 96 (1999), 127–43, at 133–4.

in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, where the sheen of Aphrodite's necklace is compared to the shining moon, 89–90 ὥς δὲ σελήνη στῆθεσιν ἀμφ' ἀπαλοῖσιν ἐλάμπετο, θαύμα ἰδέσθαι, 'it shone like the moon on her soft breast, a wonder to see'. The Amazons of Dido's double, Penthesilea, in the scene in the temple of Juno are armed with (*Aen.* 1.490) 'crescent, moon-shaped, shields' *'lunatis peltis'* (the first appearance of *lunatus* in Latin). Dido, for her part, first sees Aeneas when the cloud in which Venus had wrapt her son is dispersed and he shines forth, 1.587–9 'scindit se nubes et in aethera purgat apertum. | restitit Aeneas claraque in luce refulsit | os umerosque deo similis', 'the cloud parted and evaporated into clear air. Aeneas stood there and shone forth in the bright light, his face and shoulders like a god' — like the sun breaking through clouds. The solar image is not explicit here, it is true, but parallels in Virgil and Ovid support this obvious way of taking it.²⁴ Aeneas will re-emerge from the Underworld into a brilliant future, and his ultimate avatar will be Augustus, whom we view at the end of the *Shield of Aeneas*, 'ipse sedens niueo candentis limine Phoebi', 'seated on the snow-white threshold of gleaming Apollo' (8.720), a *roi-soleil* under the protection of the sun-god Apollo.²⁵

Many readers detect allusion to Dido and Aeneas in the first line of the Song of Iopas at 1.742, 'hic canit errantem lunam solisque labores', 'he sings of the wandering moon and the labours of the sun'. *errantem* hints at the erotic *errores* of Dido,²⁶ *labores* at the Herculean 'labours' of Aeneas.²⁷ Wilhelm Roscher assembles passages that attest to the idea of the love of the moon for the sun in Greco-Roman antiquity.²⁸ Interesting in connection with the scene in the Underworld where Dido appears to Aeneas in the likeness of the moon, barely discernible, 'primo ... mense' (6.453),²⁹ are passages suggesting that the new moon is the time for the conjunction, σύννοδος, *coitus*, of sun and moon.³⁰ Erotic overtones are present in Plut., *Is.* 372D (Isis as moon, dressed in black clothes) τοῖς δὲ μελανοστόλοις ἐμφαίνεσθαι τὰς κρύψεις καὶ τοὺς περισκιάσμούς ἐν οἷς διώκει ποθοῦσα τὸν ἥλιον 'in [the statues of Isis] with dark garments are shown the concealments and the obscurations in which she in her yearning pursues the Sun'. Cornutus, *Theol. Graec. Comp.* (c. 34 Lang) (Artemis) κυνηγία δ' ἔοικε καὶ τὸ μὴ διαλείπειν αὐτὴν ὅτε μὲν διώκουσαν τὸν ἥλιον ὅτε δὲ φεύγουσαν, 'it is like the hunt in that she does not cease at some times pursuing the sun, and fleeing from it at others'. This alternation of flight and pursuit suggests the erotic cliché of the lover who follows that which flees and flees that which follows, a cliché given its most influential formulation, with a cynegetic image, in Callimachus, *Epigram* 31 (*AP* 12.102).³¹ 'quem fugis?' Aeneas asks the phantom, moonlike, Dido (6.466), reversing the situation at 4.314, where Dido had complained to Aeneas 'mene fugis?', before vowing eternal pursuit at the end of her next speech: 384 'sequar atris ignibus absens', 'in my absence I shall follow you with black fires'. At the end of the scene in the Underworld Aeneas 'follows' Dido in the

²⁴ cf. *Met.* 14.768–9 (Vertumnus appearing in his true shape to Pomona) 'qualis ubi oppositas nitidissima solis imago | eucit nubes nullaque obstante reluxit'. With *Aen.* 1.588–9 cf. the simile applied to the breastplate at *Aen.* 8.622–3 'qualis cum caerula nubes | solis inardescit radiis longeque refulget'.

²⁵ P. R. Hardie, *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium* (1986), 356. C. Weber, 'Some double entendres in Ovid and Virgil', *CP* 85 (1990), 209–14, suggests (212) that at *Aen.* 4.81–2 'luna premit suadentque cadentia sidera somnos, | sola domo maeret ...', we momentarily hear *sol* at the beginning of 82, after *luna* at the beginning of the previous line.

²⁶ Whose name is said to mean 'wandering' in Punic: A. S. Pease, *Aeneidos Liber Quartus* (1935), 22 n. 142.

²⁷ V. Pöschl, *The Art of Vergil: Image and Symbol in the Aeneid* (transl. G. Seligson) (1962), 150–3; G. N. Knauer, *Die Aeneis und Homer: Studien zur poetischen Technik Vergils* (1964) 168–9; D. Nelis, *Virgil's Aeneid and the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius* (2001), 104–5. W. Roscher, *Über Selene und Verwandtes* (1890), 80 n. 314 suggests that in the next line, 'unde hominum genus et pecudes', *unde* 'vielleicht auf luna und sol als Urprinzipien alles Lebens zu beziehen ist'. For Dido as the moon-goddess Astarte see Pease, op. cit. (n. 26), 22.

²⁸ Roscher, op. cit. (n. 27), 75–84, 'Beziehungen des Mondes zur Liebe und zum Liebeszauber; Hochzeit der Mondgöttin und des Sonnengottes'; 76–84 on the loves of the sun and moon; also Roscher, *Ausf. Lexik.* i.3157–63.

²⁹ Immediately before her moon-like appearance the verb *errabat* (451) is used of Dido: cf. 1.742 *errantem lunam*.

³⁰ W. Roscher, *Ausf. Lexik.* i.3159.

³¹ For further examples see McKeown on *Ov.*, *Am.* 2.9.9–10.

only way that he still can: 6.476, 'prosequitur lacrimis longe et miseratur euntem', 'as he went he followed her with his eyes at a distance, weeping, and pitied her'.³²

The new moon is also a favoured time for the wedding of human lovers,³³ and this may lend an extra layer of meaning to the reference to the new moon at the beginning of the month in the simile at *Aen.* 6.453–4. The simile is modelled on Apoll. Rhod., *Argon.* 4.1479–80, where Herakles glimpsed in the distance is compared to the moon seen νέω ἐνὶ ἡματι 'at the beginning of the day';³⁴ but a reunion at the time of the new moon, *primomense*, may remind us of another story, the return of Odysseus to claim Penelope τοῦ μὲν φθίνοντος μηνός, τοῦ δ' ἰσταμένοιο 'when one month, or moon, is waning and the next is taking its place' (*Od.* 14.162 = 19.307). Norman Austin, cautiously reviving a nineteenth-century solar mythology, argues that this temporal specification is part of a wider pattern of solar and lunar imagery in the *Odyssey* that sets up an analogy between the rhythms of the heavenly bodies and of human relationships, in which the hero comes almost to embody the sun: 'Thus [Odysseus] enters into a courtship, which he had performed many years before, in phase now with the courtship of sun and moon.'³⁵

But if Aeneas did have a momentary fantasy of making amends by an otherworldly *hieros gamos* with Dido, and if allusion to seasonal patterns in the *Odyssey* hints, at least to the reader, at a convergence of this last meeting between Dido and Aeneas with the reunion of Penelope and Odysseus as man and wife,³⁶ the reality is that Dido has now returned once and for all to her former husband, Sychaeus.

PTOLEMAIC MODELS

What would it mean to think of Aeneas and Dido as incestuous brother and sister, Apollo and Diana, sun and moon? At the level of narrative, as has often been pointed out, they are closely twinned in their private and public lives — both have suffered the loss of a spouse in violent circumstances, both have been forced into exile as rulers of their peoples, with a mission to found a new city. Aeneas will recognize elements of his own story in the disguised Venus' narration of the tale of Dido in Book 1. Dido's infatuation will be reinforced by her self-recognition in Aeneas' narrative of his own sufferings.³⁷

At the level of historical allusion, the Roman reader might detect in the 'marriage' of a royal pair allusively marked as brother and sister a deviation on the part of the ancestor of the Julian *gens* into the practice of the Egyptian enemy, the brother-sister marriages of the

³² He had complained about another fleeing woman at the beginning of the whole story, when Venus had revealed her true self to him at *Aen.* 1.406 'tali fugientem est uoce secutus', where *fugientem* ... *secutus* hints at the erotic topos of the pursuit of the fleeing object of desire, here the goddess of love herself.

³³ W. Roscher, *Ausf. Lexik.* 1.3158–9; N. Austin, *Archery at the Dark of the Moon. Poetic Problems in Homer's Odyssey* (1975), 283 n. 17; note esp. Plut. εἰς τὰ Ἡσιόδου Ἔργα fr. 105 (Loeb *Mor.* vol. xv, 216).

³⁴ On the textual and interpretive problems of the two similes see Norden on *Aen.* 6.453f.; Fränkel reads νέης 'first day of the month' instead of νέω in order to make the model conform more closely to its Virgilian imitation.

³⁵ Austin, *op. cit.* (n. 33), 252; 282 n. 16 on Odysseus as the sun; 246 on the allegorization in Heraclit., *Alleg. Hom.* 75 of Theoclymenus' vision (*Od.* 20.351–7) as a solar eclipse at the time of the new moon, the Athenian ἐνὶ τε καὶ νέα.

³⁶ For Penelope as one of the models for Dido see G. C. Polk, 'Vergil's Penelope: the Diana simile in *Aeneid* 1.498–502', *Vergilius* 42 (1996), 38–49 (Dido as Penelope in her desire to remain chaste for Sychaeus, torn between Artemis and Venus). One further Homeric model may lurk behind the dance between Aeneas-sun and Dido-moon, in Metrodorus' astronomical allegorization of Homer, whereby Achilles is the sun and Hector the moon: W. Nestle, 'Metrodors Mythendeutung', *Philol.* 66 (1907), 503–10, at 505–6 suggests that the allegorization may have been prompted by similes in the *Iliad*, in particular 19.397–8 (Achilles as the sun-god Hyperion) and 8.555–9 (the campfires of the Trojans and their leader Hector like stars round the moon); and by the thought that Hector grows pale and shrinks before the glare of Achilles — and is famously pursued by Achilles.

³⁷ On the 'twinning' of the couple see Weber, *op. cit.* (n. 10), 338–9. We might also think of a Homeric model: Virgil's Carthage corresponds structurally and in other ways to the Odyssean Phaeacia, whose rulers King Alcinous and Arete are apparently siblings (as they indubitably are at Hesiod fr. 222 M-W).

Ptolemies, most recently (and finally) of Cleopatra VII with Ptolemy XIII and XIV.³⁸ Cleopatra herself was probably the daughter of Ptolemy XII Auletes and his (full) sister Cleopatra VI. The coming together of sun and moon also loses its Homeric innocence when placed in an Egyptian context. In Greek *Aigyptiaka* Osiris is the sun, and Isis the moon (Diod. Sic. I.II.I).³⁹ Ptolemaic kings identified themselves with Osiris, and their queens with Isis, and most recently these roles had been acted out by Antony (as Dionysus-Osiris) and Cleopatra. Octavian, in the speech put in his mouth before Actium in Dio (50.25.3), complains that Antony τὴν δ' ἄνθρωπον ἐκείνην καθάπερ τινὰ Ἴσιν ἢ Σελήνην προσκυνούντα, καὶ τοὺς τε παῖδας αὐτῆς Ἥλιον καὶ Σελήνην ὀνομάζοντα, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον καὶ ἑαυτὸν Ὅσιριν καὶ Διόνυσον ἐπικεκληκότα 'pays homage to that woman as if she were some Isis or Selene, and names her children Helios and Selene, and, to cap it all, has called himself Osiris and Dionysus'.⁴⁰

Scholars approaching the Dido and Aeneas story from the direction of recent Roman history have of course long seen in Dido some kind of reflection of the historical Cleopatra. The recent intensification of interest in the use of Hellenistic poetry in the *Aeneid* serves to redirect our view of the Egyptian queen, not just the demonized consort of a Roman general, but also the last in the line of a royal house at whose court flourished artists and writers who had decisively influenced Roman culture, and would continue to do so even after the Roman military conquest of Egypt. *Alexandria capta* ...⁴¹

So far I have focused in particular on Virgil's allusion to the Hymns of Callimachus, poems from third-century B.C. Alexandria that talk about gods rather than humans. Recent work has increasingly explored the possibility that Callimachus reflects aspects of the image and ideology of the Ptolemaic ruler, both male and female, in the praises and narratives contained in the *Hymns*. Callimachus' Artemis has been seen as the image of a good Ptolemaic queen.⁴² The Callimachean framing of a hymn to Artemis by two hymns in honour of her brother Apollo has been read in the light of Ptolemaic brother-sister relationships.⁴³ Such equivalences would not be out of keeping with the more overt parallels between Ptolemaic kings and queens and a variety of gods in other Alexandrian texts and works of art, and extending to identification in cult.⁴⁴ It might even be suggested that Virgil comments on this kind of parallelism between god and ruler in Alexandrian texts and cult through the recurrent tendency in the Dido and Aeneas story for the god to wear the mask of the human, and vice versa: Venus disguised as a Carthaginian maiden, mistaken by Aeneas for another goddess Diana, and as a Diana-Venus composite almost

³⁸ On brother-sister marriage in Egyptian myth and reality see J. G. Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* (1970), 307–8. In general on Ptolemaic brother-sister marriage (common also in non-royal families in Greco-Roman times) see E. D. Carney, 'The reappearance of royal sibling marriage in Ptolemaic Egypt', *PP* 42 (1987), 420–39; R. A. Hazzard, *Imagination of a Monarchy: Studies in Ptolemaic Propaganda* (2000), 85–90; D. Ogden, *Polygamy, Prostitutes and Death. The Hellenistic Dynasties* (1999), ch. 4; M. K. Hopkins, 'Brother-sister marriage in Roman Egypt', *Comp. Studies in Society and History* 22 (1980), 303–54.

³⁹ Griffiths, *op. cit.* (n. 38), 497–8.

⁴⁰ See C. B. R. Pelling, *Plutarch Life of Antony* (1988), 179–80, 251–2.

⁴¹ If Octavian's favourite poet is immersed in the poetic traditions of Alexandria, one would like to know how the poets at the Alexandrian court of Cleopatra and Antony might have continued the Callimachean tradition of panegyric as exemplified in poems like the *Ektheosis Arsinoes* or the *Lock of Berenice*; elegies perhaps on the *Nose of Cleopatra*? And if, as seems not impossible, there was a final flowering of Alexandrian court poetry, does Virgil, in using that tradition himself, aggressively divert it to the ends of Octavian?

⁴² M. Erler, 'Das Recht (ΔΙΚΗ) als Segensbringerin für die Polis', *SIFC* 80 (1987), 5–36, at 22–36, with reference to C. E. Visser, *Götter und Kulte in ptolemäischen Alexandria* (1938), 34, on the comparison of Ptolemy II to Apollo and Arsinoe II to Artemis; M. Depew, 'Gender, power, and poetics in Callimachus' book of *Hymns*', in Harder *et al.*, *op. cit.* (n. 20), 117–37, at 125–35 'The virgin queen: Hymns 3 and 5'.

⁴³ Hunter and Fuhrer, *op. cit.* (n. 20), 165.

⁴⁴ See J. L. Tondriau, 'Princesses ptolémaïques comparées ou identifiées à des déesses', *Bull. Soc. d'Archéol. d'Alexandrie* 37 (1948), 12–33.

predetermining the form that the human queen of Carthage will assume;⁴⁵ Cupid disguised as Ascanius; Dido and Aeneas in the roles of Diana and Apollo, Aeneas as Dionysus.⁴⁶ Carthage-as-Alexandria is the kind of place where this sort of thing gets out of hand. The antics of Antony and Cleopatra in identifying themselves with gods Egyptian and Greek are the last manifestation of a venerable Ptolemaic tradition. Might it even be the case that the pronounced theatricality of the Dido and Aeneas story, a drama that unfolds in a new city whose most eye-catching monuments are its theatres (*Aen.* 1.427–9), points to what is perceived as a specifically Alexandrian proclivity for theatrical display and maskings?⁴⁷

I turn now to look at Virgil's use of Callimachean texts that speak directly about the Ptolemaic rulers. As the Trojans sail away from Carthage at the beginning of *Aeneid* 5 they look back to see flames lighting up the walls and do not know the cause, although they have dark forebodings. In Callimachus' *Ektheosis of Arsinoe*, Philotera, the already deified sister of Arsinoe II, wife and sister of Ptolemy Philadelphus, sees, in mid-flight, smoke billowing up through the air, 'the indicator of the funeral pyre', *σαμάντριαν ἃ δὲ πυρᾶς ἐνόησ' ἰώάν* (fr. 228.40).⁴⁸ For Philotera, however, the cause is obscure, and she asks Charis, the wife of Hephaestus, to see what is going on. She is fearful that a city in Libya may be ablaze (49). Di Benedetto points to the allusion to the scene in *Iliad* 22 in which Andromache has not yet received news of the death of Hector, when she hears the sound of lamentation coming from the tower (22.437 οὐ πῶ τι πέπυστο; cf. Callim. fr. 228.45 σέο δ' ἦν ἄπυστος).⁴⁹ The *Ektheosis of Arsinoe* also tells of a death that will bring much grief to a spouse, but now grief will be consoled by deification. In the *Aeneid* the flames of Dido's funeral pyre that light up the walls *will* in the fullness of time light the fires that destroy the city of Carthage, as foreshadowed in the simile at *Aen.* 4.669–71, imitating the simile at *Iliad* 22.410–11 that compares the lamentation at the death of Hector to the effects of the burning of the city of Troy. Virgil reinstates the 'tragic' Iliadic narrative that Callimachus replaced with a story that has a happy ending, of a kind.

Virgil also turns to his own ends another Iliadic reference in the Callimachean poem. The Callimachean line, fr. 228.40 *σαμάντριαν ἃ δὲ πυρᾶς ἐνόησ' ἰώάν*, in which Philotera notices the flames, alludes to the Iliadic line, 16.127 *λεύσσω δὴ παρὰ νηυσὶ πυρὸς δηϊοιο ἰωήν* (where *ιωή* 'shout, cry' is unusually used of fire), in which Achilles tells Patroclus that he sees fire coming from the Achaean ships. At the beginning of *Aeneid* 5 the Trojans have escaped with their ships intact (1–2 'interea medium Aeneas iam classe tenebat | certus iter'). But Mercury had warned Aeneas that unless he hurried on his way, 4.566–7 'iam mare turbari trabibus saeuasque uidebis | conlucere faces, iam feruere litora flammis', 'you will soon see her ships churning the sea and deadly torches blazing and the shore seething with flames'.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Depew, *op. cit.* (n. 42), argues that Callimachus' hymns to Artemis and Athene construct images of the Ptolemaic queen as virginal and athletic, but in full, and allusively insistent, awareness that elsewhere Ptolemaic queens are identified with Aphrodite.

⁴⁶ Richly documented by Weber, *op. cit.* (n. 10).

⁴⁷ For the importance, often overlooked, of the theatre in Hellenistic, and specifically Alexandrian, culture see A. Cameron, *Callimachus and his Critics* (1995), 39–42; M. Fantuzzi and R. Hunter, *Tradition and Innovation in Hellenistic Poetry* (2004), ch. 9. Theatrical imagery is prominent in Plutarch's *Life of Antony*: see Pelling, *op. cit.* (n. 40), index s.vv. 'imagery, of theatre'; Pelling notes, à propos of Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*, that (39) 'Ant. . . transposed for the theatre more readily than any other life'. Do Virgil and Plutarch draw on a shared tradition of portraying Ptolemaic Alexandria as a theatrical, stagey, city?

⁴⁸ The allusion to Callim. fr. 228 is discussed by P. A. Johnston, 'Dido, Berenice, and Arsinoe: *Aeneid* 6.460', *AJP* 108 (1987), 649–54, at 653–4: 'Like Arsinoe, Dido and her city are one. Like Cleopatra, the descendant of Berenice, Dido is destroyed because of her Roman lover. Like Berenice, finally, Dido has at last been reunited with her husband.'

⁴⁹ V. di Benedetto, 'Callimaco di fronte al modello omerico: il fr. 228 Pf.', *RFIC* 122 (1994), 273–8.

⁵⁰ At *Aen.* 1.525 Ilioneus had asked Dido 'prohibe infandos a nauibus ignis'; with 4.567 'conlucere . . . flammis' cf. 5.4 'conlucet flammis': the implication is perhaps that had Aeneas carried the flames would have been those of his ships rather than of Dido's pyre.

The death of Arsinoe II is a tragedy, but also, as the key moment in Ptolemy II's elaboration of the cult of royal brother-sister couples, foundational for the Alexandrian dynasty. So far from being redeemed by a husband's grief, Dido's death marks her final separation from one who she had hoped would be her husband, and it will lead eventually to the destruction of all Carthaginian institutions. In this story it will be no African Queen, but the *Trojan* ships which undergo apotheosis.⁵¹

ALEXANDRIAN AND ROMAN ASTRONOMIES

Callimachean allusion bridges the division between Books 4 and 5. Another tale of celestial elevation, the *Lock of Berenice*, is rewritten in funereal mode as Iris releases Dido from her death agony by cutting off a lock of her hair (4.693–705). It is now standard to make a connection between this passage and the notorious allusion to the Catullan *Coma Berenices* at *Aen.* 6.460 'inuitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi', 'unwillingly, queen, I left your shore'.⁵² To the great heap that has been written on that line I add a few grains more. Ptolemy III Euergetes and Berenice II were cousins, but 'brother and sister' in the official ideology, a relationship which is made the subject of a disarming joke in the *Coma Berenices*, *Cat.* 66.21–2, 'et tu non orbem luxti deserta cubile, | sed fratris cari flebile discidium?' 'Yet, when deserted, you did not grieve the widowed couch, did you, but the tearful separation from a dear brother?' Within the structure of the Callimachean fiction there is a functional equivalence, based on the logic of sacrificial substitution, between the husband who leaves his wife (and returns), and the lock of hair separated from its mistress (not to return). If Aeneas as a human individual mouths the words of a part of Berenice's own body, this is to place him in the role of Ptolemy. The *Coma* tells of a new constellation in the heavens that is the product of an intensely erotic relationship; these astronomical erotics are anticipated in the opening account of the expertise of the court-astronomer Conon who, among other things, knows (*Cat.* 66.5–6 'ut Triuiam furtim sub Latmia saxa relegans | dulcis amor gyro deuocet aereo') 'how sweet love steals the Moon away beneath the rocks of Latmos, calling her down from her airy orbit': the love of the moon.⁵³ Callimachus presumably has in mind a rationalization of the myth of Endymion as the eclipse of the moon or the new moon.⁵⁴ The combination in the praise of Conon of a list of astronomical questions with an eroticized sky that anticipates a human narrative finds a parallel in the Song of Iopas at *Aeneid* 1.740–6. Iopas is the pupil of Atlas, who was

⁵¹ Wills, *op. cit.* (n. 19), 303–5 argues that the Virgilian ship-nymphs are another transform of the Callimachean Lock of Berenice (cutting, metamorphosis, safe return home).

⁵² See R. Drew Griffith, 'Catullus' *Coma Berenices* and Aeneas' farewell to Dido', *TAPA* 125 (1995), 47–59, at 49–50 (with earlier bibliography).

⁵³ 'Establishes the theme of love', L. Koenen, 'The Ptolemaic king as a religious figure', in A. Bulloch *et al.* (eds), *Images and Ideologies. Self-definition in the Hellenistic World* (1993), 25–115, at 97; K. Gutzwiller, 'Callimachus' Lock of Berenice: fantasy, romance and propaganda', *AJP* 113 (1992), 359–85, at 377–8. The collocation *dulcis amor* occurs in the *Aeneid* only at 6.455, when Aeneas addresses the shade of Dido, 'dulcique adfatus amore est'; also at *Geo.* 3.291–2 'sed me Parnasi deserta per ardua dulcis | raptat amor'. *dulcis amor* in Catullus: 64.120; 66.6; 68.24, 96; 78.3.

⁵⁴ cf. Cic., *Tusc.* 1.92 'Endymion uero, si fabulas audire uolumus, ut nescio quando in Latmo obdormiuit, qui est mons Cariae, nondum, opinor, est experrectus. num igitur eum curare censes, cum *Luna labore*, a qua consopitus putatur, ut eum dormientem oscularetur?'

allegorized as the inventor of astrology and astronomy⁵⁵ — another North African astronomer like Conon.⁵⁶

The catasterism of the Lock of Berenice may have been more than an Alexandrian *jeu d'esprit*, helping to legitimize Berenice's position as queen, and massaging the image of the royal couple through a story of married devotion.⁵⁷ Another catasterism served the dynastic ends of another 'royal family', the *gens Iulia*, when the comet of 44 B.C. was identified as the sign of the apotheosis of Julius Caesar. In narrating the death and catasterism of Julius Caesar in *Metamorphoses* 15, Ovid alludes to the Callimachean *Lock of Berenice*: readers may differ as to whether the effect is to dissipate Augustan ideology in a Callimachean froth, or to divert to safely Augustan ends the exuberant claims of the Ptolemaic court.⁵⁸ But the conversion of the Lock of Berenice into the *sidus Iulium* is not an Ovidian innovation. Jeff Wills points to the parallels between the opening of Catullus 66 and the sudden appearance to the stargazing Daphnis of the *Caesaris astrum* at *Eclogue* 9.46–8.⁵⁹ At the beginning of the *Georgics* the poet foresees the possibility of a catasterism of Octavian himself, a *nouum sidus* that likewise alludes to the *Coma Berenices*.⁶⁰ When in *Aeneid* 1 Jupiter reassures Venus that she will carry Aeneas 'sublimem ... ad sidera caeli' (1.259–60), this will be a repetition of what she had previously done for the Lock of Berenice (Cat. 66.63–4).⁶¹

When later in *Aeneid* 1 Aeneas first appears to Dido, the mist that has hitherto concealed him is suddenly dispersed as if to reveal a celestial body (1.586–93). Above it was suggested that the image is of the sun breaking through clouds, so that Dido first sees Aeneas as like the sun, as Aeneas' first vision of Dido had been in the likeness of Diana, the goddess of the moon. A solar likeness anticipates the doomed love of sun and moon, Apollo and Diana. Mary Frances Williams and Stephen Harrison have argued for an alternative astronomical identification, seeing here yet another allusion to the *sidus Iulium*. In particular the words (590) 'caesariem nato genetrix' foreshadow Venus Genetrix' service in transforming her more distant descendant, Julius Caesar, into a god. *caesariem* puns both on the name Caesar and on the 'hairy star', κομήτης, that marked his apotheosis.⁶² If it is true that both sun and *sidus Iulium* appear before Dido's eyes, the combination encapsulates the story that is to unfold: conjunction of sun and moon in an anticipation of Ptolemaic brother-sister marriage, whose most sparkling literary celebration is Callimachus' *Coma Berenices*, to be followed by a tragic separation that is yet the necessary precondition for the ultimate success of the *gens Iulia*, given the seal of divine recognition by the *sidus Iulium*, a star that the poets will write as a Roman appropriation of the *Coma Berenices*. The hint of a Roman astronomy in Aeneas' dazzling appearance to

⁵⁵ Hardie, op. cit. (n. 25), 58 n. 62. Endymion was also allegorized as the first to undertake ἡ περὶ τὰ μετέωρα φιλοσοφία (schol. Apoll. Rhod. 4.57–8, Wendel p. 265). The love of Selene for Endymion is made a parallel for the erotic wandering of one of the main literary models for Virgil's Dido at Apoll. Rhod. 4.57–8, where in her exultation over Medea's flight to Jason the Moon comforts herself that she is not alone in straying to the Latmian cave. J. M. Bremer, 'Full moon and marriage in Apollonius' *Argonautica*', *CQ* 37 (1987), 423–6 argues that the appearance of the (full, this time) moon in the simile at *Argon.* 4.167–70 alludes to marriage.

⁵⁶ On Virgil's use of the description of Conon at the beginning of the *Coma* at *Ecl.* 3.40, 9.46–8 see J. Wills, 'Divided allusion: Virgil and the *Coma Berenices*', *HSCP* 98 (1998), 277–305, at 289–90.

⁵⁷ This is the argument of Gutzwiller, op. cit. (n. 53).

⁵⁸ For the Callimachean allusions see P. E. Knox, *Ovid's Metamorphoses and the Traditions of Augustan Poetry* (1986), 75–8.

⁵⁹ Wills, op. cit. (n. 56), 289–90.

⁶⁰ See Thomas on *Geo.* 1.32–5; Wills, op. cit. (n. 56), 288.

⁶¹ Wills, op. cit. (n. 56), 288–9.

⁶² M. F. Williams, 'The *Sidus Iulium*, the divinity of men, and the Golden Age in Virgil's *Aeneid*', *Leeds International Classical Studies* 2.1 (2003) (<http://www.leeds.ac.uk/classics/lics/>), 13 sees Caesarian allusion in these lines; I am also grateful to Stephen Harrison for showing me an unpublished paper discussing the allusion to the *sidus Iulium* at *Aen.* 1.586–93.

Dido is a first sign of the futility of the Ptolemaic astronomy that will weave itself through the story of Dido and Aeneas.⁶³

BROTHER SON, SISTER MOON

Scholars have detected reference to Cleopatra's son by Julius Caesar, Caesarion ('little Caesar'), in Dido's wish that Aeneas should at least leave her with a *paruulus Aeneas* (4.328–9) by which to remember him.⁶⁴ This may not be the only child of Cleopatra by a Roman father alluded to in the *Aeneid*. Sun and moon enter a particular conjunction in an Egyptian context. The twin offspring of Cleopatra and Mark Antony, born in 40 B.C., were formally recognized by Antony in 37/6 B.C. and given the names of Ἀλέξανδρος Ἥλιος and Κλεοπάτρα Σελήνη (Plut., *Ant.* 36.5). Eduard Norden suggested that these grandiose names are to be seen in the context of the prophecies of a new age (Aion) to be ruled over by the Sun, and which would be marked by the birth of a child destined to rule the world, the context, Norden argued, of another product of 40 B.C., the *Fourth Eclogue*.⁶⁵ 'Sun' and 'Moon' were children of a couple who represented themselves as the earthly instantiation of the union of the divine siblings Isis and Osiris (see above).⁶⁶

In 34 B.C. Alexander Helios was betrothed to the daughter of the Median king (Dio 49.44); Cleopatra Selene later married Juba II of Mauretania.⁶⁷ But was there a point at which the children might have been intended as a Ptolemaic man and wife for each other, to rule over a Ptolemaic empire expanded to include Rome itself? Or could such a possibility have been put about by the propagandists of Octavian?⁶⁸ Reality turned out to be very different: according to Dio, on the third day of the triple triumph in 29 B.C. (the celebration of the Egyptian victory) Alexander Helios and Cleopatra Selene were led in the procession accompanying an effigy of their mother Cleopatra reclining on a couch; or, in the laconic words of Eusebius' *Chronicle* (II p. 190 Schoene) 'Triumphum uictoriae constituit Augustus, in Cleopatrae triumpho Sol et Luna eius liberi apparuere', 'Augustus decreed a triumph for his victory; in the triumph over Cleopatra her children Sun and Moon were displayed'.⁶⁹ We may imagine them in the procession of defeated peoples in the

⁶³ Williams, *op. cit.* (n. 62), 12 suggests that the simile at *Aen.* 8.589–91 comparing Pallas to the Morning Star (Venus) alludes both to the Lock of Berenice, raised heavenwards to the lap of Venus, and to the *sidus Iulium*: if so another merging of Ptolemaic and Roman astronomies.

⁶⁴ A. A. Barrett, 'Dido's child: a note on *Aeneid* 4.327–30', *Maia* 25 (1973), 51–3; J. S. C. Eidinow, 'Dido, Aeneas, and Iulus: heirship and obligation in *Aeneid* 4', *CQ* 53 (2003), 260–7, at 264–7. In general on parallels between Dido and Cleopatra see Pease, *op. cit.* (n. 26), 24–8.

⁶⁵ E. Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes. Geschichte einer religiösen Idee* (1924), 137–45, referring to F. Boll, *Die Sonne im Glauben und in der Weltanschauung der alter Völker* (1922), 22, 'Wenn der Triumvir Antonius, der sich an das orientalische Wesen verliert, seine beiden Zwillingkinder von Kleopatra mit den Beinamen Helios und Selene benennt, so bestimmt er sie damit im voraus zu den Herrschern der irdischen Welt, zu Kosmokratores, wie es die zwei mächtigen Gestirne im All sind'. For different speculations on the significance of the names see W. W. Tarn, 'Alexander Helios and the Golden Age', *JRS* 22 (1932), 135–60.

⁶⁶ Norden, *op. cit.* (n. 65), 139; Pelling, *op. cit.* (n. 40), 219; F. E. Brenk, 'Antony-Osiris, Cleopatra-Isis. The end of Plutarch's *Antony*', in P. A. Stadter (ed.), *Plutarch and the Historical Tradition* (1992), 159–82. Note esp. Dio 50.25.2–4 (cited above); 50.5.3, Antony posing for paintings and statues as Osiris or Dionysus, Cleopatra as Selene or Isis.

⁶⁷ See D. W. Roller, *The World of Juba II and Kleopatra Selene* (2003), ch. 4.

⁶⁸ On the oriental notion of a mystic marriage of Sun and Moon (in an Egyptian context, of Osiris and Isis) see Norden, *op. cit.* (n. 65), 114–16. On the Greek identification of Isis with the moon see Griffiths, *op. cit.* (n. 38), 465, 500–1; Osiris as sun: Griffiths, 497.

⁶⁹ See also Dio 51.21.8; Zonaras 10.31 (531) (Livy is perhaps the ultimate source).

triumph at the end of the Shield of Aeneas, passing before the genuine *roi-soleil* Augustus, seated before the temple of Apollo/the Sun.⁷⁰

THE DEFEAT OF THE EAST

Triumphal ritual celebrates Roman conquest of foreign theologies and institutions, and is matched by other, symbolic, victories in the text. The conquest of Egyptian religion is represented most explicitly in Virgil's narrative of the theomachy at the Battle of Actium between monstrous and hybrid Egyptian gods and the anthropomorphic Olympian gods (*Aen.* 8.698–706). Joseph Reed has explored the theological and ideological ramifications of a seemingly incidental death on the battlefield at *Aeneid* 12.458, where a Trojan named Thymbraeus strikes down an Italian named Osiris: Thymbraeus' name evokes both Trojan (Thymbra) and Roman (Thybris) topography, encapsulating the passage from one to the other,⁷¹ and also hints at the god Apollo, who had a shrine at Trojan Thymbra.⁷²

A strenuous decoupling of Egyptian and Roman identities, whose confusion had been threatened by the enactment by Aeneas and Dido of a brother-sister coupling of Apollo and Diana, may also be read in the final scene on Olympus in the *Aeneid*, the 'reconciliation' of Jupiter and Juno.

In his subtle article on Virgil's 'divided allusion' to the *Coma Berenices* in the *Aeneid*, Jeff Wills points out that only a part of Cat. 66.39–41 is replicated in the infamous *inuitus*, *regina* line at *Aen.* 6.460:

inuita, o, regina, tuo de uertice cessi,
inuita: adiuro teque tuumque caput,
digna ferat quod si quis inaniter adiuravit.

Unwilling, O queen, I left your head, unwilling; I swear by you and by your head; whoever swears lightly, may he receive a suitable punishment.

Other elements are found in the final interview between Jupiter and Juno at *Aen.* 12.807–18: 809 'Turnum et terras *inuita* reliqui', 'unwillingly I left Turnus and the earth'; 811 '*digna indigna pati*', 'to suffer things worthy and unworthy'; 816 '*adiuro Stygii caput implacabile fontis*', 'I swear by the implacable head of the Stygian fountain'. Wills concludes '... *inuita* Juno in Book 12 is the missing partner of *inuitus* Aeneas in Book 6'.⁷³ To Wills' comments on the meaning of this partnering of passages something else may be added. This is the point in the poem when two other partners are restored to a harmonious relationship, Jupiter and Juno, husband and wife, but also brother and sister, as Juno pointedly reminds herself and the reader at her first appearance, 1.46–7 'ast ego, quae diuum incedo regina Iouisque | et soror et coniunx', 'but I, who go forth as the queen of the gods, and sister and wife of Jupiter'. In the final interview in Book 12 between the Olympian couple, Jupiter addresses Juno as *coniunx* at the beginning of his first speech to her (793), and jokingly appeals to their sibling solidarity at the beginning of his second, 830–1 'es germana Iouis Saturnique altera proles, | irarum tantos uoluis sub pectore fluctus', 'you are the true sister of Jupiter and the second child of Saturn, such waves of

⁷⁰ K. L. Zachos, 'The *tropaeum* of the sea-battle of Actium at Nikopolis: interim report', *JRA* 16 (2003), 65–92, at 90–2 suggests that the two children seen riding with Octavian in his triumphal chariot on the relief representing the triumph from the victory monument at Nicopolis may be Alexander Helios and Cleopatra Selene; he gets over the disagreement with Dio (the children accompanying the effigy of Cleopatra) by suggesting that the relief may represent the Actian triumph on the second day. Others are sceptical.

⁷¹ Compare Francis Cairns' analysis of the geographical symbolism of the mountain similes at 12.701–3, mapping an east–west progression from Athos to Eryx to Appenninus, *Virgil's Augustan Epic* (1989), 109.

⁷² J. D. Reed, 'The death of Osiris in *Aeneid* 12.458', *AJP* 119 (1998), 399–418. For the paradoxical identification of Italian enemies of the Trojans with the oriental enemies of the Romans, cf. the case of Camilla, both *decus Italiae* (*Aen.* 11.508), and an eastern Amazon and practitioner of a Parthian style of archery (11.649, 653–4).

⁷³ Wills, *op. cit.* (n. 56), 299.

anger do you set rolling from deep in your heart'. Relationships between the divine couple have been put under heavy strain by a disagreement about the course of human history, which has almost led to a wedding between a proto-Roman and a Carthaginian which, figuratively, could have functioned as an *aition* for the brother-sister marriages of the Ptolemaic dynasty of Alexandria, whose last ruler was demonized as another threat to the existence of Rome.

Once again a Homeric motif takes on a new meaning if passed through the filter of Alexandria. The Iliadic brother-sister marriage of Zeus and Hera (*Iliad* 16.432 *κασιγνήτην ἄλοχόν τε*) is presented in Theocritus 17 as a positive model for Arsinoe's love for her 'brother and husband', 130–4 *ἐκ θυμοῦ στέργοισα κασίγνητόν τε πόσιν τε. | ὦδε καὶ ἀθανάτων ἱερὸς γάμος ἐξετελέσθη, | οὐς τέκετο κρείουσα Ῥέα βασιλῆας Ὀλύμπου. | ἔν δὲ λέχος στόρνυσιν ἰαύειν Ζανὶ καὶ Ἥρᾳ | χεῖρας φοιβήσασα μύροις ἔτι παρθένος Ἴρις*, 'loving her brother and husband with all her heart. Just so was the sacred wedding consummated of the immortals whom queen Rhea bore as rulers of Olympus; Iris, forever virgin, with myrrh-cleansed hands makes one bed for Zeus and Hera to sleep in'.⁷⁴ But even in Alexandria this was a delicate matter. In Callimachus' Acontius and Cydippe story the narrator cuts himself off to avoid mentioning the secret marriage of Zeus and Hera (fr. 75.4–5), *Ἥρην γὰρ κοτέ φασι – κύον, κύον, ἴσχεο, λαιδρέ | θυμέ, σὺ γ' ἀείση καὶ τὰ περ οὐχ ὀσίη*, 'for they say that once upon a time Hera - dog, dog, refrain, my shameless soul, you will sing things not holy to utter'. These words probably allude, under erasure, to Sotades' sarcastic poem on the brother-sister marriage of Ptolemy Philadelphus and Arsinoe, which is likely to have begun with allusion to the marriage of Zeus and Hera, fr. 16 Powell *Ἥρην ποτέ φασιν Διὰ τὸν τερπικέραυνον*, 'they say that once Zeus who delights in the thunderbolt ... Hera', before descending into a more earthy register, fr. 1 Powell *εἰς οὐχ ὀσίην τρυμαλιὴν τὸ κέντρον ὠθεῖς*, 'you're shoving your prick into an unholy hole'.⁷⁵

Ovid briefly flashes up the image of an Alexandrian-style ruling couple in Rome, in a passage of *Ars Amatoria* 3 that lays a thick Egyptian colouring on a Roman map (advising girls about where to go to be seen), 389–94:

uisite laurigero sacrata Palatia Phoebo
 (ille Paraetonias mersit in alta rates)
 quaeque soror coniunxque ducis monimenta pararunt,
 naualique gener cinctus honore caput.
 uisite turicremas uaccae Memphitidos aras ...

Visit the Palatine dedicated to laurel-bearing Apollo (he sunk the Egyptian [Paraetionium] ships in the deep sea) and the monuments constructed by the ruler's sister and wife, and by his son-in-law who wears the naval crown on his head. Visit the incense-burning altars of the cow of Memphis ...

Until we come to the plural verb *pararunt* we might be misled into thinking that Augustus had defeated the Egyptians only to adopt Egyptian ways: after the reference to Egyptian ships, *soror coniunxque* momentarily hints at one who is *both* sister *and* wife, before we

⁷⁴ See R. Hunter, *Theocritus. Encomium of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (2003), on vv. 131–2.

⁷⁵ On Callimachus' allusion to Sotades see R. Pretagostini, *Ricerche sulla poesia alessandrina* (1984), 144–6 (a reference I owe to Marco Fantuzzi). Hazzard, op. cit. (n. 38), 85–90 argues that the incestuous marriage of Ptolemy Philadelphus and Arsinoe II was prompted by the desire to follow the example of Zeus and Hera, rather than to conform to native Pharaonic custom. In the monument dedicated by Callicrates to Ptolemy Philadelphus and Arsinoe at Olympia statues of the royal couple were set atop columns positioned at equal angles to the corner columns of the temples of Zeus and Hera: P. Bing, 'Posidippus and the admiral: Kallikrates of Samos and the Milan epigrams', *GRBS* 43 (2002/03) 243–66 (referring to W. Hoepfner, *Zwei Ptolemaierbauten. Das Ptolemaierweihgeschenk in Olympia und ein Bauvorhaben in Alexandria* (AM Beih. 1, 1971), 45). On the reference to the love-making of Zeus and Hera in *Iliad* 14 in the seduction of Vulcan by Venus in *Aen.* 8 see P. R. Hardie, 'Cosmological patterns in the *Aeneid*', *PLLS* 5 (1986), 85–97.

realize that these are the two separate persons of Octavia and Livia (in a healthy, Roman, family, in which *socer* and *gener* also coexist harmoniously, rather than opposed to each other in the civil war that nearly destroyed all familial, social, and religious structures in Rome).⁷⁶

'atqui nec diuis homines componier aequum est', 'But it is not right for men to be compared with gods', Catullus corrects himself (68.141), after comparing his relationship with Lesbia to that of Jupiter and Juno, consoling himself with the thought that (138–40) 'saepe etiam Iuno, maxima caelicolum, | coniugis in culpa flagrantem concoquit iram | noscens omniuoli plurima furta Iouis', 'often Juno too, the greatest of goddesses, swallows [digests] her blazing anger, although she knows about the many peccadilloes of insatiable Jupiter'.⁷⁷ In Catullus' febrile world this is the kind of comparison that gets made all too readily; delusions of Olympian grandeur flash across Poem 70, where the reference to Jupiter is in fact an addition to the Callimachean model, 1–2 'nulli se dicit mulier mea nubere malle | quam mihi, non si se Iuppiter ipse petat', 'my woman says that she wants to marry no-one other than me, not if Jupiter himself were to woo her'; here the language of marriage (*nubere*, *petat*) adds an extra charge to the not infrequent allusion to Jupiter's amorousness in such contexts.⁷⁸ It has been suggested that Catullus' fixation on incest has something to do with the rumours of incest between Clodia and Clodius: Cicero's nickname of Βοῶπις, an epithet of Hera, for Clodia alludes jestingly to the brother-sister union of Jupiter and Juno.⁷⁹ Catullus' statement in Poem 88 that not even the gods of the sea, Oceanus and Tethys, could wash away the stain of Gellius' incest gains point when we remember that these gods are an incestuous sibling couple.⁸⁰

Ovid's characters also know that such comparisons between gods and men will not work. Byblis tries for a moment to justify her passion for her brother, before pulling herself up, *Met.* 9.497–501 'di melius! — di nempe suas habuere sorores; | sic Saturnus Opem iunctam sibi sanguine duxit, | Oceanus Tethyn, Iunonem rector Olympi. | sunt superis sua iura; quid ad caelestia ritus | exigere humanos diuersaque foedera tempto?', 'The gods forbid! — yet, to be sure, the gods have possessed their sisters; so Saturn wed Ops, related to him by blood, Ocean wed Tethys and the ruler of Olympus wed Juno. But the gods have their own laws. Why do I try to judge the different rules of human customs by the standards of heaven?' Her desire for her brother is marked as yet more transgressive by the allusion at the beginning and end of her story to an Olympian brother-sister pair to whose example she does *not* appeal. Byblis and Caunus are the children of Cyaneë by Miletus, a son of Apollo. The object of Byblis' love is introduced by an intrusive reference to her and her brother's grandfather, 455 'Byblis Apollinei correpta cupidine fratris'; at the end she is referred to as 663 'Phoebeia Byblis'. The reference to their twin birth at 453, 'prolem est enixa gemellam', is a further reminder of their ancestral origins; the *Metamorphoses* subscribes to the version in which Apollo and Diana are twins 6.336 'edidit . . . geminos Latona'.⁸¹

⁷⁶ So R. K. Gibson, *Ovid Ars Amatoria Book 3* (2003), on *Ars* 3.391–2, reporting a suggestion by Michael Haslam. For Ovid our common ancestors are also labelled as siblings, *Met.* 1.351 (Deucalion to Pyrrha, after the flood) 'o soror, o coniunx, o femina sola superstes', although in fact they are first cousins. *soror* can be used of a cousin, but the Ovidian pairing with *soror* irresistibly suggests the epic label for Juno, as at *Met.* 3.265–6 'Iouisque | et soror et coniunx'. For a rich collection of materials see R. Ferri, *Octavia. A Play Attributed to Seneca* (2003), 188–9, on v. 220 'soror Augusti coniunxque'.

⁷⁷ In the final scene between Jupiter and Juno in *Aen.* 12 Juno does indeed digest her anger (831 'irarum . . . fluctus').

⁷⁸ e.g. *Cat.* 72.1–2 'dicebas quondam solum te nosse Catullum, | Lesbia, nec prae me uelle tenere Iouem'. Kroll compares *Met.* 7.800–1 'mutua cura duos et amor socialis habebat, | nec Iouis illa meo thalamos praeferret amori'.

⁷⁹ *Cic.*, *Att.* 2.9.1; 2.12.2; 2.14.1; 2.22.5; 2.23.3. See Moreau, op. cit. (n. 9), 78; T. P. Wiseman, *Catullus and his World* (1985), 43.

⁸⁰ As pointed out by Harrison, op. cit. (n. 16).

⁸¹ A. Feldherr, 'Reconciling Niobe', in D. Nelis (ed.), *Aetas Ovidiana?, Hermathena* 177–8 (2004/05), 125–46, at 126, developing the connections between Ovid's Niobe and Cleopatra, suggests that her boast at *Met.* 6.176 'Iuppiter alter auus; socero quoque gloriol illo' may contain a hint of Ptolemaic incest.

Virgil decisively severs the link between divine and human marital institutions, saving Aeneas from incestuous temptations, and at the same time restoring the conjugal — and fraternal — harmony of the gods of the Roman Capitol. In an interview between *this* couple allusion to the words of the Lock of Berenice carries no ill omen, at least as regards their conjugal relationship. Juno's ascent to the sky may be as unwilling as the Lock's, but it restores her to her rightful partner.⁸² The Julian *gens* is freed from the negative associations of the *Coma Berenices*, which can now be put to better use as a model for another catasterism, the Caesar(ies) of the *sidus Iulium*.

ALTERNATIVE STORIES

But as usual with Virgil things are not quite that simple. The incestuous confusions from which Aeneas extricated himself when he fled from Carthage find a reflection much later in the poem, in the fatal encounter between Camilla and Chloereus. Camilla is in many respects a double of Dido; in battle she meets a Trojan who is in some ways a double of herself, Chloereus, apparently a eunuch as a former priest of Cybele, and so *semiuir*, as the Amazonian Camilla has put aside her femininity to enter the masculine world of war. Her fascination with the gold and purple worn by Chloereus is perhaps partly to be explained by the fact that she herself wears gold and purple (7.814–16). Camilla has a Lycian quiver (7.816), Chloereus a Lycian bow (11.773). Chloereus also shares with Camilla's double, Dido, a threefold repetition of the root *aur-*: 11.774–6 '*aureus* ex umeris erat arcus et *aurea* uati | cassida; tum croceam chlamydemque sinusque crepantis | carbaseos fuluo in nodum collegerat *auro*', 'the priest had a golden bow hanging from his shoulders and a golden helmet; then too his saffron cloak and its rustling folds of linen he had gathered into a knot with gold'; cf. 4.138–9 (Dido) '*cui pharetra ex auro*, crines nodantur in *aurum*, | *aurea* purpuream subnectit fibula uestem'.⁸³ Dido-Diana had intertextually appropriated the attributes of the Callimachean Apollo; Camilla may, the narrator surmises, entertain the idea of physically putting on the clothes of Chloereus (11.779 '*captiuo siue ut se ferret in auro*'). There is a narcissistic quality to the encounter, but this is a 'twinning' with a murderous plot. However Camilla and Chloereus are fantastic characters from a faraway world, and we contemporary readers of Virgil will not meet their like again in our everyday Italy.

Our world is the result of a Trojan settlement in Italy based on an exogamous union of peoples. The twin children of Latona make another appearance in the treaty in Book 12, in the list of gods by whom Latinus swears to uphold the peace agreed between his Italians and the Trojans: 12.198 '*Latonaeque genus duplex Ianumque bifrontem*'. The Greek *genus duplex* is paired with the native Italo-Roman biform god. 'The prominence of these dual deities may relate to the proposed union of Trojans and Latins.'⁸⁴ The treaty will be broken, but only temporarily, and the settlement between Trojan and Italian, one of the foundation legends contained in the *Aeneid*, will be bound by its terms after the death of Turnus. But the death of Turnus prefigures another, indeed *the*, Roman foundation legend, in which twin murders twin, Romulus' killing of Remus. Dido and Turnus correspond as the major obstacles to Aeneas' mission in respectively Carthage and Italy; they

⁸² On the ascent of the Lock/of Juno see Wills, *op. cit.* (n. 56), 299; 301 n. 43 on the problem of 12.842 '*excedit caelo*'; Feeney's suggestion *cedit* (CQ 34 (1984), 184 n. 33) is tempting.

⁸³ Chloereus is the most outlandish of the Trojans, the one who most closely approximates to the negative stereotype of Numanus (9.614–20); the only other Trojan who comes close to him in garish apparel is Aeneas at Carthage (4.261–4), but that costume is the gift of Dido, not imported from Troy.

⁸⁴ Richard Tarrant, forthcoming commentary on *Aen.* 12, on 198. Apollo and Diana are perhaps to be understood in their roles as Sun and Moon (*Sol* opens the list of gods by whom Aeneas swears at 176).

share among other things a tendency to turn into doubles of Aeneas.⁸⁵ With Dido Aeneas commits allusive incest; Aeneas kills Turnus in allusive fratricide. Fratricide is the inverse of incest, the result of a hatred rather than a desire that chooses an object too close to itself, and the two are paired in Roman mythological thinking: fratricide and incest (of mother with son) open and close the list of crimes that, according to Catullus 64, characterize the wicked present day, since men chased away justice (399, 403–4). Incest and fratricide together dominate the plot of Seneca's *Phoenissae*.⁸⁶ The Theban cycle is often used by Roman writers to mirror Roman anxieties. Virgil's readers might reflect uncomfortably on the fact that the court of Ptolemaic Egypt was notorious for fratricide as well as incest, especially under its last ruler Cleopatra, who was responsible for the murder of her two brothers (and husbands), Ptolemy XIII and Ptolemy XIV. Dido, so she rages when she sees the Trojans sailing away, would have murdered Aeneas (4.600–1), a figurative fratricide that Aeneas manages to escape, but heading for a future in which fratricide will be foundational. One mythological model that Virgil does not succeed in importing from Alexandria into the *Aeneid* is that of the Dioscuri, loving siblings who make the transition from mortal to divine, and as such appear as saviour-gods, Σωτήρες and Ἀδελφοί like the Ptolemaic rulers.⁸⁷

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⁸⁵ For a suggestive development of the idea that both Dido and Turnus function as 'second selves' to Aeneas see Nortwick, *op. cit.* (n. 10), 89–182; for Turnus as a double of Aeneas see also P. Hardie, *The Epic Successors of Virgil* (1993), 33–4.

⁸⁶ E. Fantham, 'Nihil iam iura naturae ualent: incest and fratricide in Seneca's *Phoenissae*', *Ramus* 12 (1983), 61–76.

⁸⁷ Cameron, *op. cit.* (n. 47), 435 suggests 'That the Dioscuri of [Theocr.] 22 do indeed in some sense represent the Ptolemaic saviour-gods'; see also A. Sens, *Theocritus: Dioscuri (Idyll 22). Introduction, Text, and Commentary* (1997), 23. Aeneas appeals to the example of Pollux at *Aen.* 6.121 'si fratrem Pollux alterna morte redemit', but the plot of the *Aeneid* does not allow for the kind of use made of the mythological brothers by Tiberius to commemorate his fraternal love for the dead Drusus, dedicating the restored Temple of Castor and Pollux in both their names in A.D. 6: Dio 55.27.4; Ov., *Fasti* 1.705–8 'at quae uenturas praecedat sexta Kalendas, | hac sunt Ledaicis templa dicata deis: | fratribus illa deis fratres de gente deorum | circa Iuturnae composuere lacus' (see S. J. Green, *Ovid Fasti* 1. A Commentary (2004), ad loc.). For other uses of the Dioscuri to symbolize close relations in the imperial family see Jennifer Ingleheart's forthcoming commentary on Ov., *Tr.* 2.176.