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Dido's *furtiuuus amor* (Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.171 – 2)

In this paper,[1] I would like to address the difficulties which are in my view contained in the narrator's words at *Aeneid* 4.171– 2, *nec iam furtiuum Dido meditatur amorem: | coniugium uocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam* "and Dido no longer thinks of a clandestine love–affair" (if this, as I will argue, is the right translation), "she calls it a marriage, and with this name she cloaks her *culpa*". There are a number of unclear issues here:

> (i) what is the *culpa* of line 172?

> (ii) when Dido cloaks her *culpa* with the name of marriage, does she do so publicly, or only in her own heart?

> (iii) is Dido sincerely convinced that she is married to Aeneas? – a question with important consequences for our reading of the whole problem of Dido and Aeneas's "marriage"; and, finally, my main question,

> (iv) what is the exact meaning of *furtiuus amor* in line 171?

Whereas one cannot attain complete certainty about the "solution" to any of these issues, the third has important consequences for our reading of the whole problem of Dido and Aeneas's "marriage", while I think at least the fourth, my chief interest here, can be satisfyingly answered, even if in a manner different from that usually given by translators and commentators.

At *Aeneid* 4.160 – 8, the storm foretold by Juno at 120 – 5 breaks out; the hunters scatter; Aeneas and Dido reach the same cave together. Earth and Juno as *pronuba* give the signal, lightning bolts flash, aether/Aether stands as a witness to the wedding, and the Nymphs howl on the mountain–top.[2]

Both Dido and Anna have always spoken of the potential relationship with Aeneas as a marriage (16 – 18, 33, 48, 59); Juno has envisioned an actual wedding

(125 – 7), and the repetition of Juno's words at 161 and 165 f. underlines the accomplishment of the will of the goddess.[3] Lines 166 – 8 might legitimately suggest that an actual wedding has taken place (*Aen*. 4.165 – 8):

> speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem
> deueniunt. prima[4] et Tellus et pronuba Iuno
> dant signum;[5] fulsere ignes et conscius Aether
> conubiis summoque ulularunt uertice Nymphae.

> The Trojan chief and Dido come to the same cave. First Earth and Juno as pronuba give a sign; fires flashed, together with Aether, witness to the wedding, and the Nymphs screamed on the mountain–top.

Aether[6] is a witness "to the wedding" (*conubiis*, 167): "The word... should not be dismissed, forgotten, or ignored. It provides the greatest stumbling block for those who do not believe that a marriage of any kind took place. Modern writers can speak of a 'marriage', but although ancient analogies to the modern use of quotation marks may exist in speeches, it is unthinkable in narratives. Vergil seems to be emphasizing that a marriage occurred, albeit one shrouded in am-

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3 At 161 *insequitur commixta grandine nimbus* echo the words of Juno in 120 *his ego nigrantem commixta grandine nimbum*; at 165 f. *speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem | deueniunt* repeat Juno's words at 124 f. (with *deuenient*). How Juno's pronouncing the union a marriage (126, *conubio*; cf. 168) can be disregarded or even subverted by the narrator at 4.171 f. is one of the major mysteries surrounding the issue of Dido's "marriage".

4 It is not clear whether *prima* means "first", referring to the order of the actions (so Heyne, who also recalls Heinsius' conjecture *primae Tellus et pr. I.*, and many translators), or "primal", Earth being the oldest of the divinities, cf. 7.136 f. *primamque deorum | Tellurem* (so, after Henry 1878, 646 – 648, the majority of the commentators). The first possibility is more natural.

5 It is not easy to decide whether Tellus and Juno "give a sign", which *consists* in the *ignes* flashing in the sky and in the shrieking of the nymphs (168) – to be interpreted as good or bad omens; or whether they "give the signal" for the "ceremony" to begin, a signal, that is, which is to be imagined as something *different* from the *ignes* and the shrieking of the nymphs; for example, Servius thinks that Tellus gives her signal through an earthquake (an ominous event for a wedding *secundum Etruscam disciplinam*), and Juno *per tempestatem... et pluuias, quae de aere* (Juno's element) *fiunt*. Henry, instead, imagining that "[t]he signal was either a note of the *tibia* or some such instrument, or it was the first strain of the *hymenaeus* raised by the *pronuba* to be taken up from her and continued by the whole procession", thinks of some sort of unspecified signal given by the two goddesses, Tellus and Juno, personally present at the wedding (Henry 1878, 649).

6 With Thomas 2001, 187 I would prefer to follow Henry and Page in reading *Aether* (as in *G*. 2.325), in order to underline the effective presence of another "authoritative divine witness" to the union.

biguity".[7] There is Juno herself as *pronuba*, a sign "as if for the bridal procession" (Austin 1955), lightning bolts as wedding torches, Nymphs who sing the wedding song.[8] Obviously that would be a strange "rite": the storm itself is an ominous setting, there are no human witnesses, and the howling of the nymphs could be a ritual cry but also a cry of horror.[9] But nevertheless it would be easy for the reader to understand from all this that "the gods, in a way inexplicable as if it were magic, accomplished what they had planned" (G. Williams 1968, 379).

Yet the narrator's observations in 169–172 contradict this implication:

> ille dies primus leti primusque malorum
> causa fuit; neque enim specie famaue mouetur
> nec iam furtiuum Dido meditatur amorem:
> coniugium uocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam.

> That day was the first of death and the first cause of sorrow; Dido is no longer influenced by what people see or hear, nor she any longer thinks of a clandestine love–affair, but calls it marriage, and with this name she cloaks her crime.

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7 Green 1986, 411.

8 The union in the cave is reminiscent of the marriage of Jason and Medea in a cave in Corcyra in Ap. Rhod. 4.1128–1169; see Nelis 2001, 148 f. The Nymphs and Hera also attend Jason and Medea's wedding (Nymphs: 4.1143–1155, 1196 f.; Hera: 4.1151, 1184 f., 1199 f.), but between the two passages there are many significant differences: see Cairns 1989, 47–49. According to Henry 1878, 644, "there is a union taking place at the same time between Dido and Aeneas and between the air and the earth" (cf. e. g. *G.* 2.325–327), a notion accepted by Page and O'Hara ad loc.; see Thomas 2001, 187; contra, see Pease on 160.

9 The shriek of the Nymphs corresponds to the marriage song of the Nymphs on the morning after the wedding of Jason and Medea at Ap. Rhod. 4.1196 f. (Virgil's words recall also Ap. Rhod. 3.1218 f., where the nymphs howl when Jason sacrifices in honour of Hecate: Nelis 2001, 148 n. 104.) Some commentators take this howling as a sinister sign (Heyne, Pease); others as a joyful song (Henry, Conington). In fact, Virgil has, in *ululo*, chosen an ambiguous word. As already noted by Servius and DServius, the verb (and the noun *ululatus*) is a *uox media* whose meaning depends on the context: it can refer to a ritual cry (DServ. ad loc.: *non nulli ita accipiunt, quod ululare ueteres etiam in sacris dicebant ex Graeca consuetudine. ergo ulularunt nymphae quasi nuptiarum sacra celebrarunt*) or to an ominous cry of sorrow or horror (cf. e. g. 667, the cries at Dido's death). As an example of *ululo* in a non–mournful context Servius quotes Luc. 6.261 *laetis ululare triumphis*, and DServ. the howling of the Amazons in battle at *Aen.* 11.662 *magnoque ululante tumultu*; *ululatus* is also used by Virgil of cries in the worship of Bacchus (7.395); Dido herself in her curse invokes Hecate *nocturnis... triuiis ululata per urbes* (4.609). (The same is true for the corresponding Greek verb ὀλολύζειν which can be a cry both of joy and of sorrow.) Ovid in *H.* 7.95 f. clearly takes Virgil's words as implying a positive ritual cry of the nymphs: *audieram uoces: nymphas ululasse putaui; | Eumenidum fati signa dedere mei* (see Knox 1995, 22 f.).

That was the first day of death and sorrow; Dido is no longer concerned about appearances or renown; "she no longer thinks of a *furtiuus amor*, but calls it marriage, with this name she cloaks her *culpa*" (171 f.). This implies that the relationship that begins in the cave was not a *coniugium* at all, and that the whole scene is to be reconsidered as "an elemental and demonic parody of the Roman marriage ceremony" (Hardie 1993, 90).

But the narrator's comment in 169 – 172 is far from being straightforward. Especially problematic are the crucial lines 171 f. Let us begin with line 172: "she calls it marriage, with this name she cloaks her guilt".[10] A preliminary issue to be clarified is the meaning of *culpa*. According to Pease, "In 4.19 and here the *culpa* involves unfaithfulness to the memory of Sychaeus".[11] But in 19 what Dido considered as a *culpa* was exactly her being married to Aeneas, that is, what she uses here to "cloak" her *culpa*. So, from a strictly logical point of view, the *culpa* in 172 must be different from the *culpa* in 19, and must refer to a sexual relationship that was not a marriage, a "sexual misdeameanour".[12] In other words, the *culpa* corresponds to the *furtiuus amor* of the preceding line: if *furtiuus amor* is, as we shall see, an illicit love–affair, then Dido no longer thinks of an illicit love–affair; she calls it marriage; with this name cloaks her misdeed (i.e. the fact of being involved in an illicit love–affair).[13] But one cannot altogether exclude that the line is (also?) focalized through Dido, with *culpa* suggesting "her previous sense that her marriage to Aeneas would have involved *culpa*" (O'Hara), in a contradiction with line 19 which we have to accept as such.[14]

It is not specified if Dido calls her relationship a marriage in public or in her own heart. In the first case, there is a slight contradiction with 170, as Dido would show some concern over her reputation after all. Furthermore, if the mar-

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10 For the problems of line 172, see O'Hara 2011, ad loc.: "Does the narrator condemns what she is doing, or is the line 'focalized' through Dido (or looked at her from her perspective or point of view), so that she is overcoming her previous sense that marriage to Aeneas would have involved *culpa*? Does Dido 'call' (*uocat*) the relationship a marriage openly, or only in her mind? Does she 'cover over' a fault, or her previous sense that her marriage to Aeneas would have involved *culpa*?"
11 So for example also G. Williams 1968, 384, Agrell 2004, 101.
12 See Monti 1981, 106 f. n. 29, Moles 1984, 51 – 53, Horsfall 1995, 126 – 128.
13 For *culpa* "de amore illicito" see *TLL* 4.1302.67 – 1303.18.
14 See also, similarly, Harrison 2015, 167 f.: "On the famous crux of *culpam* at 4.172, S[eider 2013, 113 f.] takes it as the narrator's negative moral judgement, but it is equally well worth considering it as Dido's own exaggerated self–condemnation (neither party is currently married, and Dido's devoted attachment to the dead Sychaeus might be excessive even from a Roman perspective)".

riage is publicly declared as such, it is difficult to understand Aeneas' position: why did he not clarify from the beginning that he did not see their union as a marriage? On the other side, the contrast between 170 f. and 172 seems to imply that Dido is indeed talking *publicly* of her relationship as a marriage. We must remain uncertain, regarding it perhaps as slightly more probable that Dido *calls* her relationship a marriage only in her own heart: what she offers to people to see and hear (170) is her cohabiting with Aeneas (never expressly characterized as such, but obviously implied by the narrative), and in any case the public parading of the relationship; for this she does not have to make open statements about its legal status. For her the relationship is a marriage, and she behaves, publicly and privately, as if it is, but she does not necessarily declare it to be such explicitly. Obviously, how Aeneas could first accept all this, and then deny that he is married to Dido, remains an open question.

Also debatable, and clearly more important, is whether Dido, when she cloaks her *culpa* with the word *coniugium*, is sincerely convinced she is married to Aeneas, i.e., is she cloaking her guilt from *her own* eyes, or is she lying?[15] It is again impossible to reach a definite conclusion, but the first possibility is by far the most probable; in fact, from this point on Dido always refers to her relationship with Aeneas in terms of marriage (307 *data dextera quondam*, 314–316, 324, 431, 495 f., 550, 597 *en dextra fidesque*), and there is nothing in the text to suggest that she is not sincerely convinced that this is its true nature.

In fact, it is possible to think that what at the beginning is not a marriage, as stated in 172, later evolves, through prolonged cohabitation and because of Aeneas' behavior (think of his involvement in the construction of Carthage at 260 and of the word *uxorius* used by Mercury at 266), into what Dido can even *legitimately* think of as a real marriage.[16]

In sum, notwithstanding the narrator's explicit declaration that what happened in the cave was no *coniugium*, Dido can still be sincerely convinced

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15 For the first possibility see for example G. Williams 1968, 380: "the decisive fact is that Virgil always portrays Dido as really convinced that she is married to Aeneas"; for the second one, Moles 1984, 53: "at this point Dido knows that she is not married to Aeneas but pretends to the world that she is to avoid disgrace".

16 For this position see Monti 1981, 45–48; on the possible ambiguity of the legal status of relationships in Roman society see G. Williams 1968, 378–383, Treggiari 1981, 59 f. (with reference to Dido and Aeneas). Hardly relevant for this issue is the fact that Aeneas can be seen as a proto–Roman and Dido as a *peregrina*, as maintained by Cairns 1989, 48, Horsfall 1995, 128. At 192 *cui se pulchra uiro* ("as a husband") *dignetur iungere Dido* it is not clear whether Fama depicts Aeneas as the *real* husband of Dido (so e.g. O'Hara 2011, ad loc.: "Rumor describes the union as a marriage"), or whether *uiro* represents Dido's point of view (= *tamquam uiro* "considering him as a husband"; so e.g. Paratore 1947, ad loc.).

that she is married to Aeneas; Aeneas, on the other side, is surely right when he points out that there has been no formal ceremony (338 f. *nec coniugis umquam | praetendi taedas*); but we are not given any clue about the sincerity of his claim that on his part there has been no consent or *maritalis affectio* (339 *aut haec in foedera ueni*): we are given a peek into Dido's "consciousness", but never into Aeneas', and we do not know what Aeneas has said in the cave or during his subsequent cohabitation with Dido, or how he reacted to Dido's public presentation, or (possibly) even declaration, of their relationship as a marriage.

Let's now turn to 171, *nec iam furtiuum Dido meditatur amorem*. A translation along the lines of "and Dido does not think anymore of (or does not practice anymore) her love as a secret one" is supported by the glosses of Heyne ("nec iam clam amat, non celat amorem"), West ("no longer kept her love as a secret in her own heart"), and Hardie ("no longer kept her love a secret in her heart").[17]

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17 Hardie 2012, 84, but see below. See Buscaroli 1932, ad loc.: "Didone non nutre piu segretamente in cuor suo (*furtiuum* non è, come sembra ad alcuni, attributivo!) l'amore per Enea, ma lo chiama, perché lo considera, vero e proprio connubio [...]. *Meditatur* è "cogitando persequitur" (Forbiger), 'vagheggia'" (notice, however, that Forbiger seems to intend the line in a different way: see below); La Penna / Grassi 1971, ad loc.: "'né ormai Didone coltiva l'amore nascondendolo nel suo animo'. *Furtivum... amorem* si riferisce al precedente amore non dichiarato"; G. Williams 1968, 379: "Then he [sc. the narrator] says that Dido is now acting openly – where previously she had kept her love for Aeneas a secret known only to her sister. (It should perhaps be said explicitly that, when Virgil speaks here of a "secret love", he does not mean that Dido had been secretely making love with Aeneas, but that she had been feeling love for him and not talking about it.)"; he translates: "it is not a secret love she now practices". De la Cerda 1612, 411 (in his "Explicatio") explains: "Itaque non iam furtim exercet amores suos, sic explico *meditatur*, sed vocat coniugium": this evidently means that Dido no longer nourishes a feeling of love for Aeneas in the secret of her heart (i.e. the usual explanation). Those who interpret the line in this sense usually take *meditatur* in the sense of *exercet* "nourishes", "practices her love in secret" (cf. La Cerda's *exercet*, Buscaroli's "nutre", La Penna / Grassi's "coltiva"); for this sense of *meditatur* cf. already Servius: *'meditatur': exercet; sic Horatius* (*Carm.* 4.14.27 f.) *'et horridam* [sic] *cultis | diluuiem meditatur agris'. nec incongrue dictum: actus enim est in ipsa meditatione, nam exercitium est meditatio.* Horace's passage means that "Tiberius as river is plotting a deluge against cultivated fields", where *meditatur* "involves actual planning" (Thomas 2011, ad loc.), so perhaps it is not the best parallel for *meditor = exerceo* (saying that "Dido no longer secretely plans a love" with Aeneas does not seem what those who follows the usual explanation want to mean); but otherwise this seems a possible extension of the meaning of *meditor* (cf. *OLD* s.v. 5a "To rehearse, practise (an action, part, etc.)"), even if in the only other instance of the phrase, Hor. *Carm.* 3.6.23 – 4 *incestos amores | de tenero meditatur ungui* (a difficult passage owing to the uncertain meaning of *de tenero ... ungui*) the sense is probably "goes over in contemplation" (Nisbet in Nisbet–Rudd 2004, ad loc.). It goes without saying that "[t]o contemplate as a possible course of action, have in mind, intend" (*OLD* s.v. 2a, which so catalogues our passage) is the most natural sense of *meditor* here. But this meaning can be adapted also to the usual explanation of the line: "she no longer thinks of her love as a secret in her heart"; so,

However, *furtiuum*... *amorem* clearly suggests "the secret elegiac (or iambic, lyric) liaison" (Hardie 2012, 86).[18] *Furtiuus* in this erotic sense normally refers to a relationship kept secret from others but also consummated, while in this case, if we were to accept Heyne's interpretation, it should exceptionally refer to a love kept secret *from the other partner*. I cannot find any parallel for such a meaning of *furtiuus amor*. Clearly right is that minority of interpreters who understand: "she no longer thinks of a secret love–affair" (Green 1986, 414),[19] "[Dido] no longer thinks of enjoying a secret liaison" (Ahl).[20] This is actually the inevitable meaning of this line: "Dido is not moved by appearances or what people say; and she no longer thinks of a clandestine love–affair [i.e. no longer thinks of

for example, if I correctly understand, Day Lewis: "the love she brooded on now was a secret love no longer"; Lombardo: "She no longer thinks to keep the affair a secret" (where, however, the use of the term "affair" probably points towards the interpretation we will consider next). – I am not sure of how Conington interprets the line: "It is not on a concealed love that Dido's heart is any longer set".

18 Cf. Catull. 7.8, Tib. 1.5.75, and see O'Hara 2011, ad loc.: "the phrase suggests the clandestine affairs of Latin love poetry (which Dido thinks she is not pursuing); cf Catullus 7.8, Tib. 1.5.75, Ov. *F.* 6.573", *TLL* s.v. *furtiuus* 6.1644.42 – 63; for *furtum* in reference to a clandestine love affair, see Thomas 1981, 372 and n. 7 = 1999, 302 and n. 12 (with reference also to *Aen.* 4.171), Pichon 1966, 158.

19 Green 1986, 414: "The phrase *nec iam* should be given its full force, indicating that the situation has changed in an important aspect. She no longer thinks of a secret love–affair, which is the plain sense of *furtiuum* in such contexts", with reference to Catullus and Tibullus quoted above. Green does not see the problem which arises from the contradiction with Dido's previous thinking of her relationship with Aeneas always as a marriage, on which see below.

20 See also Forbiger 1873, ad loc.: "*furtivum*, celatum, tectum; vox propria de hac re. [...] *meditatur*, cogitando persequitur; non iam furtivo amori se indulgere putat"; Agrell 2004, 100 f. (on which see below, n. 22). I take for granted that the translation of Ahl 2007 does not refer to a love–affair that is kept "secret" from *Aeneas himself*; that would be an absurd way of expressing oneself in English. The same I would think of Seider's translation (2013, 111): "nor does she any longer think of her love as clandestine". Often, however, the translators reproduce the Latin text with all its ambiguity (Canali 1978 is an extreme case: "ormai non medita un amore furtivo"), so that we cannot understand how exactly they interpret the line. For example, the translations of Fairclough ("no more does she dream of a secret love"), followed by Goold, Mandelbaum ("she no longer thinks of furtive love"), R. D. Williams ("nor does she any longer think of a hidden love"), Clausen 2002, 46 ("nor thinks now of a secret love"), Scarcia ("né più quale furtivo considera il suo amore"), and Fo ("né piú immagina ormai, Didone, un amore furtivo") would seem most naturally to agree with our explanation, but in the absence of an explicit discussion one cannot be completely certain (anyway, my impression is that, when the translators do not think too much about the implications of the line, they instinctively tend to translate *furtiuum* ... *amorem* in its most natural sense, that is as "clandestine love–affair"). Nor is it clear to me from Rudd's translation (1976, 40) how he understands the line: "Nor does she engage in a clandestine love–affair", which seems to omit *iam* (cf. Perret's explanation in the following note).

being involved in a clandestine love–affair]; she calls it [sc. this love which in fact remains a clandestine love–affair] marriage and with this name she cloaks her crime [sc. her being involved in a clandestine love–affair, with the other possible implications we have seen above]".

Nevertheless, this entails a big problem: saying the Dido "*no longer* thinks of a clandestine love–affair" implies that *at a certain point* she did think of it as such, and this contrasts with the fact that Dido has always spoken of her possible relationship with Aeneas only in terms of marriage (15 – 19): that she ever envisioned that relationship as a "clandestine love affair" seems out of character.[21]

So either we accept this anomaly (which is of course a possible decision), or we have to find a different way of explaining how Virgil can say of Dido that, after the encounter in the cave, she no longer thinks of her relationship with Aeneas as a *furtiuus amor*, a clandestine love–affair. There seems to be only one way of applying the words in this meaning to the evolution of Dido's attitude towards her relationship with Aeneas. That is, if it is true that Dido has always thought of that relationship as a (possible) marriage, there must have a moment, during, or immediately after, the love–making in the cave, when she did "think" of that union as a *furtiuus amor:* making love in a cave during a storm interrupting a hunt can most plausibly be seen as a "clandestine love–affair". It is difficult to imagine that she was thinking of her union with Aeneas as a marriage the moment *before*, or *during*, their love–making, and it is difficult to think that before, or even during, their love–making Aeneas can have said or done anything that might have made her to think of their relationship in terms of marriage. It is

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21 Perret, seeing this contradiction ("Il nous paraît douteux que *iam* soit ici employé pour opposer deux époques et doive être traduit: "Didon ne songe *plus* à un amour clandestine". On ne voit pas, en effet, qu'elle y ait jamais songé: dès les premiers vers du livre (v. 16) c'est sur un mariage qu'elle s'interrogeait", Perret 1977, 184 n.), but at the same time rightly considering that *furtiuus amor* can only mean "clandestine love–affair", vainly tries to explain away *iam* by giving it an implausible emphatic sense, so translating: "et elle ne pense certes pas à un amour furtif". According to Paratore 1947, ad loc. the line means that Dido "non si limita più a *ricercare un'occasione* per congiungersi nascostamente a Enea" (his emphasis); this implies that Dido was actively seeking an occasion to seduce Aeneas, but of this plan of seduction on Dido's part there is no trace in the text – which does not mean that we could not integrate the narrative in such a way; indeed, Dido's behavior as described in lines 74 – 9 can legitimately imply attempts at seduction on Dido's part. *furtiuum ... amorem*, however, seems more naturally to refer to a "clandestine *relationship*" (cf. the opposition with *coniugium*), rather than to an "*occasion* for furtive love–making". In any case, Paratore's interpretation, which probably lies beneath at least some of the translations cited in the preceding note, is well worth considering.

only *after* her intimacy with Aeneas that she begins to think of their union as a "marriage".[22]

We can imagine Dido's psychological process as hinted at by Virgil as a moment of blurring of reason (she and Aeneas in the same cave together, the love–making: the *furtiuus amor*), followed by a gaining of awareness, with *iam* marking the moment in which Dido rationalizes what just happened as a marriage, presumably helped by something that Aeneas does or says: "and she by now (already, immediately, or shortly, after the fact; when she leaves the cave) does not think of what happened in the cave as a clandestine love–affair; she calls it marriage, and with this name cloaks her guilt" – that is, her being involved in an irregular sexual relationship.

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22 Agrell 2004, 100 f., who well sees both that language cannot support the usual interpretation of *furtiuus amor*, and that *furtiuus amor* = "clandestine love-affair" contrasts with the preceding presentation of Dido's thoughts about her relationship with Aeneas, sustains that the phrase "can hardly refer to the proceedings in the cave, since the separate arrivals of Dido and Aeneas seem to rule out a planned seduction, and thereafter Dido had no doubt that she was married". On the contrary, I think that *furtiuus amor* does refer to the proceedings in the cave, and that it covers a short phase of Dido's thoughts about herself only hinted at by Virgil. For the developing of a *furtiuus amor* in the cave there is no need of presupposing perforce "a planned seduction": they arrive into the same cave "by chance"; they indulge in a *furtiuus amor*; and shortly after Dido is convinced that she is married to Aeneas. For this formulation I am especially indebted to discussion with Jim O'Hara.

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AE =   *L'Année Épigraphique.*
CEG =   Hansen, P.A. (ed.) (1983–1989), *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca*, Berlin.
CIL =   *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.*
CLE =   Bücheler, F. / Lommatzsch, E. (1895–1926), *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*, Leipzig.
GVI =   Peek, W. (1955), *Griechische Vers-Inschriften*, Berlin.
IMEGR =   Bernand, É. (ed.) (1969), *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine. Recherches sur la poésie épigrammatique des Grecs en Égypte. Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon 98*, Paris.
IosPE =   Latyschev, V. (ed.) (1885–1901) *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini graecae et latinae*, St. Petersburg.
KL =   Keil, H. (ed.) (1857–1880), *Grammatici Latini*, Leipzig.
OLD =   Glare, P.G.W. (ed.) (1968–1982), *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Oxford.
SGO =   Merkelbach, R. / Stauber, J. (eds.) (1998–2004), *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten*, Berlin.
SH =   Lloyd-Jones, H. / Parsons, P. (eds.) (1983), *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, Berlin.
TLL =   *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae.*

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