

THE DEPICTION OF ABANDONED AND LAMENTING WOMEN

THE DEPICTION OF ABANDONED AND LAMENTING WOMEN IN CATULLUS,
VERGIL AND OVID

By HEVA OLFMAN, B.A.H.

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AUTHOR: Heva Olfman, B.A.H (University of Winnipeg)

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Abstract

My study focusses on the laments expressed by Ariadne and Dido in the poems of Catullus, Vergil and Ovid. My study examines the evolution of the character type of the lamenting woman from its Greek origins and portrayal to its presentation in Catullus 64, *Aeneid* 4 and *Heroides* 7 and 10. The scholarship and theories of Elizabeth Harvey, Rebecca Armstrong, Bridgitte Libby, Laurel Fulkerson and Sharon James were essential for my understanding and interpretation of these poems. I also consider the implications of male poets writing ventriloquized female voices. Over the course of three chapters, I argue that each of these authors contributes to the development and establishment of a new Romanized theme of the seduced and abandoned lamenting woman and character type. It is evident in each depiction of Ariadne and Dido that the authors build on the standard characterizations in Greek epic and tragedy, and that from these models a new type of lamenting woman emerged. With this project I intend to make a contribution to our understanding of the issues involved in the poetic portrayal of male and female voices in the context of the classical literary tradition of lamenting.

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Declaration of Academic Achievement

My study is a multidimensional examination of Catullus 64, Vergil's *Aeneid* 4, and Ovid's *Heroides* 7 and 10. Included in my considerations are gender identity and the implications of the intertextuality within these works. Additionally, I aim to make a contribution to our understanding of the issues involved in the poetic portrayal of female voices and situations as depicted by men in the context of the classical literary tradition of lamenting.

Introduction

The characters of Ariadne and Dido are synonymous with Catullus 64, Vergil's *Aeneid* 4, and Ovid's *Heroides* 7 and 10. These characters existed long before these works were written. But it is in Latin poetry that they have generally been considered as prime examples of women being seduced and abandoned. In earlier literature, in Homer's *Odyssey* and Apollonius' *Argonautica* for example, Ariadne is mentioned as though her story is a well-known myth. The few lines devoted to this character in the *Odyssey* are not even focused on Ariadne, but she shares the narrative with her sisters, father and Theseus before the final line in which Odysseus states that she was killed by Artemis (*Od.* 11.321-324). Furthermore, in the *Argonautica* Ariadne is simply an example of someone who helped a hero (A.R. 3.998, 1097 and 1107). Similarly, one of Dido's earliest depictions before Vergil's *Aeneid* 4 are attributed to the Greek historian Timaeus of Tauromenium, in which she is plainly characterized as "a Phoenician exile and founder of Carthage"¹. The Latin poets studied in this thesis established a new genre and tradition of lament and abandonment adding to these minor character profiles.

The aim of this thesis is to examine the motif of the lament of abandoned women in Latin poetry. My study focusses on the laments expressed by Ariadne and Dido in the poems of Catullus, Vergil and Ovid. My study examines the evolution of the character type of the lamenting woman from its Greek origins and portrayal to its presentation in Catullus 64, *Aeneid* 4 and *Heroides* 7 and 10. Over the course of three chapters, I argue that each of these authors contributes to the development and establishment of a new Romanized theme of the seduced and abandoned lamenting woman and character type. It is evident in each depiction of Ariadne and Dido that the authors build on the standard characterizations in Greek epic and tragedy, and that

¹ Desmond (1994), 24.

from these models a new type of lamenting woman emerged. With this project I intend to make a contribution to our understanding of the issues involved in the poetic portrayal of male and female voices in the context of the classical literary tradition of lamenting.

At the core of my thesis is the presentation of emotion and the socially accepted practices that surround female emotions, specifically expressions of grief and loss. Additionally, the experience of being seduced and then abandoned is a particularly feminine situation that these heroines are set in. There is a kinship between the representation of abandoned women and the construction of female voice because female expression (such as speech) is deeply related to female sexuality and its consequences.² In Greco-Roman society the concept of being abandoned and the role of grieving are both stereotypically feminine. Specifically, an emotional expression of grief and lamenting were a part of the female domain in society.³ In each portrayal of Ariadne and Dido, the poets giving them a voice were men: Catullus, Vergil and Ovid. Consequently, it is not a true female voice that is being read, but a ventriloquized voice produced by a male poet, who is portraying a thoroughly feminine situation.

Elizabeth Harvey's theory of ventriloquized voice is integral to my study of the male poets' representation of female voices. The term "ventriloquized voice" refers to the inherent implications throughout history of men writing in the voice of a female character. Harvey discusses how speaking through another gender creates an inconsistency because men and women sound different in the way that they speak. Furthermore, due to the lack of female authors and the lack of manuscripts written by women that have survived, the works that contain feminine speech are by men and often promote a concept of women that reinforces their silence

² Harvey (1995), 140.

³ Dunham (2014), 2.

and the qualities that men thought women should have.⁴ Harvey explains that there is a long tradition of silencing women on account of their uncontrollable talkativeness.⁵ Moreover, a woman's voice was often equated to both her nature and sexuality.⁶ Thus, silencing a woman's voice was also considered a metaphorical controlling her sexual chastity.⁷ In studying this control, it is important to seek out what the text omits as opposed to what it actually says, as Barbara Gold has compellingly argued.⁸

The social background of the Late Republic and the early Augustan period and its effect on Latin literature is another important factor to take into account in the poetic representation of lamenting women. Roman authors often worked with established tropes and narratives. The neoteric poets of the Late Republic and the poets of the Augustan age significantly changed Latin literature with a conscious and purposeful introduction of Callimachean poetics into their style. Thus, before the concept of a new type of character and genre can be considered, it is crucial to understand the theme and tradition of lament in Greek literary culture. In Greek epic poetry and tragedy women cry out and mourn publicly, laments are directed toward the “doomed, dying or dead individual”, and are intended to reinforce various societal values, such as truth, justice and natural law.⁹ This is a cause of the main dilemma in Sophocles' *Antigone*, in which the protagonist must either break natural law or decreed custom. Moreover, a lament scene in Greek tragedy is a passage in lyric or spoken meter in which a female character can express grief, loss, how her life has changed, and either praise for or anger at the dead for abandoning her, as well as anger at whoever is responsible for the death. These laments are usually found at

⁴ Harvey (1995), 5.

⁵ Harvey (1995), 132.

⁶ Harvey, (1995), 132.

⁷ Harvey, (1995), 132.

⁸ Gold (1993), 86.

⁹ Dunham (2014), 2.

the end of the play,¹⁰ as we can see, for example, with Hecuba's and Andromache's joint lament for Hector in Euripides' *The Trojan Women* (*Tr.* 577-607). Other examples of this kind of scene are found in Helen's lament in Euripides' *Helen* (*Hel.* 329-385). These types of lament did not occur only in tragedy but are also in epic poetry. For example, when both Hecuba and Andromache lament the death of Hector in Book 22 of the *Iliad* (*Il.* 429-436 and 475-515). Accordingly, in order for us to understand the discourse of feminine laments in Roman Late Republican poetry and Augustan poetry, it is useful for us to recall that there was a tradition of lamenting women in Greek literature and that this tradition was alluded to and echoed by Catullus, Vergil and Ovid in their treatment of specifically feminine voices.¹¹

In the first chapter I argue that Catullus' Ariadne is an example of a new type of lamenting character based on, but different from, lamenting characters in Greek literature, especially Medea. Catullus' *libellus* contains representations of a broad range of emotions in 116 poems which cover a variety of topics and themes in different meters and tones. In Poem 64, Ariadne's powerful lament is exemplary of such a treatment. With the support of the narrator, Ariadne is both sorrowful and wrathful. Ariadne's sadness is overwhelming and is born from her initial anger about her situation. Furthermore, since the lament in this epyllion is part of an ekphrasis, we need to keep in mind that this speech is not a monologue performed on a stage. Nevertheless, the language and concepts presented are those of an emotionally powerful lament, and, although Ariadne is a figure embroidered on a tapestry, the narrator imagines her words and ventriloquizes her voice. In the Lesbia poems, Catullus' poetic persona goes through a similar range of emotions as Ariadne in a similarly complex style that includes layered, ventriloquized voices.

¹⁰ Suter (2003), 3.

¹¹ Conte (1987), 137.

In the second chapter I argue that on account of the varied characters and narratives Vergil uses to create Dido, she becomes strictly a character type, the example of a lamenting woman as opposed to an actual lamenting woman. Vergil interrupts the narrative of Aeneas' journey from Troy to Latium with the love story of the Carthaginian Queen Dido. From our first encounter with her in Book 1 to her final appearance in Book 6, Dido is a captivating character who not only distracts Aeneas but also draws the audience's attention, especially in Book 4. Vergil's characterization of Dido became the epitome of a lamenting Roman woman,¹² although she is not actually Roman. Vergil did not create Dido, though his depiction of the character has been the most memorable for medieval and Renaissance recreations.¹³

In my final chapter I argue that Ovid's *Heroides* are ventriloquized laments that perpetuate the concept that women are naturally unrestrained sexually, orally, and emotionally. Ovid offers readers the unique opportunity to read the fictional letters of many mythological women without a background story outside the letter itself. His almost entirely "female" narrated catalogue of letters gives audiences the stories of these heroines supposedly from their perspectives and written at crucial moments of their narratives. Ovid's works were mainly in the genre of love elegy with his ultimate goal being to "establish himself as the love poet of antiquity"¹⁴. Conte identifies Ovid as the last of the Augustan poets, with his death signifying the end of the Augustan period of poetry; he was a well-versed poet who wrote a variety of works in a variety of genres.¹⁵ Furthermore, it is important to recognize that Ovid was purposely

¹² Holford-Strevens (1999), 384.

¹³ Other ancient authors of Dido include Timaeus and Pompeius Trogus, on whom see Desmond (1994), 23-24. See Holford-Strevens (1999, 382) on how Vergil's image and characterization of Dido had a long-lasting effect on audiences, with the reproductions of Dido's image and voice continuing into the Renaissance.

¹⁴ Fulkerson (2009), 88.

¹⁵ Conte (1995), 341.

challenging the limitations of genre and style in order to be unparalleled in the canon of Latin poets.

Therefore, this thesis studies the development of the lamenting woman in Latin poetry. Beginning with Catullus 64, I argue in Chapter 1 that in his characterization of Ariadne, Catullus establishes a new type of lamenting woman modelled on, but distinct from, Euripides' and Apollonius' Medea. Following this, in Chapter 2, I consider Vergil's Dido, whose character is developed from many literary models and traditions. I argue that Dido follows in the tradition that Catullus established while also maintaining many other Greek epic and tragic conventions, thus she becomes a literary example of a lamenting woman. In my final chapter, I consider Ovid's depiction of both Dido and Ariadne in his *Heroides*. Although his presentations of Dido and Ariadne are similar to those of his predecessors, Ovid challenges the basic conventions of the lament. Where previously laments were grounded in strong emotions, I argue that in Dido's and Ariadne's letters Ovid depicts the weaknesses associated with being emotionally unrestrained and vulnerable. From a thorough reading of the laments presented in Catullus 64, *Aeneid* 4 and *Heroides* 7 and 10, I argue that these poetic presentations of Ariadne and Dido ushered in a new type of lament, which, although it carries with it much from Greek and earlier Latin literary memory, transforms them into distinctly Roman characters, through the ventriloquizing voice of their poets.

Chapter 1
Catullus' Ariadne: The Double Voice of a Lamenting Woman

This chapter discusses Catullus' Ariadne as presented in lines 50-267 of Poem 64, focusing on the lament, the way in which Catullus utilizes Ariadne's voice as a female character, and the emotions of unrequited love. I will argue that Catullus' Ariadne is a new type of lamenting character based on, but different from, lamenting characters in Greek tragedy, especially Medea. Catullus explores Ariadne's emotional range as a woman to express his persona's dissatisfactions with love in a socially acceptable way during the time in which he is writing. In his depiction of Ariadne, Catullus presents a new type of lamenting character whose voice is similar to that of his poetic persona in the Lesbia cycle of poems.

Catullus 64 is widely studied, and many have examined the details of its narrative. The scholars most relevant to the present argument are Rebecca Armstrong, Kenneth Quinn, C.J. Fordyce, and Gian Biagio Conte.¹ Various scholars discuss the seemingly separate narratives within the work, its poetics and influential aspects of Poem 64, but not much attention has been devoted to Ariadne's lament and the framework of a ventriloquized female voice in which it occurs.² Harvey's theories about the different implications of men writing in the voices of women from the Renaissance and in the classical period are essential to my study of Catullus' Ariadne. Building on Armstrong's influential interpretation of Ariadne in *Cretan Women*, I aim to go beyond the discussion of the narrative and framing of Ariadne to consider her speech, her voice and the canonical aspects of her character's lament. The canonical characteristics of a lament include crying aloud, beating oneself, and asking unanswerable questions.

¹ On Catullus 64, see also Green (2005), Gardner (2007), and Skinner's *Companion to Catullus* (2007).

² Harvey (1995), 1.

Roman authors often worked with established tropes and narratives. As discussed in the introduction, it is important to understand that the context in which Catullus was writing was a period of change in literature. The neoteric poets of the Late Republic were purposefully including Hellenistic references in their works as a rejection of the *mos maiorum* and Roman traditions.³ Since there was a tradition of lamenting women in Greek literature it follows that authors decisively looking to Greek literature for inspiration would draw on established tropes and traditions. The literary memory of lament is referenced and echoed by Catullus in his treatment of Ariadne. Consequently, the discourse of feminine laments in Roman Late Republican poetry must be examined in the context of Greek literary traditions.⁴

Catullus uses multiple literary devices in Poem 64, many of which remind his readers of the heritage of Hellenistic poetry, Greek epic and even Greek tragedy. Catullus begins the poem with the main verb *dicuntur* (64.2). The use of *dicuntur* is twofold; this word distances the narrator from the events in the poem and serves to signal an intertextual connection that is sometimes referred to as an “Alexandrian footnote”.⁵ Within the first 5 lines, Catullus has established his literary Hellenistic roots and has gestured towards an established tradition simply with the use of this one word. Additionally, before the narrative is brought to a focus on Ariadne, learned readers would recognize the similarities and decisive references to Apollonius’ Hellenistic epic the *Argonautica*.⁶ The Apollonian intertext is particularly evident in lines 12-18 where Catullus writes,

quae simul ac rostro ventosum proscidit aequor
tortaque remigio spumis incanuit unda,

³ See Introduction, pages 2-3. See also Conte (1987), 137.

⁴ Conte (1987), 137.

⁵ Knox (2007), 16. Konstan (2006, 29) cites Catullus’ portrayal of Ariadne’s inner turmoil as a that of a poet “steeped in Hellenistic conventions.” The Hellenistic period, he notes, was one in which artists and writers delighted in representing characters in heightened emotional states.

⁶ Clare (1996), 62.

emersere freti candenti e gurgite vultus
aequoreae monstrum Nereides admirantes.
illa, atque alia, viderunt luce marinas
mortales oculis nudato corpore Nymphas
nutricum tenus exstantes e gurgite cano.⁷

As soon as [the ship] first ploughed the windy seas with her prow and the water churned with oars became white with foam, the watery Nereids raised their faces out of the shining whirlpool of the sea, admiring the apparition. On that day and no other, mortals saw with their eyes the sea Nymphs, standing out from the white whirlpool as far as their breasts, with naked bodies.

These lines call to the reader's mind the scene in the first book of the *Argonautica* in which the nymphs of Mount Pelion watch the ship depart (A.R. 1.547-552). Although the point of view has been reversed with the nymphs looking up from the waves as opposed to looking down from a mountain top, the resemblances in concept and narrative are still apparent.⁸ Furthermore, as R.J. Clare argues, the extensive allusions to Apollonius' Hellenistic epic were somewhat of a rouse for ancient audiences.⁹ Multiple references and reminders of Apollonius' Jason and Medea in addition to the Hellenistic styling would cause readers to expect the story of Jason and Medea to unfold. However, their characters do not come up in Catullus' poem, but rather Peleus and Thetis seem to be the subject, to only then have the subject changed again to Ariadne and Theseus. Therefore, Catullus' extensive allusions to the Hellenistic epic both demonstrate his knowledge of Hellenistic works and his expertise in merging the three genres that inspired this work seamlessly to create something new and lasting. Following the Hellenistic allusion, Ariadne's introduction at the beginning of the ekphrasis simultaneously characterizes her emotions and provides a brief introduction of her tale as if it were a tragic prologue:

haec vestis priscis hominum variata figuris
heroum mira virtutes indicat arte.
namque fluentisono prospectans litore Dia,

⁷ The text of Catullus 64 comes from Fordyce's text (1973); all translations are my own.

⁸ Clare (1996), 63.

⁹ Clare (1996), 64.

Thesea cedentem celeri cum classe tuetur
indomitos in corde gerens Ariadna furores,
necdum etiam sese quae visit visere credit,
utpote fallaci quae tum primum excita somno
desertam in sola miseram se cernat harena. (64.50-57)

This garment varied with ancient figures of people portrays with wonderful art marvelous deeds of heroes. For gazing out from the resounding shore of Dia, Ariadne, who is holding in her heart an untamed rage, watches Theseus departing with his swift fleet. Nor does she yet believe that which even she herself seems to see, having just woken from deceptive sleep she discerns that she is deserted, miserable on the lone sand.

This passage sums up the entire story vividly and concisely in 7 lines. Catullus then goes on to describe the abandonment in great detail; however, this prelude aptly informs the reader of the myth about to come and quickly shifts the focus of the poem from the marriage to the betrayal. This concept of a prelude to the story is common in tragedy, and a prologue to a Greek tragedy would also inform the audience of the myth's story and background.¹⁰ Again, having changed the reader's expected narrative subjects twice already, it is necessary for Catullus to identify who these lines will focus on. Such a stylistic device in turn creates a mini tragedy within the ekphrasis of this mini epic. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that this is not a play, nor even a poem strictly about Ariadne, but rather a wedding poem. In addition to this stylized tragic introduction, Catullus' word usage draws allusions to Homeric epic. For example, in line 52 he refers to the island as Dia; this is the name of the island on which Artemis kills Ariadne in *Odyssey* 11.321.¹¹ By the Alexandrian period Dia had been identified as Naxos in Callimachus' fragment 601.¹² Therefore, Catullus' purposeful inclusion of the Homeric name of the island gives this section not just an epic allusion, but also an epic tone. Thus far, in only the first 57 lines of the poem Catullus fluctuates between Hellenistic, tragic and Homeric epic models and

¹⁰ Some examples of prologues that serve this purpose are found in Sophocles' *Antigone*, and Euripides' *Medea*.

¹¹ Fordyce (1973), 285.

¹² Fordyce (1973), 285.

allusions flawlessly. It is evident, then, that Catullus is playing not only with the myth, but also with the style and genre of this poem by including aspects relating to Hellenistic poetry, epic poetry and Greek tragedy.

Catullus, in a wedding poem, digresses to tell a story of unrequited love and grief. This digression takes the form of a 217-line ekphrasis, divided into the narrator's presentation of Ariadne and her circumstances followed by her thoughts and feelings, which she expresses herself in her lament. Armstrong posits that this presentation of Ariadne is one of the most complex and extensive portrayals of Ariadne and her myth.¹³ Quinn characterizes the poem as an epyllion and suggests that the mini epic form of the poem is a direct influence of Callimachus, who had condemned the long-winded nature of epics, thinking that they should be condensed.¹⁴ Catullus' use of the ekphrasis furthers the poem's authority as an mini epic since many epic works, such as Homer's *Iliad* and later Vergil's *Aeneid*, contain ekphrases. Moreover, Conte defines Catullus 64 as the "model example of epyllion in Latin culture"¹⁵. The use of ekphrasis was very common in neoteric poetry, which was grounded in, and whose development was heavily influenced by, Hellenistic poetry.¹⁶ The neoteric authors were meticulous with inclusions reminiscent of Hellenistic poetry, including aspects of form, meter and composition.¹⁷

In his own use of the ekphrastic legacy, Catullus changes the standard practice of the form. Normally, epic poets emphasize the fact that the scene is not real, whereas Catullus does not, and in fact he seems purposely to engage extensively with the image of Ariadne on the blanket.¹⁸ The illusion created by the ekphrasis is rather cinematic, and since the emphasis is on

¹³ Armstrong (2006), 187.

¹⁴ Quinn, (1971), 297. Quinn cites Poem 64 as one of the first examples of an epyllion in Latin Literature.

¹⁵ Conte (1987), 149.

¹⁶ Conte (1987), 137.

¹⁷ Conte (1987), 137.

¹⁸ Armstrong (2006), 92.

Ariadne rather than the blanket as an artwork, the audience is drawn into Ariadne's situation and her perspective. The reader enters the world of the poem and imagines an assembly of people gathering for the wedding of Peleus and Thetis. The narrator then focuses the reader's attention on a garment that is simply laid out on a couch in the palace, thus beginning the dive Catullus takes into love and the loss of love (64. 48-50). The result of the ekphrasis is the reader's loss of sight of the original subject of the narrative. Consequently, with Catullus' slight difference in presenting the ekphrasis, he completely focuses the reader's attention on Ariadne.

Ariadne is described as both sad and angry. It is the mixture of these almost opposite feelings that reminds the reader of both Apollonius' and Euripides' *Medea*. She begins with a string of questions directed at Theseus, the first of two series of emotional questions within her dialogue (64.132-138 and 64.177-183). In her speech she expresses rage at her abandonment, at Theseus, at herself for deceiving her own family, and at her current situation (64. 132-191). Ariadne also has many moments of sadness, in which her situation seems hopeless. Evidently, however, Catullus identifies anger as her immediate emotion, since the first word used to describe Ariadne's state of mind is *furores*:

Thesea cedentem celeri cum classe tuetur
indomitos in corde gerens Ariadna furores, (64.53-54)

Ariadne, who is holding in her heart an untamed rage, watches Theseus departing with his swift fleet

Merely six lines later, Ariadne is described as having sad eyes: *maestis Minois ocellis* (64.60).

As mentioned above, these contrasting feelings are present throughout her entire speech. At one point she says that women should not trust anything a man says (*nunc iam nulla uiro iuranti femina credat / nulla uiri speret sermones esse fideles*, 64.143-144) which is a highly emotive and generalized statement, clearly born from anger. Since she has just discovered that she has

been betrayed, it is reasonable to expect a person to be angry about that. Further, Ariadne was betrayed because she trusted something a man said; thus, she identifies this mistake as the source of her anger. Following these sentiments, in lines 152-153 Ariadne goes on to say:

pro quo dilaceranda feris dabor alitibusque
praeda, neque iniacta tumulabor mortua terra.

For this, I will be given to the wild beasts and birds as prey to be torn apart, nor will I be buried, but dead, I will not be sprinkled with earth.

In the above lines, Ariadne expresses a common fear in the ancient world and a common characteristic of laments. To die and be unburied and have your corpse ravaged by animals is one of the most dishonourable and feared ways of dying in the ancient world.¹⁹ Accordingly, this would be something a character would be angry about. Not only has she betrayed her own family and state to then be left abandoned and betrayed, but now one of her worst fears is actualizing. More importantly, Theseus has put Ariadne in this situation, and consequently her realization of all these things simultaneously makes her incredibly angry. Nearing the end of her speech, her tone becomes more somber and hopeless, in lines 169-170 she says:

sic nimis insultans extremo tempore saeva
fors etiam nostris invidit questibus auris.

Thus, in my last moments savage Chance, abusing (me) even denies ears to my laments.

Ariadne then begins her second series of emotional questions, all of which are much more somber and hopeless than the beginning of her speech. The speech, however, ends once again on an angry note, with Ariadne cursing Theseus and asking the Eumenides to avenge her abandonment (64.192-202). Therefore, it is apparent that in her lament Ariadne is both wrathful

¹⁹ Quinn (1971), 322. Similar sentiments of an unhonourable death can be found in Homer's *Iliad* 1.4-5; *Antigone*, 28-30, 205-206, 696-698, and 1017-1018 and in Vergil's *Aeneid* Book 6. 325-330.

and sorrowful at the same time resulting in her speech fluctuating between these two strong emotions.

As mentioned above, Ariadne has two sets of rhetorical emotional questions, and each of the sections conveys the main emotions Ariadne is presented as having: anger and sadness (64.132-138 and 64.177-183.). A series of emotional questions is common for lament in epyllion;²⁰ similar series of emotional questions within lament can be seen in Book 4 of the *Argonautica*, delivered by Medea in lines 355-390. Vergil's Dido will also ask similar questions in Book 4 of the *Aeneid*.²¹ These series of dire questions express raw and unfiltered emotion. In the first series Ariadne says:

sicine me patriis avectam, perfide, ab aris
perfide, deserto liquisti in litore, Theseu?
sicine discedens neglecto numine divum,
immemor a! devota domum periuria portas?
nullane res potuit crudelis flectere mentis
consilium? tibi nulla fuit clementia praesto,
immite ut nostri vellet miserescere pectus? (64.132-138)

In this way, false Theseus, having sailed me away from my father's home, have you left me here on the deserted shore, false man? Sailing off in this way, indifferent to the will of the gods, ah forgetful man! Do you carry home your false promises? Is no thing able to bend the decision of your cruel mind? Was there no clemency present for you, so that your cruel heart wanted to pity me?

This first set of questions is rather accusatory and angry. In these lines she berates Theseus while insulting him. The first four lines of this section alternate between an expression of disbelief, with the use of *sicine*, and insults, in which he is called *perfide* and then *immemor*. She then accuses him of being cruel with two separate words, *crudelis* and *immite* before finally asking if his *immite pectus* has *nulla clementia*. The reader is aware of Ariadne's sadness before she

²⁰ Thomas (1988), 204.

²¹ Lines 4.368-371, The influence of Catullus' Ariadne on Vergil's Dido will be discussed more extensively in Chapter 2.

begins to speak, on account of the narrator’s lengthy description of Ariadne on the shore, but from these lines alone she is clearly feeling angry and betrayed. The repetition of these words emphasizes both her disbelief of and her anger at Theseus for his actions. In the later section however, she is much more distraught and sad:

nam quo me referam? quali spe perdita nitor?
Idaeosne petam montes? at gurgite lato
discernens ponti truculentum dividit aequor.
an patris auxilium sperem? quemne ipsa reliqui
respersum iuvenem fraterna caede secuta?
coniugis an fido consoler memet amore?
quine fugit lentos incuruans gurgite remos? (64.177-183)

For where can I return? On what hope should I, abandoned, lean? Should I seek out the mountains of Ida? But separating [me from them] with a wide whirlpool the savage water of the sea divides [us]. Or am I to hope for my father’s aid? My father whom I myself left to follow a man spattered with my brother’s blood? Or should I console myself with the faithful love of my husband? That man who flees curving his pliant oars on the sea?

This string of subjunctives present a much less hopeful person. In this section it appears as though Ariadne has accepted her fate and is bewailing her situation. The sadness is particularly poignant in lines 177 and 182. The thought of being utterly lost with nowhere to go is heartbreaking. Ariadne refers to herself as *perdita*, which can mean either “destroyed”, “ruined” or “abandoned”. The use of this participle confirms the finality of her situation. It is because she is abandoned that she will be ruined or destroyed by the elements, wild animals, or even other people who may happen upon her. In these lines she has concluded that there is no point in hoping anymore. Moreover, the fact that she calls the man who betrayed and abandoned her *coniugis*, “husband,” furthers the melancholy tone of these lines. Ariadne still feels a certain level of attachment and connection with Theseus. In fact, the word *coniunx* has close ties to the verb *iungere*.²² The most basic and common definition of *iungere* is “to join” or “unite” and even

²² TLL 4.330.20

“bind”. Therefore, when Ariadne refers to Theseus as her *coniunx*, it is just another metaphor that she is emotionally bound to him, which creates an overall more upsetting scene as she is watching him leave. While there are some varied emotions throughout Ariadne’s speeches, from her introduction as well as her series of rhetorical questions we can see that the two overwhelming emotions that Ariadne feels are anger and sadness.

The presence of Ariadne’s ire, which almost overpowers her sadness, sets this lament apart from Greek laments, such as Hecuba or Andromache’s in Euripides’ *Trojan Women* and Helen’s in Euripides’ *Helen*. The presence of both anger and grief in Ariadne’s speech is reminiscent of Medea’s character and laments in Euripides’ *Medea*²³ as well as Apollonius’ Medea in the *Argonautica*. In fact, there are many allusions and references throughout the poem that would remind contemporary learned readers of all of the former Medeas. Armstrong even argues that “Ariadne is a Medea”²⁴ because of the many significant similarities. In Euripides’ *Medea*, Medea says, ὦ πάτερ, ὦ πόλις, ὧν κάσιν αἰσχρῶς τὸν ἐμὸν κτείνας’ ἀπενάσθην (“Oh father, oh city, whom I left shamefully after having killed my own brother”, 166). A similar concept is expressed by Catullus’ Ariadne in lines 150-151:

eripui, et potius germanum amittere crevi,
quam tibi fallaci supremo in tempore dessem.

I saved you, and I decided to send away my brother rather than
abandon you in your final moment, deceitful as you are.

While these sentiments are rather similar, Ariadne also takes the words of Medea’s nurse²⁵ from the introduction in Euripides’ *Medea* stating,

Iuppiter omnipotens, utinam ne tempore primo
Gnosia Cecropiae tetigissent litora puppes (64.171-172)

²³ For an analysis of Medea’s anger as arising from dishonour and humiliation, see Konstan (2006), 57-58.

²⁴ Armstrong, (2006), 208.

²⁵ Armstrong, (2006), 210.

Omnipotent Jupiter, would that the ships of Athens had at no time touched the shore of Knossos

While the nurse famously says,

Εἴθ' ὄφελ' Ἀργοῦς μὴ διαπτᾶσθαι σκάφος
Κόλχων ἐς αἶαν κυανέας Συμπληγάδας (Med. 1-2)

Would that the ships of the Argo had not flown through the blue crashing rocks into the land of the Colchians.²⁶

With the similarities in wording and sentiment between Ariadne's and the Nurse's lines, as opposed to another of Medea's lines, it seems apparent that Catullus wanted his audience to think of Medea, but not necessarily to equate Ariadne with Medea. It should, however, be noted that in Apollonius' *Argonautica* Medea says a line with an analogous sentiment as well: αἶθε σε πόντος, ξεῖνε, διέρραισεν, πρὶν Κολχίδα γαῖαν ἰκέσθαι ("stranger, would that the sea had destroyed you before you had come to the Colchian land," A.R.4.32-33). While the concept is almost identical, in Euripides' and Catullus' works the focus is on the result of the ship having come to the respective shores. Apollonius' Medea wishes that Jason himself had been destroyed; consequently, the slight difference in which Catullus more closely emulates the Nurse as opposed to the epic Medea indicates that he wants his readers to keep in mind Euripides' Nurse more than Apollonius' Medea at this moment. Moreover, as Conte observes, Catullus paid much attention to the style, Greek references and structure of Poem 64.²⁷ Therefore, this allusion to the Nurse rather than to Medea leads to the conclusion that it was the similarity in concept that was important rather than the character. If Catullus wanted to write another Medea, he could have written one; however, he specifically chose to present his rendition of Ariadne by using the structure of Medea to build on and to establish a new character. Therefore, while Ariadne

²⁶ Libby (2015, 68) notes that the nurse in Ennius' *Medea* has a comparable line in which she wishes that the Argo had not been built.

²⁷ Conte, (1987), 149.

reminds readers of Medea, she is not another Medea, but represents a new kind of lamenting woman, whose character is later reproduced in Vergil's Dido.

A prominent theme that sets Ariadne apart from Medea and the other lamenting women is the presence of hope throughout her lament. Hope is a recurrent theme in Ariadne's speech, and out of the six times *spes* or its verbal form *sperare* appear in the poem, five occur in Ariadne's speech. It is apparent from the placement of both *sperare* and *spes*, that they are employed to signify the beginning and the end of the lament. The first occurrence of "hope" is just following the opening lines of her speech. In lines 140 and 144 in which Ariadne says,

...non haec miserae sperare iubebas,
sed conubia laeta...

...you did not tell me to hope for this misery, but for a happy marriage...
and

...nulla viri speret sermones esse fideles.

...no woman should hope that a man's speeches are faithful.

In both these lines "hope" is used in its verbal form, *sperare*, making it an action and perhaps also a feeling. One cannot necessarily feel hope as such; a person must feel hope for something. In Ariadne's case she hopes for love and marriage, both of which she does not get from Theseus. Following this, *spes* or *sperare* are not used again until lines 177, 180, and 186. The re-use of *spes* in line 177 may remind readers of the beginning of Ariadne's speech. The word is used both as a noun and in its verbal form *spe* in line 177, and *sperem* in line 180, respectively. Ariadne begins to conclude her speech that she has now lost all hope: *nulla fugae raito, nulla spes: omnia letum*, ("there is no way of escape, no hope, all is dead," 64. 186). Ariadne's speech begins with the memory of her hope for a *conubia laeta* and ends with *nulla spes*. The circular deployment of hope in her lament reminds readers that she has no more hope that Theseus may return, that she

may be heard, or that she may be saved. Consequently, the concept of Ariadne's hope both gives rise to her lament and begins the sequence that leads to the end of her lament. Although it ultimately fades by the end of the speech, it is Ariadne's persistence in hoping that creates a distinction between her characterization and the other lamenting characters who came before her.

Ariadne is a central focus of this poem, and it is apparent throughout this chapter that Catullus gave purposeful and particular attention to her story and her lament. At the beginning of this chapter, I referred to Harvey's concept of the ventriloquized female voice by a male author and considered cross-gendered ventriloquism crucial to Catullus' Ariadne. One of Harvey's arguments is that when a female voice is written by a male, that female voice often becomes a reflection of the male author's voice rather than a truly distinct and feminine voice.²⁸ In classical times this occurred so regularly because there were few to no female authors from which a true female voice could be expressed, and often the male representation of women made the silence of women more complete and reinforced the male-driven vision of what women should be.²⁹ Barbara Gold discusses the challenge of identifying actual female representation in literature as opposed to the male-driven cultural re-construction of often idealized "women".³⁰ Gold proposes that, rather than looking at what is present, we should consider what the text omits when we are looking for a more realistic female voice.³¹ Moreover, Gold explains that it is necessary to consider what is absent in the text because often there is a "lack of presence or fixed identity" for the male written female characters.³² However, Catullus' Ariadne does not lack a fixed identity, her identity is an abandoned lamenting woman. Therefore, her set personality is what gives her

²⁸ Harvey (1995), 3.

²⁹ Harvey (1995), 5.

³⁰ Gold (1993), 86.

³¹ Gold (1993), 86.

³² Gold (1993), 92.

lament its strength. Ariadne's lament alone is 69 lines, and there is not much that she does not say, albeit through Catullus' voice. Thus, in this reframing of her Ariadne does not seem to be disregarded; in actuality, Ariadne draws the focus of the audience away from the main plot. Ultimately, over half of the poem is devoted to Ariadne and her lament. It is as though the narrator prefers to speak by means of a female character, because that enables him to say various things as a woman that he could not say as a man.

Throughout Ariadne's narrative it is evident that Catullus and his narrator sympathize with her and her plight. In terms of ventriloquism this means that we can hear both Ariadne and Catullus' voices in the lament, and Catullus' has a compassionate tone. After the introduction of Ariadne looking out from the shore, the narrator berates Theseus, saying *immemor at iuvenis fugiens pellit vada remis, / irrita ventosae linquens promissa procellae* ("But the heedless young man, fleeing, strikes the shallows with his oars, leaving vain promises to the windy storm," 64.58-59). Catullus' narrator describes Theseus as *immemor*, "heedless" or "forgetful". This is the same word that Ariadne uses when describing Theseus later in the poem during her lament in lines 123, and 135. Furthermore the narrator uses it once again in line 248 in reference to Theseus. The parallelism of this specific word choice by the narrator and Ariadne indicates that the narrator is in agreement and sympathizes with Ariadne. Additionally, both Ariadne and the narrator refer to Theseus as Ariadne's *coniunx*,³³ demonstrating another parallel and agreement between Ariadne's perception and the narrator's. The agreement (that Theseus was Ariadne's husband) between the narrator and Ariadne adds validity to what she says in her lament; thus, it is not just some thought Ariadne had, but the authorial voice of the poem confirms that this was the case. It is apparent then, that Ariadne and the narrator are in agreement and view Theseus in a

³³ The narrator says this in line 123 and Ariadne calls Theseus her husband in line 182.

similar manner. Consequently, the agreement between Ariadne’s voice and the voice of the narrator demonstrates a certain level of emotional sympathy between Catullus’ poetic voice and Ariadne’s voice.

It is imperative to the study of Ariadne to consider what masculine attributes Catullus’ ventriloquizing persona transposed onto her character and identify those instances. There is no question that Catullus’ notions of masculinity and the standards to which he held himself (as is depicted in his poems) were different from those of the ideal *vir*.³⁴ Generally, scholars have focused their attention on the femininity expressed throughout his corpus rather than the masculinity.³⁵ This may be because, as mentioned above, Catullus’ poetic persona was not a *bonus vir*.³⁶ Wray explains, however, that near the end of the Republic there was a paradoxical issue regarding masculinity. Ultimately, there were two models; the “traditional” *mos maiorum* type that can be seen in Catullus’ aggressive poems, and the Hellenistic paradigm of manhood that aligned itself with Greek literary culture, which is found in Catullus’ homages to Callimachus.³⁷ Additionally, much of Roman literature is focused “on the tension between the achievement of manhood and its potential loss.”³⁸ Catullus’ body of work is no different in that regard. For example, this is demonstrated in poem 28.9-12,

O Memmi, bene me ac diu supinum
tota ista trabe lentus irrumasti.
sed, quantum video, pari fuistis
casu: nam nihilo minore uerpa

Oh Memmius, you defiled me well and for a long time as I was lying on my back,
slowly with your entire beam. But, as I see it, you suffered an equal misfortune,
for you were stuffed with no smaller a poker.

³⁴ Manwell (2007), 1.

³⁵ Manwell (2007), 6.

³⁶ Manwell defined a *A bonus vir* as a man who is stoic, self-controlled, self sacrificing, strong and excels in many good deeds. (2007), 3.

³⁷ Wray (2001), 207. For a complete discussion of Catullus’ manhood and concepts of masculinity see Wray (2001) pp. 161-216.

³⁸ Manwell (2007), 4.

The act of being penetrated was considered feminine, while the act of penetrating was considered masculine,³⁹ therefore, in the above lines what he is really complaining about is Memmius taking his (Catullus') masculinity, and now Catullus is pleased that Memmius suffers the same fate. This is just one of many of Catullus' poems in which he equates political subjugation to an act of emasculation, and for compensation he then emasculates those who emasculated him in the poetry.⁴⁰ So, while Catullus does challenge the notions of Roman masculinity and at times portrays a more feminine persona, he does not consider himself a woman. Consequently, while Catullus' narrator, and arguably Catullus himself, sympathizes and potentially identifies with Ariadne, he is not identifying with her as a woman, but is rather taking advantage of the fact that she is a female character in order to express some of his own femininity. Previously, it was noted that *furor* was used to describe Ariadne's state of mind when we first encounter her. This word occurs four times throughout the entire poem.⁴¹ Three of these four occurrences are within Ariadne's story and lament (64.54, 94, and 197). Furthermore, throughout his corpus of poems, Catullus uses the noun *furor* 12 times and regularly with reference to descriptions of men or himself. Whether *furor* is being used in the context of anger or frenzied passion, it seems as though in Catullus' works it is characterized as a masculine emotion. Furthermore, *furor* is a masculine noun, and generally in Catullus' corpus it is in reference to a man's emotion or state. For example in poem 15 he says *quod si te mala mens furorque vecors / in tantam impulerit, sceleste, culpam* ("but if an evil mind and frenzy drives you to such an offense," 15.14) or in poem 50 he writes, *sed toto indomitus furore lecto / versarer* ("but I tossed about in this whole bed, mad with passion," 50.11)". While the first clearly indicates anger or madness, the second is

³⁹ Manwell (2007), 4.

⁴⁰ Wray (2001), 175.

⁴¹ 64.54, 94, 197, and 405.

evidently frenzied passion.⁴² However, it is a masculine anger or passion, as both occurrences are in reference to men. Moreover, we recall that in the first description of Ariadne, she holds *furor* within her heart, and it mainly indicates anger. Therefore, this masculine trait shared by both Catullus and Ariadne draws a parallel between the characters that could only occur through Catullus' ventriloquizing male voice, which he cannot fully separate from – and may not want to separate from – Ariadne's ventriloquized feminine voice.

Throughout Catullus' corpus, there are poems within the Lesbia cycle in which Catullus' sense of abandonment and loss of love are reminiscent of Ariadne's. Catullus' theme of unrequited love is chronicled in the poems regarding his mistress Lesbia. The Lesbia cycle in Catullus' *Carmina* is characterized by an affair that is often presented in the tone of unrequited love. Catullus' poems span the entirety of their relationship, and these poems reflect his oscillating feelings towards her.⁴³ Furthermore, it is important to note that Lesbia does not have any obvious spoken words in Catullus' poems.⁴⁴ He does not ventriloquize her voice and appropriate her femininity, but he does assume the character of a lamenting lover. The structure and themes of Poem 8 (in which Lesbia is not at the centre and Catullus' persona is *miser* because of this lost love) are similar to the structure and themes of Ariadne's lament. For example, the poem begins with *miser Catulle*; similarly when describing Ariadne deserted on the island in 64, she is *miseram* (64.57). Poem 8 recounts the happy memories and what Catullus has now lost. Once the lengthy description of Ariadne comes to a close, Poem 64 recounts how her narrative has come to this point and, in lines 116-123, the narrator details what Ariadne has lost:

⁴² See TLL 6.1631.32, and 6.1631.74.

⁴³ While in some poems he describes himself as someone in love-struck awe of her (poems 5 and 7), others depict his disdain for her, insinuating she is a whore or prostitute (poems 11 and 37).

⁴⁴ Hallet (2002, 422) notes that Catullus often questions how Lesbia feels and looks for the truth about their relationship. See Hallet (2002, 423-424) for theories on potential speech given to Lesbia in Catullus' corpus. See also Anderson (1995, 266) who suggests that Lesbia's silence is indicative of Catullus' inability to know how she feels, and this is one of the reasons that their relationship falls apart.

sed quid ego a primo digressus carmine plura
commemorem, ut linquens genitoris filia vultum,
ut consanguineae complexum, ut denique matris,
quae misera in gnata deperdita laeta<batur>
omnibus his Thesei dulcem praeoptarit amorem:
aut ut vecta rati spumosa ad litora Dia
aut ut eam devinctam lumina somno
liquerit immemori discedens pectore coniunx?

But, having digressed from my first song, why should I relate how, leaving her father's sight, leaving her sister's embraces, or lastly leaving those of her mother (who, ruined, was rejoicing in her poor daughter), how the girl could prefer the sweet love of Theseus to all these: or how she was carried to the foaming shore of Dia on a raft, or how her husband left her while her eyes were bound with sleep and departed with a forgetful heart?

Poem 8 closes with a series of questions that the lover asks his love through the voice of the narrator (8.15-19). Similarly, as we recall, throughout Ariadne's lament she asks rhetorical questions (64.132-138 and 64.177-183). Aside from the relative length and topics of the poems, the main difference between the structure and execution of Poem 8 and the lament in Poem 64 is the person whom the narrator addresses. In Poem 8 the narrator addresses Catullus directly and speaks on his behalf in the closing lines, while in 64 the narrator does not speak on behalf of Ariadne but lets her "speak" for herself. Moreover, in Poem 8, while the narrator and Catullus are separate, they express similar views toward Lesbia. In Poem 64, the narrator and Ariadne share the same point of view toward Theseus.⁴⁵ It follows, then, that Catullus potentially views Theseus leaving Ariadne without explanation similarly to how he perceives Lesbia not expressing how she feels toward him. Therefore, Catullus' poetic persona occasionally takes on a role that resembles his Ariadne.

Much of this chapter has focused on what makes Ariadne's characterization different from other lamenting women in myth and tragedy. Her speech, however, still contains all the

⁴⁵ More parallels such as these can be found in poem 72 and poem 51, which demonstrates a vengeful Catullus, angry about a betrayal of love.

essential aspects of a lament. As discussed at the beginning of the chapter tragic lamenting characters cry aloud, direct their lament toward a certain individual (either a doomed, dying or dead individual) and reinforce cultural morals.⁴⁶ Ariadne's speech addresses all these concepts; although no one can hear her (64.169-170), she says all that she says aloud, she specifically addresses Theseus (64.132), whom she later curses in the poem (64.192-202), and, at the beginning of her lament, she discusses the morals surrounding promises made and broken (64.140-144). Furthermore, on many occasions throughout her speech Ariadne uses various words for lament to refer to what she says and to characterize herself. Her vocabulary of lament includes *querella* (64.130 and 195), *conqueror* (64.164), *misera* (64.196), and *questus* (64.170).⁴⁷ Ariadne herself characterizes her speech as a complaint, outcry, or lament. Including as it does traditional qualities of lament and resembling other tragic characters like Medea, Ariadne's speech is unmistakably a lament, but one of a new type of lamenting character.

While Ariadne stands apart from the lamenting characters who came before her, her lament and characterization overall contain the essential feminine qualities of a lament. Ritual lament and mourning were among the few aspects of Greek culture in which women were allowed to speak and express themselves. Additionally, during that time in ancient Greece, traditionally women's discourse was restricted. These conventions and social institutions proceeded into the Late Republic, when it was generally believed that women could not control their speech or themselves because they were governed by their emotions.⁴⁸ The extent of this

⁴⁶ Dunham (2014), 2.

⁴⁷ The Oxford Latin Dictionary defines *questus* as a complaint, protest, or outcry, and cites Catullus 64 as an example of its use with these meanings. Additionally, Fordyce (1973, *ad loc.*) translates the word as "plaint".

⁴⁸ Dunham (2014), 18. For a study of emotions and emotion scripts as well as how Romans of the time talked about emotions, see also Kaster (2005). Kaster's careful study focusses mostly on the emotions of *pudor*, *paenitentia*, *invidia* and *fastidium*.

belief was that “uninhibited expression of emotion” belonged to women and not men.⁴⁹ A Roman man was supposed to exercise restraint over his emotions, because of the belief that strong presentations of emotion were considered weak and feminine.⁵⁰ Dunham asserts that in ancient Greece women were empowered through their pain. Mourning was a protected activity in which they could freely vocalize thoughts and feelings.⁵¹ The extent to which and when it was acceptable to cry and express emotion continued to be a highly gendered activity in Rome during the Late Republic.⁵² Thus, the ritual laments that women were allowed to perform had an extensive power, and in this power male authors utilized female characters to say and do highly emotive things which the male character would not be able to do, hence the importance of transgendered ventriloquism.⁵³

In conclusion, Ariadne’s lament demonstrates a ventriloquized voice in which the feminine aspects of her character and voice allowed a male author to express uninhibited emotion in the way that only a female voice could. Ariadne has a range of emotions; however, anger and sadness are what drive her lament. These opposite emotions add a unique and familiar quality to her characterization. Catullus purposefully fashioned his Ariadne with reference to earlier lamenting women, paying particular attention to Apollonius’ and Euripides’ Medeas. From Catullus’ allusions and references to these earlier characters, it is evident that he wanted audiences to think of Medea but not equate Ariadne to Medea. Furthermore, using models from Hellenistic epic, Homeric epic and Greek tragedy, Catullus constructed a recognizable but unique lamenting character. While Ariadne’s lament is emotionally powerful and expressive, it is

⁴⁹ Holford- Strevens (1999), 379.

⁵⁰ Hall (2014), 102. In fact, as Hall (2014, 100) notes, there were only a few circumstances in Roman society in which it was acceptable for a man to cry.

⁵¹ Dunham (2014) 1.

⁵² Hall (2014), 100. Hall notes that Cicero was even criticized on a few occasions for having cried excessively, beyond what was allowed by Roman standards.

⁵³ Dunham (2014) 2.

important to note that this is not a spoken lament, and therefore, the performative qualities are different from those viewed on stage. The silence of Ariadne's lament reminds readers that her story is not the main subject or plot of this poem, but a long digression. While Catullus' poetic persona and Ariadne may view betrayal in a similar way and express themselves similarly, it is their distinction in gender and the social practice surrounding their genders that allow Ariadne's story and lament to occupy a central role in the wedding hymn, in which her voice is heard through his.

Chapter 2
Vergil's Dido: An Image of a Lamenting Woman

In Book 4 of the *Aeneid* Dido has three significant speeches of lament at lines 305-330, 365-387 and finally before her suicide in lines 590-629. Moreover, Dido is a plot point in the epic; the events surrounding her story must occur in order to propel Aeneas' narrative forward and re-affirm his *virtus* by means of honouring his commitment to his destiny, over honouring his perceived commitment to Dido. Vergil utilizes many literary models in his creation of Dido, and this is evidenced through his many allusions and references to various characters in the narrative. Dido and her laments are mainly shaped on Catullus' Ariadne and both Euripides' and Apollonius' Medeas; Dido's distinction from her literary precursors, however, is the fact that she did not commit the same type of crimes or betrayals that Ariadne and Medea committed. She is also reminiscent of other epic and tragic characters such as Circe, Calypso and Queen Hypsipyle. The result of Vergil's vast amount of source material is a multilayered ventriloquized voice. This chapter argues that on account of the varied characters and narratives Vergil uses to create Dido, she becomes strictly a character type, the example of a lamenting woman as opposed to an actual lamenting woman.

Dido's story and lament is a fruitful topic of which many scholars have made significant contributions. The scholars most relevant to the present argument are Alison Keith, Christopher Nappa, Bridgitte Libby, James O'Hara, Leofranc Holford-Strevens and George Duckworth. There is a large range of topics considered such as gender, epic narrative, influences of other Latin and Greek works and the propagandic nature of the *Aeneid* as a whole. That being said, not much research has been done concerning her lament and her characterization as a lamenting figure. Furthermore, just as Harvey's work and theories about ventriloquized voices were essential to my considerations of Catullus' Ariadne, these concepts will continue to be crucial for

the understanding of Dido's voice and characterization as a lamenting woman. As discussed in Chapter 1, the concept that men and women sound different creates an inconsistency when one gender writes the voice of the other. Additionally, there is a lack of authentic female speech or writings from the ancient period, and so, the male dominant works that contain feminine speech often promoted a concept of women that reinforced their silence and the qualities that men thought women should have.¹ I aim to go beyond the discussions of Dido's role and purpose to propel Aeneas' story, and just as with Ariadne in Chapter 1, I will examine her speech, her voice, and the canonical aspects of her character's lament.

Vergil was tasked with writing a founding Roman epic that would also promote Augustus and the future of Rome.² Although the Augustan age of literature is defined as beginning approximately 15 years after Catullus died, the societal context surrounding the works of Vergil and Catullus had changed in that time. All of the dominant figures of poetry during this period, including Vergil, had clearly documented relationships with Augustus.³ As such, those in power had a greater role in the poetic works produced than in previous years. Vergil had a hugely different purpose in writing from that of the neoteric authors. While Augustan poets similarly aimed to work with these established Greek traditions in order to create a new and unique repertoire of poetics, this was not for the purpose of rejecting the *mos maiorum* and challenging Roman values, but rather for the purpose of adding to and competing with Greek literature.⁴ As a result of this, each poet of this period had a chosen Greek counterpart with whom they modelled their work; Vergil found models in Homer's poems, in addition to those of his Latin

¹ Harvey (1995), 5.

² Libby (2015), 66.

³ See Conte (1987), 249-252.

⁴ Conte (1987), 252.

predecessors.⁵ The goal, however, was not simply to imitate these former works, but to use them in creating new and distinct works. Therefore, when considering Dido, it is important to keep in mind that Vergil was influenced by both Greek and Latin predecessors.

Vergil makes use of material from epics and stories, as well as other characters when he writes Dido. This results in not just the layering of Vergil's poetic voice onto Dido's character's voice, but also Vergil layering his voice onto Catullus', Euripides', Apollonius', and Homer's layered voices of their characters. Essentially, when an author includes an intertextual allusion, the voices are multiplied with "echoes of those other texts".⁶ Furthermore, Vergil also had the expectations of Augustus to fulfill. This can be seen when Dido attempts to identify Aeneas as a Jason or Theseus in lines 305-311. Libby argues that Dido's failed use of allusion offers a lesson in the changing role of memory in Augustan Rome, where it was crucial for Romans to focus on the future rather than to recollect the past.⁷ It becomes evident that while Theseus left Ariadne because he is *immemor* (Cat. 64.135), Aeneas must leave Dido because he is not forgetful of his duty to found Rome.⁸ This contrasting parallel between Theseus, who forgets his past (Ariadne), and Aeneas, who keeps his focus on his future (Rome), reminds readers of earlier works that feature Theseus, Ariadne, and even others.⁹ It additionally demonstrates for the readers the concept of looking forward as opposed to ruminating on the past, which accomplishes Augustus' goal to introduce a new age. As a result, when Dido falsely identifies Aeneas as a Theseus or another Jason, audiences would hear echoes of Catullus, Euripides, and Apollonius simultaneously as Augustus' influence to look to the future instead of the past. As such the

⁵ Conte (1987), 252.

⁶ Harvey (1995), 10. For an extended examination of allusion and intertext can function as a mode of composition in Latin poetry see Hinds (1998).

⁷ Libby (2015), 66.

⁸ Libby (2015), 70.

⁹ Such as the *Iliad*, *Medea*, *The Argonautica* and Cat. 64.

concepts in lines 305-311 alone layer a multitude of voices. The multiplication of voices foregrounds the idea that a single author is the only authority responsible for a character's voice.¹⁰ The authors of previous works and those who influence the current work can then also be heard through the layering of voices which results from the inclusion of intertextual allusions. Therefore, when reading Vergil's *Aeneid*, we do not only hear Vergil's voice, but also Homer's, Euripides', Apollonius' and Catullus' voices echoed in the references and characters.

Created with references to, and inspiration from, literary memory, Dido becomes a model of a lamenting character. Vergil writes Dido in a sympathetic manner such that readers would be empathetic with her circumstance. While doing so, Vergil makes it explicit that this is the voice of a literary character rather than that of a true woman. However, on account of the attachment that an author can have for his character, when a man writes in the voice of a woman, the female character's voice can become an altered version of the male author's voice.¹¹ As a result, the layering of voices is further complicated, both because a man (Vergil) is layering his voice onto a female character (Dido), and because Vergil writes Dido sympathetically.¹² In writing Dido's voice Vergil had to make Dido sound feminine without making himself sound feminine, all the while being careful to distinguish (his) Dido's voice from the voices of the characters after whom she is fashioned. The layering of voices is essential for understanding Dido as a character. On account of Vergil using multiple literary models from other works, Dido can be seen as an archetype of the allusive lamenting woman. Moreover, though she is a fleshed-out character, this complex network of allusions and references that makes up her character also signals to the

¹⁰ Harvey (1995), 9.

¹¹ Harvey, (1995), 3.

¹² Taking in to consideration the fact that there is a long tradition of silencing women on account of their uncontrollable talkativeness (which was also often equated with sexuality), male authors had to tread lightly in order that it not seem that they were an onlooker instead of an appropriated voice, as Harvey (1995, 132-3) explains. Harvey also explains that silencing a woman's voice was considered a metaphorical controlling of her sexual chastity. On these ideas see also Introduction, pages 2-3.

readers that the Vergilian Dido cannot be imagined as a realistic woman, but must always be read as a literary creation.

Before Dido's characterization can be discussed, it is important to note that Vergil is not the first author to write about Dido. Vergil's use of the epithet *infelix* and his characterization of Dido as a *dux femina facti* (1.364) both re-characterize her as a tragic and epic figure, while simultaneously paying homage to earlier representations of her. Desmond identifies the previous depictions of Dido in myth and literature before Vergil's *Aeneid* as the "historical Dido."¹³ For continuity, I will refer to Dido's characterization before the *Aeneid* as the "historical Dido". Dido is more reminiscent of her "historical" character in Book 1 than she is in Book 4. For example, in Book 1 she is a *dux femina facti* (1.364) and she is a renowned political leader. Furthermore, it is not until the end of Book 1 that Vergil calls her *infelix Dido* (1. 749). Dido is only referred to as *infelix* after she has been made to fall in love by Cupid, and thus the shift from political leader to tragic lover is signified with this epithet. Desmond states that a significant difference between the "historical Dido" and the Vergilian one is that in all the accounts before the *Aeneid*, and even some written after the *Aeneid*, Dido does not encounter Aeneas. The "historical Dido's" downfall can therefore be considered heroic as opposed to the tragic fate she suffers in *Aeneid* 4.¹⁴ Furthermore, the "historical Dido" was far more masculine than the Vergilian Dido, and she embodied the concept of a *dux femina*. For example in Justin's narrative¹⁵, it is said that Dido abducts a group of virgins to give to her followers as wives, so that they may form a new city (18.4-6). Not only is that the act of a leader, but such a decision and plan is typically the plan of a

¹³ Desmond (1994), 24-25. Desmond's "historical Dido" is a leader, a heroic figure who is defiant, resourceful, cunning and noble in nature. See Desmond (1994, 24-33) for full context of the "historical Dido"

¹⁴ Desmond (1994), 24.

¹⁵ Although Justin's epitome was written after the *Aeneid* Desmond states that "Trogus's version survives in Justin's epitome". She continues to explain that Trogus' account of the "historical Dido" was probably taken from the same source that Timaeus used many years earlier. Moreover, on account of the similarities in Dido's story in both Justin's and Vergil's texts, Desmond posits that there was an existing written tradition regarding Dido.

male leader, not a woman.¹⁶ Vergil was likely well aware of this tradition, and, because of the demands of his narrative poem, he established a new version of Dido all the while being careful to keep her recognizable. He signifies this change with the *infelix* epithet. Therefore, in addition to the characters from both Greek and Latin literature that Vergil used to mold Dido, he also had to re-characterize the “historical Dido” from a masculine leader to a lamenting woman.

Vergil positions Dido as both a Greek and Roman epic character, and she can be read as the female distraction or obstacle for the epic hero to overcome on his journey. Upon landing in Carthage, Aeneas meets Queen Dido, who, having been made to fall in love with him, asks him to tell her his story (1.753-756). Ultimately, it is Dido’s love for Aeneas that leads to her demise in Book 4. In Roman epic, the death and corpse of a beautiful woman is often the precursor for positive political change from which the male heroes benefit.¹⁷ The theme of a rape and subsequent death of a woman, such as the rape and death of Lucretia, which leads to positive political change was founded in Roman myth as an establishing feature for change.¹⁸ Therefore, Dido’s gender, not only her love for Aeneas, condemns her from the very beginning of this Roman epic, since as a prominent character she will either be assaulted or die. Moreover, the trope of a male hero’s journey being interrupted by a tryst with a foreign woman is consistent with Greek epic tradition. For example, in Homer’s *Odyssey*, Odysseus’ journey is derailed by an affair with Calypso and then later by a similar relationship with Circe.¹⁹ Moreover, in Apollonius’ *Argonautica*, Jason and his men are distracted from their mission by Queen Hypsipyle and the other women of Lemnos.²⁰ Similarly, Aeneas and his men spend a significant

¹⁶ Desmond (1994), 26.

¹⁷ Keith (2000), 104.

¹⁸ Keith (2000), 103.

¹⁹ See Books 5 and 10 of the *Odyssey*.

²⁰ See Book 1 of the *Argonautica*.

amount of time in Carthage with Dido helping her build her city. The significant difference between the Greek epic affairs and the Roman epic affair in the *Aeneid*, is the destruction that this relationship causes for Dido. Circe, Calypso and Hypsipyle continue their lives once the heroes have left, essentially unaffected by their romances with these heroes. Vergil's purposeful inclusion of this kind of a scenario adds more Greek epic and tragic authority to his work because the situation itself is tragic, while Dido's outcome also retains the Roman qualities that are important in Roman myth. This epic structure also enables Vergil to add his poem to the canon. Thus, Vergil establishes his Dido as a Greek epic distraction as well as a Roman heroine whose death leads to change.

While Dido shares characteristics with many epic lamenting women, she also depicts characteristics of a tragic lamenting woman. Keith notes that the prominence of a dead or dying woman in Roman epic may have been in part due to Roman poets interest in Athenian tragedy.²¹ We recall that in Greek tragedy women cry out and mourn publicly; laments are directed toward the "doomed, dying or dead individual," and they are intended to reinforce various societal values, such as truth, justice and natural law.²² It is evident in Dido's final lament that Vergil has characterized her as both epic and tragic. For example, in lines 584-590 Vergil writes,

regina e speculis ut primam albescere lucem
vidit et aequatis classem procedere velis,
litoraue et vacuos sensit sine remige portus,
terque quaterque manu pectus percussa decorum
flaventisque abscissa comas...²³ (4.586-590)

When the queen from her high tower saw the first light become white and the fleet advancing with sails in an ordered array, and sensed that the shores and ports were empty without oarsmen, and three times and four times she struck her lovely breast and tore her fair hair.

²¹ Keith (2000), 103.

²² Dunham (2014), 2.

²³ The text of *Aeneid* 4 comes from O'Hara's text (2011); all translations are my own.

In the above lines we can see that Dido preforms the gestures of a tragic lamenting woman by beating her chest and pulling at her hair. She also follows the pattern that a tragic woman's lament is used to express grief and is done at the end of the play, although in this case it is at the end of this book of the epic. While Dido has two other speeches that could be categorized as laments, those are delivered in argument or conversation with Aeneas and, therefore, this lament delivered in the presence of only herself is particularly tragic.

Emotionally Dido is characterized as distraught and, ultimately, her range of emotions creates what appears to be an authentic person: she is angry, sad, confused and even fearful at times. A large range of emotion creates the impression of an actual person because it allows more readers to relate to aspects of her character. Holford-Strevens describes her as “a woman of strength and emotion.”²⁴ The unique quality of her speeches is that they depict this range of emotion. In the first of Dido's three speeches, all of her concerns, fears and suspicions of Aeneas' deception are released at the same time and in these 25 lines Dido expresses every emotion she has. She begins,

'dissimulare etiam sperasti, perfide, tantum
posse nefas tacitusque mea decedere terra?
nec te noster amor nec te data dextera quondam
nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido?
quin etiam hiberno moliri sidere classem
et mediis properas Aquilonibus ire per altum,
crudelis? (4.305-311)

False one! Did you really hope to conceal such a crime, and to depart silently from my land? Does neither our love nor the right hand once given, nor Dido about to die a cruel death hold you? Even in the season of winter do you hasten to set out your fleet and go through the sea in the midst of the north wind? Cruel one!

²⁴ Holford-Strevens (1999), 383.

Immediately Dido is angry, and her anger is signalled by the same words Catullus' Ariadne had used in Poem 64, *perfide* and *crudelis*. In addition, the repetition of the “s” sound in the first three words creates an auditory effect of hissing which emphasizes the wrathful tone contained in these lines.²⁵ Further, the hissing is also reminiscent of Medea's speech to Jason in Euripides' *Medea*.²⁶ Merely three lines later however, Dido's speech becomes a sorrowful plea:

mene fugis? per ego has lacrimas dextramque tuam te
(quando aliud mihi iam miserae nihil ipsa reliqui),
per conubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos,
si bene quid de te merui, fuit aut tibi quicquam
dulce meum, miserere domus labentis et istam,
oro, si quis adhuc precibus locus, exue mentem. (4.314-319)

Do you flee from me? By my very tears and your right hand (since now I have left my miserable self nothing) by our marriage, by the start of our nuptial rites, if I deserved anything well from you or if there was anything of mine that was sweet to you, pity my falling house and I beg you if there is still any place for prayer, put away this decision.

Dido is attempting to reason with Aeneas, reminding him of their bond and the implications of their relationship and setting out reasons for him to act more compassionately towards her. She no longer scolds him as she did a few lines before. In fact, she will spend the remainder of her speech explaining what she has sacrificed. She explains that those who could have been her allies through marriage proposals are now enemies (4.320-21). Dido has alienated the surrounding peoples because of her relationship with Aeneas, and she has sacrificed her relationship with her own people. Finally Dido appears to begin to accept her fate when she says,

saltem si qua mihi de te suscepta fuisset
ante fugam suboles, si quis mihi parvulus aula
luderet Aeneas, qui te tamen ore referret,
non equidem omnino capta ac deserta viderer. (4.327-330)

²⁵ Williams (1996), 359.

²⁶ O'Hara (2011) 54. Medea's speech beginning at lines 476-478, “ἔσφά σ’, ὡς ἴσασις Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι / ταὐτὸν συνεισέβησαν Ἀργῶν σκάφος...”

At least if a child by you had been taken into my arms before you had left, if a little Aeneas were playing in my palace, whose looks would remind me of you, truly I would not feel entirely captured and abandoned.

Dido's desire to have had a child so that this would be less difficult for her appears to be what something a person who has resigned themselves to their circumstances may do. Her wish to have a child is highly sympathetic because, according to Dido without a child, once Aeneas leaves she will have nothing left. In addition to this, O'Hara notes that Dido's lack of a child alludes to another of Vergil's models, Queen Hypsipyle, who does have a child with Jason in Book 1 of the *Argonautica* (1. 897-898).²⁷ The allusion and contrast between Dido and Hypsipyle demonstrates another layered voice within the text and further highlights the disappointment Dido feels at this point. Both women are queens, both women consider that they are married to their foreign heroes, and both women divert the heroes from their intended journeys. But, when Jason leaves, Hypsipyle is not unhappy and she does have a child from Jason, while the *infelix* Dido does not have a son from Aeneas. Thus far, within these 25 lines Dido has expressed anger, fear, regret and an acceptance that this is her circumstance. Instead of presenting one of these emotions exclusively, Dido expresses them all simultaneously. This expression of multiple emotions is particularly significant because while still making reference to her literary prototypes it characterizes her differently than her literary models, and creates the illusion of a genuine person.

Dido's second speech is strictly angry and scornful; however, it still contains the characteristics of a lament because it is driven by Dido's grief regarding the loss of her honour. As we have seen, Dido was well respected, powerful and arguably a confident woman before her affair with Aeneas.²⁸ It follows then that someone of her former stature would not take kindly to

²⁷ O'Hara (2011), 56.

²⁸ We recall that in one of her first introductions in the *Aeneid* she is described as a *dux femina facti* (1.364).

being insulted, and that is exactly what has just taken place before her second speech. Aeneas has just told her to stop her lamenting: *desine meque tuis incendere teque querelis* (“cease to inflame yourself and me with your laments,” 4.360). Aeneas has essentially diminished and undermined all of the arguments she had just made with one sentence because he is asking her to do things that as a female character in epic she is incapable of. We could say that when Aeneas asks Dido to stop doing these things, he is really asking her to stop being a literary lamenting woman, which is just as absurd and diminishing as if Dido had asked Aeneas to stop being heroic. In addition, the use of *querellis* by Aeneas confirms for the readers that Dido’s speech is a lament. Aeneas’ identification of Vergil’s ventriloquized lament through Dido may also remind readers of Ariadne’s lament in Catullus 64 in which Ariadne herself identifies her speech as a lament.²⁹ Once again this demonstrates that Dido’s voice is a multilayered and multi-ventriloquized voice.

Dido, as a type of the epic lamenting woman,³⁰ and as a character whose traits must gesture to the established tradition to be recognizable as an explicitly literary character, responds to Aeneas with passionate anger:

(...) sic accensa profatur:
'nec tibi diva parens generis nec Dardanus auctor,
perfide, sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens
Caucasus Hyrcanaeque admorunt ubera tigres. (4.364-367)

Enraged she speaks thus: “Liar! No goddess was your mother, nor was Dardanus the founder of your line, but harsh Caucasus begot you on rough rocks and Hyrcanian Tigresses suckled you.

The tone of the above lines is angry and accusatory, and Dido repeats her earlier address of *perfide* from line 305. Vergil’s usage and repetition of *perfide* is two-fold; it accomplishes a reference and connection to Catullus 64, and it challenges Aeneas’ heroic qualities. Moreover, by

²⁹ 64.130, and 195.

³⁰ She cannot be silent and uninflamed. These reactions are prescribed for her character type. On this see Harvey (1995), 132.

refuting Aeneas' divine lineage and honourable background, Dido is attempting to diminish Aeneas' honour and glory just as she feels hers has been diminished. In her first lament she had said that her *pudor* and *fama prior* are *extinctus* (4.322). During this period Roman women were responsible for maintaining their own good morality regardless of what others did, or did to them, and similarly, a woman who gained a negative reputation was not only damaging her name, but the name of her family.³¹ In addition to these things, chastity and loyalty were the most important attributes women could have.³² Dido sacrificed her honour and loyalty to her deceased husband only for Aeneas to abandon her. Therefore, since Vergil writes from a Roman perspective, for Dido this situation is a reasonable thing to be angry about. She continues to berate Aeneas, and Vergil uses the “unanswerable question” portion of Dido's second lament to mock Aeneas. Vergil writes,

nam quid dissimulo aut quae me ad maiora reservo?
num fletu ingemuit nostro? num lumina flexit?
num lacrimas victus dedit aut miseratus amantem est?
quae quibus anteferam? (4.368-371)

For why do I conceal or for what greater things do I hold myself back? Did he sigh at my weeping? Did he turn his eyes away? Did he shed tears, being defeated, or pity his lover? What shall I say first? What second?

All these questions indicate Dido's disbelief of everything Aeneas had claimed in his responses.

The tricolon and anaphora created with the *num* in addition to speaking in the third person as though she is narrating as opposed to a part of the situation, amplifies the distance Dido feels.³³

The repetition also exaggerates the heightened anger and emotional qualities of this passage.

Dido closes her speech with a curse and a desire to haunt Aeneas (4. 372-387). Furthermore,

³¹ De La Bédoyère (2018), 22.

³² De La Bédoyère (2018), 22. We can take as an example, the legend of Lucretia embodies every aspect and concept of what an idealized Roman woman should be; Lucretia was willing to kill herself because her chastity had been violated. On this see Pagan (2004), 45.

³³ Williams (1996), 366.

Dido's conclusion indicates her impending death when she says that she hopes the rumour of Aeneas' distress comes to her among the deepest shades: *haec Manis veniet mihi fama sub imos*, 4.387). Dido is angry and her tone remains consistent throughout this second lament. While the main emotion is anger, the anger is a response to her grief and the pain that Aeneas has caused her.

Dido's final speech in lines 590-629 is the longest lament: it contains most of the qualities of a lament and is the most sympathetic. A main theme that runs through these 40 lines is the concept that Dido did not do anything to deserve this outcome. Shortly after "preforming" this speech, Dido kills herself; her death and curse seal the fate of the Romans and Carthaginians, who will be at constant odds with each other. Similar to the first of her laments, this speech contains a range of emotions, of which anger is often identified as the main one.³⁴ But it is evident from the speech itself there is more of an array of mixed emotions with overtones of sadness and anger. Dido begins,

'pro Iuppiter! ibit
hic,' ait 'et nostris inluserit advena regnis?
non arma expedient totaque ex urbe sequentur,
diripientque rates alii navalibus? ite,
ferte citi flammās, date tela, impellite remos!
quid loquor? aut ubi sum? quae mentem insania mutat?
infelix Dido, nunc te facta impia tangunt? (4.590-596)

"By Jupiter! Will he go?" she says, "and will a foreigner make a mockery of our kingdom? Will they not prepare arms and pursue him from the whole city, and will others not take the ships from the docks? Quickly go! Bring fire, provide weapons and drive on the oars! What do I say? Or where am I? What madness changes my mind? Unhappy Dido, now do your impious deeds touch you?"

As we have seen, just before speaking these lines Dido is beating her chest and ripping at her hair, displaying the indicators of a lament. She invokes the gods through Jupiter before asking

³⁴ Williams (1996), 384.

these questions (4.590). Unlike the other two laments, no one other than the gods and the readers are witness to her cries. Once again, Dido begins with a series of unanswerable questions. But it quickly becomes clear that she is losing her sanity as she goes through these questions. In line 595 even recognizes that she is losing her mind (*quae mentem insania mutat?*); Dido goes as far as to characterize herself as *insania*. The sight and fact that Aeneas has actually left causes her utter anguish.

Following these lines, the tone shifts to regret and how this could have been avoided (4.597-606). Interestingly, among those lines, Vergil references other myths such as the crimes of Medea as well as the crimes of Atreus, as alternative actions Dido could have done rather than inviting in the Trojans.³⁵ Although Dido is saying that she could or should have done these things, unwritten is the fact that she did not do any of these things, or anything even remotely close. Since Dido knows that she has not done any of these things, the readers are also made aware of her innocence. This leads the readers and Dido to wonder why this is happening to her; the injustice of Dido's fate creates sympathy in the readers in addition to solidifying her role as a lamenting woman. In so far as she is a character type, it does not matter if she did or did not deserve her fate, her characterization dictates her outcome.

Finally, Dido turns to her curse and invokes whoever will listen to her,

Sol, qui terrarum flammis opera omnia lustras,
tuque harum interpres curarum et conscia Iuno,
nocturnisque Hecate triviis ululata per urbes
et Dirae ultrices et di morientis Elissae,
accipite haec, meritumque malis advertite numen
et nostras audite preces. (4.607-612)

Oh Sun, you who brighten all the labors of the lands with your flames; and you Juno, mediator and witness of these woes, and Hecate worshiped by wails in through cities in the crossroads at night, and avenging Furies and gods of dying Elissa, listen to these cries; turn your deserved will on evil, and hear my prayers.

³⁵ Williams (1996), 386.

Dido calls on the sun who sees everything, Juno who already hates Aeneas, Hecate who is Medea's patron goddess and the Furies whom Ariadne invokes for her curse on Theseus in Catullus 64. Her invocation of these specific deities is an inclusion of intertextuality,³⁶ as well as telling in the story. At the beginning of this speech, Dido refers to herself as *impia* (4.596). The usage of this word draws a parallel between her actions and those of Aeneas, whose epithet is *pius*, the opposite of *impius*. Vergil uses the feminine form of *impius* in reference to Dido rarely throughout Book 4; line 596 is only the second instance of this. It could be argued that Dido is impious because she broke her promise to never remarry, however, it was not by her own free will that she broke this promise. Therefore, Vergil's use of *impia* is ironic and leads to a more sympathetic reading, because, as we have seen, she did not murder or betray anyone, she was simply in the wrong place at the wrong time. The gods that she calls upon are the only ones who may recognize this. Dido's final lament is the most sympathetic of the three laments as well as indicative of her character.

In each of her laments Dido refers to herself in the third person. With this she creates distance between herself and the situation which she is in. In turn, this creates additional distance between Vergil and Dido. In the first lament she says *nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido*, (nor Dido about to die a cruel death hold you? 4.308). It is significant that Dido switches to the third person at this point; in the same sentence a moment earlier she had asked Aeneas *nec te noster amor nec te data dextera quondam...tenet*, ("does neither our love nor the pledge given...hold you?", (4.306-307). Specifically, it is the switch between *noster* and the the third person that is striking. Referring to herself in the third person changes the tone and makes her words sound as though she is narrating rather than speaking. This is important to note because

³⁶ Williams (1996), 387.

her tone exaggerates her qualities as a lamenting female character. Catullus' Ariadne does not refer to herself in the third person throughout her speech, because Catullus intended to write a more authentic human voice, ultimately a reflection of his own voice. Holford-Strevens suggests that the glory of these women in actuality just heightened the praise for the poets. Thus, this additional distance within Dido's ventriloquized voice directs more acclaim toward Vergil than compassion toward Dido.³⁷ O'Hara suggests that the third person may be used to express scorn or that these lines are written as a soliloquy, as if Dido has forgotten that Aeneas is there.³⁸ Although Dido could have forgotten about Aeneas in her distress, it seems more likely that Vergil wanted to impose more distance between his and Dido's voice. As we have noted, the use of the third person creates an artificially imposed distance between Dido and the situation she is in, and this occurs again in the second and third laments. In lines 383-384 Dido says ... *et nomine Dido saepe vocaturum* ("...often you will call on Dido's name..."), and then in line 596 she says *infelix Dido, nunc te facta impia tangunt*, ("unhappy Dido, now do your impious deeds touch you"). It would have made thematic sense if Dido had simply said "does [my] impending death", "often (you will) call on [my] name" and "oh unhappy [me]." While there may be metrical reasons contributing to word choice, we can argue that the fact that she speaks in the third person only once in each speech is a purposeful choice. In the second lament, the use of the third person could be more threatening. Dido is cursing Aeneas and threatens to haunt him, and hearing her name instead of "my name" could be more jarring in the threat. In each of Dido's speeches she refers to herself in the third person at least once, and this not only creates distance between Dido and her lamentable situation, but also distances the male poet from the female

³⁷ Holford-Strevens (1999), 381.

³⁸ O'Hara (2011), 61.

character's voice. This distinction in narration and voice reminds readers that this is a character type in a story, not his poetic voice.

Throughout this chapter Vergil's familiarity with and references to Catullus' Ariadne in Poem 64 have been discussed. Vergil alludes to Catullus 64 frequently, and for learned ancient readers, this would have been significant. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Catullus had a well-established poetic persona, and from this persona Vergil adopted the aspects of Catullus' persona that were useful for his agenda. Nappa says that for Vergil, Catullus was largely a poet of "potential or actual" loss, grief, abandonment and death.³⁹ Features of Catullus' Ariadne recur in Vergil's Dido as a prime example of abandonment and how a broken promise can affect a person.⁴⁰ Vergil makes use of phrases, rhetorical techniques and themes not only from Poem 64, but from several of Catullus' poems.⁴¹ While there are a vast number of similarities and allusions between the outer stories of Dido and Ariadne in both 64 and *Aeneid* 4, for the purposes of this chapter, I will focus on the similarities in their speeches.⁴² To begin, the similarities between Dido and Ariadne are particularly evident as they open both their laments with *perfide* and *crudelis*. Dido says,

'dissimulare etiam sperasti, perfide, tantum
posse nefas tacitusque mea decedere terra?
nec te noster amor nec te data dextera quondam
nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido?
quin etiam hiberno moliri sidere classem
et mediis properas Aquilonibus ire per altum,
crudelis? (4.305-311)

False one! Did you really hope to conceal such a crime, and to depart silently from my land? Does neither our love nor the right hand once given, nor Dido about to die a cruel

³⁹ Nappa (2007), 18.

⁴⁰ Nappa (2007), 18.

⁴¹ Nappa (2007), 1 and 6. The principal Catullan narratives that Vergil used to shape the *Aeneid* are poems 64, 66, 11 and 101.

⁴² For a complete comparison and contrast between the outer stories of both characters see Nappa (2007) 5-8.

death hold you? Even in the season of winter do you hasten to set out your fleet and go through the sea in the midst of the north wind? Cruel one!

Similarly, Catullus' Ariadne opens her lament thus:

'sicine me patriis avectam, perfide, ab aris
perfide, deserto liquisti in litore, Theseu?
sicine discedens neglecto numine divum,
immemor a! devota domum periuria portas?
nullane res potuit crudelis flectere mentis
consilium? tibi nulla fuit clementia praesto,
immitte ut nostri vellet miserescere pectus? (Cat.64.132-138)

In this way, false Theseus, having sailed me away from my father's home, have you left me here on the deserted shore, false man? Sailing off in this way, indifferent to the will of the gods, ah forgetful man! Do you carry home your false promises? Is no thing able to bend the decision of your cruel mind? Was there no clemency present for you, so that your cruel heart wanted to pity me?

The speeches are strikingly similar; there are resemblances in word usage, placement and order, as well as in theme. Ariadne and Dido both consider that they have been abandoned by cruel men and thus, Vergil's use of the Catullan Ariadne's words to construct his Dido's words is fitting. Thematic parallels are also abundant, including a departing lover, each woman's apprehension that the men do not have compassion or care for them, as well as characterizing the men as *crudelis*.⁴³ That being said, it is also relevant to consider the similarities found in aspects of their circumstances that are contrasting. Dido echoes Ariadne again in line 316 when she says, *per conubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos*, (by our marriage, by the start of our nuptial rites). In line 141 Ariadne says, *sed conubia laeta, sed optatos hymenaeos*, (but for a happy marriage, but for desired nuptial rites). Nappa points out that the change from *sed* to *per*, *laeta* to *nostra*, and *optatos* to *inceptos*, is indicative of the variation in Dido's circumstance. He continues to say that,

⁴³ Nappa (2007), 9.

it is as though Dido has almost escaped the Catullan model, had almost been an Ariadne who was not abandoned by Theseus, only to realize that she also cannot count on *conubia* or *hymenaeos*.⁴⁴

The echo in concepts and the slight contrast in circumstances further highlights the similarities between Ariadne and Dido. While the situation is not entirely the same, it is close enough to distinguish Dido as a different character, but she remains as the same type of character. Not only do these lines echo in concepts and circumstances, but they are also metrically identical.

In addition to Vergil's numerous allusions to Catullus 64 he also mirrors Catullus' prosody. As such, Dido's speeches are more metrically consistent with Catullus 64 than they are with speeches in Greek epic.⁴⁵ This is significant because Vergil consciously decided to mimic the Catullan epyllion model of lament on a technical level as opposed to the Greek epic model. This conscious decision demonstrates that while Greek literature is a source of inspiration and influence for Vergil's *Aeneid*, he also wanted to maintain the newer style of lament introduced by Catullus. Vergil utilizes metrical patterns that signal a sympathetic or emotional episode; as a result, the dramatic speeches and events of the *Aeneid* have a different metrical approach than those of the epics of Homer or Apollonius. Duckworth explains that the metrical patterns occurring most frequently in the more emotional or subjective speeches are not the same as those in the more narrative and objective passages.⁴⁶ The metrical similarities are evidently purposeful as can be seen in Vergil's reference to Ariadne with the use of *perfidē*; *perfidē* scans the same

⁴⁴ Nappa (2007), 9.

⁴⁵ Duckworth (1966), 2.

⁴⁶ For a full explanation of sympathetic and objective narrative prosody see Duckworth (1966). Considering the frequency of the pattern "dactyl, spondee, spondee, spondee" in the first four feet of each line, Duckworth (1966, 8) concludes that this pattern occurs less often in episodes and speeches that are "dramatic, psychological, and emotional"; essentially, this pattern is less prevalent in sympathetic episodes such as scenes of death and lament. Catullus 64 has an overall 27% usage of the "dactyl, spondee, spondee, spondee" pattern. Furthermore, *Aeneid* 4 has an overall 13% usage of that pattern, while overall this is lower than Catullus' usages, this pattern fluctuates significantly throughout Book 4 with a constant low occurrence in all of Dido's laments, the more emotional scenes.

way in both Catullus 64 and *Aeneid* 4. Moreover, it is evident from Vergil's metrical patterns that he follows a more narrative and "objective" tone when dealing with Aeneas and other more epic scenes, such as war, the gods and heroics, while Dido's emotional and dramatic speeches follows a more sporadic pattern, that is similar to the pattern in Catullus 64.⁴⁷ As we have already noted, Augustan poets aimed to work with established Greek literary traditions as well as utilize the models of those Greek works to create new and distinct works.⁴⁸ Vergil's recognition of Catullus' forms and influences allowed Vergil to promote the Catullan style, ultimately establishing a Roman tradition of female lament, similar, but distinct from the Greek epic laments.

Throughout her narrative the Vergilian Dido has similarities with both Euripides' and Apollonius' Medea, in addition to other epic women such as Circe from the *Odyssey*, and Queen Hypsipyle from Book 1 of the *Argonautica*. The various allusions to other female characters of lament and epic not only demonstrates Vergil's vast knowledge and understanding of the genre in which he is writing, but it also reveals that Dido's characterization is strictly driven by literary allusions. For example, Dido states that, *odere infensi Tyrii* ("the hostile Tyrians hate me," 4.321). This is a clear reference to Euripides' Medea who states οἰκοθεν φίλοις ἐχθρὰ καθέστηχ' ("I have become hated by my dear family," 506-507). As we have seen, Dido's function as a female distraction for the epic hero also puts her in the same literary category as Circe from Homer's *Odyssey* and Queen Hypsipyle from the *Argonautica*. Moreover, just as Catullus wanted audiences to relate Ariadne to Medea, Vergil continues this tradition and equates his Dido to Ariadne, as discussed above, and therefore also equates Dido to Ariadne's prototype, Medea. The most prominent of these references can be found just before Dido's death when she says *si*

⁴⁷ Duckworth (1966), 2.

⁴⁸ See Introduction, pages 2-3. See also Conte (1987), 252.

litora tantum numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae, (“if only the Dardanian ships had never touched our shores,” 4.657-658). Similarly, Catullus’ Ariadne says *utinam ne tempore primo Gnosia Cecropiae tetigissent litora puppes* (“would that the ships of Athens had at no time touched Knossos”, 64.171-172). Both allude to the Euripidean Medea’s nurse (Εἴθ’ ὄφελ’ Ἀργοῦς μὴ διαπτάσθαι σκάφος Κόλχων ἐς αἴαν κυανέας Συμπληγάδας, “would that the ships of the Argo had not flown through the blue crashing rocks into the land of the Colchians,” *Med.* 1-2). Similarly, in Apollonius’ *Argonautica* Medea expresses an analogous sentiment as well: αἴθε σε πόντος, / ξεῖνε, διέρραισεν, πρὶν Κολχίδα γαῖαν ἰκέσθαι (“o stranger, would that the sea had destroyed you before you had come to the Colchian land,” A.R. 4.32-33). Vergil waits until 47 lines before the end of Book 4 to include this iconic line. In waiting to include the intertextual allusion Dido’s qualities that are unique to her can be strengthened without the direct comparison to these other characters; while at the same time, including the line confirms to the readers that she is the same type of character as Ariadne and Medea, and the newest addition to the literary tradition.

Dido’s similarities to both Medeas, however, do not end here. The plot of Dido’s story is reminiscent of that of Apollonius’ Medea. For example, at the beginning of Book 3 of the *Argonautica*, Hera and Athena are attempting to come up with a plan to help Jason (A.R. 3.1-30). Likewise, in Book 1 of the *Aeneid*, Venus is concerned for Aeneas’ safety and considers what plan may be most helpful to him (*Aen.* 1.657-695). In both narratives the gods determine it would be advantageous for the hero if a woman from the foreign land the hero has found themselves in, a woman who holds a certain amount of power and influence, be made to fall in love with him. Furthermore, for each of the women, being made to fall in love is ultimately the

reason for her demise.⁴⁹ We can see that Vergil's Dido is modelled after all these various characters with a focus on Catullus' Ariadne as well as Euripides' and Apollonius' Medea.

In conclusion, Dido exists as a literary example of a lamenting woman. Vergil purposely does not make her too sympathetic so as to allow Aeneas to maintain his heroic integrity. Vergil draws on so many characters in creating Dido that she contains characteristics that many readers can relate to while simultaneously being less realistic. As strictly a character of a lamenting woman, Dido invites readers, audiences, and other artists to humanize and reimagine her voice. On account of the multitude of characters that Vergil uses in writing Dido, her voice is a multilayered voice ventriloquized through Vergil. Further, Vergil had to pay particular attention in his ventriloquism to distance his voice from Dido's, he does when Dido refers to herself in the third person, and through references to other characters. Moreover, the similarities in stories and plots that relate all of these abandoned women demonstrate that Dido is not a stand-alone instance of this trope but rather, for Vergil's purposes, is the latest casualty of a hero who abandons a woman that sacrificed much for him.⁵⁰ The aspect of a continued tradition was important for Vergil because the purpose of this work was to create a Roman epic that could be added to the canon of epics from Greek society.⁵¹ While Dido is positioned as another Ariadne and Medea, Aeneas is not a Jason or a Theseus, but rather he is *pius Aeneas* (4.393). Dido's attempts in her laments to identify Aeneas as another Jason or Theseus ultimately highlights the contrast between him and those other heroes because of the mischaracterization.⁵² That being said, this does not remove any of the sympathy and the familiarity with this type of character that

⁴⁹ The resemblances between these characters are emphasised in Dido's speeches. O'Hara (2011, 60) points out that Dido's second lament in lines 365-387 draws heavily on Euripides' *Medea*, lines 465-519, and Apollonius' *Argonautica*, lines 4.355-390.

⁵⁰ Libby (2015), 65.

⁵¹ Conte (1987), 252.

⁵² Libby, (2015), 66.

readers feel toward Dido. Dido is like another Ariadne or Medea, with the distinction that she did not do anything similar to what they did. In spite of her innocence, since Vergil has positioned her in such a context, Dido's story must end where it does, establishing her as the model of the Roman lamenting woman.

Chapter 3
Ovid's Ariadne and Dido: The Weaknesses of Lamenting Women

In *Heroides* 7 and 10, Ovid provides letters from Dido and Ariadne, respectively. In these epistles Ovid purposefully draws on the narratives established by Vergil and Catullus, reimagining the delivery of these women's stories in the form of letters of lament, narrated by the heroines themselves. The distinctive quality of these letters is the fact that Ovid is working with characters and myths that already had firm roots in both Greek and recent Latin literature. While these laments are emotionally powerful, there is a certain weakness portrayed in the characterization of both these women. In Dido's letter Ovid has removed all remnants of the "historical Dido" present at the beginning of the *Aeneid*. Ovid's Dido becomes entirely feminine and endures the ultimate feminine flaw, being unrestrained. In *Heroides* 7 it is implied that Dido suffers because of her unrestrained sexual and emotional desires and that her tragic outcome is her own undoing. In *Heroides* 10, Ovid offers the authoritative narrative of being seduced and abandoned.¹ Ovid's Ariadne is narrational, she simultaneously tells the story of her lament while lamenting in the letter. Just as Dido is presented as suffering from uninhibited desire and emotion, it is evident from Ariadne's lament and story that she too is to blame for her abandonment on account of her lack of control over her emotions. Ovid appropriates the female voices of these characters, and in doing so, he demonstrates the range and subtlety of his poetics. This chapter will contend the authenticity of the female narration in the letters and will argue that these epistles are ventriloquized laments based on the concept that women are naturally unrestrained sexually, orally, and emotionally.

Ovid's *Heroides* are unique works that have captivated scholars interested in poetry, gender studies and intertextuality. The scholars most relevant to the present argument are Laurel

¹ Fulkerson (2005), 143.

Fulkerson, Sharon James, Rebecca Armstrong, and Peter Knox. Many scholars have debated the authorship of the epistles² and have discussed gender, the elegiac meter that Ovid uses, intertextuality and the catalogue of letters as a whole. Even so, the scholarship on the letters has not considered the aspects of lament in Ariadne's or Dido's letter, nor their characterization as lamenting women, which constitute the focus of the present chapter. Harvey's work and theories about ventriloquized voices will once again be critical for my considerations of Ovid's depictions of Ariadne and Dido.

In the previous chapters, I discussed the intrinsic issues when one gender writes in the voice of the other; however, the implications of a man writing in the voice of a woman in the *Heroides* are different than they were in both Catullus 64 and Vergil's *Aeneid* 4. Ovid indicates that he believes he is liberating these women from the constraints of their other narratives.³ In identifying the heroines as authors of the letters Ovid both focuses the narratives on Dido and Ariadne and "gives" the authorial control of their stories to their characters, *quae legis a nobis ultima verba legis* ("what you read are my final words written by me," 7.2), and Ariadne says *litteraque articulo pressa tremente labat* ("and the letter traced by my trembling fingers trembles," 10.140). Further, the distinctions in the heroines stories that is not in their previous myths (recounted by Vergil and Catullus) also indicates a freeing from the limitations of their former storylines.⁴ Although Ovid has focused and reinforced the singularity of these women's laments as the main theme, in reality, as Harvey points out, the letters are distorted female speeches in which there is a false expression of female desire.⁵

² See Knox (2002) 118-122 for a full discussion of the authorship of the *Heroides*.

³ Harvey (1995), 119.

⁴ Instances such as when Dido asserts that she may be pregnant (7. 133), and when Ariadne blames the wind, and the bed rather than Theseus directly (10. 29 and 60, respectively).

⁵ Harvey (1995), 124. The strength of this expression was widely recognized and was openly imitated in the Renaissance. See Harvey (1995), 140.

It is relevant to consider the fact that Ovid is credited for establishing the trope in which a singular lament is not just the main focus of a work but the entire work itself. Keeping in mind that these poems are a narration written entirely in the voice of one character, and taking into consideration Sharon James' statement that "speech is a powerful tool for literary characterization,"⁶ we can conclude that the identities of the women "writing" the letters are intertwined with lament. This is because the poems themselves are entirely characterized by the laments. The act of writing in a ventriloquized female voice, however, has been used to suppress female sentiments by replacing an authentic female voice with a remodeled ventriloquized voice.⁷ Thus, lament, which was at one time a powerful and safe emotional space for women,⁸ is distorted with a focus on these heroines' weaknesses in the *Heroides*.

Additionally, because these are letters as opposed to speeches within a narrative, the ventriloquism is highlighted and amplified; there is not an authorial narrator persona, separate from the heroines, that Ovid could hide behind, and there are no other characters for him to impersonate. There is no outer story to navigate audiences through the text. I aim to go beyond the conventional discussion of the *Heroides* as a collection of letters to read *Heroides* 7 and 10 as stand-alone laments and to consider Dido and Ariadne as lamenting women; in doing so, I will examine their speeches, voices and the salient aspects of each character's lament.

In the *Heroides*, Ovid creates a new genre that frames and reimagines these lamenting women. There is no other similar collection of fictional letters in Greek or Latin that modern scholars are aware of.⁹ The *Heroides* are similar to a style called *ethopeia*, in which an author writes in the persona of either a historical or fictional character, pretending to reproduce the

⁶ James (2010), 314.

⁷ Harvey (1995), 133.

⁸ Dunham (2014), 1.

⁹ Knox (2002), 123.

speech or thought process of a character.¹⁰ Generally, ethopeia is a written speech or other work of prose on broader themes of life. Ovid's letters are written in verse rather than prose, and the poems focus on a singular moment in the life of each character.¹¹ Thus, the letters are similar to ethopeia but cannot be considered a part of the same genre. In the third book of his *Ars Amatoria* Ovid himself identifies the *Heriodes* as a new genre that he has created (3.346). They are not really ethopeia, nor canonical elegies because of the female narration, but they also do not fall in the category of epic or tragedy.¹² This type of work is distinct on account of the supposedly "female" perspective Ovid is presenting. At the same time, the *Heroides* showcase a unique style because Ovid outwardly challenges established narratives and generic expectations. The overtly allusive and literary style of the *Heroides* allows Ovid's readers to recall Catullus 64 and *Aeneid* 4. When considering the *Heroides*, it is relevant to note that they are not supposed to fall within a specific framework, nor do they adhere to a standard body of works because they are their own new and unique type and style of poetry.¹³

When he writes the *Heroides* Ovid blends multiple genres and literary traditions in addition to manipulating the gender roles to give his work a unique elegiac tone. One of the differentiating features of Ovid's *Heroides* is the fact that they are inspired by earlier literary works, to the extent that each letter has a precise narrative and author that it is linked to.¹⁴ According to Armstrong, Ovid was inspired to write his own versions as if he viewed other literature as a challenge rather than as an opportunity for imitation.¹⁵ In Vergil's and Catullus'

¹⁰ Fulkerson (2009), 80. Fulkerson notes that learning the rhetoric of ethopeia was a part of the rhetorical education of upper-class Romans.

¹¹ Fulkerson (2009), 80. Additionally, James (2010, 314) notes that the skills required for ethopeia can often be seen in male narrated elegy.

¹² Not only does Ovid mention that he created a new genre, but he also lists that as a reason that he should be praised, and his work be immortal.

¹³ As Fulkerson (2009, 88) argues, this reveals Ovid's aim to be the ultimate love poet of his period.

¹⁴ Knox (2002), 126.

¹⁵ Armstrong (2006), 221.

literary tradition, Dido and Ariadne have both epic and tragic elements to their characters. Ovid writes both *Heroides* in elegiac couplets, and it is clear that he refers back to Greek tragedy, as well as Greek and Latin epic, while setting the narrative in elegiac couplets.¹⁶

Heroides 7 and 10, however, are not considered typical elegies.¹⁷ In general elegy has been regarded as a genre that is dominated by the male voice. Therefore, an elegy with a female leading voice would destabilize this notion.¹⁸ Further, in canonical Latin love elegy, speeches do not necessarily characterize, or identify a woman depicted in the poem but rather dictate the type of *puella* with whom the poet-lover is infatuated.¹⁹ Elegy is like a linguistic dance performed by the lover and the *puella*, but, the poet is both the choreographer and a participant in the dance; thus, as James notes, the *puella*'s speech is doubly ventriloquized.²⁰ In *Heroides* 7 and 10, this is not the case because there is only one speaker. While the *Heroides* are not typically studied in association with the elegies that make up the elegiac cannon, it is important to note that in these poems the gender roles have been reversed. Rather than the man being hopelessly in love and the mistress demoralizing him, Dido and Ariadne have been placed in the position of an elegiac lover.²¹ The concept of these women being set in the position of a man, and of the men addressed in the narratives (Aeneas and Theseus) assigned to the roles of the fickle *puella*, could be characterized as transvestite ventriloquism.²²

That being said, the unique feminine experience of written lament, is not characteristic of a male elegiac lover. Since the poet is also the elegiac lover in male narrated elegy, there is a component of control that the male poets have that Dido and Ariadne cannot have in their

¹⁶ Fulkerson, (2009), 82.

¹⁷ Fulkerson (2009), 83. Fulkerson notes that the *Heroides* are generally studied in isolation from the rest of elegy.

¹⁸ James (2010), 314.

¹⁹ James (2010), 316.

²⁰ James (2010), 316.

²¹ Fulkerson (2009), 84.

²² Harvey (1995), 4.

laments. James asserts that female speech in elegy often depicts the perspectives and interests of a certain class of women rather than the woman as an individual.²³ If it is assumed that, as the author, Ovid does not and cannot legitimately relinquish authorial control to fictional characters, we can consider Dido and Ariadne as women among those in the seduced and abandoned “class”. So, from the perspective that female elegiac speech represents social position rather than personality, Dido and Ariadne are positioned in the literary class of seduced and abandoned women, a fact that governs their self-expression.²⁴ Consequently, *Heroides* 7 and 10 must be considered mainly through the lens of tragedy, epic and a gender-bent elegy.

The *Heroides* arguably have the most complex layered voices of all three texts considered throughout this thesis. Ovid takes inspiration from the established and Romanized characters of Dido and Ariadne in Vergil’s and Catullus’ works, ventriloquizing the already ventriloquized voices. In Chapter 2, I discussed that when an author includes an intertextual allusion, the voices present in that text increases. In the *Heroides*, the heroines’ words contain the author’s voice, their ventriloquized voice, and the earlier voices present in the text that they reference.²⁵ However, where The Vergilian Dido and Catullan Ariadne had context, narrators, and the stories of other characters mingled within their narratives, Ovid’s letters remove those additional distracting voices. With this centralized narrative focussed solely on the feminine lament Ovid establishes how well he ventriloquizes Dido’s and Ariadne’s voice as one of the themes of the work.²⁶ His use of the female voice enabled him to challenge the limitations of epic and the patriarchal attitudes of Rome at that time.²⁷ Making use of female voice means that

²³ James (2010).315.

²⁴ James (2010), 316.

²⁵ See Chapter 2 page 30, and Harvey (1995),10.

²⁶ Harvey (1995), 1.

²⁷ Harvey (1995), 120.

the poem is free to be emotional and unrestrained. Harvey cites Ovid's *Heroides* as the "paradigmatic ventriloquized text"; this is because, not only is the male poet taking on the voice of a female character, but because the speaking female character suffers on account of being in a profoundly feminine position and that is the entire form of the text.²⁸ As discussed in the introduction, there is a connection between the representation of abandoned women and the construction of a female voice, because it involves female sexuality and its consequences at a profound level.²⁹ Essentially, men are not generally depicted as being seduced and then abandoned; they are the ones seducing and then abandoning. A project like the *Heroides* is, then, the perfect narrative in which to test and demonstrate one's expertise in ventriloquism.

Throughout history the concept of "female physiology has overlapped with cultural ideology" and thus, specific "linguistic expression" of cultural ideologies were bound to specific genders.³⁰ Ovid's *Heroides* are about particularly female situations. It was thought that these female circumstances were the result of a feminine flaw, ultimately stemming from the thought that women cannot control any aspect of themselves, especially their emotions.³¹ It is relevant then to understand *Heroides* 7 and 10 from the perspective of a man writing about women who have not restrained themselves in the way in which they should have. The "female" voices of Ovid's Dido and Ariadne are some of the originating inspirations for ventriloquized voices used to shame, cast blame or demonstrate the consequences associated with being seduced and being unrestrained sexually and otherwise.³² In addition to the negative societal implications associated with the actions of these women, there are also the many earlier texts and myths that Ovid bases

²⁸ Harvey (1995), 140.

²⁹ See Introduction pages 2-3. See also Harvey (1995), 140.

³⁰ Harvey (1995), 4.

³¹ Harvey (1995), 141.

³² Harvey (1995), 140.

his characters on. In essence, these letters bring up the concept of authorial control and show that it is in the forefront of the text, because there are technically no other voices than the women's in the work.³³ Therefore, it is important to understand the complexity of identifying and separating the ventriloquism present in the *Heroides*.

In *Heroides* 7, Dido can be characterized as emotional, unrestrained, and dramatic. Through Dido's use of imperatives, Ovid commands the audience to witness her passionate outbursts. Additionally, this characterization reinforces Dido's feminine attributes and emphasizes her feminine weakness. The letter is set in the moments before Dido commits suicide. Ovid explicitly locates the context of this letter to begin near the end of Vergil's account, and he begins the letter with the same tone and characterization that Vergil's Dido has on the day that Aeneas left.³⁴ It is reasonable to expect that she would be despondent and in a frenzied state, and this is evident as Dido begins her letter. In the first two lines Dido is at the lowest point of her mental decline and she states;

Accipe, Dardanide, moriturae carmen Elissae;
quae legis a nobis ultima verba legis.³⁵ (7.1-2)

Dardanian, receive this song of the soon to be dead Elissa;
what you read are the final words written by me.

In the lines above Ovid creates a dramatic presentation through word usage and the force of the verbs. The usage of the word *moriturae*, and the superlative *ultima* informs the audience, as well as Aeneas, of Dido's plans to die. The severe language in conjunction with the imperative verb at the beginning highlights the emotional force present in these lines. Moreover, threatening suicide

³³ Fulkerson (2005), 145.

³⁴ Knox (2002), 127.

³⁵ I use Knox's text, but he omits these lines following the more common manuscript tradition. He provides these lines in the apparatus criticus. See Knox (1995), 61. These lines, however, are relevant to my argument and therefore I am taking them into account in my study. All translations are my own.

is an extreme and dramatic reaction to Aeneas leaving. The strength of this sentence comes from the imperative verb *accipe*, wherein Dido not only orders Aeneas to read this letter, but Ovid is ordering the audience to read the letter. *Heroides* 7 remains consistently forceful in its depiction of unrestrained emotion and passion throughout, as Dido makes it apparent that she is dying because of Aeneas. For example, in lines 64-65 she says:

vive, precor! sic te melius quam funere perdam,
tu potius leti causa ferere mei.

Live, I beg you! Thus may I ruin you better than death.
You will rather be considered the cause of my death.

It would not be sufficient revenge for Aeneas simply to die. Dido plainly states that she wants him to live so that he will suffer the same loss of a good reputation that she did, as he will be blamed for her suicide. In the reversal of blame, Dido would regain an honourable reputation, in spite of all the things she did for Aeneas, and if his abandonment resulted in her suicide, his noble reputation would be diminished. Once again there is no restraint, and she executes these sentences with another imperative (*vive*). It is not a wish or request that Aeneas live to see this fate; this is another command. Every line in the letter is written for Aeneas and for the readers to know that she has died because of Aeneas. The readers of the text are treated like an audience, asked to pay attention to her, to hear her lament. Ovid accomplishes this through the use of imperatives that are lively enough to catch the readers' attention.

Ovid furthers Dido's characterization of uninhibited emotion as she blatantly questions the will of the gods regarding Aeneas' divine purpose, and she closes the letter by writing her own epitaph. It is clear in this rendition of Dido that she is not impressed with, nor does she believe in, Aeneas' divine purpose, to the extent that she openly ridicules his divine mission.³⁶

³⁶ Holford-Strevens (1999), 384.

She aggressively argues with Aeneas (although he is not there) and mocks Aeneas' purpose. She says, imitating Aeneas, '*sed iubet ire deus,*' ("But the god orders me to go," 7.139), but quickly completes the hexameter with *vellem, vetuisset adire*, ("I wish he had prohibited you from coming here"). Dido reasonably does not understand why Aeneas' journey had to lead him to spend time in Carthage. In fact, Dido cannot understand because she does not view herself as an epic or tragic character, from her perspective and Ovid's personification of her, she is just a woman being left behind. Following this she then says:

Hoc duce nempe deo ventis agitaris iniquis
Et teris in rabido tempora longa freto? (7.141-142)

Of course, with this god as leader are you tossed about by treacherous winds and wear out a long time in rabid seas?

In the lines above, Dido is uninhibited in her emotion and this is presented through her unrestrained criticism of Aeneas and the gods. While Dido does not name the god she is referring to, these lines clearly insinuate that perhaps the god's plans for Aeneas are not as they seem, or even worse, perhaps all of his work and suffering is for nothing.³⁷ Additionally, these lines would call to readers' minds the criticism that the Vergilian Aeneas received from Mercury when he comes to remind Aeneas of his duty to follow his destiny (*Aen.*4.271).³⁸ In both Mercury's speech and Dido's letter there is an idea of wasting time, but where the time is wasted has been reversed; Mercury considers Aeneas remaining in Carthage counterproductive, whereas Dido cannot accept that it may be more important for Aeneas to be elsewhere. Nevertheless, it would not be Dido's place to question the will of the gods or Aeneas' divine purpose. Hence, in questioning Aeneas' destiny so fervently, Dido also puts into question the judgement of the gods.

³⁷ Knox notes that Dido is referring to Apollo and the oracle that Aeneas receives at Delphi (1995), 225.

³⁸ On this allusion, see also Knox (1995), 226.

Furthermore, Dido's melodramatic tone continues to the very end of the letter, with Dido closing the letter by writing what should be written on her tombstone:

praebuit Aeneas et causam mortis et ensem.
ipsa sua Dido concidit usa manu. (7.195-196)

Aeneas provided the cause of death and the sword.
Dido killed herself by the use of her own hand.

Not only is she telling the audience what her epitaph should say, but she is telling Aeneas explicitly once more, that it is his fault, alone, that she killed herself. This epitaph would also inform all passers-by of her fate and the reason for it. Consequently, it is not just Aeneas and the readers of this letter that become aware of Aeneas' crime, but potentially anyone who would hypothetically walk by her grave would know who is to blame. Moreover, writing what should be on your tombstone is a rather elegiac thing to do in addition to being dramatic.³⁹ Writing one's own epitaph creates the impression that their fate is now sealed, as though there is no other choice in the matter. Additionally, it gives a value of immortality to the voice of the person who writes the epitaph. In providing her own epitaph Dido is extending her voice beyond the limits of the letter and mortality, and in turn Ovid is extending his ventriloquized voice beyond the limitations of his mortality. Therefore, Dido's uninhibited emotion is evidenced throughout the letter and is particularly apparent in her willingness to question the judgment of the gods as well as providing her own epitaph.

Although it is written and not spoken, *Heroides 7* is a lament, and Dido is depicted as a lamenting woman. In the Introduction, I defined that lamenting characters cry aloud, direct their lament toward a certain individual (either a doomed, dying or dead individual) and reinforce

³⁹ It was common in canonical elegy to include what should be written on one's own tombstone. This can be seen in Tibullus 1.3.55-56, and Ovid's *Tristia* 3.3.73-76. Further, Ovid includes this elegiac concept in other letters of the *Heroides* (2,14 and15). For more on other epitaphs in the *Heroides* see Fulkerson (2005), 28.

cultural morals.⁴⁰ Through her narration and what she says in the letter, Dido demonstrates the canonical aspects of a lamenting woman. The letter itself must be understood as the speech which is directed toward Aeneas. *Heroides 7* is imagined as a last effort to speak to Aeneas, and while it cannot physically be heard from Dido herself, the readers gain the unique opportunity to hear an unspoken lament. Throughout the letter, Dido herself refers to these thoughts as *querella* (“laments” or “complaints”) and the related *questus*. For example, she says *sed queror infidum questaque peius amo* (“but I lament his faithlessness, and since lamenting I love him all the more,” 7.30). Knox notes that *queror* followed by *questus* creates a polyptoton, emphasizing these words.⁴¹ Dido’s use of two separate lament words within the same sentence to describe her current actions and thoughts makes it clear that this letter is a lament. Moreover, these are the same words used by Catullus’ Ariadne (64.130 and 195) and Vergil’s Aeneas when he describes Dido’s pleas (4.360). Ovid’s use of the same vocabulary of lament indicates clearly that this is also a literary lament. The reproduction of the same words also demonstrates another layer of ventriloquism.

In addition to identifying her letter as a lament, at many points in the letter Dido asks series of unanswerable questions, which is a common element of laments. The first series of unanswerable questions can be found in lines 7-23, and between lines 45-87 rhetorical questions are scattered throughout. Dido becomes so distraught she begins losing the structure of the lament. At the very end of the letter, Dido describes how she looks as she writes:

adspicias utinam, quae sit scribentis imago;
scribimus, et gremio Troicus ensis adest;
perque genas lacrimae strictum labuntur in ensem,
qui iam pro lacrimis sanguine tinctus erit. (7.183-186)

⁴⁰ See Introduction, pages 2-4, but see also Dunham (2014), 2.

⁴¹ Knox (1995), 208.

Would that you see the image of she who is writing; I write, and a Trojan sword sits in my lap; tears run over my cheeks and glide onto the drawn sword, which will soon be dyed by my blood in place of the tears.

In the lines above, Dido is crying, and writing just moments from killing herself. While the entire letter is physically silent, the subject matter makes it emotionally loud. In this final description, Ovid once again explicitly demonstrates that Dido is lamenting. Through the direct address to Aeneas, the unanswerable questions, the crying and, the complaints themselves *Heroides 7* depicts Dido as a lamenting woman, and demonstrates throughout that she is lamenting.

In *Heroides 7*, Dido expresses herself in an entirely feminine way, after suffering from a strictly feminine experience. It was explained earlier that men do not get seduced and abandoned, nor are they entitled to lament in the way that a woman can. Further, as we saw in Chapter 2, Vergil's depiction of Dido was not the first rendition of her myth and legacy. Once we come to *Heroides 7*, however, the events of which in the Vergilian narrative would take place near the end of *Aeneid 4*, there are no remnants of that character anymore. The letter emphasizes her role as a lover and consequently, "her attributes as *amans* thereby eclipse her role as a *dux*."⁴² Dido's role as *amans* in the letter positions her an elegiac lover as opposed to an epic woman. As mentioned earlier, Ovid confirms Dido's position as an elegiac lover in the closing lines of the letter, when she offers the wording for her epitaph. Traditionally, however, the elegiac *amantes* would be voiced by and presented through the male poet-lover, consequently, Ovid is ventriloquizing Dido when writing her speech as a lover. Being characterized as a lover who is a woman, Dido is then more vulnerable than an *amans* because women are susceptible to being abandoned. Additionally, the extent to which she loves Aeneas reinforces her feminine attributes and perpetuates the weakness that was thought that all women had, the inability to control

⁴² Desmond (1994), 33.

themselves sexually and orally.⁴³ Dido's role as a woman is evident in lines 149- 152 when she writes,

Hos potius populos in dotem, ambage remissa,
Accipe et advectas Pygmalionis opes.
Ilion in Tyriam transfer felicius urbem
Resque loco regis sceptraque sacra tene

Stop wandering and instead accept as a dowry my people and the wealth of Pygmalion that I brought. Transfer Troy to the happier Tyrian city and rule this place and hold the sacred sceptre.

In offering Aeneas a dowry and the throne, Dido would be giving up all that she acquired.

Assuming Ovid is following the narrative of Vergil's Dido, just a year earlier the same character successfully led and was building a city, and in these lines alone she is willing to sacrifice all of that out of her love for Aeneas. It does not follow that a woman described as a *dux* would now be willing to give up all that she had worked so hard to obtain.

Furthermore, also Dido discusses and alludes to her earlier wish in *Aeneid* 4 to have had Aeneas' baby (*Aen.* 4.327-330). She writes,

Forsitan et gravidam Dido, scelerate, relinquo,
Parsque tui lateat corpore clausa meo.
Accedet fati matris miserabilis infans,
Et nondum nato funeris auctor eris,
Cumque parente sua frater morietur Iuli,
Poenaque conexos auferet una duos. (7. 133-138)

And perhaps it is pregnant Dido, that you abandon, you heinous man, and a part of you remains hidden within my confined body. The infant will be added to the miserable fate of the mother, and you will be the author of your not yet born child's funeral, and with his own parent will the brother of Iulus himself die, and one fate will carry us both away together.

Dido approaches the subject from a female standpoint, as she discusses this hypothetical pregnancy from a woman's perspective.⁴⁴ Through Dido's wish from the *Aeneid* to have had a

⁴³ Harvey (1995), 133.

⁴⁴ Desmond (1994), 42.

child with Aeneas, Ovid ventriloquizes this new addition from that moment. Using the word *gravidam*, which does not appear in the *Aeneid* in that instance, he creates some suspense, and wonder for the audience. This conjectural scenario is also rather personal to Dido, and focuses solely on her ability to create life, as a woman. Once again, it is through the removal of all masculine attributes and an emphasis of feminine characteristics that Dido has become a highly feminine woman, who suffers from feminine weaknesses, such as the intense desire to marry Aeneas, and have his children, now that he seduced her. Consequently, she suffers on account of being a woman, and expresses this in the most feminine form of speech, a lament.

As discussed at the beginning of the chapter in Ovid's collection of the *Heroides* he has letters dedicated to both Dido and Ariadne. The chapter will now continue our examination into the laments of these women by considering Ariadne's letter to Theseus as presented in *Heroides* 10.

In *Heroides* 10 Ariadne can be characterized as narrational, sad and occasionally volatile. While she is similar to and could be emotional and dramatic just as Ovid's Dido, Ariadne's letter has a more calculated view. On that point, Armstrong notes that Ariadne displays "sharp rhetoric for a defenceless girl"⁴⁵. There are moments in the text in which the reader could imagine she is yelling at Theseus, although a written letter has no sound. That being said, the tone and feelings of the laments can still be heard and resonate with the audience. This is an important aspect of lament, as in the original mournful setting of female lament, women were responsible to express and evoke grief for others.⁴⁶ It follows then, that the act of "writing" down the lament could also help Ariadne grieve for herself. It also indicates, however, that there is an additional voice in the narrative, the written or "narrational Ariadne" and the recalled or "lamenting Ariadne". The

⁴⁵ Armstrong (2006), 224.

⁴⁶ Dunham (2014), 1.

tones shift throughout between anger, narrative and sad. An angry tone is presented within the first two lines of the letter, Ariadne begins,

Illa relictis feris etiam nunc, improbe Theseu
vivit. Et haec aequa mente tulisse velis?⁴⁷ (10.1-2)

Even now, after having left her to the beasts, immoral Theseus lives.
Would you wish for her to have accepted this calmly in her mind?

It is immediately evident that she is not calm, nor should she be. The circumstance is dire, and Ariadne sets the tone of the letter with these lines. As she continues the letter, Ariadne's narrative of the events after Theseus' departure makes up the next part of the lament in lines 25-58. The reason for this could be twofold; using these lines to explain in greater depth what has happened since Theseus left Ariadne gives the letter itself a more authentic reading as a letter and would demonstrate to readers that Ovid is familiar with Catullus' depiction of Ariadne. Again, since this is supposed to be a letter that is addressed to Theseus, he would not know what Ariadne did after he abandoned her, and thus if any other audience members are not familiar with the myth they are caught up as well. After this, however, Ariadne's letter returns to her anger over her betrayal and abandonment. The change in tone from narrational to angry is apparent in lines 56-58, where she continues to say,

"pressimus" exclamo "te duo, redde duos!
venimus huc ambo; cur non discedimus ambo?
perfide, pars nostri, lectule, maior ubi est?"

I shout [to the rocky bed?], "we two pressed you together! Give back two!
"We both came here; why do we not both leave? Faithless bed! Where is the
better part of me?"

⁴⁷ I am again using Knox's text, but he omits these lines following the more common manuscript tradition. He provides these lines in the apparatus criticus. See Knox (1995), 68. These lines, however, are relevant to my argument and therefore I am taking them into account in my study.

Although in the previous lines Ariadne says that she shouts these words crying, the claims here are accusatory. When she says *cur non discedimus ambo*, the unspoken part of the question is ‘when you said you would take me with you’. These lines are angry, and while they add to the story the prevailing tone present is rage and disbelief, unlike the previous lines in which the tone was story like. Furthermore, Ariadne’s claims and thoughts are articulated well. For example in lines 73-76 she says,

tum mihi dicebas: "per ego ipsa pericula iuro
te fore, dum nostrum vivet uterque, meam."
Vivimus, et non sum, Theseu, tua, si modo vivit,
femina periuri fraude sepulta viri.

Then you said to me “I swear by these very dangers, that while you and I both live you will be mine”. (Well) we live! And I am not yours Theseus, if a woman lives when she is buried by the fraud of a lying man.

This section sums up concisely the promise and why Ariadne is irate. As stated above, Theseus promises that while they live they will be together, and yet he leaves as though that was never even promised. The emotion is vivid, and the thoughts are reasonable. Ariadne goes on to say that she would have preferred if Theseus had just killed her, then he would be absolved of his promise since she would be dead (10.77-78). Overall the impression is that being deserted on the island is the worst-case scenario, and for Ariadne a fate worse than death. Lastly, as Ariadne closes the letter she gets in one last quip before continuing to lament, she says, *non te per meritum, quoniam male cessit, adoro* (10.141), (“I do not beg you by means of (my) merit, since that resulted badly”). Ariadne is rather self-aware throughout the entire letter, and this line exemplifies that personal reflection that she exhibits. The self-awareness is also indicative of Ovid’s ventriloquism, since as a fictional character, Ariadne cannot actually be self-aware. Armstrong observes that this line is ironic and somewhat comical, and that it is meant to make

her seem “pathetic” or “farcical”.⁴⁸ It is evident from this line that either Ariadne is self-aware or the line is ironic. From Armstrong’s considerations Ariadne is acting in an erratic and dramatic manner, however, I think Ovid’s Ariadne knows that being dramatic is the role of a lamenting woman. Collectively, all these aspects of the poem depict Ariadne as sad with some volatile outbursts, but mainly she is narratorial, telling the story of her lament in a letter that in itself is another lament.

Throughout her letter Ariadne is a self-aware character; she understands the overall ramifications of her actions and subtly warns audiences against making the same mistakes that she has. As mentioned above, Ariadne’s letter is rather narrational. In the first 60 lines of the letter she recounts for Theseus what she did when she awoke, either to remind audiences of the myth or to demonstrate her relation to Catullus 64. Additionally, Ovid’s presentation of Ariadne could be viewed as towing the line between dramatic and parodic.⁴⁹ During these moments “Ariadne often appears to be subordinate to her creator, and is least believable as the author of her own words”⁵⁰. Rather than viewing Ariadne as a parody then, it seems more likely that she simply has a layering of voices, one being the narrator’s and the other her lamenting voice. In a few lines of this account, Ariadne will say what she shouted or said at the time rather than saying them directly in the letter. For example, in lines 35-36 she says,

"quo fugis?" exclamo "scelerate revertere Theseu!
flecte ratem! numerum non habet illa suum!"

“Where do you flee?” I cry out “Come back, heinous Theseus!
turn your boat! That boat does not have her full number!”

Again in lines 56-58, as quoted above, she recounts more of what she shouted from the island.

⁴⁸ Armstrong (2006), 227. Armstrong also thinks that when Ariadne discovers she has been abandoned and she waves her arms calling out to Theseus (10.40-46) that this is comedic/pathetic.

⁴⁹ Armstrong (2006), 227.

⁵⁰ Armstrong (2006), 225.

While these lines have a sad and lamenting tone, the overlaying structure of Ariadne's narration separates her character from the character speaking, even though they are supposed to be the same person. On account of the story-like quality of these lines, this superimposed distance between 'narrator Ariadne' and 'lamenting Ariadne' reduces the emotional weight of the words. This clear distinction between the authorial tone and the voice of Ariadne recalling her laments only strengthens the concept of Ovid's ventriloquism of her voice. The separation of characters indicates a less frantic and more controlled authorial voice (presumably Ovid's), even though, again, they are supposed to be the same voice. By interrupting the powerful moments of the recalled lament, Ovid diminishes the strength and presence of the emotional context. Just as Harvey suggests, what previously were powerful words in other contexts have been suppressed and refashioned into an exaggeration of Ariadne's former lament.⁵¹ On account of Ovid's distinction between this narratorial voice, which is rhetorical and calmer, and the voice of Ariadne within the story, he exposes that the narration is not entirely an "authentic" expression of Ariadne's voice.⁵²

Additionally, in a few lines of the letter, Ariadne accepts her fate and is reflective of her past and her current situation. For example, in lines 79-80 she says

nunc ego non tantum, quae sum passura, recordor
sed quaecumque potest ulla relictā pati.

now do I recall not only that which I am to suffer
but also whatever any abandoned woman can suffer.

The mention that these are things that may happen to anyone who is abandoned, not just Ariadne herself, shifts the focus. She is no longer speaking for herself but rather speaking on behalf of any cast-off woman. In a sense, Ariadne's more rounded perspective provides a warning not to

⁵¹ Harvey (1995), 133.

⁵² Armstrong (2006), 232.

allow yourself to be abandoned. Furthermore, ancient audiences would understand that in order to not be abandoned, a woman must not allow herself to be unrestrained or seduced. This impression continues when she says *externos didici laesa timere viros*, (“wounded, I have learned to fear foreign men,” 10.98). The concept that she has “learned to fear” implies personal reflection. Ariadne is not solely thinking about what Theseus did, but about what she should have done, and about how she would have been more wary of Theseus when he originally came to Crete. This is reminiscent of the echo of Medea’s nurse, Catullus’ Ariadne and Vergil’s Dido, who all repeat the same sentiment.⁵³ In the tradition of laments, the women often wish that a certain defining moment had not happened to them, but they do not expand the thought into how they will act in the future. With this line, Ovid’s Ariadne transcends the literary tradition and memory of laments by including that now, having had this experience, she will know better. Nearing her conclusion, Ariadne says *adspice demissos lugentis more capillos*, (“look upon my disheveled hair like one in mourning,” 10.137). The distinguishing word *mos*, “in the manner”, or “like,” indicates that Ariadne is aware of her appearance and knows what a lamenting woman does. In spite of this self-awareness, however, the inclusion of *mos* separates the authorial voice from the character’s. Differentiating that an action is “like” or “in the manner” of something suggests more of an example of that thing rather than the actual thing. Consequently, with the narrational overtone atop of Ariadne’s letter, Ovid includes subtle warnings against making the same mistakes that Ariadne has as a result of her femininity.

In the above paragraph the concept of Ariadne’s narration in relation to her lament has been discussed as two separate voices, one authorial and the other a lamenting voice. The separation of a complementary narrative from the lament is similar to the structure of traditional

⁵³ See Chapter 1, pages 16-17.

tragic Greek laments. Tragic Greek laments were often preformed as two groups singing. There would be a solo performance in which personal details of the dead person's life or the life which the lamenter shared with the deceased would be relayed; then a group in response would sing about widespread common topics.⁵⁴ The distinction between Ariadne relaying the story versus the Ariadne in the story then acts as the back and forth between a solo lamenter and the group laments from tragedy. In relaying the story, she relives the lament and signals the audience in many spots that this is a lament. There are many lines in which Ariadne asks a few unanswerable and dramatic questions. The series of questions are shorter than in Catullus 64; however, the questions in *Heriodes* 10 are vividly present, though they are more sporadic. These questions can be found in Ariadne's recalled dialogue as well as the narrative portion of the letter. As discussed earlier, in line 35 as a part of Ariadne's memory she had yelled *quo fugis*, then again in line 58 she remembers shouting, *perfide, pars nostri, lectule, maior ubi est*. In the next part of Ariadne's narrative lament, she asks *quid faciam? quo sola ferar?* (10.59). Therefore, while there is a distinction in voices, the difference between them adds more qualities of a tragic lament to Ariadne's letter.

Just as Dido used words of lament to identify her letter as a lament, Ovid's Ariadne describes herself performing the ritualistic acts of lament and refers to the letter itself as a lament. The first instance in which she demonstrates canonical aspects of lament is in lines 15-16, when she describes her actions thus:

protinus adductis sonuerunt pectora palmis
utque erat e somno turbida, rupta coma est.

Immediately, my chest resounded from my striking palms and I tore out
my hair which was disturbed from sleep.

⁵⁴ Suter (2003), 13.

Beating oneself and pulling out one's own hair are symbolic gestures of lament that originated from mourning rituals. Including these specific actions signals to the reader that this is indeed a lament. Having these lines so early in the poem also provides a cyclical narrative as Ariadne expresses similar gestures again at the end of the poem when describing herself writing the letter. In lines 135-138 she writes,

nunc quoque non oculis, sed qua potes, adspice mente
haerentem scopulo quem vaga pulsat aqua;
adspice demissos lugentis more capillos
et tunicas lacrimis sicut ab imbre graves!

But now behold me not with your eyes, but in the way you are able to,
with your mind, as I cling to a rock which the unsettled water hits: look
upon my dishevelled hair like one in mourning and my clothes heavy with
tears like from rain!

In the above lines Ariadne calls on the audience to see how she mourns, she then continues a few lines later describing actions similar to those from the beginning,

Has tibi plangendo lugubria pectora lassas
infelix tendo trans freta lata manus;
hos tibi qui superant ostendo maesta capillos;
per lacrimas oro, quas tua facta movent: (10.145-148)

Unhappy I stretch out over the water these hands tired from striking my
mourning breast; in grief I show what remains of my hair:
and I beg you through my tears, tears which your deeds made.

In repeating the actions from earlier in the letter and in using the vocabulary of lament Ariadne has reinforced the aspect of the letter's lament and informed the audience how to understand the letter. Ovid also adds lamenting words to the list of words formerly used by Catullus and Vergil, words such as, *lugentis* (10.137), and *lugubria* (10.145), which are reminiscent of the vocabulary of tragic and epic laments.

In *Heroides* 7 and 10 Ovid makes extensive allusions to *Aeneid* 4 and Catullus 64.

However, while he wants audiences to recall these former works, Ovid uses these references as a

reminder rather than an imitation. In the opening lines of her letter, Ariadne recounts how she came to discover that she has been abandoned. While this story follows a similar narration to the Catullan one, it is more parodic than genuine. For example Catullus' use of *perfidie* which was later alluded to by Vergil's Dido, is not reproduced by Ovid. At line 58 Ariadne says *perfidie, pars nostri, lectule, maior ubi est*, Ovid is very clearly referring to the bed as *perfidie* as opposed to Theseus; rather than blaming the actual person who has left her, she is potentially yelling at the ground. Furthermore, Ariadne has an inclination throughout the entire letter to cast blame on inanimate objects rather than on Theseus, which she does in Catullus 64.⁵⁵ Further, in both *Heroides* 7 and 10 Ovid has both heroines call their respective "heroes" *scelerate* instead of *perfidie* (lines 7.133, and 10.35). This distinction is clearly meant to remind readers of the former laments while distinguishing Ovid's ventriloquized laments. Moreover, as mentioned earlier, Ovid's addition to Dido's wish to have had Aeneas' child (*Aen.* 4.327-330) is a clear allusion to the *Aeneid*. Ovid's inclusion of Dido referring to herself as *gravidam*, however, adds an additional and potentially farcical tone to Dido's grief. This claim that she is pregnant is overly dramatic, and she goes on for 6 lines detailing what readers would believe to be an imagined scenario (lines 133-138). With these allusions that almost recreate key moments in both Catullus 64 and *Aeneid* 4, Ovid draws attention to the former narratives but reimagines these moments in comedic and sometimes more dramatic ways.

In conclusion, Ovid's *Heroides* reimagine the delivery and method of female lament. In ventriloquizing Dido and Ariadne, Ovid tows the line between a parody of lament and a warning for his Roman audience of the dangers of unrestrained emotion and desire. A distinct quality of *Heroides* 7 and 10 is the allusions and reinforcement of the traditional narratives they were

⁵⁵ Armstrong (2006), 234.

modelled on, Vergil's *Aeneid* and Catullus' 64. While Ovid demonstrates his purposeful interpretation of these established narratives, he does not imitate the other authors but rather seems to be in competition with them, considering their works as a challenge. Furthermore, the *Heroides* do not fall within any of the established genres; as such, they retain elements of epic, tragedy, and elegy. Both heroines are presented entirely feminine, including their feminine flaws, which is indicated as the reasons for which they have found themselves in their respective situations. Dido can be characterized as melodramatic, emotional and inconsolable. Similarly, Ariadne is narrational, emotional and sometimes volatile. In *Heroides* 7, Ovid suppresses the emotional weight of Dido's words with the insinuation that she brought this upon herself, in addition to her exaggerated complaints and actions. In *Heroides* 10, Ovid's ventriloquism is revealed through his narration. Although it is supposed to be Ariadne's narration, there are many moments in which she quotes herself, and the "narrator Ariadne" has a different tone and modes of speech than the recalled "lamenting Ariadne". Through the deconstruction of these characters from their former depictions, Ovid invents new and different personas for these women. Therefore, in presenting these characters as almost caricatures of their former depictions, Ovid suppresses the strength that a lament can provide.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the goal of this thesis was to examine the motif and development of the lament of abandoned women in three Latin poets. I examined the laments of Ariadne in Catullus 64, Dido in Vergil's *Aeneid* 4 and both women's letters in Ovid's *Heroides* 7 and 10. From my examination of the depictions of lament by the three authors, it is apparent that each of these works contributed to the establishment of a new type of lamenting woman, founded on the models from Greek literature, but distinctly Roman.

In understanding female speech and lament in these Latin works, it was necessary first to understand the long tradition of grief and lament as it was depicted in Greek literature. This is because during the Late Republic literary tastes, ethics, and moral obligations of the Roman elite were changing.¹ Latin authors were using established tropes and traditions from Greek literature when creating their own works. As a neoteric author, Catullus purposefully introduced forms and models of Greek literature and Hellenistic poetry as a rejection of Roman values. Following this period, Augustan poets aimed to work with established Greek traditions in order to create a new and unique repertoire of poetic forms that could be added to a new canon of Latin literature. Vergil's works were written in the context of establishing a Roman epic that would encourage Roman's to look forward as opposed to reflecting on the recent past. Each poet of the Augustan period had a chosen Greek counterpart on whom they modelled their work; thus, one of the large influencers on Vergil's work were Homer's epics. Ovid, a contemporary of Vergil, focused his work on elegy and as Fulkerson stated, he aimed to be the chief love poet of antiquity. His works often challenged the form and genre in which he was writing, and this is particularly evident in *Heroides* 7 and 10. However, it is apparent that these works were written under the influence of

¹ Conte (1987), 144.

both Greek works and the Latin works of Catullus and Vergil. Therefore, while the purpose and context of each poet's work were different, Catullus, Vergil and Ovid all looked to and worked from the traditional narratives and concepts established in Greek literature.

Additionally, it was crucial for my understanding of lament to consider the issues inherent in the concept of "female" speech written by a man. The work of Elizabeth Harvey on the theory of ventriloquized voices proved to be highly significant for my thesis. Harvey examines the relationship between the abandoned woman and the construction of the female voice in literature. Moreover, in this relationship it is apparent that the female voice was equated to a woman's sexuality and lack of restraint; if a woman was silenced vocally, then she would be controlled sexually. Moreover, as stated earlier, lament and the act of grieving was a part of the female domain in antiquity. Dunham asserts that there was strength in women's emotional expression, and that laments were a safe opportunity for women to express themselves. As such, each poet examined in this thesis was a man appropriating not just female speech, but the most feminine of female expressions, a lament. Thus, it was essential to consider how the male ventriloquism affect the laments expressed by these female characters.

In Chapter 1, I examined Catullus' Ariadne, and I argued that Catullus established a new type of lamenting woman similar to but distinct from Medea. I concluded that Ariadne's lament was a ventriloquized voice in which the feminine aspects of her character were so conceived as to allow a male poet to convey unrestrained emotion. While Ariadne goes through a range of emotion, the strongest emotions portrayed in her lament are anger and sadness. In using models from Hellenistic epic, Homeric epic and Greek tragedy, Catullus constructed a familiar but independent character, adding this new character to the catalogue of lamenting women. The concept of hope that Ariadne expressed throughout her lament is a distinguishing aspect of her

type, not seen in the characteristic Greek laments that preceded this poem. Further, it is apparent that the narrator sympathizes and is in agreement with Ariadne's character. The agreement between narrator and character indicates that Catullus' poetic persona too sympathized and even identified with the betrayed heroine. Thus, Ariadne's lament in Poem 64 is a ventriloquized and sympathetic lament expressing feelings of grief, loss and suffering.

In Chapter 2, I analyzed Vergil's Dido, and I argued that Vergil created a literary example of a lamenting woman in his depiction of the Carthaginian queen. I concluded that on account of the numerous models and characters that Vergil was working with, Dido is a character that readers could easily relate to and as such the vast number of connections that can be made to her character makes her less realistic. As strictly a character of the lamenting woman, Dido evokes an emotional response from readers. The similarities in stories and plots of these abandoned women in literary memory (Ariadne and Medea) demonstrate that Dido is not the first woman to be seduced and then abandoned by a hero, nor will she be the last. Creating a tradition that could be continued was important for Vergil because the *Aeneid* was written in the shadow of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The *Aeneid* had to contain all the aspects of a grand epic, but it also had to maintain Roman values and reflect the spirit of the new era Augustus was hopeful to create. Dido is presented as another Ariadne or Medea; however, she did not commit the same transgressions as these characters. Consequently, it was her position as a woman in an epic itself that condemned her to her fate and established her as an example of the Roman lamenting woman.

Lastly, in chapter 3, I considered Ovid's Dido and Ariadne, and I argued that their letters portrayed a ventriloquizing and a ventriloquized voice, with the intention of demonstrating the outcomes of unrestrained emotion. I concluded that through his ventriloquizing voice Ovid

diminished the emotional strength that a character's lament can potentially have. The *Heroides* do not follow the strict traditions of any genre, and they retain elements of epic, tragedy, and elegy. Ovid's *Heroides* are an excellent example of appropriated female voices, because while highlighting the heroines by making theirs the only voice in the letters, Ovid's ventriloquizing voice depicts characteristics that demonstrate the weaknesses of these women. Both Dido and Ariadne are depicted in an entirely feminine way, including their feminine flaws. It is indicated that, on account of their feminine flaws (unrestrained desire and emotion), they have found themselves in their respective situations. Ovid suppresses the emotional weight formerly present in each lament. Therefore, through the deconstruction and then reconstruction of these characters, both of them similar to but different from their former depictions, Ovid invents new and different personas for these women. The new personas highlight the weaknesses of Dido and Ariadne. Through his ventriloquism Ovid shifts the blame from the heroes who have left onto the women he portrays.

At the beginning of this thesis I stated that both Ariadne and Dido were minor character profiles from which our poets created long lasting and unique stories. Catullus' Ariadne overthrows the main narrative of Poem 64 to steal the focus of the audience and delivers a compelling but ventriloquized lament. Vergil's Dido is equally gripping and the strength of her emotional expression in *Aeneid* 4 is highly empathetic. Ovid's Dido and Ariadne were distinct from their poetic predecessors, and while they still deliver emotional letters, Ovid's ventriloquism stunts the emotional weight previously present. From this study not only is it evident that these poets established and added to a new type of Romanized lamenting character, but they also transformed the myths of Ariadne and Dido into immortal laments that are still captivating to readers today.

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