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Four Lines to Immortality: Dido's Renaissance Through Josquin des Prez

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Editor's Note:
To preserve the format of cited passages, this article has been left in a single-column style.

Dulces exuuiae, dum fata deusque sinebat,
accipite hanc animam meque his exsoluite curis.
uixi et quem dederat cursum Fortuna peregi,
et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago.

Dear pledges of my love, while Heav'n so pleas'd,
Receive a soul, of mortal anguish eas'd:

My fatal course is finish'd; and I go,
A glorious name, among the ghosts below.

(Virgil, *Aeneid,* 4:651-654, trans. John Dryden.)[1]

With these haunting final words, the young queen of Virgil's *Aeneid,* Dido, takes her life on a flaming pyre of her lover's belongings. The death of Dido is one of the most poignant moments in classical literature. Dido begins as an independent queen who rules Carthage without the aid of a male monarch, a model of chastity devoted to her late king. When the hero of *The Aeneid*, Aeneas, arrives in Carthage, Dido is forced by the gods to fall passionately in love with him. In the course of one book, the great queen becomes a suicidal woman broken by love , and a plaything of bickering gods. After proudly resigning herself to this grisly fate, the queen goes on to curse the day Aeneas' ships touched her shores: "From yonder sea may his cold Trojan eyes discern the flames that make me ashes! Be this cruel death his omen as he sails!" (Virgil, *Aeneid,* 4:661-662, trans. Theodore C. Williams). Yet, despite Dido's arresting invective towards Aeneas, the most powerful moment of her speech is not her attack, but her submission to fate.

Many musical works recount Dido's last words; "Dido's Lament" by Purcell comes immediately to mind, as well as motet[2] settings by Alexander Agricola, Jean Mouton, Mabriano de Orto, and Orlando de Lassus, among others.[3] Josquin des Prez's setting of the queen's final speech became the model for a century of imitators. Instead of traversing into the territory of the weeping, livid woman later in the passage, the composer chose to immortalize her quiet acquiescence, setting only the four lines given above. A depiction of the Dido from a few lines later in the text shows her cursing Aeneas' arrival in Carthage and wishing for

her death to become a bad omen for his ships. These cruel words are rife with dramatic tension and musical potential. Josquin's selection of the text, which begins with *Dulces Exuviae* is a powerful indication that he interpreted the maligned queen as a symbol of strength in the face of death. Josquin's interpretation of the text became a powerful model for later composers, and his choice of text allowed Dido to go "to the ghosts below" not as a madwoman queen, but as a glorious name amidst the timeless characters of classical literature. (Dryden)

Despite the fact that Dido was best known in the Renaissance as a character, she was not an entirely fictional creation. There are many sources elaborating on the true queen. The real Dido was a Tyrian princess at the end of the 8th century B.C., known for her chastity and unwavering devotion to her slain king. When her husband was killed, Dido threw herself into service of her people, vowing never to remarry. However, she was soon pressured into a second marriage, and committed suicide so as not to betray the memory of her first husband (Schmalfeldt, 584).

Virgil altered the story for the sake of art. The poetic Dido is placed more than three hundred years before the real queen lived. Virgil changed the dates to make Dido's rule coincide with the end of the Trojan War in the 12th century B.C. (Ibid, 585). In Virgil, Aeneas is driven to the shores of Carthage by the Fates' meddling. Aeneas is the son of the goddess Venus, who is intent on destroying all obstacles to her son's realization of his destiny. As Venus is obviously well-acquainted with the consequences of unrequited love, she orders Amor (Cupid) to "enflame [Dido's] heart with a passion for Aeneas that is uncontrollable and ruinous." (Ibid, 585). This divine intervention turns the chaste queen into a lustful temptress who offers Aeneas rule of her kingdom in exchange for his love.

The apex of the fourth book is an episode in which Dido's misunderstanding begins the downward spiral that will eventually result in her death. The gods cause a horrible storm during a hunting party, forcing Aeneas and Dido to seek shelter in a cave for the night. That night, Dido breaks her vow of chastity. The love-struck queen believes that this union is a consummation of marriage, but Aeneas is bound by Fate to reject this contract and departs with his men. The queen is inconsolable at the realization that she has ruined herself, broken her vows to her dead husband, and abandoned her city for a shameful tryst. Her only solution is to cover her indignity with a swift and dramatic suicide atop a fire of Aeneas' belongings. She throws herself on the sword of her former lover, surrounded by flames.

The real Dido did kill herself, but the addition of a fire was a new one in literary tradition. Women in mythology often took their own lives by hanging, poison, and the sword (Edgeworth, 129). The fire was a dramatic and unusual addition to the story. Ancient historians Polybius and Appian both wrote accounts of the fall of Carthage, and it is in their writings that one finds the basis for Virgil's Dido (Edgeworth, 131). Virgil did his research on Carthage; Polybius tells of the death of the anonymous final queen of Carthage in 146 B.C. The unnamed woman was married to the Carthaginian commander Hasdrubel, and when the city was seized, he willingly surrendered to Africanus. Reportedly, Hasdrubel's wife walked out of the temple of Eshmoun with her young children in tow. She set fire to the building and reproached her husband for his shameful capitulation (Edgeworth, 131). Appian attributes a rather dramatic final speech to the historical queen:

> 'Wretch,' she exclaimed, 'traitor, most effeminate of men, this fire will entomb me and my children. But as for you, what Roman triumph will you, the leader of great Carthage, decorate? Ah, what punishment will you not receive from him at whose feet you are now sitting?'[4]

After scolding her own husband for his submission to the enemy, the anonymous queen submits herself and her children to the flaming temple.

The death of Dido is heavily symbolic in the scope of Virgil's epic; Dido's love has caused not only her undoing but the fall of her beloved city as well. The flames of Dido's funeral pyre represent her inner turmoil caused by her doomed relationship with Aeneas. The queen had a powerful will that first attracted Aeneas and a sense of duty to her people that is meant to mirror Aeneas' end goal of founding the great Roman race. Dido is a puppet of the gods, enflamed with love in order to derail the young hero from his destiny. From there Dido descends into rage, reproach for Aeneas, and her eventual death aboard the funeral pyre.[5]

The dichotomy between the historical and fictional Dido is the difference between a martyr for chastity and a timeless romantic tragedy. While the unsullied queen may have been a powerful moral example, the impure Dido becomes

a timeless inspiration. Her side of the story inspired immediate sympathy; Ovid wrote a collection of fictional responses from the scorned women in mythology called the Heroides, each written as a letter in the lyrical elegiac couplet. The seventh book contains a large letter from Dido to Aeneas.[6] Ovid's Dido is increasingly sympathetic; her letter moves from disparaging to reproachful to pathetic at times. She begins by stating that the letter is not meant to win Aeneas back:

> Not because I hope that you can be moved by my prayers
> Do I speak--I speak them with the gods against me;
> But having lost, miserably, my merit and reputation, my virtue
> Of body and spirit, to lose words is a small thing (trans. Hunter, lines 3-6).

Yet Dido's letter is full of intent. She wants to curse Aeneas; she wants to reflect on her mistakes and her impending suicide. She is sarcastic: "Are you determined, Aeneas, to release your promises with your ships," (Ibid, line 9), She wishes a sweeter revenge than her false lover's swift death:

> Live, I pray you. Thus I shall destroy you more fully than by death.
> Rather, you shall be said to be the cause of my death.
> Consider that you are seized--may there be no weight to the omen--
> By a fierce storm; what will be in your mind?
> Immediately will come the perjury of your false tongue,
> And Dido driven to die by Phrygian[7] deception (Ibid, 63-78).

The queen speaks extensively of what she has given up for her foolish love. She tells of the suspicious death of her husband, and her journey to distant soil to found Carthage. She speaks of the wars and ardent suitors that assailed her because she was a foreign woman leading a prosperous city: "I purchase this shore, traitor, which I gave to you. I founded a city, and set down extensive walls."(Ibid, 118-119).

Ovid's Dido even speaks of scandal-- the potential that more than one life could be taken up by the flames:

> Perhaps also it is a pregnant Dido, evil one, whom you abandon,
> And a part of me lies hidden in my body.
> The wretched infant will join the fate of the mother,
> And you will be the author of the death of your unborn child (Ibid, 138-143).

Her closing words after this invective diatribe are powerful: "If you are ashamed of me as a wife, then let me be called not bride but hostess; So long as she is yours, Dido will be what you wish." (Ibid, 172-173).

Ovid's Dido is more emotionally unstable than Virgil's. Her letter changes moods frequently and describes an incredibly bitter fallen queen. The example, however, serves to illuminate Virgil's importance. His episode with Dido has changed from a side quest in the greater scheme of Aeneas' epic to a work of art in itself. Many works since have recreated the monarch's internal monologue, fraught with strife and reproach for the supposed hero of the epic. This tradition of sympathy extended well into the late 16th century in musical settings as well as literary interpretation.

The practice of setting Latin classical texts as motets is not uncommon in musical history. The form of the motet was originally derived from liturgical chant accented with secular poetry. The secular text was considered an allegorical elaboration of the themes in the sacred text (Randel, 529). While the motet is generally thought of as a genre sacred to Christianity, Tinctoris' 1495 dictionary of musical terminology states that a motet could be on any subject, though sacred texts were the most common (Randel, 530). Thus, one could make exceptions for secular texts from classical Latin poetry.

Fifteenth century education relied on the ancient Roman epics as teaching tools. Albert Seay, a musicology professor at Colorado College, wrote on medieval exposure to classical texts and the use of classical metrics in music. He states:

> The study of the three great Golden Age poets (and others as well) remained as one of the strongest parts of the school curriculum, with every student eventually taken through the classics. With the renewed interest in the classics during the fifteenth century and with the beginnings of printing as a way of diffusion of texts, the audience for the Latin classics (and the Greek ones as well) became a wide one indeed…(Seay, 64).

Furthermore, historical sources in Seay show that the memorization of classical poetry was aided by the use of song. Seay documents the symbiosis of music and Latin education:

> In teaching the classics, music was called into service as a valuable instructional aid. Instead of merely reciting those sections of *the Aeneid* that one had learned by straight memorization, some devised simple ways of singing them, so that they would be easier to recall (IBID, 64).

In the late 15th century composers would have been indoctrinated into the association of music with classical Latin. Tinctoris makes mention of Virgil, Ovid, or Horace in all twenty chapters of his treatise *Complex of the Effects of Music* (IBID, 64). Perhaps it was not such a stretch of the imagination for a composer to utilize these highly elevated texts in pursuit of artistic expression.

Dido became a popular subject in Renaissance music. The text that gained the greatest prominence was derived from the queen's final speech in book four of the Aeneid. While the speech is rife with inflammatory passages and stately language, the four lines that were singled out for musical setting by Josquin des Prez became emblematic of Dido's entire saga. The original Latin is given above.

It is useful to compare several translations in order to understand these lines fully. John Dryden's translation, given above, attempts to make English poetry of the Latin text. Dryden utilizes rhyme and iambic pentameter in his translation, which indicates that he was not simply aiming to translate the Latin text for his readers. He attempts to create English poetry as rich and meaningful as the original Latin. His ability to recast the original text demonstrates a sophisticated understanding of the poetry, and his version is to be applauded for its individual artistic endeavor.

A second translation by Theodore Williams is a more literal treatment, though the language is still lofty.

> Sweet relics! Ever dear when Fate and Heaven
> upon me smiled, receive my parting breath,
> and from my woe set free! My life is done.
> I have accomplished what my lot allowed;
> and now my spirit to the world of death
> in royal honor goes (Trans. Williams, lines 651-654).

This translation follows the word order as it appears in the Latin. Even though the English seems to be slightly out of place, this translation demonstrates that Virgil writes carefully to the meter, arranging the words so that they fit the dactylic hexameter[8] scheme used in all Roman epic poetry. A more literal translation might have read: "and now in royal honor, my spirit goes to the world of death."

Nigel Coulton's translation is particularly helpful in analyzing musical examples of the *Dulces Exuviae*. His translation is given as part of in the introduction to an edition of five Virgil motet settings from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This translation utilizes plain language and follows the Latin progression directly:

> What he has left behind, sweet to me while fate and god allowed,
>
> take this my life and release me from these my woes.
>
> I have lived a life and completed the journey that fate gave me,
>
> and now my proud spirit will go beneath the earth (Trans. Coulton, lines 651-654).

Some of the most important features of these four lines are the in nature of Dido's words. Her tone is calm for a woman about to impale herself on her former lover's sword. Regardless of how she fell in love with Aeneas, Dido still dies a queen. She realizes that her destiny is not her own, but dominated by the whims of Fate as stated in the line that reads "uixi et quem dederat cursum Fortuna peregi."

Oliver Strunk, a founding member of the American Musicological Society who is a prominent editor and writer for the society's journal, suggests that this section lends itself to a motet setting because the four lines are complete in themselves. Longer passages would have been far more cumbersome to set to music (Strunk, 488). The composer's poetic association of a tragic queen going solemnly to her death is a poignant text that is easy to manipulate with musical devices for heightened emotional impact. This sentiment is echoed by Leofranc Holford-Strevens, a prominent Renaissance scholar, as well: "Dido's lament seems to draw the composers in because her final words are not simply broken and love-struck, but full of pride and a resignation to fate." (Holford-Strevens, 371).

The University of Florida's motet database lists 26 motets from the late 14th through the 15th and 16th centuries (Thomas).[9] Composers from Josquin des Prez to Orlando di Lasso are represented. In nearly all of the examples, the motets consist of the four lines beginning with "dulces exuviae." Only Orlando di Lasso in his 1570 setting extends the text to include more of the speech (Guentner, 66). The Josquin setting uses lines 651-654; Lasso continues on to line 660. The resulting composition is far longer than any of the other examples, but it is also one of the last incarnations of the *Dulces exuviae* motet.

Josquin's setting of the *Dulces exuviae* is attributed to the composer in a manuscript from Brussels/Mechelen dated between 1516-1522 (Thomas). This makes Josquin's one of the earliest extant settings of the text. Josquin's work is highly attentive to the meaning of the Latin, and his overwhelming emphasis seems to be the repetition of important words and phrases and imitative gestures between parts. The motet does not give rhythmic emphasis to support the dactylic hexameter of the original poetry (Guentner, 64). However, the piece's structure is carefully organized by the Latin text; each major cadence[10] occurs at the end of a poetic line, and each new point of imitation occurs at the beginning of a poetic line. Josquin's compositional style in this motet is centered around the clarity and meaning of the text rather than complicated melodic innovations.

As the text is so short, Josquin divides many of the poetic lines into two units. The effect of this division is maintained clarity of text declamation in spite of the imitative horizontal motion. However, Josquin reserves prominent cadences (with authentic, or 5-1 bass motion) for the true ends of poetic lines. The strongest cadences occur at m.14 ("sinebat," the end of the first poetic line), m.22 ("curis," the end of line 2), m.33 (on "peregi," the end of line 3), and the final, drawn-out cadence in the last measure. The Dorian cadence at m.14 comes to a complete stop before moving to "accipite hanc" in m.15. The large cadence in m.22 (on "curis," also in Dorian) has a similar sensation of coming to a complete rest before continuing. While there are passing notes in the alto part, they come to rest in m.23 before the half note motion on "vixi et quem."

One of the most striking cadences occurs at the end of the third line, in measure thirty three, on the words "magna mei." The soprano line has an ascending motion to the cadence which seems to highlight Dido's pride. The words "magna mei," which refer to her great name, and the ascending music seems to give the word a majestic emphasis. The bass also moves in a 2-1 motion instead of the stronger 5-1. However, this cadence occurs in the middle of a poetic line, and so the 2-1 motion is likely intentional. The beginning of the piece has a few smaller cadential gestures at the midpoints of lines,

such as m. 10 (in the middle of "dum fata") and m.12 (in the middle of "deusque"), but these gestures are not as strong as the other cadences because one of the voices immediately moves to the next note or word of text.

The final cadence is particularly striking. The piece ends on a Phrygian cadence while the other cadences of the piece are predominantly in Dorian. The 2-1 motion of the bass lacks the strength of a 5-1, and the soprano does not rest on the final note of G, but ascends in the second half of the bar to a B. This rise gives the final measure an open-ended sound, and the ascending note contrasts with the numerous descending figures that appear before it. The last note gives a sense of ambiguity to what should be the final resolution. Because it follows a piece characterized by calm pride, this last measure's uncertainty lends a subtle drama to Dido's plight. The open-ended nature implies questions without answers, life without understanding, death without resolution.

Despite Josquin's frequent use of imitation and repetition (particularly in the first two lines of the poem), the four voices are rarely more than a measure apart in their declamation of the text. Often, the ends of poetic lines are clearly marked with long note values, and other voices begin the imitation anew over the previously held note. A good example is in the middle of the first line of text. In m.8 of Bernard Thomas's edition of the piece[11], the soprano line holds a G on the "ae" of "exuviae" for the length of a double whole note while the other three voices move on to "dum fata" in half and quarter notes.

A particularly striking entrance occurs in the second line of poetry, on "accipite hanc," where Dido implores death to receive her life. The rhythm seems to fit the word particularly well; "accipite" is declaimed on a half note, two quarter notes, and another half note in m. 15, and carried through all four voices. It is an interesting contrast from the long values of the first entrance on "dulces," which is written mostly in whole notes and double whole notes. The alto and bass lines declaim the text together on this striking rhythm. This effect is imitated in m. 30, where the soprano and tenor lines have the same eighth-note rhythm on "peregi." This echoes the previous settings of "accipite" in the other two voices, and shows Josquin's attention to vocal groupings. His setting of *Dulces exuviae* may not be chordal, but he is by no means ignorant of the vertical interaction of his vocal lines. His attention to rhythmic affect is a source of beauty in the music.

No voice sings the exact poem in its unadulterated form. Each voice has repetitions of words or entire phrases. Other settings of the text assign the entire poem in at least one voice.[12] De Orto chooses to place the pure line in the soprano, and the anonymous setting from the Bernard Thomas edition places the unadorned version in the tenor. This lack of an untouched line in Josquin highlights certain words of the text.

One such word is "cursum" (mm. 25-28). All four voices have overlapping melismas[13] on this word, which means "course" or "journey." This is a vivid example of text painting, as the winding lines imply the winding course of the life Dido has lived. A melisma is a musical journey, and a fitting device for demonstrating the difficult path Dido has had to travel. Josquin's voices each have unique patterns of repetition. Whether these repetitions were simply for vertical alignment or for word emphasis, they give weight to certain words of the short text. The soprano, for example, repeats the words "dulces exuviae" and "sinebat" twice each, emphasizing the belongings that represent the last vestige of her lover and an active memory of the past. "Sinebat" is in the imperfect tense, a tense for habitual past action. She is reflecting on the items Aeneas left behind, and the brevity of her affair "sweet to me while fate and god allowed" with the future founder of Rome (trans. Coulton).

The alto also focuses on the introductory material of the poem. The line repeats "dulces exuviae" (sweet relics) twice, "dum fata" (while Fate) three times, "deusque" (and God) twice, and "curis" (woes) twice. The "dulces exuviae," "dum fata," and "deusque" are all extracted from the first line of the poem. The second voice emphasizes the two forces that caused Dido's love of Aeneas: "fata" (Fate) and "deusque" (and God). The alto becomes slightly mournful in its repetition of "curis" (woes). The alto emphasizes the queen's wish for release from earthly anguish. The bass line repeats "exuviae" twice and "dum fata" twice. This pattern, coupled with the voices above it, shows a stronger sense of repetition in the beginning of the poem more traditional declamation at the end. The second, third, and first half of the fourth poetic lines rely more on melismatic material than on simple repetition.

One of the most arresting aspects of the piece is Josquin's treatment of the final words "sub terras ibit imago" (I will go beneath the Earth, line 654). The soprano repeats "sub terras ibit imago" three times, followed by two repetitions of the "ibit imago," which gives the sensation of fading into her accepted fate (mm. 34-43). The alto repeats "sub terras ibit imago" twice, followed by four repetitions of "ibit imago," which reinforces the feeling of the soprano (mm. 33-43). The tenor line is an even weaker echo; it does not repeat the whole phrase but begins with three repetitions of the "ibit imago" and fades to four repetitions of the "imago" (mm. 34-43).

The bass makes its most adamant word repetitions at the end of the motet. Copied exactly from the Bernard Thomas edition (mm. 32-43), it reads: "sub terras, sub terras, sub terras ibit, sub terras ibit imago, sub terras ibit imago, ibit imago." The bass has the most repetitions of the phrase, begins the line the earliest, and sings it in the lowest range. The effect of the bass' repetition pattern is to cause suspense. The full line is not revealed until its fourth iteration in mm. 37-39. There is a sense of reluctance in its unwillingness to provide the entire text at first. It undermines Dido's resolve. Perhaps there is a twinge of doubt. Perhaps she is slightly afraid of her death and is stuttering to get the words out. This phrase echoes again and again in the voices, the way it might sound in a cave if spoken aloud. The repetition and descending note patterns enforce the finality of Dido's words as she announces her death. Whether or not the queen is afraid to die, she has decided to do so, and this fitting close to the motet reflects her persistence. Perhaps the repetitions are a source of strength; a method of steeling herself for her encounter with Aeneas' sword.

Josquin's *Dulces Exuviae* does not clutter the text with over-wrought counterpoint[14]. The spare quality to the echoed interactions between lines is quite arresting. The voices move with such calculated intervals through the text that one hears Josquin's emotional interpretation of the classical text. Dido's words gain a quietly haunting quality through this motet that can only be fully realized through performance. There is a slow, stately feeling to the piece, even when note values diminish from double-whole notes to eighth notes. There is a sense of broadening calm and contemplation. Dido's words are expressed with the grace of one of the finest composers of the Renaissance.

Josquin may never have chosen to set Dido's speech had Virgil's poetry not been such a ubiquitous teaching tool for the Latin language. Classical poetry was the gateway to the Latin of the Church. The use of the great Roman epics in the classroom provided a venerable canon of works, along with the liturgy, that could serve as an acceptable source of artistic inspiration for Renaissance composers. The study of these epics alongside Biblical texts legitimized their allegorical connection to the liturgical works. However, Virgil's rebirth in the classroom was fueled not only by the strength of his poetry, but also by others viewing him as a prophet of Christ.

One reason for the Church's adoption of Virgil appears in the Fourth Eclogue[15], written in 40 B.C.[16] The beginnings of this allegorical intervention seem to stem from Emperor Constantine in 324 A.D. His quotation of the Eclogue gave the work prominence in the newly Christian empire. The language of the Fourth Eclogue[17] is lofty and somewhat vague, yet its message is well suited for Christian interpretation. Virgil states early in the work that the birth of one child will change the course of humanity, that a great race shall arise from the arrival of this sacred child. A translation of the Latin states:

> Justice returns, returns old Saturn's reign,
> With a new breed of men sent down from heaven.
> Only do thou, at the boy's birth in whom
> The iron shall cease, the golden race arise (Trans. MacKail, lines 8-11).

Men of the Catholic Church saw themselves as this new race whose golden age was ushered in by the birth of Jesus.

The Eclogue elaborates on the blessings brought forth by child's birth. The poem speaks of gods and men living harmoniously, a fertile and abundant earth, and an age of great joy and wisdom under the rule of the child and his father. It even suggests Christ's ability to forgive sin.

> Under thy guidance, whatso tracks remain
> Of our old wickedness, once done away,
> Shall free the earth from never-ceasing fear.

The holy nature of the child and his relationship with divinity, particularly his father, is also clearly stated.

> He shall receive the life of gods, and see
> Heroes with gods commingling, and himself
> Be seen of them, and with his father's worth
> Reign o'er a world at peace (trans. MacKail, lines 19-22).

Parallels to Biblical imagery can be easily drawn from the text; even the serpent from the Garden of Eden seems to make an appearance: "The serpent too shall die." (Ibid, line 31). Because the serpent's death is mentioned among the many results of the boy's birth, it also indicates a significant parallel to the triumph of Christ over evil. Because the poem is written in flowery prose, pastoral references and suggestions of divinity cause the Church to see Virgil's Eclogue as a reverent prophecy of Christ.

Modern Classical scholars have attributed the Eclogue to more plausible subjects than the future Messiah. An heir of Octavian, Marc Anthony, or Virgil's patron, Pollio, could have been the original subject of the poem (Townend, 70). Yet the similarity of Virgil's predictive language to Biblical accounts was particularly striking to medieval readers, and thus the Church elevated him from poet to prophet (Thompson, 648).

Beyond the poetry itself, association with some of the most highly revered figures in the Church gave Virgil a place of prominence. St. Augustine recounts in his Confessions his experience reading the Aeneid and how he was moved by the fourth book (Schmalfeldt, 615)[18]. St. Augustine speaks extensively of his education in Carthage, and the impact of his encounters with the great Greek and Roman poets. He chastises himself for his secular pity for Dido for several paragraphs.

> Who is more pitiful than a pitiable man without pity for himself-one who weeps for Dido, dead because she loved Aeneas, but not for himself, dead because he failed to love you, God, my heart's enlightener, the feeder of my soul's inner hunger, the vital principle breeding depth of thought out of my intelligence? I was the abandoner, the faithless lover, and my faithlessness earned the world's Bravo! Bravo!-since love of the world is abandonment of you, and the world cries Bravo! Bravo! to keep its own in line. For all this I had no tears, only tears for Dido, exploring with the sword her utmost doom (Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. Wills, 16).

Virgil also appears extensively in the Divine Comedy, Dante Alighieri's fourteenth century epic poem about a Christian soul's journey towards salvation. Virgil appears as a spiritual guide through hell and purgatory. Dante so respected Virgil that he is presented as a guiding force in a work centered on Christian themes. Despite the writer's obvious admiration for his pagan predecessor, Dante was well aware of the boundaries; the polytheistic poet cannot pass into Paradise. Even viewed as a prophet of Christ, Virgil still had the impurities of his former religion to contend with (Hollander, 2)

So why is Dido such a lasting figure? After all, as Schmalfeldt writes, "…it was for Dido, not Aeneas, that Augustine wept."(Schmalfeldt, 593). If *The Aeneid* were reinterpreted to allegorically represent the journey of the soul towards Christian salvation, then what part does Dido play? Much of book four undermines a Christian interpretation of *The Aeneid*, because she breaks a long standing vow of chastity. Should Dido not be resigned to the role of Aeneas' temptress, loathed for her manipulation of the pure hero? Christian teachings forbid illicit sex out of wedlock, and both of Virgil's characters are guilty of lust.

Virgil's Dido is not a reformed temptress. She does not succeed in seducing Aeneas into staying in Carthage and becoming her king, so, she takes her own life so as to escape her broken vow and her shame. Dido chooses not to atone for her sins in a Christian manner; she commits suicide, one of the most abhorrent sins in Christianity. If anything, Dido's role is to undermine Aeneas' purity; he sleeps with the formerly chaste queen, yet has no intention of remaining in Carthage to care for her as a second husband.

It appears that the continued fascination with the Carthaginian queen was due to the unresolved tensions in Virgil's treatment of Dido with respect to Aeneas' quest. There is an aspect of cruelty in Aeneas' treatment of Dido; yet all is forgiven in the name of destiny. Aeneas' shortcomings are accepted as divine intervention and gods' attempts to

interfere with destiny. The queen is simply a pawn of meddling deities; however, the supposedly pious Aeneas could have refused her love the night of the storm. While Aeneas continues his quest with no consequences for his actions, Dido is left dead at the end of the fourth book. Dido is a victim of Aeneas and gods, and yet she is the one who loses her life. Her love was not true; it was induced. Perhaps she would never have fallen for Aeneas if Amor had not intervened.

Dido's apparent lack of free will suggests an interesting interpretation of her character. If one looks upon the queen as a miserable pawn in Aeneas' destiny, meant to derail his search for Rome by vindictive deities, then her story becomes sympathetic. Dido becomes a victim of the gods in a game gone horribly awry. Thus, the true Dido is a strong, chaste woman ruling her city without a husband, before she is led astray by lust. It is this victimization that seems to have inspired Renaissance characterizations of Dido as the pure queen brought to ruin by Fate.

Dido is not only a pawn of the gods; she is also used as a poetic tool, meant only to serve as Aeneas' foil and display how his destiny could fall apart through love. She is the mirror of Aeneas; after all, "Both are widowed and in exile, both are obeying commands to found a new city and serve as its magistrate…" (Schmalfeldt, 588). Dido represents everything he is meant to achieve as the fated ruler of a thriving city.[19] This aspect shows her strength and the source of her pride.

Virgil, for all of his poetic genius and classical hexameters, might never have imagined a future in which he would be hailed as a prophet of a Messiah or an inspiration for dozens of musical compositions. While Virgil's poetry glorifies the ideals and virtues of his native Roman Empire, the artistic resonance of Dido has been felt across disciplines for centuries. Yet without the reception of his texts as Christian allegory, the fascination with Virgil might never have occurred in the middle ages. Sacred interpretation is what caused the Aeneid to be canonized in the fifteenth century, and this reevaluation of the epic allowed Dido to be reborn as an unwitting victim and not relegated to the role of godless temptress.

Virgil became a symbol of Christian prophecy. Likewise, his works gained new life centuries later in motet settings of his poetry. This shift is where the true value of the epic becomes apparent. Through fictionalization, Dido evolves into a contemporary of Aeneas, temporally displaced three hundred years to the aftermath of the Trojan War. Her kingdom symbolizes the destruction of love at the hands of the gods, the incredible sacrifice that the deities are willing to make for the life of one man. The sacrifice of the gods is not simply one human life, but the death of an entire civilization for the sake of the Roman race. Dido has become a tragic heroine, monolithic symbol far beyond the flesh.

Ironically, Virgil gained immortality in the Renaissance not through his hero Aeneas, but through a broken queen, a victim of fate and spurned love. Dido's farewell imparts a melancholy journey to the realm of the dead which inspired Josquin and subsequent composers to set her final speech to music. Josquin's motet interpreted Dido not as one of the many spurned women of antiquity, but as a proud symbol of acceptance. The queen's final words become evocative subjects for musical invention, and Josquin's emphasis on repetition and clarity of text declamation demonstrate a reverence for the meaning of the words. For all of the viable poetry in book four of the Aeneid, Josquin's chose to single out four lines that both immortalized Dido in music and portrayed her as a wronged heroine. *The Aeneid* thus became a permanent source for musical allusion that ensures that Dido will eternally go to her grave with her proud name intact.

Appendix One

Passages Surrounding the Dulces Exuviae with Dryden and Williams Translations

Dardanium, non hos quaesitum munus in usus.
hic, postquam Iliacas uestis notumque cubile
conspexit, paulum lacrimis et mente morata
incubuitque toro dixitque nouissima uerba:
'dulces exuuiae, dum fata deusque sinebat,
accipite hanc animam meque his exsoluite curis.
uixi et quem dederat cursum Fortuna peregi,
et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago.
urbem praeclaram statui, mea moenia uidi,
ulta uirum poenas inimico a fratre recepi,
felix, heu nimium felix, si litora tantum
numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae.'
dixit, et os impressa toro 'moriemur inultae,
sed moriamur' ait. 'sic, sic iuuat ire sub umbras.
hauriat hunc oculis ignem crudelis ab alto
Dardanus, et nostrae secum ferat omina mortis.'

Then swiftly to the fatal place she pass'd,
And mounts the fun'ral pile with furious haste;
Unsheathes the sword the Trojan left behind
(Not for so dire an enterprise design'd).
But when she view'd the garments loosely spread,
Which once he wore, and saw the conscious bed,
She paus'd, and with a sigh the robes embrac'd;
Then on the couch her trembling body cast,
Repress'd the ready tears, and spoke her last:
"Dear pledges of my love, while Heav'n so pleas'd,
Receive a soul, of mortal anguish eas'd:
My fatal course is finish'd; and I go,
A glorious name, among the ghosts below.
A lofty city by my hands is rais'd,
Pygmalion punish'd, and my lord appeas'd.
What could my fortune have afforded more,
Had the false Trojan never touch'd my shore!"
Then kiss'd the couch; and, "Must I die," she said,
"And unreveng'd? 'T is doubly to be dead!
Yet ev'n this death with pleasure I receive:
On any terms, 't is better than to live.
These flames, from far, may the false Trojan view;
These boding omens his base flight pursue!" (Dryden Translation)

There she leaped,
a frenzied creature, on the lofty pyre
and drew the Trojan's sword; a gift not asked
for use like this! When now she saw the garb
of Ilian fashion, and the nuptial couch
she knew too well, she lingered yet awhile
for memory and tears, and, falling prone
on that cold bed, outpoured a last farewell:

"Sweet relics! Ever dear when Fate and Heaven
upon me smiled, receive my parting breath,
and from my woe set free! My life is done.
I have accomplished what my lot allowed;
and now my spirit to the world of death
in royal honor goes. The founder I
of yonder noble city, I have seen
walls at my bidding rise. I was avenged
for my slain husband: I chastised the crimes
of our injurious brother. Woe is me!
Blest had I been, beyond deserving blest,
if but the Trojan galleys ne'er had moored
upon my kingdom's bound!"

So saying, she pressed
one last kiss on the couch. "Though for my death
no vengeance fall, O, give me death!" she cried.
"O thus! O thus! it is my will to take
the journey to the dark. From yonder sea
may his cold Trojan eyes discern the flames
that make me ashes! Be this cruel death
his omen as he sails!" (Theodore C. Williams translation)

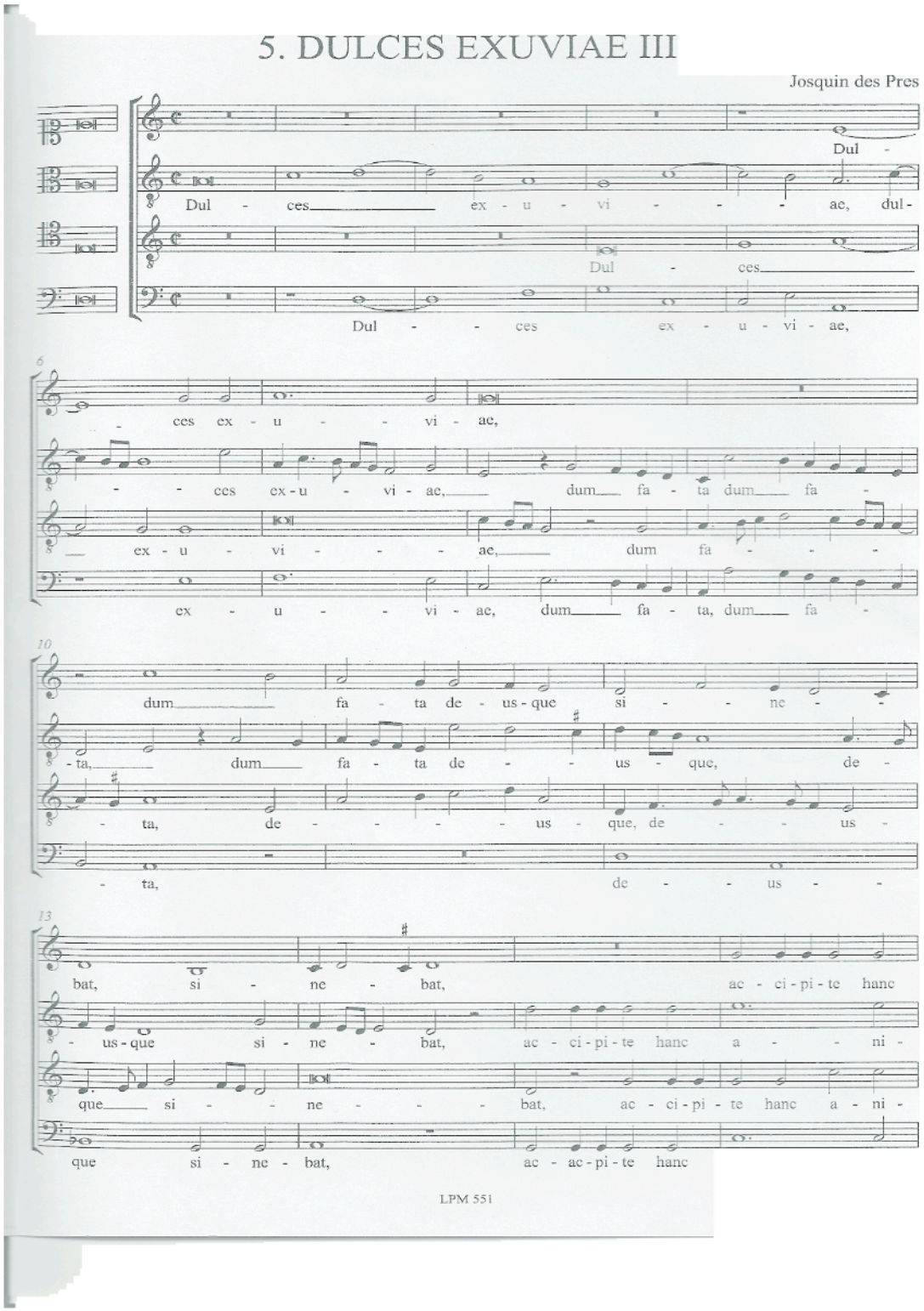
Appendix Two

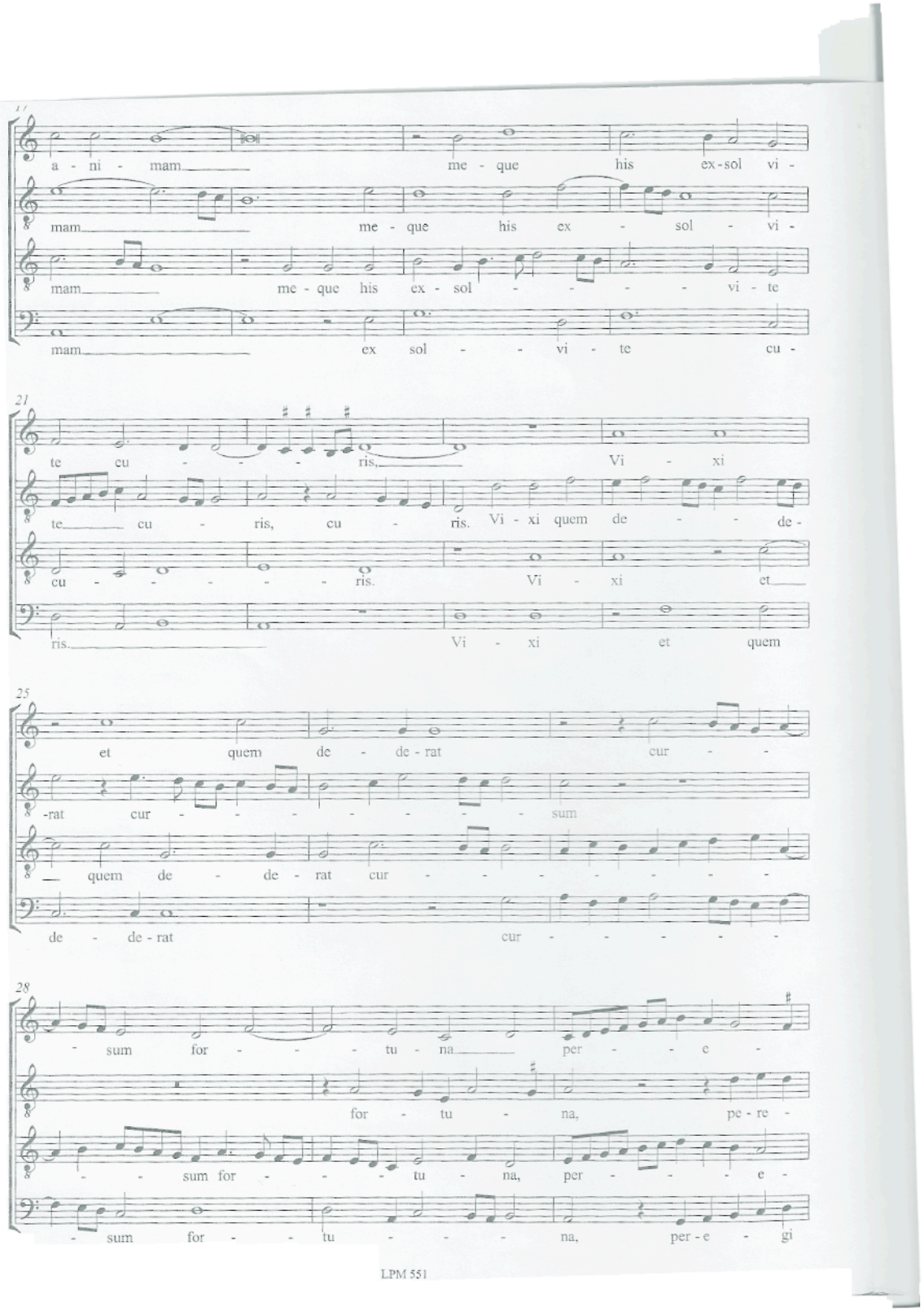
MOTET Online Database listings for Dulces Exuviae

#	Composer	Source	Ed. date	Publisher or Scribe	City	Country
1	Agricola, Alexander	LonBLR 8 G. vii	1516-22	Alamire, Petrus	Brussels/Mechelen	Belgium
2	Desprez, Josquin	LonBLR 8 G. vii	1516-22	Alamire, Petrus	Brussels/Mechelen	Belgium
3	Mouton, Jean	LonBLR 8 G. vii	1516-22	Alamire, Petrus	Brussels/Mechelen	Belgium
4	Johannes Ghiselin	LonBLR 8 G. vii	1516-22	Alamire, Petrus	Brussels/Mechelen	Belgium
5		LonBLR 8 G. vii	1516-22	Alamire, Petrus	Brussels/Mechelen	Belgium
6	Willaert, Adrian	MunBS 274a	1540-60, c.		Augsburg	Germany
7	Peschin, Gregor	RegB B220-2	1540-60, c.		Salzburg?	Austria
8		BrusBR 228	1519, c.	Neth Ct. "C" or "X"	Brussels/Mechelen	Belgium
9	Orto, Mabrianus de	BrusBR 228	1519, c.	Neth Ct. "C" or "X"	Brussels/Mechelen	Belgium
10	Ghiselin, Johannes	Selectissimae necnon fam. cant.	1540/7	Kriesstein	Augsburg	Germany
11	Willaert/Mouton	Tricinia. Tum veterum tum recentiorum in arte musica symphonistarum	1542/8	Rhau	Wittenberg	Germany
12	Ghiselin, Johannes	WittenL 1048	1524-38			Germany
13	Freminot	BergBC 1209	1545	Albertis, Gaspar		Germany (Bavaria)
14	Willaert, Adrian	Concentus 8, 6, 5, 4 vc, omnium iucundisimi	1545/2	Ulhard	Augsburg	Germany
15	Mudarra, Alonso	Alonso Mudarra: Tres libros de musica en cifras para vihuela		Juan de Leon	Seville	Spain
16	Willaert, Adrian	Sacrarum cantionum 4 vc Bk 3	1547/5	Susato	Antwerp	Belgium
17	Willaert/Mouton	RegB 940-1	1557-59	Wolfang Küffer +	Regensburg/ Wittenburg	Germany (Bavaria)
18	Brätel, Ulrich	KasL 38	1535-66 in MS	Heugel, Johann	Kassel	Germany
19	Desprez, Josquin	Tertia pars magni operis musici	1559/2	Berg & Neuber	Nürnberg	Germany
20	Mouton, Jean	Tertia pars magni operis musici	1559/2	Berg & Neuber	Nürnberg	Germany
21	Lassus, Orlande de	MunBS 20	1550, post			Germany
22	Willaert/Mouton	Symphoniae iucundae atque adeo breves quatuor vocum	1538/8	Rhau	Wittenberg	Germany
23	Agricola, Alexander	AugsS 142a	1505-14		Augsburg	Germany
24	Orto, Mabrianus de	FlorC 2439	1506-14	Bourgeois, Martin?	Brussels/Mechelen	Belgium
25	Willaert/Mouton	SGallS 463 (Tschudi Liederbuch)	1540 ff	Tschudi, Aegidius	Glarus	Switzerland
26	Ghiselin, Johannes	SGallS 463 (Tschudi Liederbuch	1540 ff	Tschudi, Aegidius	Glarus	Switzerland

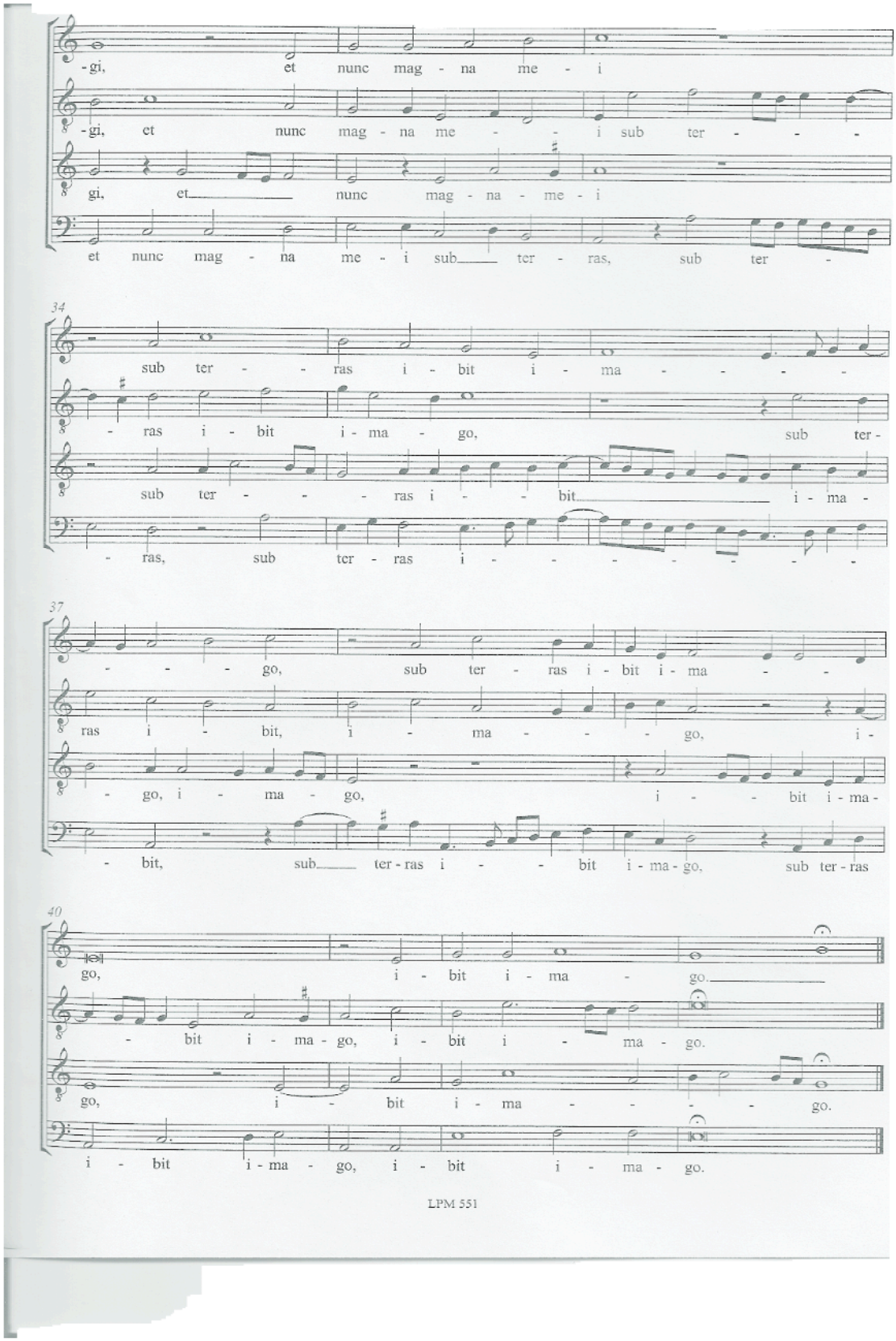
Appendix Three

Bernard Thomas' Edition of the *Dulces exuviae* by Josquin des Prez




11
a - ni - mam me - que his ex-sol vi -
mam me - que his ex - sol - vi -
mam me - que his ex - sol - - - - vi - te
mam ex sol - - vi - te cu -
21
te cu - - - - ris, Vi - xi
te cu - ris, cu - ris. Vi - xi quem de - - - de -
cu - - - - - - ris. Vi - xi et
ris. Vi - xi et quem
25
et quem de - de - rat cur - -
-rat cur - - - - - - - - sum
quem de - de - rat cur - - - - - - - -
de - de - rat cur - - - - - -
28
- sum for - - - - tu - na per - - - e -
for - tu - na, pe - re -
- - sum for - - - - tu - na, per - - - - e -
- sum for - - - tu - - - - na, per - e - gi

LPM 551


-gi, et nunc mag - na me - i
-gi, et nunc mag - na me - - i sub ter - - -
gi, et nunc mag - na - me - i
et nunc mag - na me - i sub ter - ras, sub ter -
34
sub ter - - - ras i - bit i - ma - - - -
- ras i - bit i - ma - go, sub ter -
sub ter - - - - ras i - - - bit i - ma -
- ras, sub ter - ras i - - - - - - - -
37
- - - go, sub ter - ras i - bit i - ma - -
ras i - bit, i - ma - - - go, i -
- go, i - ma - go, i - - bit i - ma -
- bit, sub ter - ras i - - bit i - ma - go, sub ter - ras
40
go, i - bit i - ma - go.
- bit i - ma - go, i - bit i - ma - go.
go, i - bit i - ma - - - - go.
i - bit i - ma - go, i - bit i - ma - go.

LPM 551

Appendix Four

Virgil's Fourth Eclogue

Translated J.W. MacKail

POLLIO

Muses of Sicily, essay we now
A somewhat loftier task! Not all men love
Coppice or lowly tamarisk: sing we woods,
Woods worthy of a Consul let them be.
Now the last age by Cumae's Sibyl sung
Has come and gone, and the majestic roll
Of circling centuries begins anew:
Justice returns, returns old Saturn's reign,
With a new breed of men sent down from heaven.
Only do thou, at the boy's birth in whom
The iron shall cease, the golden race arise,
Befriend him, chaste Lucina; 'tis thine own
Apollo reigns. And in thy consulate,
This glorious age, O Pollio, shall begin,
And the months enter on their mighty march.
Under thy guidance, whatso tracks remain
Of our old wickedness, once done away,
Shall free the earth from never-ceasing fear.
He shall receive the life of gods, and see
Heroes with gods commingling, and himself
Be seen of them, and with his father's worth
Reign o'er a world at peace. For thee, O boy,
First shall the earth, untilled, pour freely forth
Her childish gifts, the gadding ivy-spray
With foxglove and Egyptian bean-flower mixed,
And laughing-eyed acanthus. Of themselves,
Untended, will the she-goats then bring home
Their udders swollen with milk, while flocks afield
Shall of the monstrous lion have no fear.
Thy very cradle shall pour forth for thee
Caressing flowers. The serpent too shall die,
Die shall the treacherous poison-plant, and far
And wide Assyrian spices spring. But soon
As thou hast skill to read of heroes' fame,
And of thy father's deeds, and inly learn
What virtue is, the plain by slow degrees
With waving corn-crops shall to golden grow,
From the wild briar shall hang the blushing grape,
And stubborn oaks sweat honey-dew. Nathless
Yet shall there lurk within of ancient wrong
Some traces, bidding tempt the deep with ships,

Gird towns with walls, with furrows cleave the earth.
Therewith a second Tiphys shall there be,
Her hero-freight a second Argo bear;
New wars too shall arise, and once again
Some great Achilles to some Troy be sent.
Then, when the mellowing years have made thee man,
No more shall mariner sail, nor pine-tree bark
Ply traffic on the sea, but every land
Shall all things bear alike: the glebe no more
Shall feel the harrow's grip, nor vine the hook;
The sturdy ploughman shall loose yoke from steer,
Nor wool with varying colours learn to lie;
But in the meadows shall the ram himself,
Now with soft flush of purple, now with tint
Of yellow saffron, teach his fleece to shine.
While clothed in natural scarlet graze the lambs.
"Such still, such ages weave ye, as ye run,"
Sang to their spindles the consenting Fates
By Destiny's unalterable decree.
Assume thy greatness, for the time draws nigh,
Dear child of gods, great progeny of Jove!
See how it totters- the world's orbed might,
Earth, and wide ocean, and the vault profound,
All, see, enraptured of the coming time!
Ah! might such length of days to me be given,
And breath suffice me to rehearse thy deeds,
Nor Thracian Orpheus should out-sing me then,
Nor Linus, though his mother this, and that
His sire should aid- Orpheus Calliope,
And Linus fair Apollo. Nay, though Pan,
With Arcady for judge, my claim contest,
With Arcady for judge great Pan himself
Should own him foiled, and from the field retire.
Begin to greet thy mother with a smile,
O baby-boy! ten months of weariness
For thee she bore: O baby-boy, begin!
For him, on whom his parents have not smiled,
Gods deem not worthy of their board or bed.

Appendix Five

Translation of Ovid's Heroides Epistula VII: Dido to Aeneas

Dido to Aeneas (James M. Hunter)

Thus, when the fates call, throwing himself down in the moist grasses
In the shallows of Maeander, sings the white swan.

Not because I hope that you can be moved by my prayers
Do I speak--I speak them with the gods against me;
5 *But having lost, miserably, my merit and reputation, my virtue*
Of body and spirit, to lose words is a small thing.

Are you determined, nevertheless, to go and to abandon miserable Dido,
And will the same winds bear away your sails and your faith?
Are you determined, Aeneas, to release your promises with your ships,
10 And to pursue the kingdoms of Italy, which lie you know not where?
And does not this new Carthage nor her rising walls
Touch you, nor the high dominion given over to you?
You flee what is done--you pursue what is yet to be done;
You have sought one land, but must seek another through the world.
15 But if you find this land, who will give it for you to have?
Who will give his fields to a stranger to hold?
Of course another love may await you, and another Dido,
Whom you may betray again, having given another promise.
When will it be that you found a city as great as Carthage,
20 And from the high citadel look down on your people?
If it should all happen, and there be no delay for your prayers,
Where will there be a wife for you who loves you so?

I burn, like waxen torches covered with sulfur,
Like pious incense placed upon the smoking hearth.
25 Aeneas always clings to my wakeful eyes;
Aeneas is in my heart in the stillness and the night.
Indeed he is ungrateful, and spurns my gifts,
And were I not foolish, I should wish to lose him.
Nevertheless I do not hate Aeneas, however ill he thinks of me,
30 But complain of his infidelity, and with the complaint I love more bitterly.
Venus, spare your daughter-in-law; brother Love, embrace
Your hard-hearted brother, let him serve in your camp.
Or let me, who began it (and I am not ashamed of it), supply the love,
While he supplies the matter for my care.

35 *I am deluded, and this is a delusion that flies before me;*
His nature is opposed to his mother's.
Of rocks and mountains were you born, and of the oak
On the high cliff; you were born of savage beasts,
Or of the sea--like the sea you see now churned up by winds,
40 Across which you prepare to venture, despite the opposing waves.
Where are you fleeing? The storm opposes you. Let the storm be my benefactor.

Look how Eurus stirs up the churning waters!
What I would prefer to owe to you, let me owe to the storm.
The wind and waves are more just than your spirit.

45 I am not worth enough--why do I not judge *you* harshly?--
For you to perish fleeing from me across the long waves.
You pursue a costly hatred and purpose
If, to be rid of me, you count it cheap to die.
Soon the winds will calm, and with the waves spreading smoothly
50 Triton will drive his azure steeds across the sea.
Would that you too were changeable with the winds--
And, unless you exceed the oak in hardness, you will be.
Why, as if you did not know what the raging waters can do,
Do you trust the waves whose hardships you have know so often?
55 Even if you cast off your moorings when the sea invites the journey,
Nevertheless the broad depths hold many woes.
Nor is it good for those who break promises to tempt the waves:
That place exacts penalties for treachery,
Especially when love has been wounded, for the mother of Loves,
60 It is said, arose naked from the waves of Cytherea.

Destroyed, I fear lest I destroy; wounded, I fear lest I wound--
Lest my enemy, shipwrecked, drink the waters of the sea.
Live, I pray you. Thus I shall destroy you more fully than by death.
Rather, you shall be said to be the cause of my death.
***65** Consider that you are seized--may there be no weight to the omen--*
By a fierce storm; what will be in your mind?
Immediately will come the perjury of your false tongue,
And Dido driven to die by Phrygian deception;
Before your eyes will stand the face of your deceived wife,
***70** Sad and bloody, with streaming hair.*
How much is it worth that then you will say "I deserve this! Pardon me!"
When you think that whatever thunderbolts fall were sent at you?

Give a short space to the savagery of the sea, and your own;
A safe voyage will be a great reward for the delay.
75 And though you care little for this, spare the boy Iulus.
It is enough for you to have the honor of my death.
What has the boy Ascanius, what have your Penates done to deserve this fate?
Snatched from the fire, are they to be drowned in the waves?
But you are not taking them with you nor, as you claimed to me, false one
80 Did your gods or your father ever rest on your shoulders.
You lie about everything, nor did your tongue begin to deceive
With me, nor was I the first to suffer.
If you ask, where is the mother of lovely Iulus--
She died, left alone by her harsh husband.
85 This you told me--it was enough to warn me. I deserve
To burn; the punishment will be less than my crime.

And I do not doubt that your gods condemn you, too.

Over sea, over land, you are tossed for the seventh winter.
When you were cast up by the waves, I received you in a safe abode,
90 And hardly having heard your name, I gave you my throne.
But would that I had been content with these courtesies,
And the tale of our common bed were buried.
That day ruined me, when a sudden rain from the blue heavens
Drove us into the shelter of the cave.
95 I heard a voice; I thought the nymphs were crying--
It was the Eumenides giving warning of my fate.

Exact the penalty, O wounded purity, injured Sychaeus,
To which, wretched soul, I go full of shame.
In a marble shrine there is an image of Sychaeus, sacred to me--
100 Covered with leafy branches placed against it, and white fleeces.
Thence I have heard myself called four times by a familiar voice;
He himself in a faint voice called "Elissa, come!"

No more delay--I come, I come to you, thy rightful bride;
I am late, however, because of my admitted shame.
105 Give pardon for my fault! A worthy agent beguiled me;
He draws off the odium from my offense.
His divine mother and aged father, burden of a dutiful son,
Gave me hope that he would remain my rightful husband.
If I have erred, that error had an honourable cause;
110 If he were to keep faith, there would be no cause for regret.
The course of fate which was mine before still follows me
In these last days of my life, and will endure to the end.
My husband was killed, struck down at the altars in his house,
And my brother has the reward of this great crime;
***115** I am driven into exile, leaving behind my husband's ashes and my homeland,*
And I flee over uncertain roads, pursued by my enemy.
I land on this coast, having escaped my brother and the sea;
I purchase this shore, traitor, which I gave to you.
I found a city, and set down extensive walls
***120** Arousing jealousy in neighboring kingdoms.*
Wars rumble; a woman and a foreigner, I am assailed by wars;
I barely prepare rough gates for the city and get weapons ready.
I am wooed by a thousand suitors, who join in complaining
That I preferred some stranger to their marriage beds.
125 Why do you hesitate to deliver me, bound, to Gaetulian Iarbas?
I would hold out my arms for your evil deed.
There is my brother, too, whose impious hand asks
To be sprinkled with my blood, as with my husband's.
Put down the gods and those sacred things which your touch profanes!
130 It is not good for an impious hand to honor the gods.
If you were to be a worshipper of gods who escaped from the fires,
Then the gods regret that they escaped the fires.

Perhaps also it is a pregnant Dido, evil one, whom you abandon,
And a part of me lies hidden in my body.

The wretched infant will join the fate of the mother,
And you will be the author of the death of your unborn child.
With his mother will the brother of Iulus die,
And one punishment will take us both away.

"But your god orders you to go." I wish that he had forbidden you to come;
Punic soil would never have felt the weight of Teucrians!
Is this truly the god under whose guidance you are driven about by hostile winds,
And are worn out for so long on the savage seas?
You would hardly have such labor in returning to Pergamum,
If Pergamum were what it had been while Hector lived.
You do not seek the Simois of your fathers, but Tiber's waves--
But surely, should you arrive at the place you seek, you will be a stranger;
And this secret place so hides and so avoids your keels,
That you will scarcely reach it in old age.

Instead, take these peoples as dowry, having given up your wandering,
And take also the wealth of Pygmalion which I carried away.
Convey Ilion to the Tyrian city, with better fortune,
And hold the state of king and the sacred sceptre.
If your mind is eager for war, if Iulus seeks
A place for his warlike spirit and for triumphs,
We shall supply enemies to conquer, and nothing shall be lacking:
Here is a place for the laws of peace, and a place for arms.
You must only, I pray by your mother and the weapons of your brother, the arrows,
And by the gods, sacred to Dardanus, who are your companions in flight--
So may they succeed, those of your people whom savage Mars
Has let escape, so may this be the limit of their loss,
And so may Ascanius happily fill out his years,
And the bones of old Anchises rest gently--
You must only spare the house which has given itself to you.
What do you say is my crime, except to love?
I am not from Phthia, or born of great Mycenae,
Nor have my husband and father stood against you.
If you are ashamed of me as a wife, then let me be called not bride but hostess;
So long as she is yours, Dido will be what you wish.

Well known to me are the pounding seas of the African shores;
At certain times they give and deny passage.
When the breeze gives passage, give your sails to the winds;
Now the light seaweed holds your beached ship.
Trust me to watch the weather; you will go more safely,
And I myself, even though you wish it, will not let you stay.
Your comrades also ask for rest, and your mangled fleet,
Half-repaired, demands a short delay.
By your services, and that additional debt I may owe you,
By my hope of marriage, I ask for a little time--
While the seas and my love grow calm, while through time and experience
I learn to be able to endure my sorrows bravely.

If you say no, I am resolved to spill out my life;
You cannot be cruel to me any longer.
If only you could see the face of the one who writes these words!
I write, and the Trojan sword is here in my lap.
190 Over my cheeks the tears run, onto the drawn sword,
Which soon will be stained with blood rather than tears.
How well your gift suits my fate!
You furnish my grave at small expense.
Nor is my breast now struck for the first time by a weapon;
195 That place has the wound of fierce love.

Anna my sister, my sister Anna, bitterly aware of my sin,
Soon you will give the last gift to my ashes.
Nor, consumed by the pyre, shall I be inscribed "Elissa, wife of Sychaeus";
Just this much verse shall be on the marble of the tomb:

200 "Aeneas provided both the cause of death and the sword;
Dido herself struck the blow with her own hand."

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(Endnotes)

1 Virgil, *Aeneid,* 4:651-654, trans. John Dryden. For translations of the passages immediately surrounding the *dulces exuviae* text, see Appendix One.

2 A form of short unaccompanied choral composition…in use from 13th to early 16th cents. In 13th, 14th, and 15th cents. the motet was exclusively sacred and was based on a pre-existing melody and set of words to which other melodies and words were added in counterpoint. Oxford.

3 See appendix two for a listing of motet settings of the *Dulces exuviae*

4 Edgeworth quotes directly from Horace White's eloquent translation of Appian.: Appian VIII.xix. 13 1 , trans. Horace White, I (London 1912 [Loeb Classical Library]) 635-637

5 Edgeworth draws a symbolic connection between the fiery deaths of the two queens: "The detail of the blazing pyre, which seemed to serve no purpose in the poem, has been added in order to suggest the blazing fall of Carthage."

6 See Appendix Four for a full translation of Heroides VII by James M. Hunter.

7 Phrygia was a kingdom in ancient Anatolia, and is used as a descriptive epithet for Aeneas.

8 Dactylic hexameter is a metrical scheme utilized in Greek and Roman epic poetry. It consists of lines with six metrical feet broken up into dactyls (a long syllable followed by either another long syllable or two short ones).

9 See appendix two for a listing of all the occurrences of the Dulces Exuviae text.

10 Any melodic or harmonic progression which has come to possess a conventional association with the ending of a comp., a section, or a phrase. Oxford.

11 Included as Appendix Three. All references to measure numbers are to this edition.

12 Specifically in Mabriano de Orto and an Anonymous setting from the Bernard Thomas edition

13 A group of more than five or six notes sung to a single syllable. Oxford.

14 Simultaneously sounding musical lines according to a system of rules. Oxford.

15 An Eclogue is a lyrical poetic form which typically contains pastoral imagery.

16 When Constantine the Great in 324 A.D. publicly declared the establishment of Christianity as the religion of the Empire, he quoted the Fourth Eclogue as an important testimony to the recognition of the new faith by Rome's greatest poet. This gave Virgil a posthumous reputation as a sort of potential Christian before his time, to be classed in a way with the great Hebrew prophets, though somehow possessing a fuller understanding of the Christian spirit than any of them. Townend, 71,

17 See Appendix Three for a full translation of the Eclogue by J.W. MacHail

18 Schmalfeldt led the way to the original quotation: Perhaps the most notable example is to be found in the Confessions of St. Augustine (354-430 A.D.), where the early Church father looks back on his school days in Carthage and reproaches himself for having wept then over the death of Virgil's Dido when he should have been weeping over his own youthful alienation from God.

19 Or, in Schmalfeldt's opinion on page 588, Dido is not a mirror but a foil for Aeneas. She gives a chart that highlights the pair's opposition. For example, whereas Aeneas is "driven by duty and honor-as public, supra-personal virtues", Dido is "driven by love-a private, individual emotion, thus, potentially subversive and socially disruptive". Or, Aeneas is "rational and strives for order" while Dido "becomes irrational and creates chaos".