

**A Royal Chase in the Company of Three?
The Hunting Scene in Vergil's *Aeneid* IV, its Courtly Imitators
and in Berlioz's *Chasse Royale***

© Raymond Cormier (First Gent Emeritus, Longwood University, Virginia)

*We reread a text many times, but
each time in a new, unrepeatable
spiritual condition, and for this reason
we seek something different each time
and of course we find it.
We are the ones who change
as we look over the text, but it seems to us
that the text-interlocutor is changing.¹*

Might the hunting scenes in the *Aeneid* be taken as symbolic? Vergil scholars recall of course the anticipatory simile in *Aeneid* 4. 68-73—the smitten and wounded Dido wanders in Carthage as in a frenzy. A while back, it was J Roger Dunkle who reminded us (in 1973) how a number of Vergil scholars had noted the parallel. We are invited to interpret the motif and its cross-references (in Books I, II, IV, VII and XII) beyond any literal meaning (Dunkle, *passim*). And in the early 1970s, William Nethercut opined as well: “It is fair to characterize the *Aeneid* as an ambiguous work.” (p. 123) Ambiguity may suggest greatness.

Clearly, hunting imagery has much greater diffusion and symbolic importance for Vergil than the mere venatory episodes alluded to in these pages. Yet, in fact, Vergil describes in the *Aeneid* at least three specific scenes, however equivocal, with vivid hunting scenes.² In the first, within the opening sequence after the storm at sea, the survivors, now on the Libyan coast, find respite but need sustenance (*Aen.* I. 180-94). On the shore, Aeneas spies seven stags that he shoots and kills for his hungry Trojan crew. This nourishment will be shared, to accompany their Sicilian wine and what little grain could be rescued from the disastrous tempest. Later, in the *Aeneid* (Book Seven), an important political scene occurs, namely, the pathetic events which spark the outbreak of hostilities between the Trojan exiles and the indigenous Latin peoples. In a masterful hunting scene filled with action and violence, a pet deer—at once tame and wild—is unwittingly shot by Aeneas' son Ascanius: *causa fuit belloque animos accendit agrestis* (VII. 482: “...in hot haste they course a stag. This was the first source of ill; this first kindled the rustic spirit to war.”)³ The stag, wounded by a fateful arrow, limps back home, pathetically bleating, bleeding, and pleading for help (VII. 500-502). Ascanius' act, “inflamed with love of praise” (VII. 496), as in a passionate and savage trophy hunt, is motivated by the gods in Vergil's text. It will inspire the Fury Allecto (at Juno's behest) to sweep through the countryside, whipping the Latin women (particularly Amata, Lavinia's mother) into a Maenadic frenzy and exciting the men (especially Turnus) into a battle rage. Vergil's critics for the scenario have taken it as an unfavorable and unjustifiable act of Trojan aggression with flawed motivations.⁴ Like the Judgment of Paris explanation for the Trojan War, the mythological metaphor elucidates the context of how the war was precipitated between Turnus aided by his Italian allies and the recently-arrived Trojans. This puerile and pathetic accident involves as well a breach of hospitality by the newcomers.

CLASSICAL RECEPTION

The process of reception should be invoked at this point, and for the third hunting episode we have altogether four texts on our hands, Vergil's original, the Old French and early German adaptations, and Berlioz's operatic episode in *Les Troyens*. What follows is a comparative study, and the task before us—the principal hunting scene in Book IV, is just as equivocal, ominous and filled with foreboding as all the others. For me, it involves a crowd of three, for this sequence comprises Dido, Aeneas and a *tertium quid*—for which let us think of Cupid, Venus or Juno, or even (teenager) Ascanius whose intensity and dynamism infuse the forest setting with energy (see IV. 156-159: “the young Ascanius glories in his fiery steed, galloping past now these, now those, and prays that amid the timorous herds a foaming boar may be granted to his vows or a tawny lion come down from the mountain.”)⁵ Three's company indeed—seemingly paralleled by the “projet triangulaire”—A-B-C: Troie, Carthage, Laurente, as illustrated by Catherine Desprès Caubrière⁶, and we are reminded, too, of Berlioz's embrace of three cities in his grand oratorio, Troy-Carthage-Rome. We will then consider the topic's treatment in the anonymous French *Roman d'Énéas* (before 1160) and in the twelfth-century German *Eneit* or *Eneasroman* by Heinrich von Veldeke (ca. 1175). Additionally, I will review the episode (in Part II) found in what some have called a “lyric poem”—the opera (or oratorio) by Hector Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, a work that gratified the composer's “musical and Virgilian passions.” (Kemp, p. 3)

It should be noted as well how intertextuality studies assume that poetic imitation involves a retelling or re-imagining, i.e., a different slant or response in considering Vergil's text. Creative divergence, now in the vernacular or operatic innovations, holds our attention even if the retelling misses the mark of high literary standards. Certainly for the Old French *Énéas* the aim was to appeal to his audience, whether Plantagenêt or other; that meant a retelling shorn of the heavy Imperial-Vergilian context.⁷

In his 1982 essay that analyzes the figure of Dido in the *Énéas*, David Shirt's psychological portrait of the queen sees her as a prototypical tragic heroine, something like a twelfth-century *Phèdre*. As Sarah Spence quips, “However we approach it, Book 4 is a book apart.” (p. 82) Carthaginian Dido, refigured in part by Vergil from Homeric characters like Nausicaa, Circe and Calypso, decides one morning, seeking relief from her torturous, profound and love-induced anguish, to organize a royal hunting expedition.⁸ Everything appears in order or at least unexceptional except for the extraordinary and glittering and gold-infused accessories the queen wears as the noble gathering heads into the woods. But at the exit's threshold, she hesitates (*Aeneid* 4.133: *reginam thalamo cunctantem ad limina primi [...]*). As Charles Segal has subtly perceived:

Dido may be delaying over her toilette because she is deeply in love and wants to appear at her best on a public occasion where she will be in her beloved's company. But may not her hesitation mark the complexity and contradictoriness of her motives: critical self-consciousness and surrender to feeling, reluctance and desire, knowledge and self-deception? In any case, the hesitation ushers in a new point of crisis. Dido is at a point of no return, and there are heavy consequences to taking that step outside. The necessary limitation of her human perspective creates the mood of tragedy.⁹

THE ROYAL HUNT

Here is the passage in question:

[...] *Aurora reliquit. / it portis iubare exorto delecta iuventus, / retia rara, plagae, lato venabula ferro, / Massylique ruunt equites et odora canum vis. / reginam thalamo cunctantem ad limina primi / Poenorum expectant, ostroque insignis et auro / stat sonipes ac frena ferox spumantia mandit. / tandem progreditur*

magna stipante caterva, / Sidoniam picto chlamydem circumdata limbo. / cui pharetra ex auro, crines nodantur in aurum, / aurea purpuream subnectit fibula vestem. / nec non et Phrygii comites et laetus Iulus / incedunt. ipse ante alios pulcherrimus omnis / infert se socium Aeneas atque agmina iungit. (Aen., IV. 131-139)

When sunlight has burst forth, there issues from the gates a chosen band of youth; with meshed nets, toils, broad-pointed hunting spears, there stream forth Massylian horsemen and their strong, keen-scented hounds. As the queen lingers in her bower, the Punic princes await her at the doorway; her prancing steed stands brilliant in purple and gold, and proudly champs the foaming bit. At last she comes forth, attended by a mighty throng, and clad in a Sidonian robe with embroidered border. Her quiver is of gold, her tresses are knotted into gold, a buckle of gold clasps holding her purple cloak.

Like the calamitous tempest at sea that opens the epic, and like some conventional Hollywoodesque thunderstorm, torrents and hail fall on the hunters, a storm brought on this time especially by divine trickery—whether by Venus herself or through the scheming of nuptial Juno (with her power as *pronuba*, else in her capacity as hostile toward Troy). The royal hunt itself (Anderson), unsuccessful thus far, is interrupted. All scatter throughout the groves for cover, and Dido (*dux femina*, another irony) and the Trojan hasten to find shelter in a cave (which, ironically, as Ward Jones points out, could be the scene of a “proper Roman marriage”¹⁰). As French scholar Francine Mora-Lebrun rightly reminds us, the forest can be the site of destructive and harmful events.¹¹ And, what might happen, did. Lightning flashes to witness what medievals would no doubt consider their “sin”: “That day the first of death, the first of calamity was cause.” (*Aen.* IV. 170)¹² The storm and its end echo the rise and fall of their illicit love.

* * *

For our comparisons, in terms of *Nachleben*, do not the medieval imitations deserve to be examined to determine their accuracy? Or fidelity? As interesting adaptations, to what extent are they faithful to Vergil’s text?¹³ French composer Hector Berlioz’s lifetime fascination with Vergil is relevant here as well. Reception studies ask us to understand notions like fidelity or imitation or precise rendering. We must attempt to do so, even if in a somewhat abbreviated way here, as this essay is part of a larger project. One may ask further if there are some deeper meanings to these hunting scenes. Could they have a particular significance for the hero’s development within the narrative?

THE ROMAN D’ÉNÉAS

The Old French *Roman d’Énéas* likely dates from the 1160s and is considered a truly bold revision of Vergil.¹⁴ This romance, as Matilda Bruckner wisely observes, tells of a:

new land gained through conquest and consolidation by marriage [which] reverberate[d] with Anglo-Norman history, just as [the Judgment of Paris episode,] as told in the *Roman de Troie*, [found] echoes in the stories, accusations, and nail-biting drama that surround[ed] Henry and Eleanor’s union. (p. 386)

Apparently, the controversy regarding the argument for legitimation (attribution of the romance to royal patronage) has been overlooked here. Motivation must be sought elsewhere for this “very strange”, “idiosyncratic” text with “a genuinely troubling multivocality”, as Laura Ashe has argued (p. 127).

The anonymous Old French work, insofar as it recomposes, one might say mimes, samples or covers the *Aeneid*, has, over the years, endured classical prejudices; anonymity itself has spelled disrespect for the text, yet the work belongs to an important sub-genre of medieval French literature known as the Romances and Lays of Antiquity (includes the *Roman de Thèbes*, also anonymous, and the *Roman de Troie*, authored by Benoît de Sainte-Maure).¹⁵ For one informed critic, Winthrop Wetherbee,

[...] It is probably the first medieval romance to organize its 'epic' material in a way which brings it to a climax in the fulfillment of a great love [...]. [It is] an extremely **self-conscious** piece of work, conceived in full awareness of the limited capacity of the romance mode and its artistic resources to convey the depth and complexity of the poetry of an auctor like Vergil [...]. [This work] epitomizes the courtly idealism of romance, and is balanced against an underlying awareness of the historical and emotional realities of classical epic. (*The Ancient Flame*—"Through a Classical Eye," p.4)

And yet, and not surprisingly, much of the Vergilian mythological scheme has been eliminated or subtly transformed for the poet's pre-humanistic Norman-Angevin patrons. In place of numerous suppressions, the anonymous has inserted significant amplifications on, for example, the Judgment of Paris episode (structurally and thematically crucial to his story), as well as many fanciful "marvels of antiquity." His visionary story of reciprocal love, where the hero becomes enamored of his future bride Lavine, intersects with the battlefield scenes in the latter portions, in which occur clashes in Italy between Rutulians and Trojans.¹⁶ The clever Old French adaptor, to reach his audience more effectively, has transfigured many characters and situations into a convincing medieval context, a process of normalization in literary adaptation. In today's context, such innovative adaptations stand out from a mere straightforward translation.

THE OLD FRENCH TEXT

Let us return now to the Old French text. As in the *Aeneid*, for the hunting scene in Book IV, Dido's preparations and accessories are equally emphasized in some detail, and both her hunting equipment and company—hounds, yelping dogs and trackers and leash-dogs—are described in a way quite typical actually of what we know of Henry II's activities during his hunting expeditions.¹⁷ As Segal observes, it is a "resplendent description of her hunting party, with its elaborate dress, fine trappings on prancing steeds, and abundant gold and purple".¹⁸ We are told, for instance, that she had

hunting horses saddled, and [the huntsmen] took their bows, horns, and hounds, dogs and trackers and leash-dogs. The city rang with their preparations, with the yelping of dogs, and the confusion. Servants came from all directions, carrying bows, quivers, and arrows. The household was in great excitement. The queen had dressed herself in an expensive purple material banded very beautifully with gold all over the body as far as the hips, and likewise all over the sleeves. She wore an expensive cloak, finely decorated with gold in drops, trimmed with a golden thread, and on her head she had a band embroidered with gold. She had brought with her a golden quiver which was taken from her treasure. There were a hundred arrowheads of pure gold, and the arrows were of fruitwood.¹⁹

In a lofty passage, down from her bower the queen descends with three dukes, to take her gold and precious gems-covered horse. The mid-day hunt is taken as a diversion for the queen, an occupation that distracts her from her lovesick misery. Dido is then compared to Diana and Énéas to Apollo²⁰ (three dukes are there [again three], but Ascanius is absent from the scene). With everything ready, off they hasten to the forest,

where they took much quarry, and hunted until noon. Then, unexpectedly, a great storm arose, a great tempest; it thundered and rained, and the sky turned very dark; none of them felt safe. They all turned and fled in many directions. The boldest was cowardly, and the bravest among them trembled with fear. (Vv. 1517-1525)

Dido and Énéas flee alone together and find shelter in a grotto, at which point the hero

[...] does whatever he wishes with her and the queen does not resist, granting him everything as she wanted it as well. Now her love is revealed." [1539] Never since her lord's death had the lady done anything shameful. They return to Carthage. She feels great joy, nor does she hide it at all, but shows herself most happy and cheerful. She says that she will be his spouse, thus covering her misdeed; she cares no longer what anyone says of it. Henceforth, in every way, he does with her all his desire. ("in public or in private"—Vv. 1534-1550).²¹

Significantly, there is no indication of a moment's pause or hesitation by Dido as she leaves her chambers, as seen in the Latin of Vergil. One has the impression that the behavior of Énéas in this scene is somewhat simplistic, or certainly less sympathetic a character than his Vergilian counterpart. Certainly some ambiguity has been lost in the adaptation. The implications may arise from the Old French romancer's attitude affected by a reading of Dictys.²² In any case, this is how R. Tagliani (seemingly more aware of Énéas' feelings) describes the event: "Durante una battuta di caccia, Didone ed Enea sono sorpresi da un temporale: si rifugiano in una grotta, e consumano la passione che ha infiammato i loro cuori." (p. 206) Nevertheless, regarding the ultimate figure of the Old French Dido, one cannot but fully agree with the pithy conclusion of Catherine Nicolas:

From the wealthy and wise sovereign to the senseless lover and then to the final pardon, the trajectory of Dido covers every paradox: she is a queen but powerless, courtly but guilty of sexual excess, a trap and trapped, filled at once with hate and pardon... Ambiguous figure yet also touching, she is a prisoner of her female nature and of her fatal passion, possessed by two extremes, and hopelessly lost.²³

ÉNÉASROMAN BY HEINRICH VON VELDEKE

The *Énéasroman* of Heinrich von Veldeke, dates to ca. 1170, and is an adaptation of the *Aeneid* and of the *Roman d'Énéas* into a medieval German dialect.²⁴ Regarding the myriad differences between the two medieval versions, Fisher, Veldeke's most recent editor, seems to suggest that while the German rendering may seem to have a "slightly archaic ring" (p. 8), the Old French *Énéas* is more literary and literate. He observes however: "[...] it should always be borne in mind that most of Veldeke's public did not have the opportunity to read his work at all, only to hear it read; the modern practice of reading literature in private presupposes entirely different conventions [...]"²⁵ (The same observation might be made regarding the Old French text.) Veldeke's innovations in "pre-courtly" Middle High German involve the introduction of notions like courtly love and chivalry (principally in his poetry), with love's power shown as tragic or fatal. The poet took liberties with the materials at hand to present, for example, Aeneas as "an exemplary Christian ruler and knight who listens to his counselors" (Classen, p. 28). (We note that such a description does not apply to the Old French *Énéas*.) Such innovations call attention to themselves in a comparative study.

Heinrich von Veldeke's adaptation provides no Ovidian-psychological explanation as to why Dido undertook the hunt that cold morning, yet, as the text relates, her clothing, jewelry of precious stones and pearls, white and red fur-trimmed pelice, and spurs of gold are all glamorously styled in lush and appropriate detail. Lovely Dido's knights wear gold clothing and sparkling jewelry. The queen's gold-threaded dress clings to her body; with tailored sleeves it is of a delicate white, the throat red with samite covering and tailored pearls and braids. Her girdle too has braiding with silver and gold, the mantle she wears is of a grass-green samite, lined with white ermine and features a valuable brown sable border. Covering her carefully-braided hair is a wimple, topped with an orphery-decorated hat, and even Dido's spurs are of gold. Countless maids attend her. Even Dido's hound, a white bercelet held by a matching

braided silk and samite-lines leash, appears Otherworldly with its red and black ears and similarly-colored muzzle. (This description may be inspired by the multicolored horse of Camilla in the *Énéas*, vv. 6911-13). As well, the queen is compared to Diana, goddess of the hunt, and *Énéas* is like an exalted Phoebus Apollo, but Veldeke adds further explanations to these associations: there is “much sport and good humour [...]” As in the French version, a mid-day rain storm with hail and wind causes the hunting party to scatter. Whereupon Dido and Eneas

[...] saw a magnificent thick tree and went over to it at once. The famous hero helped the lady down. Then, what had long been yearned for had to take its course: famous *Énéas* took the lady under his cloak and found her beautiful. He took her in his arms, his flesh and his blood grew warm, his manly will was not to be denied and thus he won the day, taking possession of the lady. There was no-one in the vicinity, the two of them were quite alone. The place was very pleasant. Lovingly he begged her to yield to him what she herself desired—although she protested—[1850] and he laid her down on the ground, as Venus ordained. She could not do anything about it, he did with her what he wanted, and gallantly received her favour. (Fisher, p. 99)

At this point, possibly due to some historical distancing, Veldeke’s light sense of humor prevails as he adds:

When this had taken its course [...] and they were to ride on, their clothes had very quickly become damp. Yet she felt much better than if she had stayed home. The quarry had been well run to the ground. If a man has shot his bow and profited by it, it is well worth the journey.

With the intimate consummation now complete (not in a cave but under a tree), it is interesting to observe that the Old French follows Vergil’s text more closely, emphasizing the intervention of *Fama* or Rumour which besmirches Dido’s reputation.²⁶ Veldeke, however, with “profound ambivalence” (Classen, p. 28), elides this reference and comments:

When the news spread that Lady Dido had taken the step of having Eneas as her lover, she became his bride officially and held a great celebration. It was announced far and wide throughout the country, for she wanted thereby to gloss over, as she rightly should, the shame of what she had done in the forest. Now she became open and unconcerned, and did his bidding in public and private. [v. 1915] (Fisher, pp. 99-100)

Beyond that, we recall how the Old French draws on Ovidian references as a rationale—Dido’s tortured love sickness for instance—and how the distraction of the hunt will help her forget her emotional suffering.²⁷ The preparations, hunting party, equipment, and the queen’s dress, all are enumerated and as if expanded glosses on Vergil. The passing comparison of Aeneas to Apollo truncates a seven-line Vergilian miniature regarding the Olympian deity, and the *Énéas* adds to the text the mention of Diana. *Énéas* escorts the queen away from her citadel and love becomes manifest.

Veldeke, considered an ideal master poet and vital founder by his contemporaries, includes similar variations, while his inclusion of Dido’s colorful Otherworld hound and emphasis on the queen’s samite, silk and ermine dress provides particular diversion. Even more significant, one would think, is how he makes the love-making scene at once more original and explicit. The consummation under a tree, Fisher explains, may arise from the influence of the lovers’ tryst in the Tristan and Isolde narrative. As for the unequivocal element, Veldeke writes that the flesh and blood of the hero grow warm, as he enfolds the queen in his mantle, his “manly will” is not to be denied as he “laid her down on the ground”—all in due order as it was ordained by Venus. Classen declares that Veldeke’s Eneas violently “forces himself upon her” in an “obvious rape scene.”²⁸ In the end, her suicide resulted from “mad love” (*vinsinne...vnrechtiv minne*; Classen, p. 29).

HECTOR BERLIOZ, *LES TROYENS*

The French composer Hector Berlioz has been characterized as a “rebel,” a “radical” (Hart, p. 341) and unconventional innovator and “a violator, even, of taboos” (Peter Gay, p. 5).²⁹ *Les Troyens*, his nineteenth-century oratorio, represents a complete recasting of Vergil’s classic. J. Barzun refers to the work—coeval with Wagner’s *Tristan und Isolde*—as “gigantic” (p. 327), though severely emasculated in its earliest productions (384), while Franz Liszt described the work as subtle and delicate, having “enormous power.”³⁰ Or as McDonald effused “one of the greatest masterpieces in the history of music” (*Sing Sorrow*, p. 114). Berlioz found the composition of the work—his “Phrygian chore”—at once tormenting, exalting, devouring, yet fatal and revitalizing (Cairns, p. 55), while it brought him “extraordinary pleasure” (Cairns, p. 59), especially for its “poignant truthfulness” (p. 61). Home-schooled by a father who introduced Vergil’s “fantastic world” (Hart, p. 331) to the young Hector, the boy became in fact “mesmerized” (*ibid.*) by the Roman poet.

Berlioz called *Les Troyens* “my Virgilian—and musical—obsession” (Pillinger, p. 92). He synthesized the story generally through and within Books I, II and especially IV, and opened the work in Troy as the horse is about to be dragged through the walls into the citadel. One innovation features the characters of Cassandra and Coroebus as doomed lovers (drawn from Greek sources). The shade of Hector opens Act Two, and it tells Aeneas to flee to Italy, although the son of Venus at first pauses with the ominous “Salvation for the defeated lies in not expecting any,” but he will depart nonetheless, carrying with him the priceless treasure so coveted by the Greek armies. We examine here Part II which opens in Carthage, Dido’s thriving metropolis. This segment provides the setting for Act Three, a city in imminent danger of attack by Iarbas and it is the just-arrived Trojans, led by Aeneas, who defeat the “vile horde” of barbarian Numidians. The shipwrecked and exhausted troops somehow rise to the occasion, adding war interest and conflict that parallels or captions what is found in *Aeneid* VII-XII. Fitzgerald points out (*Fatalis Machina*, p. 200) that the male characters in the oratorio evoke pathos while the females like Dido or Cassandra are more assertive. The famous Royal Hunt and storm open Act Four. The scene takes place as the Trojans roam the African woods, trumpets blaring and thunder roaring (Cairns, p. 57). As the torrential storm breaks into thunder and lightning, Dido and Aeneas, now on foot, become separated from the hunting party, take shelter in a grotto where their incipient love is consummated. The next sequence occurs in Dido’s garden, near the sleeping sea. Moved by an original and vivid tone poem, she is now ruled by the pleasure principal, having lost sight of her political goals (Hart, p. 347). Returning to the citadel, amidst the dancing company, Ascanius, resembling Cupid, stands near the queen, and embellishes the scene with a touching moment when he pulls off of Dido’s finger her wedding band, thus dramatizing the broken promise to her departed, the beloved Sychaeus. What happens next is the *fatum* or epic destiny of the Trojans, and Aeneas will be denied by the unseeing words of Dido’s “erotic intoxication” (Pillinger, p. 88). According to Hart, the sweet-and-magical summer moments sequence, with the preceding ballet-pantomime, signals a psychological transformation for Dido (paralleling a divine conspiracy in the *Aeneid*). In the superb seaside gardens of Carthage, restive and uninterested in the celebrations, Dido questions Aeneas about Andromache, Hector’s chaste widow. “[... T]aken into slavery by Pyrrhus [...], she fell in love with [...the Greek] and married him, the son of the man (Achilles) who killed her husband [...].” (Hart, p. 342). Berlioz here creates a rapturous and enchanting musical sequence by painting a tableau (with a septet and chorus) of incandescent colors to evoke the magnificent grandeur of nature amidst the voluptuous and Otherworldly aspects of love, all of which converge on a stunning and heavenly love duet, “Nuit d’ivresse.” Even the silences speak, as it were (Pillinger, p. 65). Soft and discreet harmony here sublimely reflects the transformative peace and enchantment—only to be ominously interrupted by Mercury’s cry to Aeneas, “Italie!”—a reminder of his mission, (Hart, p. 343).

Close analysis of Berlioz’s libretto will reveal some amazingly accurate renderings into French of Vergil’s Latin, but nevertheless, one can easily see he has rewritten the story to suit his particular musical, Romantic and revolutionary needs. The composer “adopts both a classical text and a classicizing

interpretive mode" (Pillinger, p. 65). He labels unfaithful interpretations by others as calumny and assassination, sensing the tension between "fidelity and innovation." (Pillinger, p. 67) McDonald reminds us though that Berlioz's Dido "does not go quietly, but accompanied by eloquent curses and moving lamentations" (p. 198). Similarly, the two medieval imitations of Vergil's *Aeneid* examined briefly here demonstrate a feature not often recognized. Looking again at the passages we note a certain amount of fidelity to the Latin. Innovative variations and interpolations aside, each romancer has composed a true imitation, really in the modern sense of the word. For all the reservations critics have voiced about these so-called bowdlerizations, we can see here at least how the medieval versions follow Vergil's purple and gold passage rather faithfully while still making the story comprehensible to the target audience.³¹ One can tell that *Les Troyens* is a work of ironically telling contemporaneity: Fitzgerald unearths "imperialist" (p. 202) and "triumphalist" (p. 203) elements in the final scenes, the Napoleonic Trojan March signaling a "nationalistic apotheosis" drenched with "imperial phantasmagoria" (*ibid.*) And yet, in the end, Berlioz's magnificent masterpiece, ignominiously subjected to "neglect, mutilation and misrepresentation" (Cairns, p. 65), has been vindicated; how fitting indeed is the work's dedication to Vergil, *Divo Virgilio*.

BY WAY OF CONCLUSION

While hunting was seen as a typically masculine activity within Roman culture, Aeneas' feelings and reactions to the hunt (l. 184-94) suggest Vergilian pessimism (because of where the activity leads). But with regard to the significance of the deer-hunting scenes in general, it has been argued by De Villiers that these events each in turn work to dehumanize the hero. This is why Aeneas is able at the end of Book 12 to strike down and slay Turnus, thus ignoring the *parcere subiectis* admonition of Anchises in the Underworld. De Villiers writes (pp. 47-48):

[...] as far as the protagonist Aeneas is concerned it is specifically through acts of deer hunting that an increasing lack of feeling in his character comes to light. [R]ecurring instances of deer hunting, both literal and symbolic, [reveal] a gradual desensitization of Aeneas [...]. This prepares the reader for his final act in the epic: his killing of Turnus in book twelve, an unnecessary act that strips him of the qualities of *pietas* so abundantly attributed to him throughout the work.

If we follow through with this interpretation of Aeneas's overall behavior as morally inappropriate, and apply it to the *Roman d'Énéas*, it can be asserted that the accusations of homosexuality and the Ovidian-infused love-sequences involving Lavine (Lavinia) prove ultimately that the romancer rejects Vergil's desensitized hero, or at least he does not need that narrative trope. As noted elsewhere, the allegations of homosexuality as well as the response to love by the hero work in fact to humanize the hero.³² Aeneas' inhuman behavior, foreshadowed in the deer-hunting sequences referenced by De Villiers, belies, it can be asserted, any and all Vergilian claims of *pietas*, an epithet in fact never applied to the medieval hero. Yet the act of hunting desensitizes the medieval hero enough so that he still murders Turnus, motivated principally and ostensibly by revenge for his dear friend Pallas. To reinforce this argument in a somewhat convoluted way, and as Putnam argues in his *Humanness of Heroes*, the *Aeneid* illustrates not a single example of sparing a suppliant.³³ In the end, as Francine Mora sees it, the medieval Énéas—accused of cowardice, treason, and homosexuality—ends up an anti-hero, complex and ambiguous, yet not in fact weak but quite strong.³⁴ So that Laura Ashe's conclusions—that the *Énéas*, with its "lack of referentiality" (p. 135) remains "profoundly ahistorical" (p. 143), thus representing a new type of fictionality, fusing epic and lyric, proclaim a real romance therefore.

Interestingly, Dido's agency differs in the receptions under review: for Vergil one might say she is just hopelessly lost, more assertive in the Old French; and subjected to sexual abuse in the old German text. Our reading, following Bakhtin, has, I sense, unearthed new insights. For three's company indeed. What French scholar Jacques Aymard considers Hellenistic and amatory, the hunting scene in Book IV brings the Dido-Aeneas encounter to a head. Not unlike some lascivious banquet scene, the hunt, ancient,

medieval, or Romantic—with its quarry and kill, its passions, excitement, and eroticism—will forever suggest the possibility of seduction.

What contribution do the adaptations make? By means of comparison of similarities and differences found in *Nachleben* of the *Aeneid*, we have reviewed the hunting scenes in Book IV, contrasting them in vernacular adaptations—the anonymous Old French *Roman d'Énéas* and medieval German *Eneasroman* by Heinrich von Veldeke. Remarkably, the same scenario in *Les Troyens* by Berlioz embodies the essential elements of the episode as well. Exceptional innovations aside, continuity prevails and the ultimate appeal of Vergilian values is sustained. Vergil's lasting viability remains intact and incontrovertible even after more than 1000 years. Indeed, in the end, the fact that mainly subtle changes in the medieval adaptations have been observed reinforces the essential truthfulness and ever-human appeal of the *Aeneid*.

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¹ M. L. Gasparov, "On Bakhtin...." p. 135.

² Nethercut, "The Imagery of the 'Aeneid,'" p.123. See also Jacques Aymard, *Essai sur les chasses romaines*, pp. 116-23 for an explication of the three key hunting scenes in the *Aeneid*: Book I—heroic [and oniric]; Book IV Hellenistic/amatory; and Book VII—political/realistic. In this regard, Cox observes that "This scene [Aeneas' hunting in Book One] is echoed later in the Dido simile at 4.68-73, the episode involving Silvia's pet stag at 7.493ff and the Turnus simile in 12.746-57." All four moments "share the early Greek notion of the reversal of fortune." See further on aspects of the hunting motifs in the *Aeneid*, Putnam 1965, 153ff.; Davis 1968; Dunkle 1973, especially 130-34 (hunting has symbolic textual "crosscurrents") and also Fratantuono on Diana.

This essay began as a brief presentation at the XV Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society, Lexington, Kentucky. Recent scholarship has probed the depths and quarried the breadths of the Old French romance. Some of the following, dating mainly from the year 2000 and later, are useful references but not necessarily altogether directly relevant to the aims of the present study: Tracy Adams, "The Roman d'Énéas and the Erotics of Empire Building"; A. Bottex-Ferragne, "Lire le roman à l'ombre de l'« estoire »"; A. Punzi, "Il Roman d'Énéas o la riscrittura dell'epos"; Laura Ashe, "Historical Romance: A Genre in the Making"; Zrinka Stahuljak, *Bloodless Genealogies of the French Middle Ages: Translatio, Kinship, and Metaphor* (stresses genealogy as bloodline and translatio linking father and son, in relation to family structure); Noah Guynn, *Allegory and Sexual Ethics in the High Middle Ages*; Valentin Christ, *Bausteine zu einer Narratologie der Dinge: der 'Énéasroman' Heinrichs von Veldeke, der 'Roman d'Énéas' und Vergils 'Aeneis' im Vergleich*; Roberto Tagliani, "Et terre et fame tient por soe (v. 1614). Considerazioni sul *Roman d'Énéas*"; *Le Roman d'Énéas*, trans. Philippe Logié; Paul Rockwell, "The Failed Embrace of the Father: Historical Continuity in *Le Chevalier as deus espees* and *Le Roman d'Eneas*"; Virginie Dang, "De la lâcheté du guerrier à la maîtrise du prince: Énéas à la conquête du pouvoir"; C. Bouillot, "Antiquités et orientalités dans le *Roman d'Énéas*: Etudes médiévales".

³ Translation from the Loeb edition. See Rogerson's monograph, esp. pp. 57-77, on Ascanius as an important and pivotal, but tenuous and troubling embodiment of Roman hopes and dreams.

⁴ See references on this in Cormier, "Silvia's Tame Stag."

⁵ All Latin citations are from the Loeb edition: *at Ascanius mediis in vallibus acri / gaudet equo, iamque hos cursu, iam praeterit illos, / spumantemque dari pecora inter inertia votis / optat aprum aut fulvum descendere monte leonem*. For Ascanius' presence as a bellwether of human folly, a "warning of storms to come," see Merriam 2002, esp. 852 et seq.

⁶ Cf. C. Desprès Caubrière on Énéas' tripartite "heroic trajectory."

⁷ See Tracy Adams, "The *Roman d'Eneas* and the Erotics of Empire Building."

⁸ *Aeneid*, Book IV. For Dido's Carthage, see now Giusti for ideological truth-twisting regarding the Punic Wars under Caesar Augustus. On Dido and ambiguity, see now Foehr-Jensens 1997.

⁹ Segal, "Dido's Hesitation," p. 2. He concludes (p. 12): "This small, seemingly gratuitous detail illustrates in microcosm Virgil's technique of creating a tragic tone by suggesting a subjective reality behind the objective events." On this subject, see also Otis, p. 73sq.

¹⁰ For Dido as *dux femina*, see the sensitive and still valid treatment by DeWitt; on marriage, Jones, p. 33; Caldwell sees complexity and ambiguity in the wedding symbolism. Covi considers the cave scene "realistic" and "romantic."

See also the figured fourth-century CE Low Ham Roman Villa mosaic unearthed in 1953 in Great Britain

and now on display in the Museum of Somerset; one in particular depicts a quite nude Dido intimately embraced by a fully-armed and armored Aeneas, suggesting an obviously submissive role for the queen: <http://www.wikiwand.com/en/Low_Ham_Roman_Villa>. Consulted 19 Oct. 2020.

¹¹ Mora-Lebrun, *L'Énéide médiévale...*, pp. 68-71.

¹² *Aeneid* IV. 165-172: *speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem / deveniunt. prima et Tellus et pronuba luno / dant signum; fulsere ignes et conscius Aether / conubiis summoque ulularunt vertice Nymphae. / ille dies primus leti primusque malorum / causa fuit. neque enim specie famave movetur / nec iam furtivum Dido meditatur amorem; / coniugium vocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam.* For Knapp, Dido “forces” Aeneas to become her lover.

¹³ Regarding the *Énéas* Singer observes that Vergilian inspiration has been eliminated but is at once perpetuated (771), a remark equally applicable to Veldeke’s version. Another approach to the scene might study the response in the medieval texts to this hunt, the proceedings in the cave, the matter of the false marriage.

¹⁴ See Patterson, p. 177. Bottex-Ferragne, “Lire le roman à l’ombre de l’« estoire »”, a codicological inquiry, dates the *Énéas* to 1152 (before the *Brut!*) and examines arguments in this context that link epic and romance (p. 36), taking thirteenth-century reworkings as full of “romanesque” lies. Heng’s monograph deals with medieval romance but omits any mention of the mid-twelfth century French works.

¹⁵ For the expression Romances and Lays of Antiquity, see Faral, *Recherches*.

¹⁶ The text tells us that Lavine, in her tower overlooking the battlefield, promises by way of an arrow-born message to be faithful to *Énéas* forever. Upon seeing her, the hero falls in love with her instantly. For British scholar Helen Cooper, the heroine is “passionate, eloquent and determined” (on the *Énéas* see esp. pp. 228-31).

¹⁷ See W. L. Warren *Henry II*, p. 208, on Henry’s love of hunting.

¹⁸ See Segal, “Dido’s Hesitation...,” p. 2.

¹⁹ On the various objects taken by Dido on the hunt, see Christ’s narratological study (while inanimate yet highly active). Old French citations taken from the new Fr. Mora edition, *Roman d’Énéas* (vv. 1459-1533), for which text see below, n. 21. Corresponding translations are my own, drawing on the Mora edition [vv. 1459 et seq.; note that Mora’s line numbers are different from the earlier Salverda de Grave edition]: “One morning, as a distraction from her sorrows and to forget her love, Dido felt a great urge to go hunting in the woods; for love is a much more hurtful when one is lazy and at rest, and anyone wishing to elude it should never take ease; and if one wishes to put distance from it, another interest must prevail, for when one is preoccupied elsewhere, one recalls one’s love less hastily. She summoned her huntsmen [1469...]. She takes a laburnum bow in her hand [1491] and then descends from the tower, leading three dukes from the hall. The great lords descend after her. Sir *Énéas*, her lover, awaits her at the foot of the stairs with all his followers. When he sees the Tyrian lady she seems to embody Diana herself, a most beautiful huntress, who in everything resembles indeed a goddess. When she sees him she blushes because of her love. She descends the stairs, and her horse is made ready, all covered with gold and precious stones. Her lover assists her in mounting. [1506] The Trojan was very well prepared for going into the woods. Horn around his neck, bow in hand, he seemed not at all ignoble; indeed he resembled Phoebus Apollo. He mounted without further delay and by the reins led the lady, who was in great torment from her love: her escort pleased her greatly. They went then into the forest [...1516]. No two of them remained together except the queen and *Énéas* [1526-27]; those two did not separate; he did not leave her, nor she him. They went fleeing together until they came to a grotto. There they both

dismounted. Here are the two of them together. He does whatever he wishes with her and the queen does not resist, granting him everything as she wanted it as well. Now her love is disclosed.” [1539]

²⁰ See Logié, *L'Énéas*, p. 182, for observations on the comparison of Dido and Énéas to Diana and Phoebus Apollo. Shirt points out the repeated textual linkage of death and love and analyzes the regular excision of divine intervention in the *Énéas*, the gods become just “decorative” (p. 5). Nicolas 2016 emphasizes Dido's complexity and hopelessness (12): “Didon traverse tous les paradoxes: elle est souveraine mais impuissante, courtoise mais coupable d'intempérance, piège et piégée, remplie de haine et de pardon... Figure ambiguë mais touchante, elle est prisonnière de sa nature de femme et de sa passion fatale, saisie entre deux extrêmes, sans espoir de salut.” See Petit 2005 for a thorough exploration of the character as tragic but humanized. An anonymous commentator on this essay observed: “[...the] medieval Aeneas is dishonorable, much more aggressive towards and careless of Dido (he comes across as a sexual predator) than is Vergil's Aeneas.” An interesting observation borne out in Veldeke's *Eneit* by the hero's aggressive behavior toward Dido in the cave; see below.

²¹ The whole Old French passage, vv. 1459-1550 reads: “A un matin formant li plect / Qu'ira chacier an la forest / Por esbatre de sa dolor. / S'antrbliier porroit s'amor, / Car amors est molt plus griés chose / Quant an loisonje et repose, / Et qui s'an velt bien delivrer / Si ne doit mie reposer; / Car quant an antant autre part, / Se li sovient d'amor plus tart. / Ele a mandé ses veneors, / Enseler fait ses chaceors: / Prannent lor ars, corz et levriers, / Chiens et viautres et liemiers; / La vile bruit de cel conroi, / del glat des chiens et del desroi. / Vienent meschin de totes parz, / Aportent ars, coivres et darz; / La mesnie est molt comeüe. / La raïne se fu vestue / D'une chiere porpre vermoille, / Bandee d'or a grant mervoille / Trestot lo cors desi as hanches, / Et ansemant totes les manches. / Un chier mantel ot afublé, / Menuemant ert d'or goté; / A un fil d'or ert galonee. / Et sa teste ot d'orfois bandee. / Aporter fist un coivre d'or / Qu'el fist traire de son tresor: / .C. saietes i ot d'ormier, / Les fleches erent de cormier. / En sa main prent un arc d'albor / Et puis avale de la tor; / .III. dus amoinc de la sale. / Soantre li grant gent avale. / Danz Eneas. ses druz, l'atant / Jus as degrez o tot sa gent; / Quant vit la dame Tirïene, / Ce li fu vis que fust Diene: / Molt i ot bele veneresse, / Del tot resenblot bien deesse. / Quant al lo vit, por soe amor / Li est muee la color. / Ele devale les degrez / Et li chevals fu apretez, / D'or et de pierres tot couvert / A son monter ses druz la sert. / Conreez fu lo Troïen / Com por aler an bois, molt bien; / Lo cor al col, l'arc an la main, / Ne sanbloit pas de rien vilain: / Ce vos sanblast que fust Febuz. / Il est montez, ne tarda plus, / Par la resne la dame moine / Qui por s'amor ert en grant poine; / Li suens conduiz formant li plect. / Errant vindrent an la forest, / Asez i ot veneson pris. / Tant chacierent qu'il fu midis; / Idunc leva soldeemant / Molt grant oré et grant torment: / Tone et pluet, molt fet oscur, / Nul d'aus n'i estoit a seür. / Fuiant s'an tornent plusors parz; / Li plus hardiz i fu coarz, / Li plus vasaus de peor tranble. / Onc n'an remestrent dui ansanble / Fors la raïne et Eneas; / Cil dui ne departirent pas, / Ne guerpi li, ne ele lui. / Tant vont fuiant ansanble andui, / A une crote sont venu; / Iluec sont andui descendu. / Estes les vos andos ansanble: / Il fait de li ce que lui sanble; / Ne la raïne ne s'estorce, / Tot li consent sa volenté; / Pieça qu'el l'avoit desirré. / Or est descoverte l'amor; / Onc mes puis la mort son seinor / Ne fist la dame nul hontage. / Il s'en retornent a Cartage. / Al demeine joie molt grant, / Ne cela mes ne tant ne quant, / Molt s'en faisoit lie et joiose; / Ele disoit qu'ele ert s'espose, / Ensi covroit sa felenie; / Nel li chalt me que que l'an die; / An dasriere et an devant / Fait mes de li tot son talant.” [1550]

²² On the the cowardice and treasonous betrayals of Aeneas (Antenor included), see Dictys of Crete, *Ephemeridos belli Troiani libri*, esp. Books 4 and 5 (consulted in the French ed. by G. Fry, *Récits inédits sur la Guerre de Troie*, esp. pp. 177-216). Cf. Logié, *L'Énéas, une traduction*, pp. 270-73; also Mora, edition cited, p. 265, n. 1. The inter-connections among the Romances of Antiquity are relevant here. On the fraught subject of sodomy in this text, see Cormier, “Taming the Warrior...,” as well as Klosowska, *Queer Love in the Middle Ages*, Ch. 3, “The Place of Homoerotic Motifs in the Medieval French Canon:

Discontinuities and Displacements”; also “Sodomy, Courtly Love, and the Birth of Romance: *Le Roman d’Énéas*,” a chapter in Noah Guynn’s monograph, *Allegory and Sexual Ethics in the High Middle Ages*; S. Hafner, “Coward, Traitor, Landless Trojan: Aeneas and the Politics of Sodomy” (comparing the two vernacular versions, aims to show the accusation unjustified: Aeneas not guilty); Chr. Baswell, “Men in the *Roman d’Énéas*: the Construction of Empire”; V. A. Lankewish, “Assault from Behind: Sodomy, Foreign Invasion, and Masculine Identity in the *Roman d’Énéas*.” S. Gaunt has dealt with the topic, indirectly, in his chapter, “The (Queer) Look of Love: Narcissus, Bel Vezer, and Galehaut,” pp. 168-293 in his monograph *Martyrs to Love*.

²³ Catherine Nicolas, “Didon dans le *Roman d’Énéas*”—“De la souveraine riche, preuse et sage à l’amoureuse dervée qui perd le sens puis au pardon final, le parcours de Didon traverse tous les paradoxes: elle est souveraine mais impuissante, courtoise mais coupable d’intempérance, piège et piégée, remplie de haine et de pardon...Figure ambiguë mais touchante, elle est prisonnière de sa nature de femme et de sa passion fatale, saisie entre deux extrêmes, sans espoir de salut.”

²⁴ See the now the introduction and standard translation by Fisher, pp. 3-4, on the fraught question of Veldeke’s language. [Vv. 1670; pp. 97-100]: “When Lord Enéas had been there a long time and Lady Dido was never able to arrange or contrive that they should indulge the love she longed for (and in fact, it was taking longer than suited her), it occurred to her late one evening to come up with her own solution. With her mind made up, she decided early one morning she would ride into the forest for [vv. 1674-1790; 59,8-62,2] amusement and follow the hounds and while away the time, for she was in great need of it. [...]” The German text, just fourteen lines of which are printed herewith, draws on the Internet archive reference—http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/veld028thfr02_01/colofon.htm. Accessed 19 Oct. 2020. Heinrich van Veldeke, *Eneide*, 1964, 2008 (veld028thfr02_01.pdf). See also the more recent edition Heinrich von Veldeke, 1992, *Énéasroman*: 59, 5 ss. = v. 1671 ss. *Ir mut truc sie dar zu, / Daz sie eines morgens vru / In den walt riten wolde / Und sich da banechen solde, / Horen die hunde / Unde kurzen die stunde, / Wan ir was des vil not. / Den jagern meistern sie gebot / Und hiez in enbieten / Das sie sich also berieten, / Sie wolde rieten in den walt, / Iz were warm oder kalt. / Sie wolde das man jagete, / Er das iz vollen tagette. / Des morgens vil vru / Do bereiten sie sich zu.*

²⁵ Fisher, p. 7. See also Cormier, “Indications d’oralité...”

²⁶ See Cormier, “Reimagining Vergil...,” pp. 143-145. Wakefield, pp. 273-277 on Veldeke.

²⁷ On Ovidian references in the text, see Petit, *Naissances*, pp. 380-84, 1276-94.

²⁸ Classen, p. 28. Note that Dido probably did not lose “her virginity” to Eneas (Classen, *ibid.*). The analysis by Schmitz depends heavily on the *artes poeticae*; Meincke studies a generalized narrative structure. See also Opitz 1998; Gibbs and Johnson, *Medieval German Literature*, pp. 122-26.

²⁹ Hart’s extensive essay emphasizes throughout an Oedipian reading of the composer’s life and works. Extensive bibliography may be consulted at <http://www.hberlioz.com/pubs/books.htm>. Consulted 8 Oct. 2020. See also Joe Keith Law, *Opera Quarterly* 19, 3 (2003).

³⁰ Jacques Barzun, *Berlioz and His Century*, pp. 432n2.

³¹ Of the *Enéas* Singer writes: “It is a transformation that reveals a development in the erotic mentality of Western man.” (p. 771), a comment that could also apply to the *Énéasroman*.

³² See Cormier, “Taming the Warrior” and J. Haas, “Trojan Sodomy.”

³³ See, e. g., Putnam, *The Humanness of Heroes*, Ch. 5, The Authority of Turnus.

³⁴ See Francine Mora, *L’Enéide médiévale*, esp. pp. 62-71, 124.