BERLIOZ AND VIRGIL

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LES TROYENS AND THE AENEID

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I hereby certify that the work embodied in this thesis is the result of original research and has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other University or Institution.

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BERLIOZ AND VIRGIL

The relationship between Les Troyens and the Aeneid

SYNOPSIS

Berlioz based the libretto of his five-act Grand Opera Les Troyens on books II, the second half of I, and IV of the Aeneid of Virgil, and set it to music which illuminates his vision of Virgil's epic poem. This thesis compares the story patterns, narrative techniques, themes and content of the two works.

Because Virgil uses the technique of retrospective narrative in Book II of the Aeneid, and Berlioz unfolds his story in chronological order, I have used the sequence of Berlioz's work as the basis for the comparison. The thesis analyses in detail Berlioz's re-use of Virgil, the points where Berlioz's treatment coincides with Virgil's, the points where he diverges from Virgil, and the main thrust of Berlioz's argument.

The two most important differences which emerge between the two works are the divergent ideas on the gods, and on the conflict between personal love and duty. Whereas pietas and filial duty are central to Virgil's work, the importance of love between man and woman is central to that of Berlioz. And in Les Troyens the terrific tension between love and duty is illuminated in Act V, where Aeneas must leave Dido even though Berlioz has shown in Act I, with Cassandra and Coroebus, that, fate permitting, such a love can be duty as well.

Virgil shows us the gods at work, and carefully attempts to explain their motivation. Berlioz however structures his music-drama so that the gods, only one of whom (Mercury) makes an appearance, are shown to be cruel by their complete indifference to those who invoke them.
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INTRODUCTION

Berlioz says in his Memoirs: "it was Virgil who first found the way to my heart and opened my budding imagination, by speaking to me of epic passions for which instinct had prepared me."¹

And Hugh Macdonald comments:²

Berlioz's passion for Virgil was aroused in childhood. In his early maturity he appears to have given less thought to Virgil than to his other literary idols, especially Shakespeare; but by 1850 we may detect the first stirrings of a large scale conception based on the early books of the Aeneid which was to bear fruit in the composition of Les Troyens between 1856 and 1858.

Berlioz says:

Four years earlier (i.e. in 1856) in Weimar, while talking with Princess Wittgenstein.... I was drawn on to speak of my admiration for Virgil and of the idea I had conceived of a vast opera on the Shakespearean plan, based on the second and fourth books of the Aeneid.³

Berlioz wrote the libretto between April, 1856 and 26th June, 1856. During this time he completed, as well as the words, the music of No.37 (the love duet which concludes Act IV). The remainder of the music was composed between August, 1856 and 12th April, 1858.

My detailed consideration of Virgil's Aeneid and Berlioz's Les Troyens is primarily concerned with the relationship between Virgil's epic poem and Berlioz's work in its five-act form as presented in the main text of the New Edition.

Berlioz made several alterations to the score; those created in order to allow separate performances of Acts I-II and III-V as self-contained operas are obviously not relevant to this study, and I shall only discuss scenes or numbers which Berlioz discarded where they are relevant to my consideration of the relationship between the Aeneid and the "ideal" form of the work which the New Edition presents.⁴
Les Troyens has been described as a five-act grand opera. Berlioz called his work Opéra en cinq actes. He also described it as a lyric poem and referred to it as "mon grand opéra Les Troyens."

This thesis supports the opinion of W.J. Turner, who said "Les Troyens is not an opera in the ordinary sense; it is something much rarer, described by Berlioz himself as a tragédie lyrique."

In fact, David Cairns, in his Editor’s Introduction to his translation of the Memoirs says "Berlioz had many roots – in eighteenth century tragédie lyrique......" These descriptions, poème lyrique and tragédie lyrique seem to lead naturally to Jacques Barzun’s description of Les Troyens as "Virgilian Music Drama."

Throughout my dissertation I shall refer to Les Troyens as a tragédie lyrique (lyric tragedy) in order to place special emphasis on the sincerity and integrity with which Berlioz approached the tasks of setting Virgil and of writing music drama, in spite of his obligation to conform to the dictates of the Paris Opera.

The aim of my dissertation is to compare the narrative techniques, story patterns, and implications of the two works. It will be understood that I see the Aeneid and Les Troyens from a special viewpoint, one which is alert to the extremely close relationship between them. As a result, I present their two visions side by side, rather than concentrating my whole attention at any one time on either the Aeneid or Les Troyens. And since my dissertation is comparative, it does not attempt to provide a full treatment of either work in itself.

My discussion aims to unfold the similarities and differences between the epic poem and the tragédie lyrique, and I only discuss the musical
aspects of the *tragédie lyrique* when these are relevant to and illuminate the establishment of the relationship between the *Aeneid* and *Les Troyens*.

Berlioz had to adapt Virgil's text very carefully, so that his audience (of whom he had a very low opinion\(^{12}\)) would receive a clear-cut impression of events.

He also made occasional notes, in his score, of the lines of Virgil which inspired parts of the action or text, and these are noted and integrated with my argument.

I have used the sequence of Berlioz's work as a basis for the comparison, taking the reader through the fifty-two numbers as they occur, and providing, for each of the five acts, a concise introduction which summarises Berlioz's re-use of Virgil, the points where Berlioz's treatment coincides with that of Virgil, those points where he diverges from Virgil, and the main thrust of Berlioz's argument.

It has been necessary to approach my work in this way, firstly because Virgil employs the device of retrospective narrative in A.II-III\(^{13}\) whereas Berlioz unfolds the events in chronological order. Secondly, while some of Berlioz's scenes and numbers correspond closely with Virgil, many, while being inspired by Virgil, present the events and characters in a very different way. The reasons for and effects of these widely divergent treatments will be discussed in each chapter and during my conclusion to this work.

Berlioz's style consists of a constant use of vivid and immediately obvious dramatic contrasts - the musical contrasts are often as subtle as
the contrasts in Virgil's poetry — and it is by this means, at least partly, that Berlioz translates the epic poem into musico-dramatic form.

In a letter to Leon Carvalho, July 15, 1863 Berlioz says "Nous ne mettons pas en scène l'Abbé Delille mais Virgile, et Virgile Shakespearian-ise!"¹⁴

Berlioz certainly felt that his opera should resemble a Shakespearean tragedy (see above, note 3). And indeed the opera itself shows many signs of being influenced by Shakespeare (see Nos 2, 12, 36, 37, 39, 40, 42, 52). There is also evidence of direct or indirect influence of some other dramatists and poets — principally Euripides (see Nos 14, 15, 16), Homer (see Nos 6, 16), Seneca (see No. 46), Racine (see Nos 24, 45), Webster (see No. 42), and the Roman historian Livy (see No. 44).

These influences will be discussed as they occur, since they have a considerable effect on the closeness of the relationship between Les Troyens and the Aeneid.

The books of the Aeneid which Berlioz has set, are, in order, II, the second half of I, and IV, with fragments of or ideas from books III, VI, and XII included. I shall discuss his omissions during the course of my argument and as part of my conclusion, especially since Berlioz frequently created new material to compensate for his omissions.

Since Virgil wrote his Aeneid towards the end of the first century B.C. and Berlioz wrote his Les Troyens during the nineteenth century A.D., some of the differences between the two works will simply be the result of the differences between two cultures. These will be discussed briefly as they occur, and during the conclusion.
I have not been able to acknowledge all individual points of disagreement between myself and other scholars. Indeed, the literature on Virgil alone is so vast that it would be almost impossible to read all of it during a lifetime, let alone the time allowed for research at doctoral level. I hope that where my interpretation of either or both works is at variance with those of other scholars, my viewpoint will be adequately supported by positive arguments in the thesis. My interpretation is in no way intended to invalidate the interpretation of others, but to stand beside them as an additional perspective.

The Virgilian scholars to whom my general line of argument owes most are R.D. Williams, R.G. Austin, K. Quinn and G. Hight, while the discussion of Les Troyens tends to be close to the viewpoints adopted by J. Barzun and D. Cairns.


4. All of Berlioz's alterations, rejections, and additions are found in *Les Troyens, Supplement Volume 2C*. Full details of the dates of composition of Les Troyens, its origins, sources, and most significant problems are found in this work, and many of the same are found in the Preface to the Eulenberg Edition of the study score of Les Troyens, 1973.


12. See *Memoirs* pp. 577, 579-80, 584, 591, 592.

13. All references to *Les Troyens* will be by number, from No. 1 to No. 52 inclusive, and by bar-lines within these numbers. References to the *Aeneid* will take the form of A. followed by a Roman numeral designating the particular book of the *Aeneid,* followed by Arabic figures indicating the line number(s).

   e.g. the *Aeneid,* Book II, line 426 will appear as A.II.426.

   To avoid confusion, Latin forms have been used for all proper names whether the reference is to the *Aeneid* or to *Les Troyens.*


   * However, the strong Shakespearean influence, which Berlioz acknowledged, and which this thesis makes a particular point of bringing out, adds an element quite foreign to this genre.
ACT I

INTRODUCTION

In Acts I and II Berlioz dramatizes Book II of the Aeneid, the first of the two consecutive books which comprise Aeneas' narrative to Dido.

When the curtain rises on Act I of Les Troyens, the Greeks have already sailed to Tenedos, having left on a bank of the Scamander a wooden horse. Berlioz introduces us immediately to his Trojans, who are rejoicing almost deliriously because they believe that the Greeks have returned to Aulis, and that the enormous wooden horse has been left by the Greeks as an offering to Pallas Athene. No. 1 is based on A.II.1-39.

In No.2, Berlioz introduces Cassandra, whose suspicion of the Greeks' actions is the deep suspicion of a visionary, and who expresses great anguish in anticipating the doom which she knows is about to overtake King Priam, the Trojans, and her lover Coroebus whom she will try to persuade to leave Troy so that he at least will escape that doom. No.2 is developed from A.II 246-7, 344-6, 403-6, and Aeneas' role of narrator in A.II.

In No.3, Berlioz introduces Coroebus who will neither leave Troy and Cassandra nor believe Cassandra's misgivings. He fails, too, to comprehend the vision of the sack of Troy which Cassandra attempts to communicate to him. Since he will not leave Troy, Cassandra offers him her hand, and love-in-death. No.3 is based on A.II 615-18, 662-3, 364-6, 368-9, 424-6, 565-6, 624-31, and 341-6.

In No.4, all ranks of Trojans praise the gods of their "eternal city", and humbly entreat their protection.

In No.5, all ranks of Trojans watch a short series of popular games.
No. 6 changes the carefree mood of the games to deep sorrow as Andromache, the widow of Hector, brings her little son Astyanax to see his grandparents, King Priam and Queen Hecuba. The number is based on A.II.453-7 and A.III.301 ff.

No. 7 brings another extreme contrast in which Aeneas rushes in and describes the death of Laocoon. This number is based on A.II.50-6, 199-221, 40-56, 199-233.

In No. 8, Trojans of all ranks express their horror at what they assume is the punishment of a priest for committing an impious act. The No. is based on A.II.228-31, 199-200 and 220-233.

In No. 9 Aeneas takes charge of the ceremonial drawing of the wooden horse within Troy. No. 9 is based on A.II.229-33, 235-7, 238-9 and 246-9.

In No. 10 Cassandra reiterates, with even greater intensity, the frustration and anguish she revealed in No. 2. No. 10 is based on A.II.246-7, 189-94, 241-2, 345-6.

In No. 11, while the Horse is brought into the city we hear the music of the procession, and Cassandra informs us of events as they occur. Once, when the progress of the Horse is halted and a clash of armour is heard within it, Cassandra briefly hopes that it will be brought no further. But the Trojans interpret the noise as a good omen, the Horse is brought within the city, and Cassandra at last realises exactly how the ruin of Troy will be effected. No. 11 is based on A.II.246-7, 237-45 and 248-9 with an idea developed from A.II.189-94.

In No. 1, Berlioz's major difference from Virgil is that his crowd of Trojans are united in favour of the Horse, and are presented as being especially suggestible, gullible and overconfident. But from Nos. 2 to 6 inclusive,
Berlioz strikes out on a different path from Virgil. He begins this divergence with the introduction of his Cassandra, whom he develops as the most significant character of Acts I and II using Virgil's brief descriptions of her as a basis. At this stage she has two roles — that of prophetess or visionary, and that of narrator, replacing the Aeneas of Virgil's Book II. In No.3, too, Berlioz makes Coroebus a character of considerable, if not enduring, significance, and allows us to see and hear the lovers interacting. With No.4 Berlioz reinforces his earlier vision of a united Troy. By showing his Trojans paying most reverent homage to their gods he begins to lay the groundwork for the developing impression of divine cruelty and indifference. No.5 is in effect a ballet sequence, and in Virgil there is no time for popular games. Here Berlioz's Trojans, their worship completed, turn to entertainment. Their enjoyment closes with the entrance of Andromache (No.6), whose mute suffering as she presents Astyanax to Priam and Hecuba moves the chorus to sympathetic comment, the women to tears, and Cassandra to comment warningly that the present mourning is not the last.

It is with No.7 that Berlioz begins to return to Virgil's path, introducing Aeneas as narrator of the action, advice, and death of Laocoon. In No.8, he expands the hurried reaction of Virgil's Trojans to the ghastly news, and shifts the emphasis from the justice of the "punishment" to the feeling of horror it produces; then in No.9, Aeneas takes charge of the operation of bringing the Horse inside the city.

Berlioz delays the action during No.10 wherein Cassandra, again functioning both as visionary and Aeneas-the-narrator, again cries out against the imminent ruin of Troy. And Cassandra's dual role endures throughout No.11 where we hear the procession which follows the Horse, but see the events through her eyes.
Throughout Act I, Berlioz's argument has three strong threads. The first is the nature of his Trojans — their extreme suggestibility and gullibility. The next is the counterweight to their view of reality, in the person and vision of Cassandra who knows that doom is imminent, but cannot communicate her knowledge to Priam or the people, or even Coroebus. The third is his gradual unfolding of a picture of gods who pay no attention whatever to the prayers offered them.

Note

1. Berlioz wrote a Sinon scene between Nos 6 and 7 and later abandoned it. We are not absolutely certain why he abandoned it, but it is probable that he did so in order to comply with the request of Royer, who was at that time the director of the Opera. (see Hector Berlioz, New Edition of the Complete Works, Volume 2c, Appendix III, p.875). The retention of the scene would, however, have weakened the force of Cassandra's role (c.f. pp. 239-3), and it is therefore possible that Berlioz removed it on his initiative.
Berlioz has based his text and action in this number on A.II.1-39. He changes the Myceneae of A.II.25 to Aulis.

He develops Virgil's brief description of the sides of battle in A.II.26-30 and uses them as a basis for his presentation of the mood and attitude of the Trojans in their first stages of delusion.

He develops considerably the importance of Achilles (A.II.29) so that he becomes a symbol of menace, even in death. The menace is the menace of the Greeks, even when absent.

He omits Thymoetes and Capys and the division of opinion they represent in A.II.31-9.

He delays the advice of Laocoön, A.II.40-56, and the punishment of Laocoön, A.II.199-231 to Nos 7 and 8 (q.v.).

He omits the whole Sinon episode, A.II.57-198. (see p.16.)

The difference between the directness of the lyric tragedy and the retrospective narrative of this part of the epic poem is striking. In Virgil, Aeneas is the narrator of Book II (cf A.II.2), even though his experiences do not begin until after the sortie from the Horse (A.II.270 f).¹

In Berlioz he appears as one of the characters of the drama only, and does not emerge as a spokesman and potential leader until No.7.

Virgil begins A.II at the end of the banquet used by Dido to indicate the extent to which the Trojans are welcome in Carthage (cf A.I.637-56). The atmosphere is one of silent anticipation (cf A.II.1) and the introductory words of Aeneas himself prepare the ears of all for a tale of extraordinary misfortune and deep sorrow (cf A.II.5-13).
Virgil's epic poem involves two narrators; himself and Aeneas. By this means he seeks to involve the listener/reader in the tragic destruction of a people (A.II) and the tribulations of the man marked out by fate to bear the responsibility of founding a new home for the survivors (A.III - Aeneas' narrative, and A.I, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII).

While Aeneas is the narrator, with Virgil pointing the way editorially, we see these two impressions, the former in close-up, the latter at a distance. In the Aeneid we see the fall of Troy in retrospect, and we also see the tribulations of Aeneas both during that fall and on his subsequent journey as told to Dido, in retrospect.

It was necessary for Virgil to evoke the weariness, adversity, and long frustration of the Greeks' mission (A.II.13-14) in order to achieve the degree of foreboding which he wishes to communicate with the following description of the wooden horse (cf A.II.15-20).

By unfolding the scene gradually, Virgil reveals the human and divine forces working to produce a fate which is inexorable and a doom which is inevitable. Although much material occurs between A.II.14 and 236, he uses the same verb - labi - to describe the duration of the Greeks' endeavour and the wheels which the Trojans use to allow the instrument of its destruction to enter their city. In Virgil we look back to the Horse, the impressions made more intense and prolonged with the fairly detailed description and statement of fact - it is fact because it has happened - made possible by retrospective reconstruction (cf A.II.14, labentibus, A.II.236, lapsus).

Virgil, despite being a lover of the country, describes the joy not of being released from the stifling state of siege, but of the ability of
the Trojans freely to inspect the various sites and landmarks of battle.

A.II. 26: "ergo omnis longo solvit se Teucria luctu" is followed immediately and with fitting abruptness by a release which is not entirely expected, the rather childish delight shown by the Trojans in A.II. 27-30:

pandumur portae; iuvat ire et Dorica castra
desertosque videre locos litusque relictur:
hic Doloquam manus, hic saevus tendebat Achilles,
classibus hic locus, hic acie certare soletant.

Virgil uses the prominent placement of desertos and relictum as warning devices, so that his readers and audience remain aware of the actual threat under which the unsuspecting Trojans disport themselves, and the repetition of hic is a rhetorical device which portrays and communicates the excitement which the Trojans feel. His use of the imperfect tense (ll. 29-30) is ironical, with sweeping gestures almost simultaneously conjuring up images of the various activities of the crowd in their eagerness to gloat over that which - they believe - they need fear no more. With line 26 - omnis - Virgil gives an impression of great masses of Trojans rejoicing in their freedom to inspect the battlefield in 1. 27 f.

Virgil moves abruptly, reflecting the manner of the Trojans moving swiftly from one sight to another, from the memorable sites of battle (A.II. 27-30) to the division of opinions concerning the wooden horse; this is represented by the opposing advisory comments of Thymoetes and Capys (A.II. 32-9).

That there is a division of opinions concerning the wooden horse is not surprising, in retrospect. Virgil has Aeneas here describe the Horse as (A.II. 31) "......innuptae donum exitiale Minervae". Although the gift was supposedly an offering from the Greeks to Minerva, it is effectively Minerva's way of making an offering of the Trojans to the Greeks. There is
something very terrible about the goddess' maidenhood. She has helped the Greeks to construct a wooden horse which has a fruitful womb. (cf A.II.20, 38). This Horse is a mother of destruction devised as a result of the inspiration of a maiden goddess.

So dark are the murderously images of the Horse used by Virgil for emotional effect (see above), that (A.II,39) "scinditur incertum studia in contraria volgus" which relates what actually happened at the time, is made even more horrifying by Aeneas' wisdom, on behalf of all Trojans, after the event (A.II.54-6). This is the basis of Aeneas' narrative stance: how could they have been so deluded? And yet they were. He feels his own responsibility in this event, as in later events, most strongly (A.II.6), and Virgil uses him to give life to the tragic paradox; the inescapable truth that although the gods worked strenuously for their destruction, they brought that destruction upon themselves.

A.II.25 "nos abisse rati et vento petisse Mycenas" is the direct precursor of No.1, and A.II.26, especially "iuvat ire" is the point at which the music drama begins, and the whole spirit of this line is what is heard in the orchestral music from the beginning (bars 1-13-30) and then sung (bars 31-44). Because Berlioz wants the tomb of Achilles to be the initial focus of the action A.II.27 "panduntur portae" has been omitted. For reasons of theatrical practicality, as the curtain rises, the Trojans are already spread over the plain of Troy, and prominent in the rejoicing are children, reflecting the nature of the joy which the adult Trojans are expressing.

To the joy of Virgil's Trojans (cf A.II.26 f) Berlioz adds the joy of breathing the fresh rural air after long confinement within the walls of
Troy. It is the beginning of the seemingly propitious state of nature which helps deceive the Trojans into believing all is well.

Virgil's Aeneas begins his tragic reminiscences from a position of security - a high couch at a sumptuous banquet at which he and his companions are most welcome and honoured guests. This basic security is never eroded, not only because of their contemporary safety, but because the events Aeneas narrates are long past. In Berlioz's opening we see the Trojans in a position of false security, and, as the music admits their voices (bar 31 f) they reveal themselves in a state of reckless naive happiness which will be cruelly undermined as the lyric tragedy unfolds.

Berlioz's orchestration is light here. There is minimal use of strings, and these, when used, play a subordinate role only (bars 67-73, 83-91, 102-8, 125-6, 204-20, 228-48). The excited, regular rhythm of the upper woodwind's inverted pedal represents the people's almost delirious joy, and the bassoons and brass represent their actions (bars 1-30). All forces combine to create an atmosphere of naive optimism. The thirty bars of introduction suggest the running of feet. The use of the off-beat suggests leaping starts - triumphal dancing, not ritual but spontaneous, to the music of rustic pipes; and then the wordless cries of the initial choral entry (bars 31, 34) project the complete spontaneity of unrestricted rejoicing.

The rejoicing motif is simply a rising chromatic sequence of long notes given impetus by short ones, achieving circular motion ringing out in space. The predominant melodies tend upward, expressing sudden happiness, with just enough descending movement to recall, occasionally, the shadows of the immediate past.
The brief relative minor shading of the G major tonality during the first choral passage (bars 41 ff.) suggests nostalgia rather than the irony of Virgil's sweeping description (cf. A.II.26 ff.) of the brief physical and emotional release of the people of Troy after the Greeks' simulated departure from their shores, and 138 bars are devoted to the communication of the following simple yet ironic sentiments,

Ha! ha!
Après dix ans passés dans nos murailles,
Ah! quel bonheur de respirer
L'air pur des champs, que le cri des batailles
Ne va plus déchirer.

which are repeated so often that we are convinced, especially when hearing the last naïve statement, that it is psychologically necessary for the Trojans to believe that the Greeks' departure is unfeigned and final. Berlioz is concentrating on the way in which the long years of confinement have disturbed the balance of the people's judgement.

At bar 139 a complete change in the music accompanies a change in text and action. The excitement, now set in $\frac{2}{4}$ allegro vivace, is of a different order from that of bars 1-138 ($\frac{6}{8}$ allegro vivo). The confidence of the people takes the form of contemptuous levity, and, significantly, is led by youths and children. The music is much more homely and prosaic; the pleasure derived from discovering the Greeks' discarded weapons is secondary to the pleasure of feeling superior to the departed foe (bars 143-62):

Que de débris! - Un fer de lance!
Je trouve un casque! - Et moi, deux javelots!
Voyez, ce bouclier immense!
Il porteraix un homme sur les flots!
Quels poltrons que ces Grecs!
The contempt is quickly proved to have been bravado when un soldat, informing the youngsters of the proximity of the site of Achilles' tent, (bars 153-78) has to calm their swift cringe of terror by reminding them that Achilles is dead (bars 179-84). Berlioz is building up the importance of Achilles, mentioned once by Virgil at a comparable stage in the Aeneid (of A.II.29), into a figure symbolizing the reality of Greek menace, and therefore a warning. Achilles, although dead, is still here in Troy - a Greek. There is a startling warning from the brass as the soldier pronounces his name (bars 176-8) - the first use of brass in this allegro vivace section, and contrasting sharply with its generally prosaic feel. The fact that the name itself ought to warn the Trojans more deeply than giving them temporary and superficial alarm (diminished chord, chorus, bar 178), but does not, is significant in continuing the thread of recklessness.7 The huge shield (see above) found by the lads is large enough to recall the Homeric shield of Ajax, but the Trojans fail to apprehend the irony that anyone large enough and heroic enough to bear such a shield would be unlikely to have discarded it and fled.

At the beginning of the scene, Berlioz has directed that "Trois bergers jouent de la double flûte au sommet du tombeau d' Achille".8 This is as close as possible to having the Trojans dance on Achilles' grave; an unwise and impious act. Even in death, Achilles might be expected to punish such disrespect. It is likely that Berlioz had this in mind, for he uses Polyxena to lead the chorus of Trojan women in No.14. Polyxena was sacrificed at the tomb of Achilles at the command of his ghost in the version of the myth employed by Euripides in Hecuba and Troades: we shall see in No.6 that Euripides' work influenced Berlioz.
The people continue to behave with mercurial recklessness. Reassured by the soldier's words, they swell with pride as they remember "de ce monstre homicide, Pâris nous délivra". Berlioz's insertion of this information from the epic cycle is intended to increase the people's confidence. 9

Virgil, who himself considers Achilles of importance as a figure of dread (A.II.7, 29) increases the people's confidence in the future by using Simon, who has no place in Berlioz's final version.

Now that the people have dismissed Achilles, they are off without a break in another direction (bars 200-48):

- Connais-tu le cheval  
De bois, qu'avant de partir pour l'Aulide  
Construisirent les Grecs? - Ce cheval colossal,  
Leur offre à Pallas, dans ses vastes entrailles  
Tiendrait un bataillon. On abat les murailles.  
Dans la ville, ce cir, nous allons le trainer;  
On dit que le Roi vient tantôt l'examiner!  
Où donc est-il? - Sur le bord du Scamandre!  
Il faut le voir sans plus attendre!  
Courons! courons! Le cheval! le cheval!

It is as though the Horse is just another piece of debris left by the Greeks, if we judge by the nature of the excitement, which is so mercurial that the Trojans do not tell us how they discovered that the Horse was the Greeks' gift to Pallas.

In Virgil, the Horse is (a) described in careful, retrospective detail;

(b) believed to be the maiden goddess Minerva's destructive gift because the Greeks have started a rumour to that effect;

(c) terrible because the metaphor of lines 20 and 38 suggests that it is a pregnant mother;

(d) recognized retrospectively as the guile and distrusted gift of the Greeks;
(e) it almost hangs like a cloak over the whole scene as a result of having no precise location.

In Berlioz the Horse is (a) the completely innocent object of a naive excitement which, in the circumstances, any novelty could arouse in the Trojans, who seem to have assumed that the Horse was the Greeks' offering to Pallas (Berlioz never tells us how they reached this conclusion);

(b) it is seen only in the imagination of the audience, relying on the description of the chorus;

(c) it is described only as being of enormous size — large enough to hold an army;

(d) it is worthy of royal scrutiny and already welcomed in Troy, suspected by no one, as far as we know at this stage.

Unlike Virgil's crowd, Berlioz's crowd is not divided; nor are they governed by superstition or religious fear; the name of Achilles inspired fear only until they were reminded that he was dead. Virgil's crowd of Trojans gave signs of responding to the advice of Thymoetes, Capys, (A.II.31 f) and it was precisely because they would have responded to Laocoon as well (A.II.40 f) that Sinon had to be introduced.

Because Berlioz's Trojan crowd is insensitive to the danger embodied in the Horse — literally and metaphorically — the tragedy of Cassandra who finds that she cannot use her own extreme sensitivity to help them avert that danger is very pronounced when she makes her first appearance (No.2).

Berlioz uses the garrulous excitement of his crowd to communicate several things. His Trojans assume that the Greeks are returning to Aulis, not Mycenae, let alone Tenedos. It is the size of the Horse that has captured their imaginations, not its construction as Aeneas recalls it in A.II.16. Although it is ostensibly an offering to a goddess of the martial
arts, and could hold an army in its entrails, this does not awaken their perceptions. Already we learn that the walls are being levelled for its entry-a fact which we do not learn in Virgil until A.II.234.

Berlioz has omitted Thymoetes and Capys, for the whole weight of the division of opinion concerning the appropriate treatment of the Horse will be borne in Les Troyens by Cassandra. And the action and punishment of Laocoön serves to turn the weight of opinion even more firmly away from her warnings and toward the material evidence which the Trojans believe the Horse embodies. Virgil's divided crowd is finally overcome and united by religious superstition and divine deceit and opposition, not by the misinterpretation of facts and physical occurrences, combined with a determined and naïve optimism, which is constantly being demonstrated by Berlioz's Trojans-who seem at this stage to be extraordinarily gullible.

2. "Virgil begins A.I. with foreboding and mourning query."
3. Austin (II) p.29.
4. Berlioz was, in any case, saving the strings for Cassandra.
5. "At the beginning of the opera the combination of shrill, rapidly pulsating woodwind chords, a texture devoid of mass, the absence of strings, and the curiously jaunty melodic material, at once trivial and possessed, conveying a sense of ritual madness, help to establish from the outset the idea of fatum, of a people rushing to ruin". David Cairns, Responses (Secker and Warburg, London, 1973) p.103.
7. In Les Troyens (Paris, 1897), Destranges, on p.10 calls them "Les imprudents Troyens".
8. "...the stage direction at the beginning of the opera 'three shepherds playing the double flute' is derived from the Aeneid, echoing a passage in Book IX". Cairns, p.95.
9. See also *Iliad* XXII. 359-60.
Berlioz has based his re-creation of Cassandra on A.II.246-7, 344-6, 403-6, and Creusa's part of A.II.771-84. He also transfers to Cassandra Laocoon's misgivings about the Horse (of A.II.43 and 48). To a large extent he uses Cassandra to replace Aeneas in the unfolding of A.II. The difference is that while Aeneas when narrating Book II is wise after the event, Cassandra in No. 2 has pre-knowledge.

In A.II. there are two women, one living, and one dead, who are gifted with prophetic vision. They are Cassandra (A.II.246-7) and Creusa (A.II.778-84). Cassandra has the vision which would, if believed, enable Troy to avert its doom, and Creusa, appearing as a ghost, has the vision which can give strength and comfort to Aeneas in his long years as seeker and founder of the new home of Troy's survivors and the destiny of succeeding generations. Virgil does not tell us that the Trojans believed that Cassandra was mad. He probably did not have to. The fact that his Coroebus was insanum Cassandrae incensus amore (A.II.343) is enough to indicate the reaction of the majority, or the well-trained conformists, to those whose emotions exceed the bounds of what, in his time, was considered prudence.

All we know from Virgil is that a god's command prevented the Trojans from believing Cassandra's prophecies.

Virgil devotes only A.II.246-7, 343-6, and 403-6 to Cassandra, thereby evoking a vivid and pathetic picture of her as prophetess and woman. As part of this picture of Cassandra he devotes A.II.341-6, 407-3, and 424-6 to Coroebus, as Priam's future son-in-law who for love of Cassandra is fighting on the side of the Trojans (A.II.342-6).

Virgil's brevity— as well as his late introduction of Cassandra— emphasises the Trojans' neglect of Cassandra as a prophetess; not only were
her prophecies disbelieved, they were barely noticed, quickly dismissed as unexceptional ravings; and then it emphasises the pathos of her love affair which would have ended in marriage had the Greeks not captured her and slain Coroebus (A.II.403-8).

Cassandra's two-fold tragedy (as prophetess and bride) is completed early in Book II (A.II.403-6). It is some time after this that the living Creusa begins to play her part, when Aeneas remembers her and their son Iulus after the death of Priam (A.II.557-63); and when Venus appears to direct his steps, as well as his thoughts, to his family (A.II.596-8). Creusa continues her role as Aeneas' loyal and fearful wife during the extreme difficulty caused by Anchises' refusal to leave Troy (A.II.650-80). She then follows in the wake of her husband when the family do leave (710-711), after the menstrum (680) changes Anchises' intention.

When all the Trojan survivors meet at the appointed place (tumulum antiquae Cereris 742) Creusa is the only one missing. The pathos of her unknown, unnoticed fate is as pathetic as the visionary, emotional, and physical fate of Cassandra - until her appearance as a ghost.

When she appears to the anxiously searching Aeneas as a ghost larger than her living self (771-3) her function is to reassure him of both her fate and his future. Her other-wordly wisdom and caring at this stage resemble that of Venus for Aeneas at A.II.594-620. This resemblance extends to more than just the tone of voice and approach.

Just as her form is larger than life, so are her knowledge and vision extraordinary and prophetic. In death she no longer needs Aeneas' protection, and in death is able to give him all of the reassurance and comfort afforded by her new and extraordinary knowledge. Creusa had to
die before gaining extraordinary knowledge, and Cassandra had to endure hers while she lived.

Creusa was a wife and mother, Cassandra a virgin, deprived, by circumstances, of her imminent marriage. Each is ultimately yearning to be a protectress and is given the means. However, it is given to Creusa to use those means, whereas Cassandra's prophetic - protective gift is fated to be wasted, ineffectual.

Berlioz creates his Cassandra from Virgil's Cassandra and ghost of Creusa so that she appears as a virgin betrothed to Coroebus, but with a mature, womanly anticipation of the fulfilment of marriage. She is a woman of prophetic gift and extraordinary vision; and she cares intensely about Troy, Priam, Coroebus, and the people. Indeed she seems to symbolize truth itself, wisdom and history.

Berlioz makes sympathetic use of Virgil's pathos, and presents Cassandra much earlier in his work than she appears in Virgil. Virgil reversed the traditional importance of the positions of Cassandra and Laocoon, and Berlioz reverses the positions of Virgil's Cassandra and Laocoon. (This will be discussed more fully in Chapter 7).

Berlioz builds Virgil's crowd division (cf A.II.31-9) into an opposition between the people and Cassandra. His Cassandra represents the view of Virgil's Capys (cf A.II.35) "et quorum melior sententia menti", in a particular way. She is the only dissenting voice with regard to the Greeks' departure, and she raises echoes of those wiser beings, with the difference that her foreboding, like Laocoon's in Virgil, is well founded. Because of his dramatic technique of introducing Cassandra immediately after the rejoicing chorus, Berlioz does not need to make a dramatic representation of A.II.31-9,
and since there is in his work never any debate about the popular acceptance of the Greeks' departure or of the Horse, he offers a completely different contrast from Virgil's: in Berlioz the people are contrasted with Cassandra, which builds her into a character of enormous significance. His technique makes her a character of fully tragic stature in comparison with the pathetically tragic Cassandra of Virgil. In both works her tragedy is one of waste, but in Berlioz she has much to say, and is speaking directly to us, the audience, and receiving our support.

The people really are dreaming. We see in No. 1 that they believe that their release from the war with the Greeks is a reality, that their dream of peace has come true. In this number we see Cassandra facing reality and bitterly regretting and renouncing the dreams of her own which will never be fulfilled.

At the same time, he increases the significance of Coroebus, who, because he is the human being closest to Cassandra, is able to make her position very clear.

When we meet Cassandra in Berlioz, she is already deeply troubled. Priam will not listen to her and doesn't want to understand, and Coroebus believes she has lost her reason. Both Priam and Coroebus are royal, and therefore ought to be above the level of vision of the people, but they are not. Berlioz crystallizes the gulf which exists between Cassandra and the people of Troy, first around her memory and Priam's incomprehension, and secondly around the conflict (which is staged) between her and Coroebus.

Instead of observing a superficial, rejoicing chorus of people, we are confronted by one concerned and meditative woman. Accordingly, the tempo of the music changes completely. Berlioz saved the strings, for the most
part, for this very moment. Full strings are used in unison in a predominant role, helping to replace the light orchestration of No.1. No.2 begins with a strict combination of accompanied and dry recit.

As we experience Cassandra's music we find that she bridges two realities, that of this world, and that of the world of infinite knowledge, perhaps of fate. Her music gives her in Berlioz a heroic stature which she retains to the end of her life, and which is contained in the very fact of the appearance of her ghost in Act V (cf No.42).

The introduction (unison strings, bars 1-7) does more than represent Cassandra's moral and intellectual stature. There is something of the menace of Virgil's Minerva (cf A.II.15-17, 31, 162-75, 225-7) which Cassandra here must counteract. At bar 5, the woodwind enter with a counterpoint which moves slowly upwards in narrow intervals, expressing the stealthy approach of her own awareness of disaster. And the introduction itself begins to undermine with remarkable suddenness the rejoicing of the Trojans before Cassandra even opens her lips.

Her first statement (bars 8-9) not only compresses A.II.24-5 but creates, immediately after this introduction, the atmosphere which Virgil intensifies gradually over lines 13-198. And with this statement Berlioz begins his reversal of Virgil's technique: throughout this scene Cassandra muses, as Virgil's Aeneas does, in retrospect (cf A.II.34, 54-6, 105-6, 145, 195-8).

In this passage Berlioz sows in the minds of the audience the seeds of the eventual disaster. For Cassandra's broodings are punctuated by interjections from the strings which anticipate some of the musical material of Nos.15 (bars 2-3, 49-55, 68-74) and 16 (bars 49-52).
Where Virgil used a gradual building up of the atmosphere of dread or foreboding, Berlioz achieves it with intense economy by means of musical and dramatic contrast. He removes a joyful, chattering crowd and replaces it immediately with one woman whose initial address to the audience is

Les Grecs ont disparu.....
mais quel dessein fatal
Cache de ce départ l'étrange promptitude?
Tout vient justifier ma sombre inquiétude!

He changes the orchestral textures completely, introducing strings in full force. He changes the tonality from G major to minor - all the light to shadow and heaviness. The contrast is complete, and the undermining of the whole of No.1 by the introduction, text, and accompaniment of the recit. of No.2 is completely convincing, even though those simple musical and dramatic contrasts are the only preparation for the intense forebodings and visions communicated during No.2. And when we reach the air, the fact that it is a requiem for Troy and for Cassandra's own future is no surprise and offers no implausibility. Cassandra and her orchestra speak, and we believe them, right from the shock of the uprush of strings which begins No.2. At bars 17 ff she tells us that she has seen the ghost of Hector.

Though Hector appears to Aeneas in No.12 to the same music which now depicts his tread on the ramparts, this appearance merely confirms Cassandra's forebodings, whereas his approach to Aeneas is an unexpected attempt to salvage something from the wreckage of Troy.

The intervals of the stealthily ominous, menacing melody are ascending. When Hector appears to Aeneas (No.12, bars 111-42) the intervals will descend as gradually as they now creep upward. Before the disaster Hector's melody ascends because one had to act as if there were still hope; but in reality there never was any hope. The tragedy is that all strengths and
knowledge had to be used in any case. Paradoxically, although we know this, although Cassandra knows it, we continue to hope, following all her attempts to save at least someone or something from the wreckage she foresees, and until the disaster has actually struck, we continue to hope it will be averted.

There is more than a suggestion of the ghost of Hamlet's father in the ghost of Hector as he appears in Berlioz. He appears on the ramparts of the city, but does not speak to her. He will only speak to the one who must act on his message. Later when he appears to Aeneas, he does speak. Berlioz uses this same technique in Act V, when the ghosts are heard and felt by Panthus and the chieftains, and only after that do they actually appear to Aeneas (Nos. 39 and 42).

Cassandra is the only character in Les Troyens who utters the word "Malheur!" (bars 29-30). But the cry is akin to the mood of the reminiscing Aeneas in Virgil (cf A.II.34, 54-6, 105-6, 145, 195-8). Virgil's Cassandra opens her lips (cf A.II.246-7) but he gives us no indication of the kind of emotion which accompanied her prophetic utterance. The exclamation "Malheur!" marks the moment at which she returns from Hector's world to the fate of Troy. To Cassandra here, Troy's final hour is Priam's tragedy, not the tragedy of Virgil's Anchises (cf A.II.634-50) who is omitted from Berlioz's re-creation. Filial duty is ever present in his tragédie lyrique (cf Nos. 3, 6, 12, 13, 27, 28 and 44) but it is no more important than bonds of other kinds, such as love between man and woman.

At A.II.403 Virgil announces Cassandra as the virgin daughter of Priam, and it is the image of streaming hair, upturned blazing eyes, and bound hands which is impressed on us as the last view we have of the ill-fated
prophetess. Berlioz has turned the bound hands into frustrated impotence. In Virgil she lives and goes to her fate (for in Virgil we do not know when she dies) without our ever knowing what she has said to the Trojans. Berlioz's Cassandra, on whom the wrath of Apollo might never have alighted, pursues a different path. She speaks, and what she says, and the way she says it, reveal her whole character and makes her actions plausible.  

The air (No. 2, bar 43 f) begins with Priam because his orders began the fall of Troy. The people may be reckless and naive; but their king is leading them. The last six bars of her recit. divide into two compressed parts: the warning of Hector, and her pain with regard to the king's error of judgment. The air itself is an expression of the release of pent-up emotions implied by the recit. An ominous viola tremolo resolves, in the second bar, into a beautiful string chorale. The elements of emotion are resignation and sympathy (bars 43-51), rising desperation, frustration (bars 52-63).  

We have seen her turn outward in two directions: toward Priam, and toward the people. Then, after her horror has emphasised the gulf which exists between her and the people, we hear, in the orchestral part, her turning away from it towards her lover, Coroebus (bars 64 f).  

At bars 67-73 we hear for the first time that her lover believes she has lost her reason. Berlioz has prepared for this very carefully in the text, beginning with a king and people who disbelieve her prophecy of doom for Troy, then introducing a lover who doubts her sanity. The orchestral music now anticipates the pastoral mood of No. 3 (bars 74-7). Furthermore, in this passage, woodwind and strings are at variance, and they will be in No. 3 when these different forces will be in opposition, each to portray the
emotions of one of the lovers.

Virgil does not tell us whether Cassandra knew of the mad love she had inspired in Coroebus, and this mystery adds to the psychos of her situation. But Berlioz devotes this middle section of Cassandra's air (bars 64-96) to presenting her predicament, and her knowledge that death will precede her marriage.

The last two phrases of this central section (bars 90-7) sum up the different aspects of her heart and mind, those aspects which cause her to speak and act the way she does from now until her death: the first, un poco animato ed agitato (bars 90-2) shows the agitated type of fear which we will associate more and more with Cassandra, and the second, a tempo (bars 93-7) portrays an acceptance which is intellectual, not emotional; this is borne out by the agitation of the lower strings and the gently dissident counterpoint of the solo flute.

Her acceptance is a determined, heroic submission to inexorable fate rather than a resigned or passive acceptance.

The recapitulation of the first section of the air, beginning at bar 97, is subtly different. One broad new clarinet part is added to show the change in her contemplation of Priam. She now sees him more sympathetically. The strings follow her downward in a more regular counterpoint than before, continuing on to anticipate her, lending greater certainty as she seems to be accepting Priam's fate, until the word descendre (bars 104-5).

The vocal line has been altered subtly to express precisely the shading of her mood. There is a sympathetic appoggiatura for nuit (bar 101), descendre has lost its tension and now descends smoothly with the violins at
bars 103-4 in minor seconds, and with the return to exasperation at bar 106, all the emphatic phrase-endings fall — all those beginning tu referring to Priam — cadentially by means of appoggiature, adding certainty to the exasperated, frustrated type of fear which she is expressing now.

At bar 115 Cassandra again turns inward, assisted by the direction avec accablement, briefly spent by the turbulence of her concern. And this time the turning inward generates nothing fruitful, for she and the music come to a complete stop (again, cf bar 115). This did not happen at bar 63 (from 61) where the figuration of cellos and basses promised something further — the special dimension given her womanhood by her love for Coroebus, even though he believes she has lost her reason. She can forgive this, and this understanding extends by virtue of Coroebus to those she loves only a little less but differently, especially Priam.

At bar 117 there begins a very beautiful and tender unison-with-thirds tailpiece to the air. Here strings and woodwind are in accord. It is high-pitched in immediate contrast to her previous dejection (cf bar 115), because it is a movement back to the peaceful contemplation of love (bar 122, elle tombe dans une tendre reverie). However, overlaying the sinuously peaceful changing note (cf bar 124) is a sinister crescendo and diminuendo in the upper strings (trem.). In bar 123 the air has been coming to a traditional close with a pause followed by a cadence. But this is interrupted by the tremolos whose tragic undertone foreshadows the change to purposeful thought of bars 127-30, during which we realise that Cassandra is going to make a determined effort to save Coroebus, even if she cannot save Priam and his people.

The air as a whole introduces the idea that the Trojans, who believe
they are so fortunate, are an unfortunate and doomed people, cared for intensely by one woman whose prophecies they have rejected completely. The air brings Cassandra's prophecy of doom forward, and the number overshadows with its own reality the imagined reality of peace and freedom we observed during No.1.

The air introduces the love affair between Cassandra and Coroebus, and demonstrates how the love and concern the prophetess feels for her lover can subtly change her attitude to Priam and the people. For through the classical ternary structure of the air, we see Cassandra pass through intense frustrating anguish and despair (caused by Priam and the people); then, deeply regretful but courageous resignation from dreams of personal happiness (with Coroebus), and finally a more sympathetic view of Priam's stubborn blindness. The air confronts us with the notion that Priam's death is so close that his hours are numbered, even though he is utterly oblivious. There is no difference here between the unfortunate king and the unfortunate people, and this emphasises the gulf between Cassandra and all other Trojans.

The coda shows us another side of Cassandra's character which we have not yet seen; her incredibly strong determination which co-exists with her brave submission to fate.

But more than anything else, the air has made us believe in Cassandra's viewpoint, and, has at the same time, ensured that we shall continue to identify with Cassandra as she fights to save whatever can be saved in Troy's last hour.

2. A.III.182-7 Anchises recalls Cassandra's disbelieved prophecies, and the reminiscence bears out the pathos of the lines devoted to Cassandra in A.II.


7. See also Cairns, p.97.


10. The use of the Locrian mode on G (bar 10) expresses here (as the same mode does in No.14) the searching of women for knowledge which they feel to be outside themselves, wisdom which they need to draw in.


12. Note especially the return of the tragic mood in the lower strings from bar 53.
Here, Berlioz continues his development of Cassandra's character and introduces Coroebus, who becomes a significant character for this number, making only one further appearance – after the ghost of Hector has appeared to Aeneas (cf No.13).

Berlioz has drawn his text from A.II.615-18, 622-3, 364-6, 368-9, 424-6, 565-6, 624-31, for Cassandra's vision, but the actual thrust of the text and action is closely based on A.II.341-6; the lines in which Virgil gives us his brief but plentiful information about Coroebus.

Coroebus does not appear in Virgil until A.II.341, after the sortie from the Horse and after the appearance to Aeneas of the dream ghost of Hector. By introducing him in this number Berlioz is both bringing him forward in the sequence of events, and delaying the entry of the Horse into Troy.

No.3 has several dramatic functions. Firstly, it gives the audience a greater understanding of the gulf which exists between Cassandra and the rest of the Trojans by presenting that gulf on a personal level through the introduction of Coroebus. As an individual he is able to represent the popular viewpoint, and as we observe his reactions to Cassandra's prophecies, we are better able to understand the reaction of the population as a whole. At the same time we learn the measure of Cassandra's frustration.

Secondly, the scene provides a comparison of the "reality" which Coroebus and the people can see, and the future which Cassandra alone can see.

Thirdly, the love affair and the persuasion of Coroebus are needed to focus Cassandra's determination and to carry the plot further. Berlioz has her describe to Coroebus and the audience a vision of carnage which, once
communicated by Cassandra, does not need to be dramatized.

Fourthly, through the love affair Berlioz is able to make the point that his belief in filial duty notwithstanding, marriage is the most sacred tie, thus dissenting from Virgil to whom the most sacred bond is filial duty. (cf. A.II.560 followed by 562-3, 634-8, 707-11).

Finally, the scene continues to develop the heroic stature of Cassandra. Part of her heroism is her constant determination to save whatever she can from the disaster which she knows will befall. Here, since she cannot save Coroebus from death because he refuses to leave her, she at least cheats death of the satisfaction of preventing their union.

In Virgil Cassandra and Coroebus are never seen together, nor do we hear any words of theirs. This emphasises the futility of Cassandra's attempts to avert doom by prophesying the waste of Coroebus' courage and effort in battle. In Virgil, Coroebus is certainly determined and brave (A.II.341-6):

.............. juvenisque Coroebus
Mygdonides: illis ad Troiam forte disbus
venerat, insano Cassandrace inconsensu amore,
et gener auxilium Priamo Phrygibusque ferebat,
in felix, qui non sponsae praecpta furentis
audierit!

This passage builds him as a romantic hero. As the son of Mygdon, the king of Phrygia, he is of illustrious parentage. The love for Cassandra which burns in him is out of the ordinary, and for this he has come to Troy to fight for Priam. He is unfortunate because, unable with the rest of humanity to hear or listen to (A.II.346) the visionary claims of his sponsa furens (A.II.345), his effort will be wasted and his life extinguished. The last significant event he observes before dying is the capture of Cassandra by the Greeks, and his reaction is, characteristically, determined
and brave, if futile and suicidal, (407-8) "non tuit hanc speciem furiata monte Coroebus, et sese medium iniict periturus in agmen". His action and subsequent fighting was sufficiently outstanding for Aeneas to remember his fate (A. II. 424-6): "......primusque Coroebus, Peneleoi dextra divae armipotentis ad aram, procumbit". And so in Virgil, Cassandra's fate is capture by the Greeks - Aeneas does not elaborate - and it is the fate of Coroebus to be slain by a Greek, Peneleus. Each has tried to save the other, and both have failed. Moreover, they have been separated utterly, before their marriage.

For this scene, Berlioz creates a Coroebus who is very similar to Virgil's. He builds both on the overall picture of determination and courage communicated by Virgil and on each one of Virgil's specific images - Myzonides, ....insano.....amore, pener....Priamo, infelix, non.....audierit. Berlioz's Coroebus is a young prince of Asia, betrothed to Cassandra. He is very deeply in love with her and disturbed by the visions she has which he cannot share or even begin to comprehend, even though she spares no effort to communicate their meaning and importance. He came to Troy with his father's blessing, to fight by the side of Cassandra's brothers to save Priam's city, and is firmly convinced that his marriage to Cassandra will take place tomorrow.

The scene is a pastorale in which idyllic passages are offset by stormy interludes. Berlioz uses his structural devices to present the difference between Cassandra's vision and that of Coroebus, and the efforts each makes in what each believes is the other's best interests.

Eight bars of orchestral introduction (with an aside from Cassandra establishing the identity of the newcomer) illustrate the very determined
entry of Coroebus. The recit. which begins the pastorale (bars 8-35) has two functions. Through Coroebus (bars 8-16) we, the audience, are reminded that apart from Cassandra, all of Troy is rejoicing, and the implication is that the people feel they are being shunned by Cassandra, whereas her recit and air (No.2) have given us the impression that she and her vision are being ignored. The second function of this first recit. is to establish the conflict between the lovers, a conflict based not only upon mutual concern but on the degree of difference in perception. Coroebus at first is affectionately indulgent of Cassandra's chosen solitude, calling her "pensive Hamadryade" (bars 15-16), and then, when she first begs him to leave, becomes thoroughly alarmed, (bars 29-32), since he believes that the most sacred tie - marriage - is soon to bind them. These words are not inconsistent with Virgil's Coroebus (A.II.341-6).

Cassandra's unequivocal statement "C'est le temps de mourir et non pas d'être heureux" is cryptic, provoking him to take control of the action (as is shown in the orchestral music bars 35-49) and launch into the tender cavatine in which he makes the first of his attempts to bring her back to her senses. The crucial line of his text here is "Cesse de craindre en cessant de prévoir" (bars 54-7): he wants her to abandon her special gift and perceive the world and events as others see them. Although his hope is impractical, he is not crude or unpoetic; his own perception of life includes a passionate appreciation of natural beauty. It is not because he is insensitive that he does not share her perceptions. The reality he wants her to see begins to emerge: "Lève vers la voute azurée, L'oeil de ton âme rassurée" (bars 58-65); he wants her to see hope for Troy's future in the beauty of the sky (bars 70-81).

Now that Coroebus has established himself so beautifully in the cavatine,
we observe Cassandra in a new recit. counter-attacking his ordinary vision with her extraordinary vision of the carnage which she foresees will mark the last hours of Troy. Berlioz has based it on lines taken from a wide range of passages from A.II, to make a vision which is very horrible. The first three lines of text: "Le barbare dieu même à nous perdre acharné/
Au livre du destin mon regard a su lire/Je vois l'essaim de maux sur nous
tous déchaîné!" (bars 87-101) may be related to A.II.601-3: "non tibi Tyndaridis facies invisa Lacaenae/culpatusue Paris, diuum inclementia, diuum/has ertit opes sternitque a culmine Troiam" and to A.II.622-3 "Appar ent diræ facies inimicaque Troiae/numina magna deum",
but Berlioz's barbare dieu is stronger than Virgil's diuum inclementia, and Virgil says nothing of a book of destiny in which Troy's fate is written and sealed. These words, especially when considered with Cassandra's cry of capitulation "ô diœux cruels" near the end of this duet (bars 403-9) are beginning to suggest that Berlioz's gods are perhaps even more cruel than those of Virgil.

Here Berlioz dissents from Virgil, whose scene of carnage is told in retrospect by Aeneas, and who concentrates, when people die, on those who are male and die fighting. Although Aeneas' description, in Virgil, of the fall of Troy includes many confused battle scenes, and several memorable vignettes of sufferings of women (Cassandra, Hecuba and her daughters, Helen, Creusa); Berlioz is preparing here for a single-minded emphasis, replacing the narrative of scenes of destruction and carnage with the plight of women (Nos.14, 15, 16).³

Cassandra's vision of the fall of Troy is female-biased. It is based on Virgil's image of Cassandra herself being dragged away with hands bound, hair streaming, blazing eyes. This particular vision or image of Virgil's — of a woman who cannot speak or gesture, a woman whose eyes only can convey
her feelings, lends itself to Berlioz's Romantic imagination. Even though
the half-naked virgins are a cliché, they are potent images of Romanticism,
and suggest Virgil's Cassandra (A.II.402 f) as interpreted by Berlioz.

Virgil's Aeneas concentrates on only those women who are fated to
die or go as slaves as a result of the Greek victory. Helen, Hecuba,
Creusa stand out, but not as women whose plight is subject to the victory
of Greece over Troy.

The vision of the black vulture on the highest tower singing of death
is inspired both by A.II.615-16 and the scene in Macbeth where Lady Macbeth
triumphs in anticipation of persuading her husband to kill Duncan.
"The raven himself is hoarse/That croaks the fatal entrance of Duncan/
Under my battlements." 4

The river of blood is not in Virgil. It is Berlioz's own contribution
to his particular picture of horror which, in the nature of a nightmare
vision, is compressed and melodramatic, compared with the realistically
structured episodes and images of Aeneas' reconstruction of the disaster in
A.II.

In Virgil, the death of Coroebus occurs early in the mêlée (A.II.424-6).
In Cassandra's vision in Berlioz, it comes as the climax. The economy of
its expression and the fact that he is one male being slain, rather than
females being ravished, balances the vision of the earlier lines.

As Cassandra's vision recedes and its power fades (oboe, bars 173, 6, 9,
181, 3, 4), the orchestral music expresses sadness and the sympathy which
Coroebus feels for his beloved (bars 165-61). But his next words demonstrate
that he has understood and learned nothing; to him, that horrible vision
was the product of a fevered brain (bars 181-4) "Pauvre âme égarée!" The next section is musically a reprise of the cavatine. Berlioz is using classic ternary or da capo form to demonstrate that Coroebus has learnt nothing. He reiterates his plea of bars 49-81 (bars 185-209) while Cassandra insists that death is hovering over them. Here, the woodwind are Coroebus', the strings Cassandra's. But as the other woodwind support Coroebus, the oboe re-doubles its former plaintive description of the fading of Cassandra's vision (bars 171 etc. above, and bars 189-92, 205-6). The strings support and impel Cassandra with the motif which introduced her in the opera (bars 193-4, 198-9, 201-2).

But neither has yet won. A return to peace in the violins (bars 210-14) leads to Cassandra (bar 214) appealing dejectedly to Coroebus again, this time to his filial duty (bars 214-22). Since there is no future for the two lovers, let Coroebus return to care for his aged father. Cassandra's suggestion is in accord with Virgil's general vision of filial duty, but Coroebus counters it in the spirit of his (insanus) original. He does not believe in Cassandra's vision of evil, but if she were in danger his father would expect him to support and defend her (bars 223-30). And so Coroebus redoubles his efforts to persuade her, in a new section of the cavatine, more tenderly passionate than before, combining his love for Cassandra and his intense response to the beauties of nature, all of which he draws upon as allies (bars 237-288, "Mais le ciel et la terre"). He responds so intensely to the world of nature, and feels such an affinity with it, that he believes that the confidence and optimism which it inspires are eternal. But beautiful weather never lasts forever, birds are eventually silenced and driven to migration when the clouds of winter are unloosed, and the gentle waves in the vicinity of Tenedos conceal the real menace
which lurks there. This power of nature, which seems so propitious, is very different from the atmosphere, heavy with menace and foreboding, which Virgil's first 39 lines create (A.II.1-39), and Berlioz's calm of nature here symbolizes the convincing nature of the Greeks' deception.

Just how swiftly such things can be shattered is demonstrated by the way in which Cassandra interrupts him with a recit. of the utmost power. Her strength now is that of knowledge (bars 289-304).

She begins the duet proper which is an allegro section of intense, driving energy (bars 305-82), during which Cassandra in desperation begs Coroebus to leave her tonight, and Coroebus, just as desperately begs her to have pity on him and not destroy him. In a brief recit. (bars 383-406) Coroebus' intense pleading becomes most piteous, and Cassandra can feel that she is on the point of surrender (bars 398-402), when a memory of fate (bars 403-6) gives her the strength to make one more attempt. But Coroebus resists her to the end (bars 407-445), finally breaking the ring pattern of words ("Pars ce soir!") which the power of her personality has forced upon him, and concluding with supreme strength "Ô désespoir" (bars 439-45).

At last he has won the right not to abandon his betrothed, and the brutal syncopation in the orchestra (strings, bars 448-52) illustrates his triumph over Cassandra in this long, hard battle. He wants only two things, to remain with her, and to persuade her to abandon her solitary pursuits. The first he has won. In a final recit. Cassandra turns from command to questions:

Tu persévères
A t'immoler à ton funeste amour? (bars 562-7)
L'épouvantable jour
Te verradonc combattre avec mes frères? (bars 670-6)
To both he replies "Je ne te quitte pas!" With distinct relish, Cassandra indicates that she is happy with the answers Coroebus has given to her questions. The common-law marriage which she offers him is very much a nineteenth century love-in-death fusion. She wanted very much to save Coroebus from death, but once she had accepted the fact that he would not leave her, true to her determination to save whatever could be saved, she turned joyously and immediately toward the salvage of love-in-death, changing his undesired self-sacrifice into something she could find sublime.

Both her capitulation and her embracing of the idea of love-in-death are Romantic and un-Virgilian. Glad to be defeated by his unconquerable love for her, and glad in part that they will be together with death unable to separate them, she capitulates. With tender pride and defiant facing of the future she offers herself now as his bride, cheating death of their union, at least (bars 482-507). And now Coroebus attempts to win his second point. Crying "viens! viens!" he drags her away from this place whose solitude he seems to blame for her "strangeness" (bars 505-27).

2. A.II.364-6, 368-9, 565-6, 624-31, 424-6.
The *Marche et Hymne* is not directly based on Virgil, but its dramatic irony, and its presentation of the Trojan people as a group wholly united behind the leadership of their king, make this number a replacement for Virgil's Sinon.

In No.4, the focus is on the people of Troy for the first time since No.1. Numbers 2 and 3 have intensified our fears for their safety, and confirmed our suspicions of their folly.

In A.II. the Trojan people succumb to their fate through a series of stages: the simulated departure of the Greeks (a deliberate human action) (A.II.21-4, 185-94, 195-8), the offering of the Horse (a deliberate divine intervention on the side of their enemies, the Greeks) (A.II.13-20, 31-9), the treachery of Sinon occurring just in time to distract their attention from the advice of Laocoon (A.II.57-104), Sinon's emotional appeal - the horror of human sacrifice seen through the eyes of the potential victim (A.II.108-144, 195-8); and the punishment of Laocoon (divine intervention favouring the Greeks) (A.II.199-227).

And as a result of all these things, which have been designed against the Trojans, the Horse is brought into the city.

The Sinon episode unites the divided crowd. They are first made to feel kinship with him through common fear and hatred of Ulysses, who symbolizes both for Sinon in his pretence, and the Trojans, the cruelty of the Greeks. (A.II.6-8, 44, 90, 122, 128, 164). The enmity of Sinon and Ulysses is carefully described A.II.90-100. After a brief interruption during which Sinon cunningly contrives to have the people insist that he continue his story, the remainder concerns Ulysses' machinations against Sinon and against Minerva - his theft of the Palladium. Ulysses has served his purpose
in Sinon's story by the end of A.II.170, but from A.II.132 "Iamque dies infanda erat......" begins the most subtle appeal of all, and, for the reader, the most effective piece of irony. The Trojans begin to identify themselves with Sinon as one who was about to be sacrificed as they themselves were (and, although they do not know it, still are); one who burst his bonds as they longed to; one who seemed to long as much as they for the departure of the Greeks. Now that their country seems to have been restored to them, they pity this stranger who will - he claims - never again see his own, and in the dignity and respite of their imagined freedom, they long to offer him a home. A.II.192-4 "sin manibus vestris vestram ascendisset in urben/ultrum Asian magnae Pelopeae ad moenia bello/venturam, et nostros ea fata manere nepotes", seem to be the first seeds of Troy's survivors' later aspirations, and prophetic of the future glory and militarism of the new race.

This confident national pride bleeds out in the eight-bar introduction to Berlioz's No.4 which is a classically balanced expression of nationhood and religious observance. The seeds of hope which Sinon so subtly and imperceptibly sowed in A.II. are heard and felt here, even though Berlioz does not include Sinon in his work, in its final form.

Right from the beginning they have accepted the Horse without question, and this is primarily, as far as we know, because they have accepted nature's radiant countenance as a good omen. This idea has been overwhelmingly reinforced by Coroebus (No.3), the unofficial representative of the people's viewpoint. Whereas the Trojans of A.II. are beclouded and overwhelmed by specific gods, the Trojans of Nos.1 and 4 are inspired - the physical reverse of overwhelmed - by ambient natural benevolence which cannot be denied, at least on a material level, and at least for the present.
No. 4 is a spectacular demonstration, to the ears and eyes, of misconstrued signs, misdirected action, and unfounded confidence. In No. 1 the music gave no indication that the people were sensible of anything other than the most superficial and obvious interpretation of events. They accepted the Greeks' departure without question. They assumed the Greeks must have been cowards after all. They understandably, if unwisely, grasped at freedom after a ten year siege, but failed to question their own motives for accepting that their new freedom was permanent.

This march and hymn reveals to us, the audience, the false confidence and useless piety which further aids the Trojans to conceal reality. Whereas in A. II. the emphasis is on the deception of the Trojans by external forces, in Berlioz it is on an understandable self-deception. Understandable because of the way events seem, as pointed by the supposed action of the Greeks, and the psychological effect of nature; undeniable because the people make no more than a superficial examination of these two phenomena, and embark on no self-examination.

The most immediately felt effect of No. 4 is the dramatic irony. Once again, Berlioz, emphasises that we are approaching a disaster as it comes, instead of seeing it in Virgilian retrospect. The irony is the greater because the Marche et Hymne is so impressive in its sincerity and pious discipline, and because the people have absolute faith in the efficacy of that sincerity and piety. And further, the sobriety of this number contrasts sharply with the irresponsible joy of No. 1. Like Virgil's Trojans, Berlioz's Trojans believe they are doing the right thing by the divine powers, and will reap the rewards of piety.

The first 8 bars are dominated by the brass and exhibit an arch-shaped
melodic structure. This music expresses a feeling of bold confidence, but is ironical because it is going to be undermined by the gods, who ignore the prayer which this music introduces. Then comes a more subtle irony: several bars of unison singing. The Trojans are never more united than here, as they perform their futile invocatory and supplicatory ritual, offering incense to "Dieux protecteurs de la ville éternelle" (bars 2-5) to gods who are not going to protect them, of a city which will not be everlasting. Already in the first sixteen bars, eight of introduction, eight of only partly accompanied choral singing, the balance between civic pride with militaristic overtones and pious ritual has been established. The introduction briefly described above, which so effectively establishes the mood and stance of the people here, was originally written by Berlioz to accommodate the division of Les Troyens into two separate operas (La Prise de Troie and Les Troyens à Carthage). In the final version, the number is introduced by one bar of string tremolos.

At bar 10 the brass provide an emotional bridge from the chorus' first opening prayer to their predominantly proud and confident continuation.

Even at this early stage, two notable brass passages - bars 10-11, 15-17 - are impelling the music toward a climax. Throughout the number they provide the firm support which is being asked of the gods, sometimes completing and approving of choral utterances (bars 19, 23, 45, 49, 59, 76, 89), at others strengthening the words of the chorus by doubling the principal vocal line (bars 34, 38, 72, 81, 91, 103-123).

Their refrain recurs (as the bar numbers show) at ever-increasing intervals and so the structure is progressively extended in scope as the music progresses. At bar 23, a new motif, heard in the woodwind, grows out of the cadential
"les accens" (bars 22-3). This new music gives us reassurance that the whole hymn will be moved forward by continual impulse.

The prayer continues to expand; the strident new appeal to "Dieu d'Olympe" at bar 34, the first instance of brass doubling the singers, is complemented by the quiet, woodwind-supported "Dieu des mers!" The gods are unnamed (they are, of course, Jupiter and Neptune). In classical Greece and Rome it was vital to name exactly the god or gods whose attention you sought by prayer. We do not know whether Berlioz is making his Trojans address the gods unspecifically here in order to justify their subsequent 'punishment', or simply because he does not wish to overwhelm his audience with specific names which may be unfamiliar.

At bars 42 the prayer expands further, as the appeal to both gods as "Régulateurs de l'universe" is strengthened by imitation in the vocal parts and complex decoration by the strings, who have been silent since bar 4.

This climax is itself immediately intensified; the syncopation at bar 45 has the effect of an insistent demand, and this new feeling leads to new harmonic and dynamic shading - major key, piano. This is what bars 46-50 ("acceptez le présens de la reconnaissance") have been leading up to. Surely their recognition of the gods entitles them to be heard with favour. This has been the ultimate goal of their prayer, and from here, bar 60, they begin gradually to move back to their original stance, with appeals to the gods individually and combined. The choral writing is emphatic and powerful, impressing on us their piety and devotion to their gods and their city. And there is another strengthening factor: the stage entrance, at intervals, of leading personages in the Trojan hierarchy. The first, of Né cuba and her daughters (bar 54) is accompanied by the expansion of the orchestral forces
(by the addition of the woodwind), in itself a source of strength. With the entry of Aeneas leading the Trojan warriors (bar 77) comes the long-awaited tutti, and as the tenor line arches out briefly to its fullest (bar 81), any remaining feelings of tension are dispelled.

Priam and the priests appear 21 bars before the last choral bar and their arrival brings no musical or dramatic change. The music, as it flows on regardless of his entrance, prefigures Priam's imminent failure as a king.
In Virgil there is no merry-making between the departure of the Greeks and the entry of the Horse into the city. Events move swiftly from the advice of Laocoon to the treachery of Sinon to the punishment of Laocoon, which makes the Trojans draw the Horse hastily into Troy. Once it is inside, there is some textual evidence of merry-making as well as fatigue: "nos delubra deum miser, quibus ultimus esset/ille dies,festa velamus fronde per urben". "Invadunt urbem somno vinoque sepultam" (A.II.248-9 and 265).

But Berlioz delays the entry of the Horse until No.11. He introduced us to a united rejoicing population in No.1. Again they are united as we observe one of their rituals of worship in No.4, and No.5, Combat de Ceste, is a continuation of that civic focus.

No.5 provides many kinds of dramatic contrast. It is very short, uncomplicated, and frivolous after the weighty pageantry of No.4. It is the first hint of light-hearted abandon since No.1, bringing a return of the basic popular mood. There is a fleeting indication that they are playing at fighting now that they believe the real fighting is over, and at last there is a time and place for entertainment. The number is male-oriented in contrast with the pantomime which follows it (No.6).

All the people and their king are attending to this harmless spectacle as the attention of Virgil's Trojans was directed towards Sinon. There is a strange similarity in the two kinds of diversion, perhaps inherent in the fact that the Sinon episode and the wrestling do occupy the minds of the Trojans at a time when they cannot afford to be preoccupied.

The brevity and light swiftness of No.5 remind us that No.1 was also relatively short. The scenes of happiness in Acts I and II are as short-lived as possible in order to fit, in correct proportion, into the overall
tragic context.

The musical continuity of Act I is interrupted by this number, which is separated by definite silences from Nos. 4 and 6. In this way a bright little picture is taken out of the general framework; and the deliberate separation points up its irony. No. 1 was followed by Cassandra's view of reality; what will succeed the gaiety of No. 5?
Berlioz has based this number on A.II.453-7. He has built a major scene from what is, in Virgil, virtually an afterthought. In the Aeneid, Andromache appears in an incidental description which adds pathos and importance to Aeneas' stealthy entry into the royal palace during the sack.¹

In Virgil, Andromache used to take Astyanax privately to visit his grandfather. Berlioz transforms this into one formal public presentation.

In Virgil this vignette is one of Aeneas' special musings, however brief. Since he recounts the fate of Andromache as part of his narrative in A.III, he is sadly contrasting Andromache's present fate with her former happiness as mother of Hector's son.

Andromache's fate is to play an important part in the wooing of Dido in Act Four of Berlioz (No.35). By introducing Andromache here, Berlioz forges a significant link between the Trojan and Carthaginian parts of the lyric tragedy. It is possible that Berlioz's handling of Andromache and Astyanax here is influenced by the Iliad, Books VI and XXII.

In Iliad VI, 406-13 Andromache addresses Hector, tearfully prophesying his death which will leave her and their little son bereft and alone. In lines 431-2 she begs Hector not to leave his child an orphan and his wife a widow. During lines 466-70 when Hector tries to embrace his son, the child screams and shrinks back, terrified by the nodding horse-hair crest of his father's helmet.

In Iliad XXII, 477-515, Andromache mourns her dead Hector and their tragic destiny. She describes in heart-rending detail the wretchedness which is in store for Astyanax as a fatherless boy. The last line of the book joins all the womenfolk in grief: 515 "So she spoke, in tears; and
the women joined in her mourning."

Berlioz may also have drawn for this number on the famous scene between Andromache and Hecuba in Euripides' *The Trojan Women* (567-685). This scene is largely an integrated dialogue, whose exchanges are closely woven so that both women seem to share their feelings and immediate reactions, then differ in their attitudes and secondary reactions.

Furthermore, at the end of these lines (684-5) the chorus sing "You stand where I do in misfortune, and while you your own life mourn, tell me what I, too, am suffering."\(^2\)

There has been tension between the reactions of the people and Cassandra. These have been wilful, abandoned joy opposed by the concern and anxiety born of a deeper than ordinary knowledge. But there has been no focus on actual human suffering as a result of the ten year long war. One of the functions of this number is to widen the opera's scope to encompass this.\(^3\)

The structure of the music of No. 6 is loosely but undeniably A B A, reflecting the three stages of the action and of the reactions of the people and of Cassandra. Section A is bars 1-26, Section B bars 26-53, and Section A₂ bars 53-93. The action which involves Andromache (wife of Hector, killed by Achilles) and her son Astyanax is performed in pantomime to emphasise the unbridgeable gulf between them and the rest of the people, to emphasise the fact that Andromache's grief is beyond verbal expression, and to suggest the timelessness of that grief.

In spite of the gulf between the sorrowing Andromache and the people whose light-hearted entertainment has been drastically interrupted by her entrance (bars 1-2), there is a parallel between Hector's widow and the
people of Troy - all are living in the past, still mourning the death of Hector, the greatest Trojan warrior of them all.

Number 6 also prepares for the fatal reaction of the Trojan people to Aeneas' news of the punishment of Laocoon (cf No.7). This presentation of Astyanax, by his widowed mother, to Priam and Hecuba, is the only one of the Trojan rituals in Nos. 4, 5, and 6 which approaches the reality and truth of the present and immediate future, for the future, too, will be one of death and mourning.

The action of No.6 is accompanied by a solo clarinet and strings, to express the privacy of Andromache's grief, which moves in emotional parallel with the people's hushed, respectful sympathy.

In Section A, Andromache and Astyanax enter, dressed in mourning, dressed for the past, and the chorus muse in a chant on destiny - destiny which is past, not future since they are talking of the death of Hector. Their words show that they are aware of the difference between their public rejoicing and Andromache's profound and silent grief. As the chorus comment, Astyanax places a basket of flowers at the altar and Andromache kneels and prays. This action is a universal ritual, designed to awake echoes of days of remembrance after war. This part of the ritual completed, Andromache leads Astyanax to his grandfather (Priam).

Section B involves a change in the music to a happier mood; there is hope invested in Astyanax, and this is symbolized by his public presentation to the king and queen. As Priam, and then Hecuba, rise to bless the child, and supported by horns and percussion, (bars 44-53) bassoons and brass, heard for the only time in this number, add their special dignity and solemnity in support of the blessing of this hope.
of Troy, Hector's son. The pathos here is more intense; Astyanax turns away, overawed by Priam's forbidding regalia, and this may have been designed to awake a painful memory of the fear Homer describes his Astyanax as experiencing at the sight of his father's helmet (Iliad, Book VI 466-70). In the literary treatments, Astyanax is always a symbol of those cut down in childhood as a result of others' fear of their potential glory. The grief of Andromache is increased by Astyanax's fear (bars 53-4).

Section A₂ begins with Cassandra, literally and metaphorically apart from the people, passing the tableau upstage. As she begins her own comment, Andromache, overcome by her tears, lowers her veil, unable to face the present or the past. Cassandra's prophetic comment is apt:

Hélas! garde tes pleurs,
Veuve d'Hector....
A de prochains malheurs
Tu dois bien des larmes amères.... (bars 55-63)

Andromache is living in the past, still mourning Hector. And the chorus too are overcome by self-indulgent grief as they now identify themselves with her (bars 75 f). Women weep, and as the number ends the whole chorus sigh in sympathy.⁵

Throughout the number, Berlioz's clarinet melody unites the ideas of destiny and overwhelming pathos (bars 3-26, 53-93); the falling fifths and the falling seconds traditionally associated with sorrow gradually breaking down into simple reiteration of one note (bars 24, 78).

Berlioz is continuing to develop his picture of the Trojans. They are in an emotional state, reacting to each situation as it offers its challenge. Suffering now confronts them and they respond in kind. The fortunes of war have made them more vulnerable to emotional suggestions, and the psychological moment for their plunge into disaster is at hand. This psychological develop-
ment is never seen in A.II. where Aeneas, the central character, is permanently conscious of the burden of responsibility.

Cassandra's function is to complete the chorus' vision, to expose its flaws, and to emphasise her alienation from the Trojans. It is the first time that we have seen the Trojans and Cassandra onstage together, and we now see and hear that exclusion which we felt and understood during Nos. 2 and 3.

1. Cairns, p.95.
3. "....one of the most moving scenes Berlioz in his simplicity has conceived". Suzanne Demarques "Hector Berlioz, "pour clore un centenaire" (Grenoble: Bruno Dardelet, L' Art et la lettre 1970) p.142.
Berlioz has based this narration on A.II.50-6 and 199-221. Of Virgil's two Laocoon episodes A.II.40-56 and 199-233, he has transferred lines 43 and 48 to Cassandra (cf No.11), and combined Laocoon's action and punishment in Aeneas' narrative here, from which he omits Laocoon's two sons (A.II.213-15) and the retreat of the serpents (A.II.225-7). He then develops A.II.228-33 into an octet and choir (No.8).

In Virgil, the Greeks spread a rumour among the Trojans to the effect that the Horse is the Greeks' offering to Minerva (A.II.17). In this way, the belief that the Horse really is an offering to Minerva is at least partially implanted in the Trojans' consciousness. After the antipathy expressed by Capys and the intensely convincing advice of Laocoon (A.II.35-38, 42-9) strenuous efforts are needed to crush any seeds of distrust. These efforts take the form of meticulously devised treachery by the Greeks in the person of Sinon, and a natural phenomenon - the slaying of Laocoon and his two young sons by the monstrous serpents. Sinon's astute psychological warfare, including as it did the portent of the living reactions of Minerva's image (A.II.172-5) to the polluting theft (A.II.163-170) is reinforced by the occurrence, at the right psychological moment, of a natural phenomenon which the Trojans, conditioned by Sinon's tale, automatically regard as a portent, and automatically connect with the Horse and its violation by Laocoon. Sinon's tale has ensured that in the Trojans' minds the Horse and Minerva have become inextricably linked, and that the Horse is the means by which Troy will rise or fall (A.II.162-94). Even the serpents seem to be the creatures of Minerva, since, after destroying Laocoon, they retreat to take shelter beneath the shield of her image (A.II.225-7).

Virgil's whole account of Laocoon (in two parts, divided by the extended Sinon episode) is long, slow, detailed, and heavy with suspense and horror.
For example, Virgil's description of Laocoon's "punishment", from the advent of the serpents to their retreat from the scene is twenty-seven lines long.

Berlioz has, in the first six numbers of Act I been subtly bringing together all events and motives which will, metaphorically, draw the Horse into the city. Only the audience, and Coroebus, have any awareness of the tension created by Cassandra's position. Cassandra is not only ignored by the people; they are as oblivious of what her presence represents as they are of Hector's ghost. It is not until No.15 that we actually know, learning it from the words of the Trojan women, that she has been treated quite effectively as an outcast. This complete physical and musical separation of Cassandra from the action has both emphasised the contrast between wisdom and folly and given extra impetus to the Trojans' movement towards disaster.

Now follows a more obvious contrast. The popular unity of the Trojans is so strong that they are psychologically ready to take the fatal step, giving the action the increase in momentum which has been deeply expected from the outset. The Trojans have responded mercurially to joy, tension, pomp, ceremony, reverence, entertainment, tragedy. Now, the drama is ripe for a major event.

Because Berlioz does not dramatize the Sinon episode, he is able to bring the two parts of the Laocoon episode together (cf. A.II.40-56, 199-233). Cassandra does not appear in Aeneas' narrative in Virgil until A.II.246 (after Laocoon's death, and after the Horse has been placed in Troy's citadel) while Laocoon does not make a personal appearance in Berlioz, and is not heard of until after his destruction; in effect, Berlioz has given to Cassandra Laocoon's position, as the most prominent Trojan to object
to the reception of the Horse.

In Virgil, Laocoon was struck down while performing his duty as a priest. He has an opportunity to make a speech about his mistrust of the Horse (A.II.42-49) before actually striking it (A.II.50-52). The encounter between the Trojans and Sinon (A.II.57-198) removes any doubt that the Trojans might have had concerning the link between the Horse and Pallas, and when Laocoon is strangled by serpents who proceed to take shelter beneath Minerva's shield, they understandably conclude that Minerva has sent the serpents to punish Laocoon.

In Berlioz there has never been any doubt in the Trojans' minds concerning the purpose and appropriate treatment of the Horse. Laocoon is an unfortunate, being the only one apart from Cassandra to suspect treachery. In both Berlioz and Virgil his authority as a priest and the intensity of his warning and action (reported in Berlioz) would have been likely to be influential if the people were allowed any time to consider. Berlioz has replaced Virgil's divided crowd with a fickle one, whose interest is captured by any new event. Since they were all favourable toward the Horse, so, after Laocoon's warning and action, they all might decide instantly to mistrust and destroy it.

In Berlioz, Laocoon hurls his spear at the Horse first, then urges the people to destroy it, and is immediately attacked by the serpents. Berlioz has built up a picture of his Trojans as a people in a highly suggestible state. Aeneas' first words to Priam:

Du peuple et des soldats,
Ô roi, la foule
S'il enfuit et roule
Comme un torrent; on ne peut l'arrêter (bars 5-16)

extend the picture of the Trojans making their excited exœunt at the end of
No. 1. Then Aeneas describes the people's reaction to Laocoon's action
"...excitant/Le peuple indécis et flottant" (bars 40-44).

In Berlioz Cassandra's is the only dissenting voice and her prophecy of
doom was pushed to the back of the people's consciousness. Nor has she
said anything about the Horse. Effectively, then, Laocoon is the only
dissenting voice and as soon as he tries to influence them he is not only
struck down but devoured alive by a natural phenomenon. For in Berlioz, the
serpents come, or seem to come, as a direct result of his action, whereas in
Virgil he violates the Horse at A.II.50-6, but is not struck down until he is
properly, dutifully, and piously sacrificing (cf A.II.199 f).

In comparison with Virgil's long, slow scene of horror, told as part
of Aeneas' reminiscences to an interested and sympathetic audience seven
years after the event, that of Berlioz is brief and swift; the present report
of a most recent disaster made with necessary urgency to King Priam by Aeneas,
whom we are hearing (though not seeing) for the first time in this work. Berlioz
has designed the whole event to cause a sensation.¹

The text of bars 5-16 is an invention by Berlioz to put the people into
prominence. His unified, hurtling crowd contrasts sharply with A.II.212:
"diffugimus visu exsangues". In this line Virgil describes only one aspect
of the human beings - their faces, drained of blood at the sight of these
serpents whose eyes and crests are conspicuous with that very colour. The
description suggests a pile of leaves scattered by some moving object which
is indifferent to its presence. Berlioz's crowd is less passive; it
"S'enfuit et roule, comme un torrent; on ne peut l'arrêter".

The text for bars 20-24 is drawn from A.II.199-200, so that the panic
of the people is narrated first and the narration of the cause of the
stampede follows it. Virgil's crowd scattered before the attack on Laocoon; Berlioz's are rooted to the spot by their horror until the serpents' work is finished.

Bars 26-46 are based on A.II.45-8, 50-2, 39, and, replacing Laocoon's advice (cf A.II.55) with Capys', 37.

Bars 47-82 are based on A.II. 204-5, 212-13, 216-17, and an alteration of 210-11: "ardentisque oculos suffecti sanguine et igni/sibília lambebant/linguis vibrantibus ora".

In Berlioz, "...le brûlant de leur haleine ardente/Ét le couvrant d'une bave sanglante/Le dévorent à nos yeux".

In Virgil we do not see the actual death of Laocoon, and his implied death is by strangulation and venom - the poisoning of his blood by the bite of the serpents (A.II.220-1). In Berlioz, Laocoon is swallowed alive by the serpents as the spectators stand horror-struck. In Virgil, the serpents retreat to take shelter beneath Minerva's image in the citadel. In Berlioz their retreat is unobserved as the people rush headlong toward the central precinct. (Since in Berlioz the serpents do not take shelter beneath Minerva's shield, there is no religious "confirmation" that there is a link between Minerva and the Horse. Considered from this point of view, then, Berlioz's Trojans seem more suggestible than Virgil's. And in Berlioz the serpents do not need to take shelter beneath Minerva's shield in order to sway the Trojans' minds; for in Berlioz the Trojans have never had any doubt about the connection between the Horse and Minerva (cf No.1, bars 200-16 with A.II.17 ea fama vagatur).

Virgil's serpents are not "gonflés de rage". Because they are...
Berlioz, it is understandable that Berlioz's Trojans should assume that their rage has been caused by Laocoon's violation of the Horse and his advice to the people. But there is still room for rational questions which they do not ask. Berlioz has transferred the blazing eyes and hissing mouths of Virgil's serpents. He makes them much gorier; they are fire-breathing dragons whose saliva is of blood.

Although Aeneas enters to music which is closely related to the opening bars of the opera, demonstrating how much this situation is the direct development of the Trojans' initial reckless rejoicing, the music, along with the drama, has matured. In No.1, only brass, woodwind, and timpani were involved to any considerable degree. In No.7 only the trumpets are missing from the orchestra, and the suddenness of the contrast with the previous scene (No.6) is as shocking as the event which Aeneas so swiftly and concisely describes. The deliberate time - simple triple - is used instead of the lightly swinging compound duple of No.1. After the initial bar of quaver triplets, nervous-sounding quaver pairs interrupt the crotchets during the four bars (1-4) before Aeneas' message bursts from him, the taut, muscular energy enhanced by a constant, almost neurotic agitation in the woodwind. The role of the woodwind here is also related to its role in No.1. But here the texture is thicker, and instead of breathlessness, we have horror. Urgency and alarm replace delirious excitement.

In A.II.199 f there is a stillness, almost a feeling of paralysis as a result of the appearance, the deed, then the withdrawal of the serpents. Virgil's Trojans were dwarfed by the event. Now, in Berlioz, the change which we feel surrounding his Trojans is caused by the heaviness of calamity which replaces the lightness of irresistibly clement weather.
The astonishment expressed by the people and Aeneas at this spectacle offers very effective contrast with his actual description. The effect of shocked amazement is expressed in the last two bars of the number by means of a simple combination of strong syncopation and final cadence. This device brings us immediately from the engrossing image of the sudden natural phenomenon to the reactions of the people we can see on stage.

The agitated woodwind quavers have continued through, ensuring that the tense excitement is uninterrupted. This is just one strand of emotion, and the other parts of the orchestra are used to temper it and colour the narrative with the effects needed to illuminate the crude and vivid textual imagery. Note, for example, the thickening of brass texture from bar 73, horn chords during last three bars, tromboni a 3 from bar 71, and the use of strings throughout to accompany the recit. in secco style, providing a subtle but distinct rhythmic stability and dramatic comment against the sparing but significant imagic colour of the brass.

Berlioz's musical imagery has shown the death of Laocoon as an almost obscene disaster. In Virgil, the obscenity was completely eclipsed by the horror of the punishment, and by the actual method of execution. Since the serpents strangled Laocoon (and his sons), rather than swallowing him alive, Laocoon was able to fight to the end. And this terrific tension between the human beings and the serpents stands out in Virgil, just as it has been captured by the famous piece of statuary.

1. There are many variations of the tradition concerning Laocoon's fate. See Austin (II), p.95, and cf W.F. Jackson Knight.

2. Austin (II), pp.92, 93.
Quinn, p.117, states that Laocoon is not only sacrificing to Neptune, the snakes come from Neptune’s domain. It suggests that Minerva and Neptune have joined forces against Troy.

3. In Virgil, after the serpents have glided to Minerva’s feet, there is no more mention of them, nor do we hear the end of Laocoon, but his cries preceding it. Berlioz’s Trojans cannot rid their minds of Laocoon, eaten alive by the hideous monsters. The death is quite horrible enough, so that mention of Laocoon’s two sons, as in Virgil, would seem gratuitous, as well as rendering the text too complex when the single idea of Laocoon, a priest, is what the people must absorb, explore, and communicate to us.

4. Although we have seen Aeneas enter in No.4 as part of the pageantry, we have not seen or heard him as an individual. Berlioz has reserved his entry until now, just as Virgil did, according to Quinn, who says “In Book I a dramatic entry is reserved for Aeneas at line 92”. (p.66). And, to add to our consideration of the contrast here between Berlioz and Virgil, Prescott has said of Virgil’s Aeneas, “Aeneas’ personal experiences do not begin until after the Horse has entered the city and all are asleep”. p.313.
Berlioz has drawn his text, with considerable modification, from A.II. 228-31 and A.II.199-200 and A.II.220-233 for this lengthy and meditative ottetto et double choeur.

Virgil’s Trojans react both too swiftly and too cleverly to the fate of Laocoon, A.II.228-31:

Tum vero tremefacta novus per pectora cunctis
insinuat pavor, et acelus expendisse merentem
Laocoonta ferunt, saecrum qui cuspide robur
laesserit et tergo salere tam interrierit hastam.

Unable to resist believing Sinon’s words about the future greatness of Troy (A.II.139-94), unable now to separate the two ideas of Horse and Minerva, and thrown, understandably, off balance by the sheer horror of Laocoon’s end, they act in haste, A.II.232-3: “ducentum ad sedes simulacrum orandaque
divae/numina conclamat”. Their swiftness was emphasised by Virgil because it was essential that the Horse be introduced into Troy without further delay. The swiftness also balances Virgil’s meticulous and lengthy preparation of the two Laocoon episodes and Sinon (cf A.II.40-227).

In Berlioz there has not been this type of preparation. Here the people’s fatal error needs to be emphasised, the implications and nature of their reaction fully explored. Whereas in Virgil the disunity of the people had to be overcome very carefully to ensure that the Horse would be brought inside Troy, in Berlioz Laocoon is a threat to the perfect unity which had always existed, and is removed before he can influence anyone to question the real purpose of this wooden offering. And because they are driven to act without question, they do not question Laocoon’s death. It is the sort of event which inspires horror rather than one which arouses compassion; the horror breeds fear, and the fear leads to precipitate action.

Berlioz’s Trojans are reacting to a report given by Aeneas. They have
not seen the incident themselves, and the *atteto et double chœur* is a number carefully structured into four sections so that we observe them trying to assimilate the horrific event, and working their way through to a particular interpretation or view of the implication.... The sections are - A, bars 1-42, B, bars 43-56, A₂ (C) bars 56-80, B₂ (D) bars 80-84. A₂ means the text of A is re-used but the music is different, therefore C. B₂ means the text of B is re-used but the music is different, therefore D. Section A is the longest and most formally disciplined.

Although the text is brief, this a very complex piece of *dramma per musica*, requiring detailed consideration.

The octet, comprising Aeneas, Helenus,³ Coroebus; Ascanius, Cassandra, Hecuba; Panthus and Priam, marks out its members as the moral leaders of Troy. The first reaction (bars 1-5) "Châtement effroyable! Mystérieuse horreur!" comes from Aeneas, Helenus, and Coroebus, and their "horreur!" is taken up by the (double) chorus (bars 4-6) who can grasp no more than this at this stage. But the trio of Trojan warriors has implanted the idea that Laocoön's death was firstly an awful punishment, and only secondly a mysterious horror. And indeed, it is the kind of incident which lends itself to superstitious interpretation. In both Virgil and Berlioz, then, at least some Trojans have instantly concluded that Laocoön's death was the result of divine wrath.

The trio's "horreur!" (bars 4-5) is set to a sudden modulation from F sharp minor to C major, an expression of sudden awareness of feeling, and the chord V, reiterated, the only pair of harmonized notes in this passage, is pictorial, causing a frisson intensified by the swift choral echo (bars 4-6).
During bars 6-11 the trio again express themselves and help the others to crystallize their emotions: "A cet aspect épouvantable/Le sang s'est glacé dans mon cœur."

The next three members of the octet, Ascanius, Cassandra, and Hecuba enter at bar 11 in strict imitation (in E minor) of bars 1-11 (cf bars 1-22). At bars 15-16 the chorus, still at their first stage of comprehension, echo the "horreur!" of Ascanius, Cassandra and Hecuba.

Once the trio of men has plainly uttered the first four lines (bars 1-11) and established the direction of the thought and feeling, the remainder of the text of Section A, (bars 12-20) can be introduced and developed by two of them - Corcebus drops out in order to join Panthus and Priam who enter at bar 21 - while the others grope their way towards the implications for them of what they have just heard; for it is an extension of the text of bars 6-11: "Un frisson de terreur/Ebranle tout mon être" (bars 12-20).

In Section A, which is a repetition of bars 1-20, increasing in intensity (bars 21-42), the choral basses are the first of the Trojan people who find words other than "horreur!" (bars 18-21, 30-37). The sopranos and contraltos only begin to lose their paralysis at bar 37, and the tenors do not enter until Section B (bar 48).

The text of Section A corresponds quite closely to Aeneas' words A.II.199-200: "Hic aliud maius miseris multoque tremendum/obicitur magis atque improvida pectora turbat" and 204 "(horresco referens)" and indeed it is the spirit of these lines which Berlioz re-creates here. In this very formal, disciplined Section (A₁) the Trojans explore their emotional reaction almost as individuals. By Section B they have all reached the same opinion as to the implications of the incident, and the quasi-individual search
expressed by the fugal entries (bars 11, 12, 20, 21, 22, 35, 39) is replaced
by a unity which is emphasised by antiphony (basses bars 43-47). As their
fear drives them forward to the conclusion:

Lacoon! un prêtre!
Lacoon! un prêtre! un prêtre!
Objet de la fureur des dieux,
Dévore palpitant (3)
Dévore palpitant par ces monstres hideux! (bars 43-56)

Their incredulity at the fact that he was "un prêtre!" who was so
punished is expressed not only by repetition but by emphatic rhythm
(\(\text{\textbullet} | \text{\textbullet} | \text{\textbullet} | \text{\textbullet} / \text{\textbullet} | \text{\textbullet} | \text{\textbullet} | \text{\textbullet} \)) and an ascending melodic sequence (bars 43-7). It is
Berlioz's development of the point Virgil has made through Aeneas, A.II.201:
"Lacoon, ductus Neptuno sorte sacerdos", but he omits A.II.202: "sollennis
taurum ingentem mactabat ad aras".

The further incredulity at "Dévore palpitant" bars 49-52) is almost
hysterical, and Berlioz may have designed it to remind us of the cries of
Lacoon, whose actual death Virgil does not describe (A.II220-4):

\[
\text{Ille simul manibus tendit divellere nodos,}
\text{perfusus sene vittis atroque veneno,}
\text{clamores simul horrrendos ad sidera tollit,}
\text{qualis mugitus, fugit cum saecus aram}
\text{taurus et incertam excussit servcei securim.}
\]

The psychology of Berlioz's Trojans is simple here; Lacoon was a
priest; he was eaten alive by the serpents as a direct result of his violating
the Horse; if the Trojans, ordinary people as they are, either violate it
also or do not counter the violation, what unimaginable punishment is in
store for them?

For the return of Text A there is a complete change in the music
(Section C. A₂ refers to Text. C to music). The music is marked sans
presser, and the time changes from \(\text{4}_4\) to \(\text{12}_8\), and the key from F# minor to
F# major (bars 55-87).
Full of assurance now, firmly convinced that their terror has led them to the right conclusions, the people (chorus) now take the lead (bars 56 f). And as soon as this confidence is displayed, Cassandra responds (bars 57-8) with "Ô peuple déplorable!": for although she is as horrified and mystified as they (bars 59-60 "Mystérieuse horreur!") their confidence causes her great alarm as always. For she knows they are doomed. Berlioz finely combines their assurance with her recognition of the disaster it represents (bars 60-77). This climax has a special kind of sublimity to it; the strands of doom - those of Laccoon who died believing his advice was good, of the people who are about to be destroyed even though they revere the gods, and of Cassandra who knows only that Troy and all in it are doomed - are drawn together for a time by a horror great enough to have made Cassandra one of the people - if only briefly. For apart from "Ô peuple déplorable!" (see above) her text and music are the same as the text and music of the others.

As Section A₂-C winds down (bars 77-9) an ominous motif from woodwind (bars 81-3) and brass (bar 80) becomes extended into a chilling motif in the trombones. It is that heard in No.7 as Aeneas evoked the horror of Laccoon's death (No.7, bars 54-61, 72-3). Then a compression of Section B (D) occurs as a tailpiece (bars 80-84) with an emphatic frisson from the strings (bars 81-3, 85), and a final cry of "horreur!" (bars 83-4) from all parts. At the end, the impression left with the Trojans, including Cassandra, is the horror of the actual death. By having Cassandra as profoundly shocked as the others, Berlioz demonstrates that such a natural phenomenon really can inspire people with a horror which drives out everything but fear and the false assumptions which fear can enforce people to make.
1. of Austin’s excellent notes on pp.93, 94-5, 107-11.

2. "...a whole people's blood running cold, panic spreading as an inkling of their doom 'works its way' into the back of their minds" – Cairns, p.104.

3. Berlioz created Helenus to replace Sinon who originally sang this part in the octet, and since he created no significant function for Helenus, it would appear that he held of Virgil's Helenus an opinion similar to that of Kenneth Quinn, who said "Helenus remains too colourless to assume dramatic life" (p.130).

4. Note the dramatic, psychological effect of the falling pitch of the successive entries – F♯, E, and D.
Berlioz has based his text for this number on A.II.229-33, 235-7, 238-9 and 246-9. He delays 237-45 until No.11, and further develops his use of 246-9 in No.10.

To Cassandra, in Berlioz, the death of Laocoön was as awful a punishment and mysterious a horror as it was to the people. But to her the people's attitude and behaviour are lamentable. She does not know the cause of Laocoön's doom, but she is aware that the people will react to it in a way which is not to their advantage. She does not know what they will do, but she does know that they are continuing steadily toward disaster.

In Virgil, Aeneas remembers all Trojans as being responsible for the introduction of the Horse within Troy. No individual or even small group is singled out (cunctis 228, ferunt 230, conclamant 233, dividimus 234, instamus 244, nos...miseri...velamus 248-9).

In Virgil the emphasis was on the justice of Laocoön's punishment (A.II.229-30). The people had been completely hoodwinked by Sinon - completely persuaded and conditioned to think of the Horse, Minerva, and their future greatness as being inseparable. The emphasis is on justice because the people had seen the incident for themselves, and had had time, as and after the serpents departed, to think of appeasing Minerva by approving of her action against Laocoön, reassuring her verbally that they would not commit further sacrilege; and by bringing the Horse to her citadel.

In Berlioz, the emphasis contained in the people's reaction to Laocoön's death is on the horror (No.8). They have assumed that there is a close connection between Laocoön's action against the Horse and the fate he immediately suffered, and they are full of consternation because such a fate could befall one of priestly rank and authority. At the end of No.8, they
are still held in the grip of their emotional reaction to the horror which
has been reported to them. Aeneas takes charge in the first decisive textual
and musical leadership we have yet observed, and draws a devastating conclusion
from the incident he has reported: (cf bars 1-5, A.II.229-233)

Que la déesse nous protège,
Coujurons ce nouveau danger!
Il est trop vrai,
Pallas vient de venger
Un affreux sacrilègue.

The people are not cunning enough to offer pious reassurances to Minerva
about the rightness of her action against Laocoon because they do not need to
be. They have not had a Simon to tell them the irresistible news that their
city will rise to glorious heights if they bring the Horse - Minerva's no less
- into the city, and that their city will be doomed if they do not.

Laocoon was punished so severely that Aeneas has concluded that his
sacrilege must have been extreme. In Berlioz Aeneas bears the responsibility
for the Horse's entry into Troy. He is the only one onstage who witnessed
Laocoon's death. His horror may then be measured by the horror expressed by
those who have merely listened to his report. He has had longer than the
others to assimilate the extraordinary event, and as a Trojan prince, a
respected warrior, he is a leader. The horror he has actually witnessed has
driven him to act proportionately against it. And Aeneas is at this stage,
(as he is in Virgil), more courageous and daring than cautious. (cf A.II.289-
317 and Les Troyens Nos.12 and 13). He does the best he can in the situation.
Priam, having had less time to assimilate the tragedy, has barely had time to
recover his command of himself let alone his people, and Aeneas is giving him
all the support of a most loyal prince, who is determined to do his best for
his king and his people in an emergency. And he immediately supports Priam's
words. "Pour l'appaiser, suivez mes ordres sans retard" (bars 5-7).2
The orders to which Priam is referring were given before the beginning of the tragédie lyrique. Priam now wants them carried out immediately instead of later, in the evening, and Aeneas understands this. Here Berlioz continues to develop his portrayal of the impulsive nature of the Trojans. He illustrates it by presenting the impulsive aspect of Aeneas, who represents all the Trojans hastening toward their ruin. In No.2 Cassandra stated that the Trojans were hastening to their doom, led by Priam. Now Aeneas has joined in that leadership.

Déjà sur des rouleaux disposés avec art
Le cheval est placé, que chacun le conduise,
Vers le Palladium en pompe l'introduise!
À cet object sacré formez cortège enfants,
Femmes, guerriers, couvrez de fleurs la voie,
Et que jusques dans Troie
La trompette et la lyre accompagnent vos chants!

His orders are based on A.II.235-7, 238-9, but because it is happening now, not being told in retrospect, the confident and aggressive spirit of Berlioz's lines is very different from Virgil. Virgil's Trojans are acting swiftly out of a religious fear which is so great that they are attempting to conceal it with a demonstration of piety. This act of piety is actually described in lines which slowly, solemnly, and at a length conducive to recall, create a detailed image eminently suitable for the epic poem but having no place in Berlioz's lyric tragedy, which must move swiftly at this point (cf A.II.235-7 and No.9, bars 7-21). And if Priam had taken the centre stage, Aeneas' qualities of leadership would not have been demonstrated. They need to be dramatised, and Aeneas needs to be given a certain prominence in preparation for the scene with Hector (cf No.12).

Berlioz's Trojans, by this simple emotional reaction, and instant acclaim for Priam's orders and Aeneas' rhetorical elaboration, firstly, ruin Troy, and, secondly, do so on far more slender "evidence" and far more impulsively than
Virgil's Trojans. Virgil's Trojans are really ground down by the gods sending signs which the Trojans really cannot help but interpret the way they do. It is all too understandable in Virgil, whose Minerva is a pitiless virgin goddess. In Virgil, Aeneas' comments, as he narrates, constantly emphasise the way the Trojans were driven to make the fatal step. But Berlioz's gods work through the people's blindness, their naivety and gullibility, and their religious awe in the most general ways.

The results are similar. In Aeneas' narrative in Virgil we hear (A.II. 229-30) "...et scelus expendisse merentem /Laocoonta ferunt....". Berlioz's Aeneas tells us "Il est trop vrai, Pallas vient de venger/Un affreux sacrilège" (bars 3-5).

There are two different responses to Aeneas' exhortations in bars 14-21; the people's, and Cassandra's. Everyone except Cassandra responds overwhelmingly to his orders, with an ecstatic echo of his text set of a variation in 12/8 time of his 4/4 recit., the string figurations changing appropriately from militaristically precise dotted rhythm in bars 14-20 to swirling arpeggios (bar 21 f). The five men - Aeneas, Helenus, Coroebus, Panthus, and Priam - along with Hecuba, demonstrate the sobriety and sincerity which marks them out as Troy's moral leaders, singing: "Pallas, Pallas, pardonne à Troie!" (bars 26-30).

Cassandra, running around the stage in impotent frenzy, cries "Malheur!" emphatically at first (bars 21, 22) and then plaintively (bars 33-34). For at first, her "Malheur!" is a strong reaction bursting from her lips as the people begin, again, to rejoice and celebrate. As their chorus blossoms and expands she is not heard (bars 23-32). And at the end her desperate plea for a hearing is pitted against a wordless choral cry which recalls the
beginning of No.1 (bars 33-6). There has been a complete return to the mood of the start of the drama, and it again eclipses her wisdom. However, as the people leave the stage, Cassandra, who was about to follow, changes her mind, and remains on stage to soliloquize; and in bar 40, ominous brass push aside the celebratory mood in preparation for No.10.

It is at this stage in Virgil that Aeneas first mentions Cassandra (A.II.246-7). And Berlioz has closely followed Virgil here with Cassandra's four utterances of "Malheur!". But of course, he has introduced her far earlier (cf No.2). If he had delayed her introduction into the work until this stage she would have been a very confusing figure, or at least an unimportant one. Her role from No.2 onwards has provided suspense and a continuous opportunity for us to observe and understand the existing tension between reality and what the Trojans believe is reality.

1. Due to the rejection or discarding of the Sinon Scene, Berlioz has here given Aeneas almost all of the text and music which had formerly given to Priam. The word "affreux" was originally, in Priam's mouth, "second". (N.B.E., Vol.2c, pp.887-8).

2. This is all that remains of Priam's words before Berlioz discarded the Sinon scene and gave Priam's text and music to Aeneas.
Berlioz has developed his text for this air from A.II.246-7, 189-94, 241-2, and 345-6.

A.II.246-7 are the vital lines in which Aeneas tells us that Cassandra attempted to warn the Trojans of their imminent doom even after the Horse had been set in the citadel - "tunc etiam fatis aperit Cassandra futuris"; but that it was by order of a god (whom we know to be Apollo) that the Trojans were prevented from believing her words: "ora dei iussu non umquam credita Teuris". But Berlioz has never used Apollo's punishment of Cassandra as a basis for his Trojans' refusal to believe or even listen to her prophecies. That they believe she is mad is one of the ways in which Berlioz's gods work through the characters of his Trojans.

In lines 189-94 Silvia plants in the minds of the Trojans the idea that Troy will become a mighty empire if the Horse is taken within its walls.

Lines A.II.241-2 include Aeneas' parenthetical lament for Troy as he describes the Horse's ascent through the walls, and A.II.345-6 are the lines in which Aeneas laments the ill-luck of Coroëbus.

In Virgil, the entry of the Horse, into Troy is described in one short though solemn, uninterrupted episode (A.II.234-45). The Trojans are in such haste to install it (cf No.8) that the ceremony is executed without any unnecessary delay, and the sacra sung by the boys and maidens (A.II.238-9) have an ad hoc, extemporaneous quality. It is only when the Horse is safely within Troy's citadel that the Trojans take time to perform the rituals of pious celebration (A.II.248-9).

Berlioz devotes a considerable amount of time to the preliminaries of the entry of the Horse, so that its actual introduction is the most significant
climax of Act I. In Berlioz, preparations for bringing the Horse from the
bank of the Scamander to the inside of the city have been commenced before
the lyric tragedy begins.

To add to the significance of the climax, Berlioz brings forward in time
the ritual singing and strewing of flowers (b. No.9) so that the rituals will
be part of the climax, and the Horse will be borne in, by supreme irony, to
the accompaniment of the utmost rejoicing and piety.

In Virgil we are continually reminded of the menace, by Aeneas' paren-
thetic qualifications; in this case A.II.237 "fattatis machina", 240
"illa subit mediaeque minas in habitur urbi", 241-2 "O patria, o divum domus
Ilium et inclute bello/moenia Dardanidum!" 245 "monstrum infelix", 248-9
"nec delubra deum miser quibus ultimus asset/ille dies".

Berlioz too reminds us of the threat by means of Cassandra. From the
beginning of A.II, and especially after the fate of Laocoon, Virgil is
deliberately creating a tension between the action his Trojans understandably
think they must take, and the tragic response of a narrator who knows what
the real result was.

With No.10, Berlioz attempts to re-create this tension by his use of
Cassandra. Berlioz uses Cassandra to compensate for the absence of Virgil's
Aeneas as retrospective narrator, as well as to fulfil her own role. These
two roles of Berlioz's Cassandra combine most convincingly: Virgil's Aeneas,
Virgil's Cassandra, and Berlioz's Cassandra all felt the deepest concern for
Troy and were all powerless to save her.

Berlioz's Cassandra here expresses the anguish expressed retrospectively
by Virgil's Aeneas, and which we never hear expressed by Virgil's Cassandra,
for Virgil presents her to us in her mute and helpless pain in order to communicate to us her inability to communicate with her people. Here again, her stance contrasts with the general rejoicing. Once again she is alone, with no one to hear her except the audience. After intending to follow the people, she changes her mind (cf No.9, bars 35-6 stage directions) and remains to re-state the gulf between the Trojans and herself, the defeat of her hopes for her people, and of her dream of personal happiness. She has shared these things with us before, but No.2 ended in a wistful daydream which produced a new sense of direction - an attempt to save Coroebus. This one ends with her in anguished tears and with her courage temporarily broken.

It is also dramatically appropriate for Cassandra to be re-introduced alone between Nos.9 (the preparation) and 11 (the procession) - because in this way a balance is maintained between the people's beliefs and her knowledge. Suspense is also created by this time lapse between preparation and procession. This structural device re-establishes the pattern of Nos.1 and 2; the people's celebration is once again followed by Cassandra's intense misgivings. And then at the end of Cassandra's air the joyful and highly ceremonial procession is heard in the distance and we are able to observe her reaction to the beginning of the confirmation of her fears as this confirmation now literally approaches her. Then finally, in No.11 itself, the tension between the Trojan people as a whole and Cassandra is experienced for the last time, and with both of them on stage.

No.10 is a through-composed air of ninety-nine bars given the general marking of allegro agitato assai. Berlioz's text for a defeated yet defiant Cassandra is:

Non, je ne verrai pas la déplorable fête
Où s'enivre, en espoir d'un brillant avenir,
Ce peuple condamné, que rien, hélas! n'arrête
Sur la pente du gouffre. Ô cruel souvenir! 
Gloire de la Patrie!.....Et voir s'évanouir 
Du bonheur le plus pur la séduisante image!
Ô Chorœbe! Ô Priam! Vains efforts de courage 
De pleurs d'angoisse inondent mon visage! (bars 3-98)

The air is an intense journey through a number of emotional stages. At first a toweringly defiant, proud anger and exasperation with the people (bars 3-25), then bitter frustration caused by the people (bars 26-36), developing into bitter irony (bars 37-49). This is followed by more bitter frustration which is personal this time but related to that which she felt for her people (bars 49-66), then a dissolving of the bitterness into a misery (bars 67-86) which is finally broken down into defeated repetition (bars 86-98).

These emotions are the climax of what we have already learned about Cassandra. She speaks to us again as a prophetess who loves her people, and as a woman who loves her husband and father. But her feelings have all been intensified, for now she acknowledges that the people will not only refuse to listen to her, but that nothing whatever can stop them (bars 3-25). And now she reveals something which before has not been made explicit – the people's conviction that the departure of the Greeks and the glorious face of nature are the beginning and the symbol of the future greatness of Troy. They really believe that they have defeated the Greeks (bars 37-49). Now too, she has had a taste of the sublime happiness she could have shared with Coroebus, for their marriage by declaration occurred at the end of No.3, and her knowledge of what might have been has turned the regret of No.2 into bitterness. This temporarily breaks her proud courage (bars 86-98). And so, as the Trojan people prepare to confront us with their proudest, happiest, and most aggressively confident reflection of their own image, Cassandra confronts us with the most bitter truths and self-mockery which her vision will not allow
her to hide from herself.

The stage directions for Cassandra "dans le plus grand égarement" are illustrated by the strings and trombones, and the interplay of the strong and direct anger of the vocal line (all the long notes are vehement whether syncopated or not), and the brisk string figurations creates intense agitation.

The woodwind have the function of evoking sympathy and longing. Their part gains significance (bars 9-11, 13-18, 20-25, 26-37, 49-52, 60-2, 67-9), anticipating and supporting Cassandra before and after the thirteen bars of supreme irony "gloire de la Patrie!" (bars 37-49), where the whole orchestra is in accord and in support of Cassandra; thirteen bars which, once sung and played, are never heard again, but are memorable for their bitter, proud irony.

A beautiful pair of phrases (bars 49-52 and 60-2) form the climax of the woodwind's role. The poignancy illustrates the way in which Cassandra's dream of pure happiness is vanishing (bars 53-66), and the melody (flutes and clarinets bar 49 f, bar 60 f) is a metamorphosis looking backward to *Andromaque et son fils* (No.6 bar 27 f) and forward to the Trojan March, No.11.

All forces, gradually diminishing (bars 67-95), are in grave and sober accord, quietly supporting her breakdown, the strings concluding with a frisson, a shimmer of tears (bars 96-9).

Berlioz has developed a dynamic and vocal Cassandra whose determination seems indomitable. We react with intense sadness to her bitter tears and ironical words which demonstrate the breaking of her courage. For at this stage we do not know that her spirit and determination will return.

Virgil's Cassandra was not, in fact, mute. But Virgil conveyed her
helplessness and static despair though Aeneas' narrative—and indeed, 
Aeneas' own despair too was static. Wise after the event, he could only 
mourn the events that had occurred, in the light of how differently they 
might have been directed. In A.II.246-7 he relates that her words were 
unbelieved as a result of Apollo's order. In lines 345-6 Aeneas implies that 
Cassandra had failed in attempts to communicate her visions to Coroebus. In 
lines 403-6, Aeneas' narrative suggests that Cassandra no longer attempted to 
speak, but vainly implored heaven with her eyes only, her hands bound.

The remaining lines of the Aeneid which concern Cassandra (A.III.152-3, 
187, A.V.636-8, and A.X.67-9) are reports of Cassandra's attempts to 
communicate her prophecies. And the reports are of one who lived in vain 
in the distant past, and whose words have relevance only now, years later, 
when the speaker has passed as it were into legend.

12. Contrast this with Dido in Nos.46-8.

1. Cassandra does, however, make one passing reference (No 3, 
brs 85 ff) to "...... ma voix qu'inspire / Le barbare dieu 
même à nous perdre acharné."
The text and action of this number are based, again, on A.II.246-7, 237-45, and 248-9, with an idea developed from A.II.189-94.

In A.II.246-7 Aeneas tells us that Cassandra prophesied Troy's doom even after the Horse had been placed in the citadel, but that a god's order had prevented the Trojans from believing her warnings. In A.II.237-45 Aeneas describes how the Horse made its difficult ascent into Troy accompanied by the holy songs of the young people, and how, in spite of the obstacles, it was finally set in the citadel. In A.II. 248-9 Aeneas describes the religious decorating of the shrines throughout Troy in honour of the Horse's safe arrival.

A.II.189-94 are the last lines of Sinon's story. If the Horse should be harmed, Troy would be ruined; if the Trojans drew the Horse into Troy, Troy's future greatness would be assured.

In Virgil, Aeneas describes in retrospect the way in which the Trojan people were united by a combination of Sinon's carefully devised story and the death in extraordinary circumstances of Laocoon, and how this resulted in the immediate introduction of the Horse into Troy. Within sixteen lines of Laocoon's death (A.II.234-49) the Horse has been brought, with extempore pomp, into the city, Cassandra has declared that doom is imminent, and the Trojans have adorned the shrines throughout the city with foliage. Aeneas colours his narrative with unfavourable words, and qualifies it with rueful parenthetical comments.

Berlioz's Cassandra here is once again a combination of Virgil's Aeneas and his own re-creation of Virgil's Cassandra. She provides a third perspective, which gives tragic balance to the scene, and keeps the audience distanced from the Trojan choir, and undercuts their triumph.
His use of Cassandra enables him to create the impression that the procession is huge. For she can only just hear it and see it. In this way she is nearer to the audience's point of view than those who are closest to the procession, and she is therefore able to generate suspense for the audience by describing the procession as it approaches, and commenting on the difficulty which arises. Her natural human disability (she has to strain every nerve to see and hear the actual events) contrasts very effectively with her prophetic vision.

Berlioz's use of the chorus also enables him to create the illusion of a procession of enormous size. For the chorus are not actually part of the procession. They are following it and adding their voices to the Trojan March. And whereas the audience can see this crowd of people, we cannot see the procession itself, nor those particular gates or part of the wall of Troy through which the Horse enters.¹

Berlioz uses part of the chorus to give information to Cassandra, as they pass by in pursuit of the procession. They impart information to us, and form another link in the chain from procession to audience. Cassandra cannot communicate everything because she cannot see and hear clearly enough, so vast is the distance created by so large an event. And so the chorus is needed in its position of being nearer the procession, balancing Cassandra who is nearer to the audience. And the physical positions and psychological positions are matched; Cassandra wins more of our sympathy here than the people.

Berlioz has devised the entire structure of No.11 to present and to emphasise the helplessness of the Trojans situation. Their glory is not now, it is later, in Italie, and now, for the first time, we hear the music which they believe expresses their present triumph. It actually proves to be
the celebration of their destruction, and later becomes the music of the new Troy, Rome immortelle. Played by the brass, it is effortless, calmly confident and aloof, in a way that looks forward to the time when, for the sake of the dazzling future of the new Troy, Aeneas will be able to leave Dido to die. Sung, the tune is effusively eager, and the singers have to work at it (bars 18 f).

Cassandra’s floods of tears (of No.10 fin) are immediately justified by the equivocal eight-bar brass fanfare (bars 1–8) which to the Trojans’ ears represents their triumph and to Cassandra’s their ruin. Because we have been presented with the strength of Cassandra’s viewpoint from the beginning of the opera, and especially as recently as No.10, to our ears the elegant cadence of bars 5–8 is recidient of finality, and the cool, distant, confident brass represent the enemy which will soon be within the walls of Troy. Widely separated from the trumpets, the strings help achieve the feeling of cold, assured hostility, with a four-bar frisson (bars 1–4), followed by three bars which support the cadence dramatically and simply with a figure which, though piano, is abrupt and convincing (bars 5–7). It is all beautifully symmetrical, glitteringly cold, and precise, keeping the audience emotionally detached and distant from the Trojans.

Cassandra and the various elements of the chorus are also given careful placing which creates precisely the feeling of distance required in each case. Cassandra is downstage nearest the audience and also furthest away from the procession and the chorus which follows it, which makes it possible for the Trojans to ignore her when they enter.

Another distancing device is the way in which the cool triplets of the fanfare (bars 1 and 3) are soon translated into the effusively warm triplets
of the florid melody of the march itself. Yet another is the tension between
the military and religious effects which add warmth from bar 8 as soon as
the trombones leave the dignified peaks of the fanfare and divide to support
the intricate melody.

Du roi des dieux, ô fille aimée,
Du casque et la lance armée,
Sage guerrière aux regards doux,
A nos destins sois favorable,
Rends Ilion inébranlable,
Belle Pallas protège-nous. (bars 18-47)

This hymn of praise to Pallas is, in context, too extravagant. The confidence
of Berlioz's Trojans that by taking the Horse within their walls they will
give their city eternal security is the idea which, in Virgil, Sinon
implanted in the Trojans' minds (A.II.189-94). Since she is the beloved
daughter of the king of the gods, her favour (or disfavour) comes in effect
from him. That Pallas is wise as well as a warrior is traditionally accepted,
but the Trojans are endowing her with gentle eyes because they are relying on
her gentleness to them. They are attempting to distort the role of the
warrior goddess, and to attribute false motivation to her favour.

Against the people's music, we hear Cassandra's protests; protests which
also serve the purpose of informing us of events as they occur. She responds
to the people's first phrase (bars 18-22) with an incredulous "De mes sens
épouss. ... est-ce un illusion?" (bars 22-9). There is irony here too.

Earlier, Coroebus had thought she had lost her reason (cf No.3). Now she
expresses her disbelief in that very way to communicate the degree of her
disquietude. For her response, Berlioz has combined simple ascending minor
and major thirds with a breathless rhythm to achieve anxious, agitated inquiry.
Cassandra's stark expressions of doubt and fear, inspired by wisdom, contrast
strongly with the effusive prayer of the people.
We learn gradually what is causing Cassandra the consternation which increases to alarm (bars 28–9, 40–1). She exhales a truth which she does not yet fully comprehend; the enemy is approaching and the city is open to admit it (bars 54–63).

She knows that the enemy is somehow connected with the Horse, but her knowledge is not yet specific or complete, and the brass speak for that silent, unseen enemy (bars 46–74).

Cassandra is fighting the enemy—symbolized here by the brass—alone; although sensible of the approach of doom, she is no passive fatalist, and will struggle against the inevitable until it comes. And indeed, it is all happening too quickly, especially since she does not want it to happen at all. She does not realize how much time has elapsed since the people left at the end of No.9: "Ce peuple fou qui se rue à sapere/Semble avoir devance les ordres de son roi!" (bars 69–75). She says the people are mad, and as she sings "son roi!" (Prian) the choral voice are heard singing "Du roi" (Jupiter) — the king of Troy literally pitted against the king of the gods. And as the hymn to Pallas begins anew (bars 74–87) savage strokes are heard, which seem to convey Pallas' real nature and feelings toward the Trojans (bars 75–6, woodwind and strings; 77–8, woodwind, brass, timpani and strings). The section of the hymn — "Entends nos voix vierge sublime" (bar 84 f) is melodically spartan, and rhythmically strong; and its especially strong cadence (bar 87) is weakened by the distraction of the oboes bringing back that reckless joy heard in No.1. As a result, the strength of the prayer itself is weakened. The people have not changed since No.1, and proceed to their doom as always.

The whole chorus eventually come on stage, ranging themselves at right
and left upstage during the passage of the Horse and the procession which follows it. As the brass and woodwind react sharply to the entrance of the chorus (bar 114) that reaction is immediately transmitted to Cassandra who informs us: "La voici!" (bar 114), and the important point about this section of the ceremony is the way in which the women proceed with reckless exuberance to exhort the children to sing and scatter flowers. Berlioz emphasises this horrific use of the children. The comment of the strings (bars 128, 130, 141-2) outweighs with foreboding the raucous solemnity of the women.² (Toward the end of the number (bars 167 f) the men exhort the children to sing).

From bars 144-57, the solemn singing has become assured; they now believe absolutely that their prayer will be granted, and the strewning of floral offerings now becomes mechanical (bars 150-7). The key changes from F minor to F major (bars 154-7) and it is during this optimistic musical climate that the clashing of several pairs of cymbals in the wings halts the singing. But although this clash of arms has been heard within the Horse, Cassandra's hope that this suspicious occurrence will cause the dissent which Lacoon hoped for, and will stop the progress of the Horse, is empty. (bars 158-67).

For, true to the character which Berlioz has given them throughout, they quickly decide that the noise within the Horse was "Présage Heureux!" (bar 167). In Virgil, A.II.242-3, "...quater ipso in limine portae/substitit, etque utero sonitum quater arma dedere:" The four hesitations and the four clashes of armour deepen the irony of A.II.244 "instamus tamen immemores caecique furor." But in Berlioz, the psychology of the people, as we have seen, is at this stage different. One hesitation and sinister clash are all that
is needed in this work.\(^3\)

The final bars of the text: "Fiers sommets de Pergame/D'une joyeuse flamme/Rayonnez triomphants" (bars 167-81), recall (bars 178-81) the final bars of Nos. 1 and 9. It is dramatic irony. A joyful flame will blaze in triumph from the heights of Pergamon. But it will be the Greeks' triumph, and all Troy will be ablaze, from the height to the ground.

Now that the Horse is inside Troy, Berlioz allows his Cassandra full knowledge. Her realization that the coming doom was associated with the Horse has been growing throughout No. 17. Now she has her final and completely revealing flash of insight (bars 180-8):

"Arrêtez! arrêtez!
Oui, la flamme la hache!
Fouillez le flanc du monstrueux cheval!
Laocoon! Les Grecs!....il cache
Un piège infernal.....

Her last futile appeal, drawing together the advice of Capys (A.II.35-8) and the action of Laocoon, is succeeded by the knowledge that Laocoon was right; that the Greeks have used the Horse to hide a hellish trap.

We now fully understand the difference between Virgil's Cassandra as prophetess, and Berlioz's Cassandra as prophetess. In Virgil we must presume that she speaks against the Horse right throughout its introduction into Troy, and that she had full prophetic insight from the beginning - that she knows precisely what the Horse represented and what it contained. This full prophetic insight had been rendered useless by the power of Apollo.

Berlioz's Cassandra is a different kind of prophetess, being more akin to a clairvoyent. Clairvoyance is a human capacity,\(^4\) and the gods have been fighting Cassandra's gift while working through the human weakness of the Trojans. She has been prevented from reaching full awareness of the source
and nature of the doom which will overtake the Trojans until it is too late.

The last words which she utters about the people and the gods emphasise the stupidity of the one and the cruelty of the other:

Vous êtes sans pitié, grands dieux
Pour ce peuple en démence!
Ô digne emploi de la toute puissance!
Le conduire à l'âme en lui fermant les yeux!

According to Cassandra, the people are deliberately blinding themselves to the true state of affairs, and the gods are pitilessly taking full advantage of this to destroy them. The gods of Berlioz have not worked overtly, as those of Virgil who used guile and clear prodigia. Virgil's Trojans had much less opportunity to make considered choices (A.II.543, 248-9) and may seem, therefore, much more pitiable.

Cassandra so far, in Berlioz, has been the only character to accuse the gods of pitiless cruelty. But in Act V, at the end of No.42, when Aeneas capitulates and agrees to leave Carthage without seeing Dido again, he does so in an outburst against the cruel and pitiless commands of the gods:

Je dois céder
A vos ordres impitoyables!
J'obéis, j'obéis, spectres inexorables!
Je suis barbare, ingrat; vous l'ordonnez, grands dieux!

But there are two vital lines in Virgil which Cassandra and Aeneas have echoed in their key moments of knowledge gained. In A.II.602-3, Venus says to Aeneas: "...divum inclementia, divum/has evertit opes sternitque a culmine Troiam". These lines, echoed by the outbursts of Cassandra and Aeneas quoted above, and which are central to Berlioz's view of the workings of the gods, do indicate a partial parallel between the gods of the two writers.

But Berlioz's Cassandra, with her emphasis on the folly and madness
(equal to stupidity) of the people who, responding to no concrete signs, have chosen to close their eyes to reality, has pointed up a crucial difference between Berlioz's Trojans and Virgil's. For Aeneas' narrative intrusions in A.II. from 1-249, especially such lines as 244, place the emphasis quite differently - demonstrating time and time again that Virgil's Trojans were driven, by signs they could not be expected to discount, into taking the fatal step.

As soon as the last bars of the triumphal march abruptly close (bar 209), after Cassandra has completed her task of informing us of the progress of events (bars 206-8) "Ils entrent, c'en est fait", we are told that during the general pause (bar 209) she listens. For what? She tells us, for only she can hear the full implications, and all the instruments are silent (bars 210-11) "Le destin tient sa proie!" All along she has known the approach of doom. Her most recent insight revealed exactly the form that doom would take, and it is now irrevocably lodged within Troy. So where now for Cassandra? The strings show her the way, leading each of her last three imaging fragments with solemn long notes made emphatic by the sliding effect of appoggiaturas: "Soeur d'Hector/va mourir/sous les débris de Troie!" (bars 212-16). The bitterness of her frenzied "Troie!" set to G natural - taking the music out of its tonal framework - is supported by the intense indignation of what is left of the orchestra (the special groups have gone with the Horse). The swift modulation to the allegro agitato assai section (bars 218 f) is a development of Cassandra's feeling. And this feeling is mingled with the rush of events which will result in the release of the Greek warriors from the Horse. But this is not all that is expressed by the twenty-seven-bar orchestral postlude to Act I. In its eleventh bar (i.e. bar 228), as the music begins to descend in pitch, and the string figurations are
reduced to tremolos, there is an accompanying diminuendo. This combination of musical devices creates a disturbing frisson, until the curtain falls at bar 240. Then the final four bars are played crescendo molto leading to fortissimo on the final cadence. And so the postlude creates the effect of a lull, a moment of stealth followed by disaster.

1. Nor do we see the Horse, in Berlioz's stage directions, even though at one time he intended bringing the Horse on stage, then rejected the idea. (But it would be rash to deny the power of the Covent Garden production's device of having the procession and the Horse's feet cross the stage, even though it flaunts Berlioz's imagined scenario).

2. Berlioz has here drawn together lines of Virgil which are widely separated. In Virgil the singing of the children did accompany the passage of the Horse (A.II.238-9) but the work with the festal foliage was not performed until the Horse was inside Troy (A.II.248-9).

3. In practical dramatic terms, this is Berlioz's craftsmanship at work. Four incidents, as in Virgil, would not only delay the action but destroy the suspense.

4. "Because the general capacity of extrasensory perception is unconscious, it is elusive and uncertain, and difficult to demonstrate or apply.... It is affected adversely by distraction, narcotic drugs, boredom and monotony, and favourably by rewards co-operation, and a favourable atmosphere....This exceptional ability fits in well with the higher mental process......" Article "Clairvoyance" by J.B. Ryan, Collier's Encyclopedia (1965 edition), VI. 556.
ACT II

INTRODUCTION

Berlioz opens Act Two by dramatizing the famous scene in which Hector appears in a dream to Aeneas (A.II.270-97).

In No.13 Aeneas, instead of fleeing from Troy in accordance with Hector's advice, leaves with Panthus, Coroebus, and a small band of warriors to fight against impossible odds (A.II.318-60).

No.14 is a tableau in which the women of Troy, led by Polyxena, pray to Cybele for help in Troy's darkest hour. This and the following two numbers are inventions by Berlioz which shift the focus from Aeneas and his companions to the women. It is based on A.II.515-17.

In No.15 Cassandra brings the women the latest news of the progress of Aeneas, the death of Coroebus, and the proximity of the inevitable end of Troy. She persuades the majority of them to commit suicide as the only honourable alternative to rape and slavery. This continues Berlioz's shift of focus and is drawn from A.II.776-804, 246-7, 515-17, and replaces 370-633.

In No.16, drawn only from A.II.494-5, Cassandra and those women who favour suicide confront and banish the small group of women who do not, and sing with sublime fervour a song in praise of the choice they themselves have made. There is a confrontation between the women and the Greek soldiers, the first half of whom demand the treasure, the second half of whom bring the frustrating news that the treasure is in the hands of Aeneas who has escaped from the midst of the battle. Rejoicing in the now assured future of the new Troy which Aeneas will found, the women horrify the Greeks by committing suicide.

In No.12 Berlioz's major differences from Virgil are the entry of Ascanius, the presentation of Hector as a ghost instead of a dream, and the extensive prophecies which Hector makes.
In No. 13 Panthus has no grandson; his report excludes Sinon and includes the death of Priam, which does not occur until much later in Virgil where it constitutes the climax of the events seen through Aeneas' eyes. Ascanius adds his observation to Panthus' report of the scenes of destruction. In Virgil he appears much later. Coroebus heads a small band of warriors, most of them unnamed. Aeneas, instead of being temporarily halted in his furor, is stirred to fight by the successive entries and reports of Panthus, Ascanius, and Coroebus.

No. 14 is a prayer which is not in Virgil, where the women are silent—except for Hecuba who addresses Priam: and Hecuba has been replaced here by Polyxena to allow Cassandra to be absolutely dominant in the last two numbers of the act.

No. 15 is a vehicle for reporting the final outcome of the heroic but foolhardy combat involving Aeneas and his companions, and for presenting the heroism of the women as a replacement for the far less dramatically adaptable heroism of the men. Berlioz continues to expand the role of Cassandra who, in Virgil, has long since been captured by the Greeks, that capture being responsible for the death of Coroebus.

The projected mass suicide and its motivation—the belief that death is honourable and rape and slavery dishonourable—are not in Virgil.

In No. 16 the end of Troy is seen, not, as in Virgil, through the eyes of Aeneas, but through the reports of the Greek soldiers and the final action of the women.
Berlioz omits most of A.II.361-566 not only because the scenes of fighting, death, destruction, and divine intervention cannot be translated into music drama, but because he has been pointing his work toward the new Troy since No.12 where Hector says "Va! cherche l' Italie....". After this, the name Italie is passed on as a talisman by Cassandra and the women.

After the select band of warriors have plunged into the midst of the Greeks at the close of No.13, we do not see them again, and the reports we do hear are encouraging - Cassandra's first words are "Tous ne périront pas!"; everything is forward-looking, with hopes centred on Italie, Aeneas' progress toward it (by way of Mt Ida); and the determination of Cassandra and the women to tarnish the Greeks' victory - which in Virgil is depressingly complete - is part of this. The thwarting and frustrating of the victors assures us that all is not lost, and that Italie is not a dream but a future reality.
This number is based on A.II.250-297.

There is a long orchestral prelude (bars 1-91), during which the curtain rises.

During this prelude we observe Aeneas asleep in his apartment (A.II.250-3, 268-70). The music suggests that something is stealthily approaching him.

A change of music introduces Ascanius, who, frightened by distant noises which the music represents, enters his father's apartment and leaves without waking Aeneas because another change in the music indicates a lull in the unidentified external disturbance. This appearance of Ascanius is not in Virgil.

The change in the music introduces the Ghost of Hector (A.II 270).

A sudden orchestral outburst, seeming to come from the distance, and louder than before, awakes Aeneas. In Virgil, Aeneas does not wake, since Hector appears in a dream.

Hector's appearance and manner are based on A.II.270-9.
Aeneas' manner is a modification of A.II.279-80.
Aeneas' address to Hector is based, with modification, on A.II.281-6.
Hector's address to Aeneas is based, with modification, on A.II.289-95.
Hector's exit, like his entrance, is an invention of Berlioz, and omits A.II.296-7.

The texts of Virgil and Berlioz are so close here that this number deserves an especially detailed comparison.

In lines 250-3 Virgil shows that the normal course of nature has brought
about a complete change in the world: "vertitur interea caelum et ruit Oceano nox/involvens umbra magna terramque polumque/Myrmidonumque dolos;". Day has turned into night; and this prepares for the dream appearance of Hector, as well as providing the conditions necessary for the Greeks to steal from the Horse and overpower the unsuspecting Trojans with minimum effort. (A.II.254-67). When Virgil tells us that Aeneas is asleep, he suggests the trust which mortals place in night (A.II.268-9).

The vision of Hector immediately appears in a dream, truly ghost-like, phantasmagorical, and Aeneas describes his aspect in sorrowful detail. A.II.270-9:

in somnis, ecce, ante oculos maestissimus Hector uisus adesse mihi largosque effundere flatus, raptatus bigis ut quondam, aterque cruento puluere perque pedes traiectus lora tumentis. ei mihi, qualis erat, quantum mutatus ab illo Hectore qui redit exuivas indutus Achilli uel Damaum Phrygios iaculatus puppibus ignis! squalentem barbam et concretos sanguine crinis uulneraque illa gerens, quae circum plurima muros accept patrios. ultro flens ipse videbar compellare virum et maestas expromere voces;

This description spans two emotions for Aeneas, surprise and tears, as well as the tears of Hector. As the apparition is in the pitiful physical state in which his body was finally laid to rest, and utterly bereft of the heroic stature which was his before Achilles mistreated his corpse, the tears of Hector are for his past as well as Troy's present. Aeneas' tears are occasioned by Hector's physical appearance, and, in the construction of the last line (279), there is a reminder that this whole sequence is a dream "ultro flens ipse videbar".

The "maestas voces" which Aeneas addresses to Hector are a most dignified and restrained greeting to one for whom the Trojans feel so great a need ("spes o fidissima Teucrum") and an equally restrained description of (and
reference to) the ten years of war - especially of the disastrous year after Hector died. A.II.281:

O lux Dardaniae, spes o fidissima Teucrum, quae tentae tenuere morae? quibus Hector ab oris expectate uenis? ut te post multa tuorum funera, post varios hominumque urbisque labores defessi aspicimus! quae causa indigna serenos foedavit ultus? aut cur haec ulnera cerno?

Lines 281-3 make it clear that Aeneas sees Hector's appearance as a response - if a tardy one - to the Trojans' need. Aeneas has most keenly felt the need for Hector who now appears, bringing the reminders of the reality of his lamentable end to help Aeneas understand that there will have to be a replacement to fulfill the Trojans' need of a leader.

Aeneas' series of questions (282-6) does not include the vital one concerning Hector's purpose in coming, and it is this unasked question which Hector answers, placing his mantle of leadership on Aeneas himself: A.II. 287-8 "ille nihil, nec me quae rerum una moratur/ sed gravior gemitus imo de pectore ducens", deep sighs replacing the floods of tears.

He tells Aeneas to flee; explains that Troy, now that the enemy is within, is doomed; that, to Aeneas himself Troy entrusts the holy relics and household gods for which he must seek a new but unnamed city over the sea. In the dream, Hector actually brings him the fillets, the image of Vesta, and the everlasting fire.¹ (A.II.289-297). This act of removing the sacred relics from the inner shrine (296-7) is the only movement in the dream which Hector makes.

Aeneas passes from this dramatic end of the interview to reality without transition. There is no mention of Hector's disappearance.

Virgil has isolated the sleep of Aeneas and the dream appearance of
Hector from the growing turmoil and chaos of betrayed Troy. The enveloping quietness of night and the private, secret world of sleep have ensured that the scene will have had the greatest impact possible (cf 250-3).

The withdrawn and secluded position of Anchises' house also helps to isolate Aeneas from the flames which Hector has told him to flee, and Aeneas is not woken by any external noise, but shakes himself from sleep and climbs to the roof to investigate the truth of Hector's information, thereby dissipating the opportunity afforded by the isolation to obey Hector's command. For as soon as he sees and hears proof of Hector's words (A.II. 304-313), he forgets those words in his personal need to die in an attempt to save the citadel - A.II.314-17.

For us, the readers, Aeneas' dream is immediately replaced by the surrounding agony of Troy (A.II.293 f). For us, the description is as sudden and shocking as the appearance of Hector was sudden and surprising both to Aeneas and to us. A.II.296

\[
\textit{sic ait et manibus uittas Vestamque potentem seternumque adytis effert penetrabilis ignem.}
\]

\textit{then - Diverso interea miscentur moenia lucta, et magis atque magis, quamquam secreta parentis Anchisae domus arboribusque obtecta recessit, clarescunt sonitus armorumque ingruit horror}....

And with this change begins the long and clamorous series of scenes tracing the final hopeless defence of the city by Aeneas, Panthus, and a heroic band including Coroebus, and encompassing the capture of Cassandra the Trojan Prophetess, and Priam, king of Troy.
By the end of Act I, Cassandra has made us realise that Troy is doomed, and Berlioz immediately changes his focus to concentrate on its fall.

The long orchestral prelude, which begins this first number of Act II, proceeds for twenty *andante* bars before the curtain rises. From the beginning, distant noises of battle accompany the music, which comprises three different musical figures: eerily and menacingly rising motifs from bassoons and lower strings (bars 2–4), which, after communicating a feeling of stealthy approach, erupt in a noisy orchestral flourish (bar 5) which gradually decays. This makes way for the third event, which sound small and lonely by comparison: onstage trumpets and cornets à pistons (bars 8–11) sound a short fanfare ending in a drop of a minor third; this drop is supported by the shudder and fall of strings, then followed by a faint echo. This third event clearly represents the first stirrings of battle outside.

The first bassoon and string motif and flourish are repeated (bars 11–16) followed by a fanfare which, being higher pitched than before, is now more urgent. Its drop is increased from a minor third to an octave, and the finality of that intervallic fall, supported again by the shudder and fall of strings, gives a tentative hint of deterioration; an expectation without fulfilment.

As the curtain rises, revealing Aeneas asleep but partially armed and ready for action, a decisive gesture from the full orchestra (bars 21–3) dissolves into incoherent chaos (bars 24–5) suggesting the crumbling of Troy's hopes and existing foundations. A final sustained *pianissimo* fades, and is replaced by music of specific human activity—Ascanius' music (bar 26). The musical change is as great as the change of focus from the collapse of a city to the timid progress of one small human being.
Marked allegro, leggero, piano, small orchestral forces accompany and describe the boy's movements. Light, pattering woodwind, violas played pizzicato, and four long, repeated notes from the trombones pp not only accompany the entrance of Ascanius (at bar 31) but communicate his state of mind and reassure us, the audience. He has reacted fearfully to the noises of the enemy in the city outside, and that reaction confirms for us the menacing nature of the musical events of the first twenty-five bars.

The music changes from the timid pattering to a passage which suggests caution but increased confidence (bars 42-54) as Ascanius approaches his father's bed. He is more than slightly reassured, but respectfully timid, and by bar 58, when the noises have become inaudible, Ascanius leaves, now fully reassured. The point of all this is the very human quality of the music and the boy's actions. Ascanius does not enter here in Virgil; since Hector appears to Aeneas in a dream, direct and sudden confrontation is possible and appropriate. Berlioz, however, introduces Hector as a ghost, and needs as preparation for its appearance the introduction of a decidedly human element.

With the change of focus from the mysterious external events suggested by the early orchestral music - from the unknown - to the visual evidence of a little boy behaving normally and predictably - to the known - Berlioz has forged a link between the world of war, so often felt but not known, and the familiar world of life within the home. Berlioz's principal reason for including Ascanius and his reaction here is to contrast what seems right on the surface to Ascanius with the truth of the warning Aeneas is given by supernatural evidence.

Now he proceeds to forge another link between the natural and the supernatural - between Ascanius' relationship to Aeneas and the ghost of Hector's
relationship to Aeneas.

And so at bar 58, as Ascanius leaves, Berlioz changes the music smoothly, slowing the quick tempo of Ascanius' music to very measured rhythms, and flattening out any suggestion of melody so that the scene is again invested with a feeling of mystery, but mystery which unlike the prelude, contains no menace (bars 63-74).

In a new section (bar 75) Hector approaches Aeneas from a dark corner of the stage. Berlioz's Hector, like Virgil's (cf A.II 272-3 and 277-9) is bloody, with dirty and dishevelled beard and hair. Unlike Virgil's motionless Hector, he walks, with solemn, dignified gait.

The essential dignity of Hector's ghost is established during the thirteen bars (75 f.), marked andante un poco maestoso, of his progress toward Aeneas. The awe which we feel suddenly in Virgil, because of Hector's sudden appearance as if by magic, is a gradual development by Berlioz. This involves more than the physical fact of our seeing Hector before Aeneas wakes. Virgil's Hector is the first sign we have seen given to Aeneas concerning the end of the original Troy - Priam's Troy - and the new city to be sought for Troy's survivors; a city in a land unnamed by Virgil's Hector.

In Berlioz we have been prepared fully for the end of the old Troy by Cassandra, and for the ghost of Hector which she claims she has seen (No.2 bars 17-19).

And the turning point of the whole of Berlioz's work comes as a result of the appearance of the ghost. Hector's name has been used emphatically twice by Cassandra (No.2 bars 18-19, No.11 bars 212-13); Berlioz has carefully built up an affinity between ghost and prophetess who were brother and sister.
In this way the living sister has paved the way for the appearance of her brother's ghost.

Unlike Virgil's Hector, the ghost of Berlioz's re-creation does not weep. Weighed down, however, by the news he must tell the sleeping Aeneas, he does sigh deeply (cf A.II.287-8). And the sigh is given emphasis, and his sorrow given credence, by a drop in bassoons, cellos, and basses (bar 88).

The stage directions (at bar 90) state that Aeneas is awoken by a distant noise which is louder than all the others, and then sees Hector whom he addresses after some hesitation (cf A.II.270-80). Accompanying his awakening is a two-bar orchestral outburst, beginning on a sustained chord fortissimo, which suggests the impact of Hector's appearance upon him. As this music is liberated from the suspense of the strongly fused chord, the swirls in the strings, larger than ever (bars 4, 14), are countered by a rapid brass motif which recalls the fanfares (bars 8-11, 18-20). Since none of this music is new, its effect now is to indissolubly bind the fall of Troy and the ghost of Hector. The outburst (90-92) ends with a sudden and enormous shock; Troy has perhaps fallen, and Hector's ghost has perhaps come to choose the leader of the new Troy.

After the catastrophic impact, Aeneas assimilates the presence of Hector very rapidly (bars 92-3). This ties in closely with Virgil, whose Aeneas recognizes his vision instantly and quickly accepts his appearance. And by now we are ready to hear what Hector has to say, since we have been reassured by the solemnity and authority of his music and gait.

Berlioz, like Virgil (A.II.281 f), is interested in Hector as the former light of Troy. The confrontation he has devised is not a dream, for more than the obvious reason of impressive theatrical effect; the music of Hector's
entry prepares us for a figure of destiny, someone called inexorably from another world. The scene in Virgil is very emotional; Aeneas is telling Dido of the misfortunes of Troy, reliving painful memories (cf A.II.3-6). In Berlioz, the emphasis on dignity is necessary for the authority which Hector must carry as the scene unfolds. We have to be utterly convinced that Hector's message has the power of fate behind it so that we still have that memory, that conviction, during Act V.

And so in the music drama there is no question of tears, no sign of the "maestas voces" of A.II.286. Here re-created is Virgil's "pietas" - high sense of responsibility.

In Berlioz there is no hint of reproach in Aeneas' address to Hector. "O gloire des Troyens" (bars 95-6) differs from "spes o fidissima Taurum" (A.II.287) in that glory cannot fade, or has certainly not faded when the present continuous tense is implied, whereas even the best hope can remain unfulfilled, or fail to fulfil all its promise, especially if premature death intervenes as it did when Hector was slain by Achilles.

"Ô lumière de Troie, ô gloire des Troyens" (bars 93-6) rejoices in Hector and respects him rather than mourns him. However it is true of both works that Hector is regarded as the most important leader, perhaps the only really effective leader that Troy has ever had and lost. It is time for a new one.

Berlioz's Aeneas does not ask "quae tantae tenore morae?" (282) which carries a hint of living in the past. He begins with a reference to the war "Après tant de labours de tes concitoyens" (bars 96-8) whereas Virgil's Aeneas uses it as the climax of his expressions of relief at Hector's coming (A.II.283-5). Berlioz's Hector uses that beginning to establish the fact
that the Trojans have suffered greatly since Hector was taken from them,
then asks simply where he has come from: "De quels bords inconnus reviens-tu?"
(bars 98-100) in contrast with Virgil's Hector's "quibus Hector ab cris/
exspectate venis?" (A.II.282-3) which is where Virgil establishes that Hector
has been needed. (Note that "exspectate" is given the most important place
in line 283).

"Quel mague/Semble voiler tes yeux sereins?" (bars 100-2) is not the
same as "quae causa indigna serenos/foedavit voltus?" (A.II.285-6). The
Virgil is far stronger with its "indigna" and "foedavit". In Berlioz Hector's
eyes are clouded by some sorrow and are noble, whereas in Virgil Hector's
face is remembered by Aeneas as sereno - unmarred by any frown, even though
it has been defiled by something shameful or unworthy. This difference
continues to mark out Virgil's Hector as sorrowfully abused, almost degraded,2
and Berlioz's Hector as authoritative, his dignity not lessened by suffering.

"Hector" (bar 102) is made emphatic by surrounding rests, by being
introduced at a fairly strong rhythmic point, and occurring near the end of
Aeneas' address. In Virgil it occurs early, and at the least stressed part of
the line (282), perhaps because Aeneas is struggling to remind himself that it
really is Hector who has come after so long an absence, that it really is the
former Trojan leader behind those tears, those wounds, that shamefully abused
countenance.

In Berlioz, Aeneas' address concludes with the query "quelle douleurs ont
flétri ton visage?" (bars 103-4) which obliquely asks why Hector has come, or
rather, makes it reasonably clear that Aeneas understands that any tidings
Hector brings will be grim. In contrast, Virgil's Aeneas concludes with a
query which is almost metaphysical in its implications: "aut cur haec
vulnera cerno?" (286). He is puzzled that Troy's former leader has returned in the state in which Achilles left him. (According to A.VI.494-7 Aeneas is given a preview of the transformations which the dead undergo on the other side of the Styx). 3

Throughout Aeneas' address to the ghost, horns and trombones have maintained a rhythm of quiet, measured dignity, increasing and decreasing in volume with the rise and fall of his words. The support of the tremolo strings, also rising and falling in volume, has indicated the essential reassurance Aeneas has felt on seeing Hector, as well as the wonderment.

The solo muted horn in bar 107 introduces, with its hollow calm, Hector as a messenger of fate. The former hero has accepted fate with dignity, and has come to pass on that acceptance and the wisdom of appropriate action to the man most suited to take it and rescue what is left.

In Virgil, Hector's speech to Aeneas increases in intensity as it proceeds. In Berlioz, the opposite is the case. There are significant differences, as well as similarities, between the Virgil and the Berlioz texts. "Ah! fuis, fils de Vénus! L'ennemi tient nos murs!" (bars 108-110) is very closely based on the beginning of the speech of Virgil's Hector (A.II. 289-90). Musically, there is a disruption of calm by the upper strings in response (bar 110) which is unmistakably related to the opening phrase of the orchestral prelude. From Hector's arrival, these opening words and the musical echo, it is made clear that what was creeping up on him during the prelude were the fall of Troy and the ghost with its message.

For the next several lines, the two texts are close, both in information and imagery, though the Berlioz is more emotionally coloured (bars 111-120, cf. A.II.290-1). There is a slight but important difference between
"Pergam te confisce/ses enfants et ses dieux" (bars 121-3) and A.II.293-4, to allow for the difference in action of the vision and the ghost. The vision virtually presents the holy relics of Troy to Aeneas; the ghost does not. There is a beautiful emotionalism about the rhetorical emphasis of "noster capis fatorum comites, his moenia quaere" (294) which Berlioz cannot afford to include in any case, since it could easily break the restraint of the scene.

The major differences occur now. "Va, cherche l' Italie" (bars 124-5) which later becomes the dominant textual motif of the music drama, and is heard here for the first time, does not occur in Hector's speech in Virgil. It also begins the decrease in intensity of the ghost's speech. While describing the present condition of Troy, Hector was intense. Now, as he begins what is really a prophecy, there is less emotion than ever, and we recall that prophecies are normally made in a state of trance.

The emotionalism and rise in intensity (293-4) in Virgil are necessary - the vividness must not fade; sooner or later the advice must be taken; and Virgil's Hector (A.II.294-5) does not promise as much as Berlioz's Hector. Berlioz's Hector tells Aeneas all that Virgil's does, and in addition names the country Aeneas is to find, states that he will found a mighty empire, that the empire is destined to rule the world, and that Aeneas will have a hero's death in Italy (bars 124-35). This last appears nowhere in Virgil, and if it did it would be in conflict with Dido's curse (A.IV.620 f), all of whose prophecies are fulfilled either during A.VI.-XII. or by subsequent historical events.

The rest of the prophecy is taken from other characters - mortal and divine - in Virgil. Creusa's ghost A.II.783-4 names the land as "Hesperia";
in A.III.97-8 Phoebus tells the Trojans that Aeneas' descendants will rule the world; in A.III.165-8 a dream vision of the Penates tells Aeneas that Italy was the name of the land from which Dardanus sprang and to which the Trojans must return. In A.III.374-462 Helenus adds his prophecies.

In Berlioz Hector and Cassandra share the prophecies which are widely spread in Virgil.5

At the close of the scene there is a striking divergence. In Virgil, Hector produces the fillets, the image of Vesta, and the everlasting fire for Aeneas to see and take; (A.II.296-7); there is no further word about him. We assume he has vanished immediately after performing this significant action. As his speech has progressed, the tears and sighs have been replaced by the urgency and importance of his message, and his closing action is one of great dignity. Berlioz's Hector has necessarily had this dignity throughout; since in neither work Aeneas is the one to take the holy relics at first, (it is Panthus), nothing would be added to the dignity and authority of the scene by including them. In Virgil they are talismans, held up to Aeneas after he has been laden with a great responsibility and virtually no reward to follow. In Berlioz Aeneas has already the incentive of having been promised what Berlioz suggests is the greatest honour for a warrior - a hero's death.

Berlioz's Hector retreats to the same music as that to which he came. It seems especially appropriate because this music and the prophetic part of his message contain the same kind of mystery, the mystery we associate with the supernatural.6
It was perhaps influenced by the boy Lucius' role in *Julius Caesar*, Act IV, scene iii.

1. See Austin (II) pp. 136-7 and Williams, p. 235.

2. cf Austin (II) pp. 130-1.

3. Williams (citing Macrobius and Ennius) suggests that Aeneas' speech has the inconsequential nature of a dream. p. 234.

4. See Cairns, p. 100.

5. For the difficulties and discrepancies concerning the prophecies received at various stages by Aeneas, cf Majorie Crump, *The Growth of the Aeneid*, (Basil Blackwell, 1920) pp. 16-27. For Berlioz's compression of the prophecies, see also Cairns, p. 100.

6. In a letter to the Princess Sayn-Wittgenstein, Berlioz writes that "Hector, brought to life for a moment by the will of the gods, gradually sinks into oblivion again as he accomplishes his mission to Aeneas...." Turner, p. 300.
Aeneas is now in command, chosen, as it were, by the ghost of Hector, and the pace is very swift.

In fifteen bars of orchestral introduction, allegro assai agitato, the solemnity and mystery of the previous number are replaced by alarm and action.

The number is based on A.II.318-360. Berlioz has chosen lines outside these limits for Panthus to report the sortie from the Horse and the subsequent calamity, and for Ascanius to describe an important scene of incendiary ruin.

Coroebus leads in a band of armed men, and establishes himself as a valiant warrior who looks to Aeneas as commander and stirs him to fight.

Aeneas exhorts the chorus of warriors who respond with vigorous accord, and before the curtain falls, all depart ready to die.

Aeneas' opening words to Panthus are based on A.II.322-3.

Panthus' reply is drawn, phrase by phrase, from A.II.327, 324, 511, 544-5, 330, 331, 259-67, 329, 332.

Ascanius' presence in this scene is Berlioz's invention, but his words are drawn from A.II.312, 311.

Coroebus is in Virgil A.II.341-6, but does not speak until 387-91. His words are drawn from Aeneas' speech A.II.314-16.

Aeneas' response to Coroebus is drawn from A.II.314 and 348.

His exhortation, echoed and developed by the chorus, is based on A.II. 353-4, 355-60.
A.II.298-360 Virgil gives extra authority to the warning aspect of Aeneas' dream of Hector by providing immediate proof of Hector's words concerning the enemy occupation of Troy. From line 298, even before Aeneas shakes himself from his sleep, the proof is all around in the city's anguish.

Virgil sets Aeneas apart from that anguish in lines 302-8, and the metaphor 304-8 allows us to feel the disaster from a distance, as Aeneas did.

Again, Virgil emphasises the treachery of the Greeks, A.II.309-10: "tum uero manifesta fides, Danaumque patescunt insidiae". But there is little time to dwell on it. As the destruction and fighting draw nearer, and specific scenes of destruction and actual cries reach his ears (310-13), Aeneas loses the perspective of 302-3, and is seized with furious rage.

A.II.314-17:

Arma amens capio; nec set rationis in armis,
sed glomerare manum bello et concurrere in arcem
cum scilis ardent animi; furor iracue mentem
praecipitat, pulchrumque mori succurrir in armis.

In spite of the extremity of the language, the lines are quite deliberate, the heated words spoken with almost cold fury.

The next lines contain the same tension between metre and language (318-21). The spondees keep the rhythm deliberate while the language forms the image of a Panthus panic-stricken or distraught by the calamity, and harassed and hampered by the need to protect his little grandchild.

In Aeneas' words to Panthus (322) there is tension between the predominantly spondaic metre and language expressing eagerness for action. However in Panthus' reply (324-335) there is no such tension; the rarely relieved spondees are matched by the hopelessness of Panthus' all too convincing description of Troy's imminent end.
These words of Panthus momentarily halt Aeneas in his *furor*, but at their conclusion there is a complete change of scene; without transition we are presented with an image of Aeneas which is blurred in its clash between metaphysical darkness and the brightness of earthly flames, its noise and frenzy (336–8). The blurred image is replaced by moonlight (340) so that the warriors who join Aeneas can be recognised and identified. Virgil names them in a catalogue (339–42) concluding with Coroebus, expounding his motivation (342–4) and reflecting on the irony of his chosen action (345–6).

Aeneas demonstrates the affinity between himself and the valiant little band in a speech which acknowledges their enthusiasm, confesses his own, and warns unequivocally that they will be going to meet death (348–54). All the lines of this speech are predominantly spondaic except 348 and 352 – those in which he begins, and where he says that Troy has been abandoned by the gods.

Lines 355–60 describe the kind of wild, violent, and blind fury which Aeneas and his band take with them into battle.

A most significant event has come to a close, in Berlioz, as Hector has walked majestically away, watched by an awestruck Aeneas. In contrast, the new scene is driven straight into action by the entry of Panthus, whose face is wounded. Berlioz has omitted the scene depicted in A. II. 298–317; it would not be possible to stage this, and he has been able, later, to include part of it in the recitative.

The fifteen-bar orchestral passage *allegro assai agitato* immediately changes the mood from that of the ghost scene to the swift, decisive pace which is maintained throughout No.13.
In Berlioz, Aeneas' mood is actually broken by the music which brings Panthus in (bar 13). He has been introduced earlier than in Virgil (318) where he breaks in on a different mood — furos (313 f), halting Aeneas who is about to seize arms and rush to his death. In Berlioz, Aeneas is still too closely surrounded by Hector's aura to be credible if he leapt up and seized arms immediately. And so the entry of Panthus breaks the spell completely; the introductory music has begun the process, and the sight of Panthus drives Hector's message temporarily from Aeneas' mind.

Panthus here, as in Virgil, is carrying the images of the gods of Troy, but is not dragging his grandchild. Berlioz has created a younger Panthus, and replaces Panthus' grandchild with Aeneas' son Ascanius, delaying his entry until bar 59 to avoid any distraction of attention from the important information which Panthus relays to Aeneas and the audience (bars 24-59) and to maintain the feeling of urgency and need for action by adding new, up to date observations to Panthus' description of the state of Troy as he has seen it.

Virgil's Panthus is not overtly wounded (318-321); he has not been needed to break the spell cast by Hector and bring Aeneas back from the future reality of the prophecies of Hector to the reality of the present. Berlioz uses Panthus' wounded face to provoke a reaction from Aeneas.

In Virgil, the entry of Panthus begins a movement which continues just over 200 lines (355-566), which depict the last stand and adventures of the surviving Trojan warriors and Coroebus. During this section, Coroebus, Priam, and Cassandra meet their deaths, and the murderous deeds of the Greeks, in particular those of Pyrrhus (Neoptolemus), are bitterly recalled. The death of Priam is the climax of this section (of later Nos. 15 and 16).
Virgil's description (360-566) of the desperate hand to hand fighting and different fates of prominent persons, so colourful and effective in the epic poem, cannot be translated into music drama, nor is it part of Berlioz's purpose that they should be. His purpose is first to show the high courage and defiance of the surviving Trojan warriors and Aeneas when the news of the disaster is brought to them, then to write new scenes, Nos. 14-16, to reveal the results of the men's reactions.

In Virgil, Aeneas disregards Hector's advice to flee from Troy (293-317). In Berlioz, No. 13 begins with three bars of seething string tremolos which may well suggest Aeneas' fury at the earlier part of Hector's message; but we cannot know this yet. From bar 4 there is clearer tone-painting in the onrushing notes, abrupt and brief silences, as Aeneas seeks the best direction for the decision with which he is grappling, now that the spell is breaking.

He eagerly grasps at Panthus' entry, and his words (bars 16-21) confirm that he, like Virgil's Aeneas, will disregard Hector's command and join the fray in an attempt to defend and save Troy, or at least to wreak as much vengeance as possible while fighting to the death. The rhythms of the vocal lines throughout are energetic, eager, urgent; there is little deliberation, if any, and the predominant impression is of an almost blind determination to act.

Panthus here brings Aeneas a very similar story to the hopeless tale of Virgil's Panthus, and the orchestra descends dramatically even before he begins (bars 21-24). The first difference is a major one. In Virgil, the death of Priam is the climax of the series of scenes 355-566, after Aeneas and his band have plunged into combat. Here, Panthus tells Aeneas "Priam n'est plus!" (bars 30-32). In fact, the state of devastation is far more
advanced at this stage in Berlioz than in Virgil 324 f, where Troy is in flames (327) and the Greeks are still waiting to trap the ordinary citizens with a line of swords (333-4). But Panthus tells us in Berlioz that "La ville ensanglantée/Brûle" (bars 24-27). The vocal line emphasises the degree of dismay at the betrayal by means of the Horse, and the slaughter of the guards (cf A.II.328-9, 334-5). There is, of course, no mention of Sinon, (cf A.II.329-30), but the treachery and flames are incorporated: "Qu' alluma de leurs chefs l' infâme perfidie" (bars 51-56). The simple image of "D' autres occupent les remparts" (bars 57-9) replaces the dramatically more difficult one of A.II.332-3.

Berlioz has omitted any reference to Jupiter and his support of the Greeks (A.II.326-7).

Panthus has barely concluded when Ascanius enters (bar 58), his vocal line a monotone suggesting rigid horror and incredulity at what he has seen: "Ô père! le palais d' Ucàlagôn s' écroule!/Son toit fondant en pluie ardente coule!" (bars 59-68). Berlioz has built his own remarkable image on Virgil's 311-12. In Virgil, Ucàlagon is remarkable for having been given special mention, in spite of being one of Priam's friends. This is one of the lines from the necessarily omitted A.II.298-317; even to the child Ascanius, the annihilation of this particular building is tremendously significant; and the vocal timbre - the part is sung by a mezzo-soprano - makes the strain on the child acutely apparent. His is a plaint, vulnerable voice amid the music belonging to man at war.

Aeneas' reply looks forward to A.II.596-8 and 723-4 and 747-8, for at this stage in Virgil, Ascanius is not present: "Suis-nous Ascagne!" (bars 68-9). Ascanius has, as it were, joined Aeneas who, by listening to those
words of Panthus which confirm the message of Hector, has been placed in implacable opposition to the enemy. He does not send his son away, to cover. This means that he knows Ascanius is no safer anywhere else.

Coroebus enters and stirs Aeneas on to fight: "Aux armes, grand Enée! Viens, la citadelle cernée/Tient encore!" His vocal line is melodically plain and incisive; his rhythm, with its triplets, is tersely military, its eagerness defying argument. His particular address to Aeneas - "grand" - demonstrates that he looks to Aeneas as leader in this new, unforeseen situation. His "viens!" demonstrates his conviction that his leader must be made familiar with the true state of affairs. This is closely related to A.II.339-42, where the violent individual Trojans and Coroebus join Aeneas without bidding, without summons, knowing the need without being told.

Here, though, Coroebus is the spokesman; in Berlioz he has won a special place and familiarity with us through his relationship with Cassandra. (No.3)

Coroebus' words in Berlioz reflect Aeneas words in A.II.347 "quos ubi confertos ardere in proelia uidi". Although on the surface it seems as though his role is now minor, it is only minor in comparison with the role of Aeneas, and in the short space of time which Berlioz has to develop this urgent and energetic scene, Coroebus is very prominent and a leader of the band. In both works, an eager band of young men gives Aeneas the spur to plunge into battle.

Aeneas now is able to focus his determination on "la citadelle". His address to the band of whom Coroebus is spokesman is briefer than in Virgil, and the direction is more specific. (In a music drama the focus must be
simple and direct). The two main thrusts of Aeneas' speech in Virgil A.II.348–354 — that if they go to fight they go to die, and that the only hope the defeated have is to hope for none — is the essence of his address (bars 76–89). This also incorporates A.II.314 — part of the section between the appearance of Hector and of Panthus which Berlioz has had to omit.

The chorus of warriors echo his words eagerly. From bars 88–141, where they end on a high note of courage, they parallel, in musical colour, the colour of the names Virgil enumerates 339–42. They listen, they are aware:

Entendez-vous
1' écroulement des tours, la flamme dévorante?
Les hurlements des Greco? Toujours leur foule augmente.
Marchons! Le désespoir dirigera nos coups.
Prêts à mourir
Tentons de nous défendre!
Mars, Érynnis, conduisez-nous! (bars 96–141)

They have heard Aeneas' words and they believe them; they have heard the fighting around them, ready to die, they call upon the god Mars and the Furies for the superhuman strength which they know they will need. Their words are faithful to the spirit of A.II.337 f and 355 f, and their music illuminates that spirit. The orchestra has the final say (bars 142–159), and it tells us that the men have indeed gone, with all the determination inherent in their words, and that we have no reason to doubt the fulfilment of their intention or the reality of the penalty they have faced without flinching. As in Virgil, we do not know where they are going or how soon they will die, whether any can possibly escape death. The furor of the Virgilian characters rages until all but Aeneas are killed, and even then it takes Venus to set his back on the path which Hector had indicated, and her speech is a long one — A.II.594–620. In Berlioz the same spirit of furor rules, and as few Trojans are blindly rushing to meet as many Greeks as in Virgil — we know that from
Panthus' words bars 41-50.

In both works Aeneas ignores Hector's advice, unable at this stage to act in a way which he believes is unheroic, even cowardly.

1. Berlioz abandoned a scene for Sinon which occurred in Act I between Nos.6 and 7. (Eulenberg study score p.V.) The whole scene is printed in N.B.C. Vol. 2c.

2. Williams, p.236.

3. "Because Mars is, in Virgil, mostly the spirit of war and not a deity, we meet Mars most often in this sense in the accounts of the fighting". Bailey, pp.112-113. This seems to be exactly as Berlioz himself has used the name of "Mars" here.

4. On the reaction to Hector of Virgil's Aeneas cf Quinn, p.17, Williams, p.236 and Austin (II), pp.142-3.
From here until the conclusion of Act Two there is a major divergence between epic poem and music drama. Berlioz has omitted most of A.II.360-804 from the actual action - a little more than half of the book.

On the surface, this would seem to involve an extraordinary amount of pure invention, but in fact the complete change of focus from the men, in Virgil, to the women, can be traced back to lines within A.II.360-804.

Many of the dynamic actions seen through Aeneas' eyes during these 444 lines are impossible to stage, and Berlioz has converted them into a tableau and news of the events seen through Cassandra's eyes.

Aeneas' heroic but futile adventures are replaced by the plight and reactions of the women of Troy in the last three numbers of Act Two - Nos. 14, 15 and 16.

The Trojan women, to whom Berlioz gives a far more central role than Virgil, commit suicide in the music drama to avoid rape and slavery. Although this idea of a fate worse than death is not a general classical value, Berlioz could have been inspired by the ghost of Creusa (A.II.784-88) who clearly prefers death to Greek bondage, and, was almost certainly inspired by Andromache who envies the lot of Polyxena (A.III.321-9). The resolve to commit suicide parallels the resolve of the men to fight to the death. Since they were unable to fight in battle, self-destruction was the only way the women could make their sacrifice for Troy. The element of heroism is clear in that they were motivated to defeat the enemy by refusing to become enemy spoil - the women were defying the enemy, whereas the men were defying death.

Both men and women had an exceptional leader; Aeneas was the man to whom the surviving Trojan warriors turned for leadership. His situation was that,
far from needing to persuade the men to fight, he would have found it impossible to dissuade them, all being, as he was, in the grip of furor. The women turn to Cassandra for leadership; the suicide is her idea; she is the one inspired with a kind of holy furor — and she meets with some opposition which she cannot overcome. So the men are driven by furor, the women are, as it were, inspired by it; both are heroic.

Berlioz goes further, and divides the women into two conflicting groups. The tension or conflict between the two opposed groups of women — those in favour of self-immolation, those in favour of a continued existence at any price — replaces to a certain extent those physical conflicts seen through the eyes of Aeneas. The division serves also further to demonstrate Cassandra's indomitable determination, and demonstrates also that not all women can be like Cassandra, that heroism is not universal, nor is it desirable that it should be. This will be discussed in the chapter on No. 16. Cassandra, in Berlioz, is one of the driving forces behind the seeking after and founding of la nouvelle Troie, in Italie (cf Nos. 15, 16 and 42).

The fact that the women are prepared to kill themselves tells us virtually as effectively how bad the situation is as if we could actually see all the Trojans perishing one by one. That they are prepared to commit suicide on the strength of Cassandra's report suggests quite strongly that the report is reliable. We cannot see the deaths of the men; we can see the simultaneous deaths of the women. This is, for us, the end of Troy. It is the reverse of Virgil where we know, from Creusa's last words (785–7) that the women will be taken as slaves, but where we see nothing of them after Priam's death (cf A.II. 549–558), the horror of which renders their pitiful fate insignificant. (cf A.I. 56).

In Virgil the women around the altars (519) are Hecuba and her daughters,
and Hecuba is the conspicuous figure – the only one named. Hecuba was too powerful a figure in classical literature for Berlioz to place her alongside Cassandra who, as leader, must be absolutely dominant. Hierarchically, too, she is still queen of Troy (and representative of another generation) and since Cassandra must be so influential, so inspired, Berlioz cannot include Hecuba in virtual anonymity as part of the flock.

And so Berlioz choose Polyxena, who was sacrificed after Troy fell, albeit not by her own hand or will, to head the band of women whose leader will be Cassandra.

No. 14 is based on A. II. 513-17. The women are not huddled together, as in Virgil, but are utterly dejected. Instead of clasping the images of the gods, as in Virgil, they unite their attention and focus it on one goddess – Cybele. They need their hands free now for supplication, and later to play their lyres, and they cannot abandon holy images in order to end their lives, either theatrically or practically.

Virgil introduces the flight of the Trojan women, in Priam’s palace, at lines 486-7. The impression he creates is of the beautiful interior household world of women, its rooms open to the golden stars, its beauty meant always to be inviolable, like the beings who inhabit it with mutual cherishing. This precious world is being shattered; all the women can do is fear for themselves and the beloved palace.

Virgil portrays the extreme brutality, ferocity, and unholiness of the marauding Greeks. They are invading the inner sanctum (49, 45), and, as always, there is a splendid metaphor to intensify the reader’s emotions (496-9). Berlioz uses this metaphor as a basis for No. 16 and we shall find
there that the great dignity of Berlioz's Trojan women is matched by a corresponding diminution in the ferocity of the Greeks, thus spacing his Virgilian bases virtually to a pattern.

It is Virgil's purpose to describe the death of Priam - this is the climax of Aeneas' adventures, and the climax of his horror - after this he alone of his band is left. To do this with optimum effect, Virgil allows the curtain of metaphor to dissolve at A.II.499, revealing, as it were, Hecuba, her hundred daughters, and the bloody corpse of Priam all over against Neoptolemus, Agamemnon, and Menelaus; and the entire scene is momentarily frozen. Virgil then proceeds to describe in retrospect (through Aeneas' eyes) the details of Priam's fate.

Berlioz brings the women forward, as Virgil kept them in the background, (515-25), placing as much importance on their suffering as on the suffering of the men, and not staging the murder of any notable Trojan by the Greeks; in Virgil, Trojans by name have fallen (A.II.425-430), then after Priam (549-53) they fall unnamed (565-6).

Berlioz uses No.14 not only as a complete musical and dramatic contrast to No.13., but to illustrate the passive reaction of the women to war, in juxtaposition to his illustration of the active reaction of men.

The men were united in intent to act. The women are united in prayer. The men's unity was made complete when all focussed briefly on Mars and the Furies. The women pray gently, gracefully, yet with intensity, and at length, to Cybele.

Virgil makes reference to Cybele in the words which the ghost of Creusa utters in reassurance to Aeneas at the end of A.II. The reference is oblique,
and its nature makes the goddess all-wise, all-loving. 788 "sed me magna deum penetrat his destinoris".

This choice by Berlioz of this mighty deity whom he calls Vesta-Cybele for the direction of the prayer of these most helpless of women is related to Virgil— to Creusa's ghostly speech to Aeneas (A.II.788). Cybele gave such wondrous reassurance to Creusa, a Trojan woman who has reason to trust her, having passed into her care. The rich reassurance and calm majesty of Creusa meant much to Berlioz; his re-creation of Cassandra incorporates her.

Berlioz's warriors may act toward physical survival, even though they believe that death will be the outcome. Only self-destruction is given to his women. A parallel with the action at Carthage is foreshadowed here as both Cassandra and Dido fight literally, although not physically, to the death, choosing self-destruction when life has irrevocably lost all honour.

At this moment of the music drama, the Trojan women are, as in Virgil, grouped around the altar, with Polyxena as leader. Berlioz has taken part of Virgil's dynamic image, frozen it in time, and translated it into a musical tableau.

After a brief string frisson, flutes, oboes, and clarinets blow sustained signals reminiscent of Cassandra's music (No.2). After each of the three signals (bars 1-7), one of each part of the three-part female chorus wordlessly chants the first half of the Locrian mode ascending from G flat. Throughout the prayer, the first sopranos are doubled by the flutes, the second sopranos by the oboes, and the contraltos by the clarinets. Orchestra and chorus are this way intimately related in sound, and the feeling of unity is unmistakable. After the first wordless cry of appeal there is an ominous string swirl
(bar 10) which is related to the shuddering of their hearts and is anticipatory of other more extended tremors (bars 22, 25), and is also related to bars 93-5 of No.13 where the little band of warriors proves its awareness of the very real danger outside. The women are sensible of the same danger, to the same degree.

The giving of words to these women is Berlioz's invention; Virgil described them as trembling, weeping, and kissing the doors of Priam's house. They are justly helpless with terror, because Virgil's Greeks behave with the utmost brutality, and the women have seen not only the complete violation of the house itself (A.II. 479-485, 491-499), but the humiliating and savage murder of their king (A.II.499-558). Trapped, unable to fight, but as yet unmolested since the Greeks have not yet arrived, the Trojan women of Berlioz have a beautiful dignity in prayer, and are able thus to confess and communicate their own helplessness.

The use of the Locrian mode gives not only the feeling of timelessness and space, but of simplicity. And the prayer is a simple one: "Puissante Cybèle, Déesse immortelle". Simply, she is everything they are not.

"Mère des malheureux" - malheureux (bars 14-16) ends on a long note, on the highest yet used, and is stressed as a cry which, this time, is given a word.

"A tes Troyens sois secourable" (bars 16-18), "En ces moments affreux" (bars 21-22) - the comment on affreux comes as a frisson from violins and violas, allied with a rapid descending chromatic shudder from cellos and basses (bar 22).

Now that the women have expressed their awareness of the darkness of the
hour in words, they continue to speak their inmost fears, hiding nothing.

"Sauve de l' outrage et de l' esclavage/Leurs mères, leurs soeurs" (bars 22-25) - At this point occurs another comment from the strings; an extension and variation (bar 25) of the first string swirl (bar 10).

The most dread thoughts have now been uttered. A new section begins with a new lift, in A flat major: "Brise l'arme inpie/De la perfidie/
Aux mains des vainqueurs" (bars 26-31), but in opposition to the new lightness, the warning, insistent oboe appears (bars 26, 27, 28, 29, 30) as it appeared in Cassandra's entry music.

Throughout and beyond its warnings the prayer rising in pitch and intensity until bar 43; a more urgent warning motif is heard in the trumpets and cornets à pistons, after which the prayer dissolves into a tearful, broken melody of sorrow motifs which are related to the pantomime of Act I, and to Cassandra's last aria in Act I, but less intense than the latter, and less likely to lead to new direction. As it is, ushered in by the brass warning heard six bars previously, there returns an urgent, compressed version of the opening chant - six bars long instead of ten - in which the woodwind signals now coincide with the choral entries instead of preceding and heralding or prompting them. Cutting through the last sustained choral chord and string frisson (final bar), a slightly longer version of the brass motif - ominous, for emphasis - leads to the entry, not of the sought for Cybele, but of Cassandra, human, formerly despised.

1. R.W. Cruttwell, in the chapter entitled "Troy and Rome" of his book *Virgil's Mind at Work* (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1946) says on p.10 "Vesta, herself Cybele's eldest daughter" and suggests that Cybele and Mount Ida are one. He discusses Vesta - Cybele further on pp.29-32, and later writes of "the cult of Cybele on the Palatine hill, whose foot
accommodated the cult of Vesta"; (p.111). Later still, he writes "the undying flame of Vesta perpetuates the undying life of Troy" (Tomb and Womb), p.165.

Perhaps Berioz was influenced by the role of the chorus of women in Seneca's Trojan Women (based on Euripides' play of the same name).
Cassandra reports to the women the outcome of the action taken by Aeneas and his comrades, and the condition of Troy itself, then persuades the women to avoid rape and slavery by committing suicide. When based on Virgil, the text is drawn, with modification, from A.II.776-804, 370-633, 246-7, 515-17.

In Virgil, Cassandra is taken captive by the Greeks quite early (A.II.403-6). Berlioz has delayed and altered her fate, but has based her physical appearance and spirited approach - even her Romantic heroism - on A.II.405-6.

In Virgil, Coroebus is killed attempting to rescue Cassandra (A.II.407f). He falls by the altar of Pallas. His death then becomes in fact (424-6) part of a series of deaths of Aeneas' friends which is not unlike the suicide of the women (No.16) in its swiftness. The men are killed in different ways (A.II.424-30 and 565-6) and the women in Berlioz have a choice of three methods of ending their lives.

In Virgil, Aeneas tells us of Coroebus' death as part of his narrative. In Berlioz it is Cassandra who brings the news, and moves directly onto the announcement that she intends to take her own life. This announcement is new in Berlioz.

In Virgil, Coroebus and Cassandra are at best betrothed (A.II. 342-4). In Berlioz they had undergone a form of marriage by mutual consent with only nature as witness, at the end of No.3.

Cassandra's incitement of the women to take their lives is far more than an appeal to their sense of honour - a value with which Berlioz's nineteenth century audience would be familiar; to those nineteenth century Europeans slavery was an abomination (except for their own colonials!) and rape defiling. Cassandra's persuasive, almost fanatical words serve the purpose of reporting.
the state of affairs in Troy. Troy is on the brink of final collapse; the
Greeks have been victorious, and now they are involved in an orgy of
destruction and pillage. And when the women hear and assimilate this, they
make no further appeal for optimism, and admit that they are trapped. At the
moment of this admission, we, the audience, know that all is lost.

Within the last hundred lines of A.II., Virgil, before introducing
the ghost of Creusa as a symbol of hope and reassurance but with a prophecy
that years of hardship lie ahead of Aeneas, paints a desolate picture of what
remains of Troy and those left to endure the end A.II.761-7:

> et iam porticibus uacuis Iunonis asylo
custodes lecti Phoenix et dirus Vlixes
praedam adservabant. Huc undique Troia gaza
incensis erepta adyis, mensaeque deorum
crateresque auro solidi, captivaeque uestis
congeritur. Pueri et pauidae longo ordine matres
stant circum.

Abandoned goddess, forlorn people. Here all is hopeless for Troy and the Trojans.
Because of Aeneas' furore, he keeps questing and unable to abandon
what he believes are his responsibilities, he is confronted with another ghost,
this time not a dream; A.II.771-3: "quaerenti et tectis urbis sine fine
ruenti/infelix simulacrum atque ipsius umbra Creusae/visa mihi ante oculos
et nata major imago". To this Aeneas reacts as perhaps the Trojans would
have reacted to the prophecies of Cassandra had Apollo permitted it: A.II.
774: "obstipui, steteruntque comae et uox faucibus haesit". Aeneas has
been stopped in his tracks by the appearance of the ghost - its very
unexpectedness, its great size. Thus he is ready for Creusa's message (A.II.
775-89).

Although it is quite a long speech, because it comes upon us at such a
time, at the close of a book of the misfortunes of war, where we are so
exhausted in company and in sympathy with the suffering people, it seems short. And the consolation is indeed small, although definite and undeniable. Before the reassurance of lines 781-7 is the one terse line 780: "longe tibi excilia et vastum maris aequor arandum"; of which the rhythm and almost every word project long stretches of difficulty imposed by existence. To Aeneas, worn out by fruitless fighting and by witnessing the deaths of his friends and the destruction of his city, there must have been great need for the comfort of lines 781-7.

In Berlioz, Aeneas has been promised wanderings by Hector's ghost, but not hardship, and he has been given a great deal more incentive than Virgil's Aeneas (see No. 13). In Virgil, Creusa's ghost is the third of the prophets along the way, each of whom tells Aeneas a little more than he already knows. Creusa adds her prophecy to those of Hector, who told him to flee and find a new home for the Trojans and their gods (A.II.289-95) and Venus, who set him on the path to following Hector's advice (589 f). At this stage enough of the future is known to Aeneas to give him a clear direction and sense of purpose. He knows whom he can save, must save, and those he cannot. Creusa's message has deprived him of one wife and promised him another; he has been relieved, unwillingly, of the responsibility of Creusa, and his heart has been saved anguish since it knows her fate. He is being prepared for the encounter with Lido, and only much later, Lavinia. For seven years he carries this knowledge and endures great hardships. We should not be too surprised when, in A.IV., plecas wins over furor.

In Berlioz Aeneas has no Creusa or Anchises to take care of or to regret; on the other hand he has no mother to keep vigilance over his progress on the course assigned him. He must keep Hector's promise in mind and be utterly self-reliant.
The last nine lines of A.II. find Aeneas at last accepting his inability to save all of his surviving people (A.II.796-804). These lines indicate that not all men have perished or all women become slaves, the very indication reminding us that death and captivity have become the lot of a great many. In Virgil it is not only through Creusa that we learn the projected fate of those of the Trojan women who are unable to join Aeneas, but also from the fate of his Cassandra, (A.II.402 f) as well as the descriptions of A.II.486 f and 512 f.

Berlioz's use of Cassandra to inform us of Aeneas' progress and intentions is part of his invention of a scene which is less harrowing than Virgil's. Virgil's women have no choice. Berlioz's women, waiting for the Greek soldiers to rape them, and having Cassandra to lead them rather than a goddess to rescue them, are able to choose between - as they see it - honourable suicide made in a spirit of defiant pride, or dishonourable submission to their fate, and a life in bondage to Greek masters.

In Virgil it is Aeneas who tells us regretfully of the truth of Cassandra's prophecies (A.II.345-6, 246-7); in Berlioz the women give voice to their realisation of the veracity of Cassandra's warnings, emphasising the fact that belief has come too late (No.15 bars 34-41).

In No.15 Cassandra enters abruptly, shattering the quiet scene of supplicant women in less than two bars of music (bars 1-2) which constitute a metamorphosis of her first music (No.2). The news she bears is of the future, but mundane; this is not inspired news which only a prophetess, a privileged person could bring. There will be no reason for the women to disbelieve her now; the truth of her earlier prophecy has been made clear beyond doubt, and from No.14 we know that they realise that the situation is desperate. The
music is that of result, not of prophetic vision. Her prophetic music of long ago has returned to make its final revelation - the doom she prophesied has come, and now is the time for decision, for finding a new direction.

Events have changed Cassandra; considered mad by her people and her betrothed, unable to avert the destruction of the people and city she loves, she feels that her life has been useless, but while resolved to die, she will do so not in abject defeat and despair, but with the fiery spirit which has not deserted her.

The rhythm and melodic rise and fall of her recitative secco are business-like and factual, the other-worldly inspiration gone; (bars 2-12)

Tous ne periront pas.
Le valeureux Enée
Et sa troupe, trois fois au combat ranéée,
Ont délivré nos braves citoyens
Enfermés dans la citadelle,
Le trésor de Priam est aux mains des Troyens.

This economical text contrasts with Virgil where the focus is on Aeneas, his family and penates. Omitting the deaths of Aeneas' comrades, it produces a picture of greater success than in Virgil where we have no suggestion of Aeneas leading his men three times into battle, but see them fighting on equal terms and dwindling in number until Aeneas alone is left (A.II.567). In Virgil Aeneas and his men do not rescue Trojans besieged in the citadel; they rescue no one, and after witnessing the degradation of Priam's death perish themselves (A.II.565). If Priam has left treasure, Virgil is not concerned with it, but it serves Berlioz's dramatic purpose better than the penates on which Virgil has concentrated, for it attracts the enemy generally, and is a good source of conflict between the rapacious Greeks and the defiant women who can exult that it is out of their reach. The treasure, and also the immediate naming of Italie (see below) show a
materialistic bias in contrast with Virgil's spiritual one.

The next lines (bars 13-23): "Bientôt en Italie, où le sort les appelle/
Ils veront s' éléver plus puissante et plus belle/Une nouvelle Troie. Ils
marchent vers l' Ida", reinforce the "Italie" of Hector's prophecy (No.12
bars 124-5), a name which Aeneas at this stage in Virgil has still not heard
(in Creusa's speech it is Hesperia, and it is not until A.III.166 that he
learns from Apollo that the land he seeks is Italy). That same line introduces
the idea of fate which Aeneas later mentions in Act V. The next two lines
begin to build glory out of the ashes — Aeneas will find a new Troy, a
mightier one than this which has been destroyed. The last line tells us
precisely where the survivors are, their immediate goal, and that they are
taking positive steps toward it. (cf A.II.801-3).

The whole of the text is a means of informing us of what has occurred
and what will occur, so that when we again meet Aeneas in No.28 we know what
he has been doing and why. Berlioz does not set A.III., even though parts
of it inspire parts of his work. This means that we see nothing of the long
sea voyage and the hardships which Aeneas endures between the end of Troy
and his arrival at Dido's court. In the lyric tragedy Aeneas' long wanderings
are stressed by Hector but not by the obvious device of giving Creusa's text
to Cassandra. Berlioz's Aeneas, then, would appear to have a less uncomfort-
able search for Italy than his Virgilian counterpart.

Bar 12, which contains the first syllable of "Bientôt", begins a complete
change in the music. Just as Aeneas at the word of Creusa turns steadfastly
away from the past in order to grapple with the present and approach a
productive future, Cassandra sweeps past and present aside, hoping and
determined at last to die gloriously, as a man would, and to save something,
if only the women from dishonour. This almost masculine heroism is one reason why Berlioz's un-Virgilian focus on the women is convincing. The treasure is safe, and so is Troy's new future; these seem to be the vital concerns as we listen to Cassandra.

The music becomes military, purposeful, the dotted quavers given a feeling of length by being completed with swift demisemiquaver pairs (bars 12-22). The militarism is provided by the strings, and the doubling of Cassandra's almost panting triumph in melody by the woodwind - the two forces always associated with her. Her terrible stature goes beyond Virgil's women, even Dido; in her fanaticism she is as terrible as the eventual Rome, "nouvelle Troie" which consigns Carthage to the underworld. Cassandra's triumph in these ten bars allegro moderato, tempo di marcia is actually the foreshadowing of the triumph of Rome; the orchestral forces ring out in support.

The chorus of women quickly interpose "Et Chorèbe?" (bar 23) and we realise that Berlioz is using Coroebus as the main impulse behind her fanaticism, for "Il est mort" (bars 23-4), delivered as a monotone, low in her register, is her only comment. Berlioz has avoided any mention of Priam's fate here, while appearing to use A.II.506 as a basis for the question posed in bar 23. He has replaced Priam with Coroebus, probably to bring out the Romantic "tragedy" in the situation - Cassandra's loss of her husband as soon as they are married (cf Dido and Sychaeus, A.I.351-2).

We have seen a great change in Cassandra, and now she changes again. A quasi-ecclesiastical passage for solo horn (bars 23-25) introduces a change in her music to an almost holy resignation. Because of the nature of his medium Berlioz often needs to be very direct and economical. He
therefore mentions the gods and names them only when his characters are undergoing extreme duress. So it is with Cassandra now: (bars 25-30)

"De Vesta,/Pour la dernière fois, à l'autel, je m'incline./Je suis mon jeune époux". We recall A.II.424-6 where Coroebus falls at the altar of Pallas.

Her last words in this section "Oui, cette instant termine / Mon inutile vie" (bars 31-3), are the turning point of No.15. She has given the women and the audience all the information necessary to their understanding of the action, and her work is finished. The end of Troy and the death of Coroebus are the events which have led to this statement, which has two functions - to prepare for the mass suicide, and to give the women the opportunity to confess the wrong inflicted upon the Trojan prophetess by their refusal to believe her warnings; the women's function here is to emphasise this. And as Berlioz has concentrated on this particular tragic aspect of Cassandra (cf A.II.246-7, 345-6) he expresses the women's tender regret with a soft and beautiful lyricism (bars 34-41) which not only contrasts with the terse militarism of Cassandra's recit. but affects her mood, so that her "Bientôt elle ne sera plus" (bars 41-3) sinks into despondency, eliciting a wail of despair from the women (bars 43-5) which immediately recalls her from any danger of mulling over the situation to making the best of it. The change in her own musical line now (bar 45) is a reversion to her former style. In feeling and spirit it recalls the bite of No.10.

"Mais vous! colombes effarées" (bars 45-7) is based on A.II.516, but the next lines (bars 48-55):
Pouvez-vous consentir
A l'horrible esclavage?, et voudrez-vous subir,
Vierges, femmes déshonorées,
La loi brutale des vainqueurs?

is in opposition to Virgil whose hostility to suicide is made plain by his attitude to Dido (A.IV.642 f.), and his vision (A VI.434 f.) of the regret felt by suicide victims in the afterlife. But the sentiments expressed have some classical parallels, especially Euripides' Polyxena, and are a frequent motif of Romantic literature.

The hope for which the women now rather tentatively ask (bars 56-7) is not unlike the hope which in Virgil Aeneas tells his men they do not have and cannot expect (A.II.354, No.13, bars 125-34). Cassandra now tells the women that they cannot hope for safety, and why (bars 57-65). The description here "Ne voyez-vous, n' entendez-vous donc pas / Les cruels Myrmidons qui remplissent nos rues? / Et ceux qui du palais gardent les avens?" is her prophetic vision become reality. Virgil's Cassandra was not accused of madness (cf A.II.247). Berlioz makes no god responsible for the disbelief. He has the less gifted people represented by Priam, Coroebus, and the women (Act 1) demonstrate the gulf between themselves and the exceptional Cassandra by regarding as insane a woman who is extraordinary and inspired. Now that her prophecies have come to pass, Cassandra is triumphant and the women demonstrate their respect for her wisdom by turning to her for advice; thus the difference between them still exists but is put to useful purpose (bars 66-8) "C' est fait! rien ne peut nous sauver de leurs bras". The strings, involved in upward movements during Cassandra's persuasive rhetoric (bars 57-6 57-66), are now turned downward in response to this feminine helplessness (bar 68 f). Their figurations, heard again and again, especially as punctuation points in Cassandra's exhortations (bars 68, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74), represent the sinking of the women's hearts at her insinuations.
But Cassandra's influence is not entire, her triumph not unmitigated. During the final eight bars of No. 15, the women have divided into two groups representing different kinds of women—those who would prefer to live in slavery than die prematurely, and those who, like Euripides' Polyxena, prefer death to servitude. By presenting these two groups of women, Berlioz represents two viewpoints and, by implication, refers us back to No. 6 and Andromache, widow of Hector, and forward to Act IV (No. 35).

Only one small but significant part of this number is actually based on Virgil. A.II.494-5 "fit via ui; rumpunt aditus primosque trucidant/ immissi Danai et late loca milite complent". And Berlioz modifies this by enabling his Greeks to enter without needing recourse to the degree of violence which Virgil's Greeks found it necessary to use.

The larger of the two groups of women, having assured Cassandra in No.15 that they will die with her, sing an exultant chorus.

Cassandra challenges the small, silent group of women who then admit their fear and unwillingness to relinquish life so soon. Cassandra and the others scornfully banish them from the stage and complete their chorus, during part of which Cassandra rejoices at the prospect of reunion with Coroëbus, Hector, and Priam.

Toward the end of the chorus a Greek captain enters and is halted by the power of the tableau, astonished by and reluctantly admiring the strength of their fervour and their triumphant singing of death. A description of Cassandra here is based on Virgil's lines (A.II.405-6)

Greek soldiers enter with threatening swords (of A.II.494-5) and demand the treasure.

Cassandra stabs herself and hands the dagger to Polyxena.

Another contingent of Greek soldiers enters to inform the others of the true state of affairs regarding the Trojan survivors and the treasure.

The dying Cassandra and the women continue their verbal defiance of
the men and direct the attention of all toward Mount Ida. With a jubilant
exhortation to an unhearing Aeneas, they kill themselves, the name "Italie"
being the last word on their lips, and their hope of tarnishing the victory
of the Greeks fulfilled.

The number is in three sections with coda: A (bars 1-43) B (43-114)
A (114-214) coda (214-293).

Towards the end of No.15 Cassandra poses a blunt and un-Virgilian
question to the chorus:

Pouvez-vous consentir
A l' horrible esclavage? et voudrez-vous subir,
Vierges, femmes déshonorées,
La loi brutale des vainqueurs?

and by the beginning of No.16 this has developed unmistakably into a
division of the women into those who are willing to commit suicide and
those who are not. The groups are unequal in size; the small group are
unwilling to die to avoid rape and slavery, while the large group favour
suicide, a view which did exist in classical times but was held only by a
small minority.

The three-part female chorus which begins No.16 is a song of ecstasy
partly designed to illuminate the newly exalted nature of Cassandra's heroism.
But it has other functions. It replaces the heroic conclusion which we would
have experienced if Aeneas and his comrades had been able to score some
miraculous victory over the Greeks. When they left us at the end of No.13,
the music itself was rich in heroism. Now it is only possible for us to
see the heroism of the women - the action they take can frustrate the Greeks
infinitely more than the action of Aeneas' band - and the value of their
heroism, while also open to question, is, like that of the men, deserving of
admiration. Here there is no great urgency as there was at the close of No. 13; and the action can be suspended while the women express and communicate their fervour through their ecstatic singing and their abandoned playing of the Aeolian lyres.

Aeneas’ progress toward Mt Ida (see No. 15) is the first triumphant step in his progress toward Italy (cf. A.II.796-804), and Mt Ida is important because it is visible to the women and the audience, and almost symbolizes the Italy which cannot be seen. Dramatically it becomes a fine focal point when the end comes, the shining peak on which Trojan hopes are fixed because that is as far as they can see. And that is as far as the women will ever see; like Creusa they are being kept on these shores (A.II. 788), and like Creusa they will never become slaves (A.II.785-6); but neither will they see la nouvelle Troie.

"Complices de sa gloire" (bars 4-8) - it is her glory, and the women are sharing in it; their song of victory is a song of praise to the women whose courage has pointed the way to liberation. We hear this realization of the new direction of freedom instantly; it leaps across the barline between Nos. 15 and 16 on the word "mourons!". The word itself registers a decision, and with decision comes liberation. The music supports this; there is a modulation from the rather tense gloom of C minor to the relatively remote key of Ab major, and the feeling is one of release into exultation. The sounds of the Aeolian lyres which the women play are made by two orchestral harps in a sweeping, uninterrupted flow of accompaniment which is part of the ecstasy. The woodwind also provide the choral lines with uninterrupted support, while strings and brass are spared for emphatic, jubilant comment at the end of each triumphant vocal phrase (bars 8, 15, 25) and at the
scaring climax (bars 31-43).

This climax comprises two phrases, both related to No. 1. The first (bars 31-5) is an extension, almost a completion, of the motival structure of No. 1, bars 31-49; the ecstasy of the one is related to the delirium of the other, but is a logical conclusion of it. No. 1 was a blind delirium, with the people unaware of the abyss of coming events; in these bars of No. 16 there is a visionary ecstasy, in which the women meet their fate head-on. The second phrase (bars 36-43) is the logical conclusion of No. 1, bars 46-76, where death was always present but unknown, unfelt; and here it is faced, even welcomed, now that the alternative has been considered—and indeed because there are two alternatives and therefore a choice.

The song is completed before the music changes. Musically and dramat-
ically this is essential because later it is repeated; but it also has the effect here of being an achievement, a victory in itself, uninterrupted or unmarred by any disaffection by women who want no part in the suicide. So, after the song is completed, the music changes to indicate Cassandra's awareness of the disunity among the women whom she has worked so hard to manipulate in a last defiant gesture to bring some glory to fallen Troy.

As Cassandra accuses the small group of dissenting women of trembling, silence and hesitation (bars 48-53), a twofold menace is heard in the woodwinds (bars 48, 48-9, 49-50, 51-2, 52, 54-5). There are two menacing features in the situation—that emanating from Cassandra toward the women, and that contained in the threat to the small gleam of glory won for Troy by the women's sacrifice. For the pathetic, oblique pleading of the small group does mean that the sacrifice will be less imposing through being incomplete, partial.
Berlioz, while presenting two points of view and condemning neither, is basically more favourable to the women who have chosen Cassandra's path. He makes her challenge to the small group more intimidating with outbursts from strings (bars 49, 51, 61, 63, 67, 72, 73) and trombones (bars 53, 63). And in bar 54 he draws the woodwind notes into a wail, and the recit. degenerates into mundanity as the women admit "Ah! Je me sens frémir!". In their very honesty they appear as cowards, and the following dialogue between Cassandra and the small group points up the heroism of Cassandra and her followers. The group whom Cassandra scorns as less than noble continue to sing an even, prosaic rhythm combined with repetitive wailing at intervals of descending minor seconds (bars 64-71).

The moral stance of Cassandra in this dialogue from bar 58 recalls the proud contempt of the Cassandra of Euripides' The Trojan Women (386-7, 424-5); but Euripides' Cassandra does not sit in judgement on the attitudes and behaviour of other women. Berlioz's Cassandra, for reasons we have considered, insists that all women follow her example or be spurned. Her music from bars 68-90 is strong but not noble as she taunts those who have confessed their fear and their unwillingness to die prematurely, and calls them slaves and Thessalian women. From bar 90 her music becomes increasingly hysterical, its effect heightened by the almost mindless echoing of the larger group—the fanatics—until the final frantic (bar 99) "Sortez! sortez! sortez!", uttered by all, degenerates into an undignified chasing of the small group from the stage. This undignified indignation is expressed by the woodwind (bars 102-5). Through his dramatic structure and his music, Berlioz has given his audience the opportunity to evaluate the two viewpoints.

However, dignity and nobility must be regained by those who remain,
for they constitute Cassandra's true moral stature. Even her taunting words have contained truth; the captive women will serve the tables and beds of their Greek masters (bars 68-73); they will be slaves (bars 73-5). It is not as the result of a whim that Cassandra's personality has assumed a terrible aspect. From her viewpoint the dissenting women have betrayed Troy by remaining the only Trojan treasure to fall into the hands of the Greeks. For a brief while, as she and her followers chase the other women from the stage, her dignity has been overcome by her obsession; an obsession which she has carried with her from the beginning. But there is a purpose in this primitive feminine action. Before true heroic stature can be attained, all influence of cowardly contamination must be removed. The taunting and chasing achieves this. It also helps to strengthen the resolve of the large group. Now that the distracting element is gone, there is an immediate change in the music and action.

At bar 106, allegro, the cellos, double basses, and bassoons introduce a motif of considerable emotional power, a power which is intensified by the mellow depth of the timbre of the instruments. The motif itself contains authoritative strength in its melodic and rhythmic structure (see bars 105-7, 108, 110, 112-3) and creates an atmosphere of intense dedication for the fervent monotony of the women's vocal line which is almost a religious chant. In contrast with the plaintive misery of the "cowards", they are ardently swearing an oath (bars 106-14):

Cassandre avec toi nous mourrons!  
On ne nous verra pas par les Grecs profanées,  
Nous ne parcîtrons pas en triomphe traînées;  
Non, non, jamais, nous le jurons.

This powerful musical shift has provided all the contrast necessary for a most effective recapitulation of the song. In classical style in music,
ternary form is powerful because of the repetition of the section A and the
high contrast of the B section. The "B", here, is in two sections (bars
43-105 and 106-114) - the challenging and removal of the "cowards" (43-105),
and the swearing of the oath (106-114). The latter has been necessary to
provide, not only contrast with A, but the appropriate atmosphere for the
return of A. And A returns now, more triumphantly because of the intervening
music and drama, than before. Once again, the fervour has modulated upward
into the ecstatic song of remuneration of life. The key is A major, a
semitone higher than the original (A♭). This is significant because of the
structure of its climax (identical each time); the highest note of ecstasy
reached is higher than the first time. The bridge passage (bars 114-17) is
more densely orchestrated than before, with the addition of strings and
bassoons. This generates greater excitement and adds its own power to the
power of the repetition itself.

At bar 157 Berlioz begins another section which is an extension,
musically and dramatically, of the recapitulation. The exultant women begin
an ecstatic prayer preparing the gods of the underworld for their arrival,
while above them Cassandra calls in rejoicing to Coroebus, Hector and Priam,
preparing them for reunion. Now victorious, at last having achieved something,
she has turned to her own thoughts, and in this Berlioz continues the strong
link between Cassandra, Coroebus, Hector, and Priam which has no place in
Virgil where there is no cross-reference or communication among them.

She once more reminds us of Euripides' Cassandra in The Trojan Woman
(457-60); but now another similarity to the same Euripidean work is
encountered. At the end of the final speech, Euripides' Cassandra is led
away by a high-ranking Greek soldier, Talthybius, whose sympathy for the
Trojan women has been and continues to be an important force throughout the play (408-23, 709-25, 782-89).

Berlioz has created a Greek chief with echoes of the humanity of Euripides' Talthybius. As Cassandra announces that she will rejoin Coroebus, Priam, and Hector, and the women mentally embrace the underworld gods, he appears, a lone enemy figure, and stops, astonished at the sight of the Trojan women. He has more than one function. There has been no confrontation between Trojan and Greek warriors, whereas in Virgil many confrontations are described (cf. A. II.370-452 passim). On the other hand, in Virgil there is no confrontation between the Trojan women and the Greek soldiers. The Greek chieftain prepares the way for the confrontation between the women and the soldiers by his entry and reaction. His entry provides a link between the tableau as it stands, uninterrupted, and the dramatic alteration caused by the entry of the first detachment of soldiers. His reaction sets the tone of restraint for those to follow.

The fortissimo sustained brass chord which accompanies his stand of silent wonder (bars 174 f) illustrates his nobility. As Berlioz at last adds the strings to the continuo accompaniment of the song, the chieftain responds to the sounds around him and the scene before him. As he expresses his admiration for Cassandra and her followers (bars 178-214):

Quoi! la lyre à la main! de ce noble transport,  
J'admirer malgré moi la sublime ironie!  
Cassandre! qu'elle est belle ainsi chantant la mort,  
Bacchante à l'ceil d'azur s'enivrant d'harmonie!

His words school the audience's final assessment of Cassandra's action. She is transformed; she is inspired, sublime, and the women are too. The music supports this interpretation; the Greek chieftain's music is overwhelmed by the music of Cassandra and the women. This has been Berlioz's intention;
the justification of their suicide is heard in the last words of their song (bars 202-14) – they want to die pure and free; they do not want to die because they are in love with death. The impression the tableau conveys, the imagery supplied by the Greek chieftain, the use of lyres and pastorals effect set the women apart as though they actually do have Bacchic power.

With the end of the song (bar 214) comes resolution, and at the same time the first contingent of Greeks arrive in search of the treasure. There is a fairly marked contrast here with Virgil's Greeks, who forced their way to the riches of Priam's house, unceremoniously wrecking and slaughtering everything and anyone resisting. (cf A.II.761-8). The music from bars 214-17 expresses the resolution of both women and Greeks, then from 218 the frustration of the Greeks, who do not have such an easy or indeed unqualified victory as they do in Virgil. This is made clearer with the arrival of the second detachment of Greek soldiers.

First, Cassandra stabs herself, hand the dagger to Polyxena with the words "Tiens! la douleur n'est rien!" (bars 233-4). This is not in Virgil; it is undoubtedly inspired by the famous words of Arria, "Paste, non dolet" in Pliny.²

The attitude and words of the second group of Greek soldiers are illuminating – they give some indication that the heroism of the men and women of Troy has salvaged something (bars 238-44):

Dieux ennemis! Ô rage!
Couverts de sang, du milieu du carnage
Enfée et ses Troyens échappent à nos coups
Et, maîtres du trésor, ils sortent!

The gods are against them. This is in direct contrast to Virgil where the gods are never against the Greeks, as far as they know. The description of
Aeneas and his band escaping miraculously, bloody but unbowed, is in complete contrast to Virgil (cf. A.II.424 f), where Trojan heroism bore little fruit. The treasure replaces the holy relics and penetres of Virgil (cf. A.II.296-7 and 320-1), and has been invented by Berlioz firstly as a point of conflict and therefore communication between the women and the Greek soldiers, and secondly as one of the two devices which blunt the edge of the Greeks' victory. The other device is, of course, the suicide of the women. In Virgil the victory of the Greeks is complete and their triumph unmitigated.

The thwarting, at this stage, of the Greeks helps to make this part of the lyric tragedy very forward-looking. Concentration is, in an oblique way, already on the future of Aeneas and his surviving Trojans.

Once Cassandra stabs herself (bar 231) her role and the role of the women who as yet have not laid hands on themselves are reversed. Until now she has been the leader, the women her echoing chorus. Now, dying, (bar 252) she becomes the echo; the living are the most powerful, and she is not yet a ghost, being still in that limbo of the dying - not alive, nor yet dead. (cf. Dido's death in both Virgil and Berlioz). But her immense and extraordinary will and strength bestow final dignity upon her, allowing her to win in her last effort to rise, stretch her arms toward Mt Ida, and sing with the others (bars 261-7): "Sauve leurs fils Enée! Italie!" These words, the last in Act Two, are forward-looking, and convey, for reasons already discussed, more triumph and hope than the last lines of A.II. They are linked with Berlioz's Hector (No.12); their forward-looking character is brought out both by this and by their relationship to the last words of Virgil's Creusa (A.II.788-9). The women's death occurs while they concentrate their spiritual energies on Aeneas, the Trojan sons, and the
future kingdom; just like Creusa, who contrasts her own death with Aeneas' future (A.II.784-7). cf No.37.

Finally, Cassandra falls dead, and the other women kill themselves by leaping from the parapet, or strangling themselves, or by stabbing. The Greeks cry out in horror. Barely has all this occurred, than the curtain falls, leaving us with all these images fresh and living on in our minds. They live on in our ears until bar 277, where most of the brass is withdrawn and the musical shape is relieved of its power, as though life reluctantly is draining from what is left of Troy. When the sorrowful oboe glimmers weakly through bars 284-8, it is the last disturbance, the last breath of life. The final fortissimo chords constitute a wordless cry, which may recall "Italie" but certainly recalls "Horreur" because of the syllabic coincidence and minor tonality.

1. She calls them "Thessaliennes" because they preferred life, under any conditions, especially slavery to death. cf Austin (II), p.93. "Peleus, Achilles' father, was Thessaliæ columnæ". Homer's Achilles (Odyssey XI.488 f) states "O shining Odysseus, never try to console me for dying./I would rather follow the plow as thrall to another/man, one with no land allotted to him and not much to live on/than be king over all the perished dead." (trans. Richmond Lattimore, Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc. N.Y., 1967) p.180.

2. The Letters of the Younger Pliny, Book III, No.16.

3. "Cassandre, la prophétesse incomprise, a une dimension plus qu'humaine, qui est quelque peu compromise et rabaissee à la normale par ce duo d'amour". (cf. No.3) "Berlioz lui a accordé de ne pas survivre aux malheurs qu'elle a annoncés. Il a inventé pour elle un suicide spectaculaire. C'est là, et là seulement, qu'elle dorme toute sa misère". Barraud, p.184.
ACT III
INTRODUCTION

Berlioz omits almost all of A.III. because so little of it can be made relevant to the love affair of Dido and Aeneas which is his principal concern from Act III until the end of the music drama. He does use the Andronaca episode (A.III.294-343) in Act IV as a way of informing the audience that Aeneas has told Dido of the misfortunes of Troy, since they defeated Iarbas together, and at that stage we are expected to assume that Aeneas has recounted A.II. and part of A.III. to Dido between Nos.29 and 32.

After Act II it is essential that we move to Carthage so that by the time the Trojans arrive we are well acquainted with Dido and her people. Berlioz needs to develop a psychological picture of Dido which will give us the expectation that she may fall in love with Aeneas. (Virgil does not need to, because of the Venus scenes in A.I.).

In No.17 Berlioz introduces us to the Carthaginian people who are seated in Dido's palace prior to a festive ceremony on a glorious day after a violent storm.

In No.18 he introduces us to Dido as queen, who enters while the people sing the National Anthem, a hymn of praise to their sovereign.

In No.19 Dido reminds the people of their seven years of peacetime achievements which are to be honoured by this festival of thanksgiving. She asks them to defend her if Carthage is attacked by Iarbas, whose proposal of marriage she has rejected, and they promise to give their lives in the event of such a crisis.

Numbers 20, 21, 22 are processions which consolidate the picture of the Carthaginians as a peaceful and industrious nation. The procession of builders is followed by one of sailors; the climax is the procession of the
farm-workers - they provide the nation's nourishment.

In No.23 Dido and the people bestow resounding praise upon the farm-workers, Dido feels reassured that the future of Carthage is secure, and the people reiterate their praise of her and leave the stage.

In No.24 Dido and her sister Anna are alone. Anna disturbs Dido's newly-established equanimity by insisting that her determination to live as a faithful widow is a delusion.

In No.25 Iopas informs Dido of a request for admission by some ship-wrecked strangers, and Dido reveals to us her strong affinity with people who are suffering or unfortunate.

In No.26, as a small band of Trojans including Aeneas in disguise enter the palace, Dido experiences both excitement and fear at their arrival.

In No.27 Ascanius asks Dido for shelter, presents her with gifts from Troy and tells her his identity. Panthus tells her of Aeneas' divine mission. Dido welcomes them with great warmth.

In No.28 Karbal interrupts with news of Iarbas' invasion of Carthage and almost certain victory due to the short supply of weapons in Carthage. Aeneas discards his sailor's disguise, offers military assistance, exhorts the warriors, and leaving Ascanius in Dido's care, departs for battle.

Major differences from Virgil

Continuing his pattern of presenting the events in chronological order, Berlioz has set part of A.I. as Act III; omitting A.III., he also moves forward parts of A.IV. to merge with this mainly A.I. material.
He omits the divine machinery, making Dido naturally sympathetic
to the Trojans, develops a picture of Dido as courageous and emotionally
vulnerable, and changes Iarbas from the shadowy threat which he poses in
A.IV. into the author of an actual crisis which makes Dido dependent on
Aeneas' help and unites them in a military alliance.

He emphasises the peace-loving nature and existence of the Carthaginians
and presents the Trojans as unfortunates rather than wanderers, which is the
chief emphasis in Virgil.

Berlioz has designed everything in Act III to lead inevitably to a love
affair between Dido and Aeneas in Act IV.

1. And indeed, Crump writes of Virgil: "But in III we lose sight of
Dido altogether". p.36.
The curtain rises to reveal a vast hall in Dido's palace adorned with abundant offerings of thanksgiving and the principal symbols of prosperity. The people are seated as a formal assembly. They tell us that this is Carthage's festive day, a day of remarkable beauty following a terrible storm. Berlioz has drawn this number, with modification, from A.I.82-91 (the storm) and A.I.418-437. But whereas Virgil showed us, through Aeneas' eyes, a Carthage still in the process of being built, Berlioz is presenting us with a fully established Carthage. Virgil begins to prepare us for Carthage with the disguised Venus' speech to Aeneas A.I.335-343. Her story, which in Berlioz is told, more briefly, by Dido herself in No.79, tell us that Dido has suffered greatly but has resourcefully and courageously built for herself and her people a new home, and already (361-4) we have the beginnings of a picture of solidarity, of unified effort. This glimpse is confirmed when Aeneas reaches the city (418 f).

Virgil sets the atmosphere for the happiness, beauty, and goodness of Carthage by describing a departing Venus joyfully leaving her son in the knowledge that he will rest awhile after his sufferings and that the new Troy will not be turned away from Italy (A.I.257-304 and 415-417).

Virgil shows us the actual Carthage and its people through the eyes of Aeneas, stressing Aeneas' amazement and wonder. Carthage will have one of two effects upon Aeneas: it will tempt him to stay forever, or will inspire him to emulation of its magnificence in Italy. Like Aeneas, we too look down in wonder, experiencing that familiar paradox of admiring, from a lofty vantage point, something which, physically so far below, will rise up to dwarf us. A.I.418-19 "iamque ascendebant collam, qui plurimus urbi/ imminet adversasque aspectat desuper arces". A.I.420-21 "miratur molem Aeneas, magalia quondam, miratur portas strepitumque et strata uiarum".
"Miratur" at the most prominent part of the line makes the marvelling of Aeneas more important than Aeneas himself; he has lost himself in the wonder of seeing something greater than his achievements to date, and which resembles his goal toward which he has been striving for some time. "quaedam" at the end of the line is the symbol of what will be the beginnings of his Italy. The effect of the beginning of two consecutive lines with "miratur" is to suggest that Aeneas' admiration is great enough to fill his heart to capacity.

It is then through the already widened eyes of Aeneas that Virgil gives us our first glimpse of the Tyrians. Their exemplary industry and dedication are emphasized at once: A.I.422 "instant ardentes Tyrii:......" and the image created by 422-9 is glorified and epitomized by the metaphor contained in 430-6.

The reaction of Aeneas to the vision of Carthage and its people so remarkable for their teamwork is brief and intense: A.I.437 "o fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgent!" He has no idea when his walls will rise.

Berlioz shows us Carthage directly, not in personal narrative, and his focus on Carthage is civic; the Carthage he begins to reveal to us as the curtain rises is one which is already established, and the projected image of the people is one of solidarity. The adornments of the hall in which they sit, their minds filled with the very pleasant aspect of nature—a luxury afforded only by those whose hardest task is completed—proudly convey achievement, success, prosperity, fulfilment.

Berlioz's focus on the Trojans in Act I was also civic, probably because it is not possible to show the people and events through Aeneas' eyes as Virgil did. At the openings of Acts I and III, Berlioz presents, in music
and drama, the two peoples - Trojans and Carthaginians - after a storm; the storm of war for the Trojans, and a storm in nature for the Carthaginians; and while each storm is necessary to the plot, he is able to use these storms immediately to demonstrate the responsiveness of both nations to changes in nature. Whereas the pastoral imagery of No. 1 was an expression of joy and relief at freedom from a state of siege, the pastoral imagery of No. 17 reflects the repose, the relaxation which is the reward of those whose work is, for the time being, done.

As Act III bursts forth in music of a solid happiness, contentment, and stability, theirs is a similar mood of joy to that of No. 1 which introduced us to the Trojans. But there is no carelessness or agitation in the joy of the Tyrians. The strings, deliberately omitted from No. 1, are the basis of No. 17, and are partly responsible for the feeling of solid, stable contentment. Already we can feel another contrast. The Carthaginians in this short number are very much united, not dashing hither and yon like the Trojans of No. 1, whose king had virtually no control left over the actions of his war-weary people. We are being prepared for a queen whose circumstances allow her to be in full command. In this number it is almost as though we are glimpsing the young Troy before its first sack.

After the string lead, the relaxed entry of the woodwind (bar 2) continues the festive sound and enunciates the expansive theme; a five-bar phrase conveying a feeling of joyful anticipation is balanced by one of superb solidity and reassurance (bars 2-6 and 6-10); and unlike the independent woodwind and brass' electric agitation in No. 1, this nine bar introduction prepares for most of the music sung by the chorus, and the balance of moods is maintained.
The melody of the introduction and first choral statement is phraseologically long with shallow gradient; these two components re-create the feeling of secure happiness which caused Virgil's Aeneas such wistful near-envy. Here we must feel it for ourselves. The surprise and interest are great because there has been no preparation, and we have seen nothing of Aeneas since he raged into the fray in No.13.

The Carthaginians marvel at the beauty of the weather after a violent storm. The occurrence and departure of this storm, which Berlioz has based on A.I.84-91, has two important functions; firstly it is necessary to the plot, and secondly it reveals the people of Carthage as a nation who are aware of vicissitudes and dangers, a people from whom we may expect political awareness. Consider, after the initial joy, the questioning wonder of bars 19-end; "Quel doux zéphir!" piano. Here for the first time is antiphonal singing, as the enquiring reaction makes its round of the people. This is the hint of their awareness - they do not take nature's changes for granted - and the solid support by the strings is broken down to allow this to shine through (bars 18-24).

These bars are followed by the affirmation *forte* "notre brûlant soleil/ Des ses rayons calme la violence" (bars 24-8), and here there is a strong rhythmic and melodic, as well as textual, relationship with No.1, bars 60-7: "Ah quel bonheur de respirer / L' air pur des champs".

The climax (bars 34-8) is related to No.1 bars 31 ff; the melody is the same in part, the rhythm is augmented; both passages express joy. The last two bars of No.17 are also related to No.1 but the number, incomplete as No.1 was incomplete, is interrupted for the entry of a queen, not by a disorganized rush to inspect the debris of war. Here the actual sun gives way to Dido,
the people's sun.

1. "When Venus posing as a Carthaginian girl tells Aeneas the past history of Dido (A.I.335-70), she not only prepares him to meet a noble queen ruling a civilized nation, but touches his heart with sympathy for sufferings scarcely less bitter than his own and borne with like heroism. Also, by appearing as a beautiful huntress, she prepares him to fall in love with Dido costumed for the hunt". Quinn, p.109

The music changes abruptly. Dido enters. The people stand, make obvious displays of enthusiasm and sing the National Anthem. This scene is based on A.I.496-506.

In Virgil we see this scene and the rapport between Dido and her people through the eyes of Aeneas. Because of the nature of music drama, Berlioz has to unfold all this for us directly. He has delayed the arrival of Aeneas until much later (No.27); the absence of Aeneas at this stage allows us to concentrate fully on Dido and her people, and removes the expectation, ever present in Virgil, that Aeneas will emerge from his mist (A.I.411-14, 459-60) and confront the Carthaginians.

Berlioz is able then, without distraction, to build up a picture of Carthaginian solidarity, stability, and prosperity as a counterweight to future disruption, even disaster. Although in both works it is made clear that Aeneas is destined to reach Italy (before Dido is introduced) in Virgil at this stage the presence of Aeneas is a constant reminder of danger to Dido, whereas in Berlioz the particular danger he represents is not present, and when it arrives it is essential that we have already formed a lasting impression of the great worth of Carthage and its queen.

In Virgil (A.I.496 ff) Dido enters a place, a precinct already abounding with wonders which Aeneas has seen and envied. She is joyous (laeta 503), of very great beauty (forma pulcherrima 496), is accompanied by a large crowd of youths (magna iuvenum stirpante caterva 497) and is pressing on with the work of building her kingdom (instans operi regnisque futuris 504). She takes her place on a throne in the inner sanctuary of the temple of Juno (506) and assigns the people their tasks (507 ff).
Though the imagery from 496 to 506 is rich and joyous, the whole is imbued with a dignity and calm befitting the place (TEMPLUM 496) and the duties discharged, and we receive an impression of a serene, wise, quietly and calmly industrious monarch beloved of her people; theirs is a relationship based on mutual confidence. 2 We cannot gaze upon this low-keyed magic forever; as must happen, there is a sudden change of focus back to Aeneas as his attention is distracted from the civic scene with its pastoral aura, by the sight of the Trojan companions whom he thought the sea had taken during the storm. (A.I.509 f) "cum subito Aeneas concursu accedere magno/Anthea Sergestumque uidet......".

In Berlioz, the National Anthem is an undisguised hymn of praise to Dido sung by her people and changing the focus from their pastoral preoccupations of No.17:

Cloire à Dido, notre reine chérie!
Reine par la beauté, la grâce, le gérisme,
Reine par la faveur des dieux,
Et reine par l'amour de ses sujets heureux!" (bars 7-31)

Virgil conveys the regal dignity of Dido's approach to the temple by comparing her with Diana — a beautiful and complex simile which portrays her as joyous but calm and poised (A.I.497-502). Berlioz's Dido enters, as the National Anthem is sung, not a temple, but a vast hall in her palace into which Berlioz with his palms and greenery has brought part of the effect of Virgil's lucus laetissimus umbrae (441). Her high throne is surrounded by trophies of agriculture, commerce, and the arts. Balancing this proud array is a tiered stand seating the people of Carthage.

Berlioz has concentrated Virgil's image of industry and devotion. Visually he is limited by physical aspects of the stage; only the cinema could attempt to take in and sweep around all that was caught by the keen and
eager eye of Virgil's Aeneas.

Emotionally and dramatically Berlioz is not limited, and the gracious, golden music of the anthem, swelling with love, assurance, and complete optimism, hugely intensified Virgil's low-keyed picture of the devotion of the Carthaginians for their queen. (A.I.223-36) (496-502).

The pageantry is brought to life; Virgil's comparison of Dido with a calmly joyous Diana, a simile which is used to set Dido at a distance, is replaced by the immediacy of our confrontation with Dido and her train. The procession is disciplined, formal, ensuring that Dido is the undisputed focal point, but also distanced from us. Definite figures take on significance so that we do not see only Dido as we did when seeing with Aeneas' eyes. Dido enthroned has Anna on her right and Narbal on her left. Virgil's Dido has no protective barrier; in Berlioz the pastoral image is qualified by the addition of a few soldiers.

The hymn is an extensive development of, or a musico-dramatic realization of the implications of A.I.496-7 "regina ad templum, forma pulcherrima Dido;/ incessit, magna iunenum stipante caterua". A double choir is used for solidarity and unity, and assurance is given by the emphasis of repetition. The first choir gives the illusion of leaders for the masses to echo; there is an element of sovereign-worship in their fervent nationalism, but it is appropriate. The people have much devotion and admiration to express to their queen.

The triumphant arch-shaped melody is given increased dignity by a strong combination of bassoons, brass, and strings, and the basis is solemn and quasi-ecclesiastical, balancing the ecstasy of the upper reaches of the
orchestra.

Virgil's Dido enters with crowds milling around her. Our imaginations seethe with people, colours, and movement. Berlioz transfers the Virgilian swirl of colours and Dido's regal comportment and appearance to the actual physical movement of her progress, and to the music, with flute and piccolo trills adding quasi-oriental magic and festivity (bars 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 29, 31, 35) and trumpet thrusts bursting with royal pride (bars 12-13).

The double choir has another function; the antiphonal, responsive singing is linked with a tradition of prayer. Dido is almost worshipped as a goddess; but a very different goddess from the one addressed with solemn awe and intense pleading in No. 11 - Pallas.

During the five final bars the people are silent but active, waving palm leaves and flowers while the full orchestra affirms with a sequence of long notes and dotted ones the security of structure and the peace and prosperity of the Carthage which they have built and which they are. In spite of piccolo and flute trills and string tremolos in the last bar, the ending is without frisson, and the effect is the intensification of the impression of solidity and faith. This is part of the picture of unsullied and almost unbounded goodness which Berlioz is building as a counterweight against future darkness, only to undermine it immediately (No. 19) by revealing Dido's vulnerability.

1. of Williams, p. 155.
2. Williams, p. 199.
Dido addresses the people and they respond. Berlioz has drawn his text for this number not only from A.I. but A.IV.: A.I.755-6, A.IV.20-1, A.I. 441-5, 507-8, A.IV.36-7, 196-218 (with special reference to 214), A.I.562-4, 339.

In Virgil we do not hear the actual text of what transpires between Dido and her people. We are told by (A.I.507-8) "iura datat legesque utris, operumque laborem partiibus aequabat iustis aut sorte trahebat:" and we feel that we are observing, through his eyes, a familiar and unexceptional event in the course of Carthaginian life; Dido's standard of government is consistently high.

In Berlioz we have learned from the people in No. 17 that this is Carthage's festive day.

In Virgil, we learn of Dido's history when the disguised Venus tells it to Aeneas (A.I.340-68). In Berlioz she tells it to us herself in her opening words.

In Virgil, we learn, at the end of A.I. through Dido, that (A.I.755-6) "......nam te iam septima portat omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus aetas." But we do not know how long it is since Dido fled from Tyre. In Berlioz, her opening words (bars 1-9) tell us that it is seven years since the murder of her husband by her brother drove them from Tyre to Africa. Here, Berlioz has drawn together the words of Venus in A.I. and Dido's words A.IV.20-1 "Anna (fatebor enim) miseri post fata Sychaei coniugis et sparsos fraterrae caede penatis...." which in Virgil is one of the few references Dido makes to her past.

In Virgil we know at this stage that Dido has an extensive knowledge of
the history of the Trojans, and a deep sympathy for and admiration of them (A.I.453-93). In Berlioz we do not learn of this until No. 27, when they arrive and identify themselves. Firstly, because Berlioz has not made the Carthaginians hostile to strangers, Aeneas does not need the protection of a concealing mist through which he is able closely to examine the city where he must seek shelter. Secondly, in Berlioz Aeneas does not depend on Dido's help for long; whereas in Virgil his strong kinship with the queen is revealed by Venus' recounting of Dido's history and reinforced by the murals, in Berlioz he enters her hall to ask for assistance and leaves it in order to assist Dido in the repulsion of Tarbas, and it is this battle against Tarbas (after No. 28) which gives Aeneas his feeling of kinship with Dido.

On a more simple dramatic level, Berlioz cannot let us know in advance how greatly Dido admires the Trojans, since that would remove the element of surprise — for her as well as for the audience — when the Trojans do arrive. In neither work are the Trojans expected by the Carthaginians.  

In addition to the information which Venus gave Aeneas at A.I. 360 f, especially line 364 "dux femina facti", Virgil has shown us through Aeneas' eyes that Carthage is a rising city. Throughout A.I. and A.IV. we see glimpses of the abundant wealth which is the fruit of Carthaginian toil, skill, and affinity with the resources offered by the African land. (A.I. 633-42, 697-708, 723-30, A.IV. 74-5, 130-9, 259-64, 457-9). In Berlioz Dido tells us (bars 11-25) of the impressive results of her people's industry and skill, and confirms our earlier impression of a city which is new but established. In Virgil we do not learn of the pride she feels in her city until she is working hard to impress Aeneas, with whom she is hopelessly in love (A.IV.74-5).
In Virgil Venus tells Aeneas (A.I.339) "sed fines Libyci, genus intractabile bello", and thus we learn that Carthage has a neighbour whose presence as a possible threat cannot be ignored. Dido herself tells Ilicnius (A.I.563-4) "res dura et regni nouitas me talia cogunt/moliri et late finis custode tueri", and so we learn that the hard-won achievement of the Carthaginians needs careful and vigilant protection. But there is no suggestion anywhere that the Carthaginians and their queen feel any urgency about building up the military power of the new state. And it is not until A.IV.36 and 196 f and 326 that we hear of Iarbas, and then he is scarcely more than a shadowy threat; Dido's brother poses a greater one - A.IV.43-4, 325-6.

In A.I. finis, Dido is already deeply wounded by Cupid with love for Aeneas. A.IV.1-31 are filled with her intense fight against a love to which she would like to be in a position to yield. From A.IV.32-53 her sister Anna works with equal intensity to conquer Dido's scruples, and she succeeds. Berlioz reserves re-creation of this scene for No.24, but uses part of Anna's material here. Carthage, surrounded by hostile nations, needs a king. Dido has had many suitors, only one of whom Anna names: Iarbas. His name occurs amid a wealth of Virgilian imagery during which Anna maps out in vivid colours the dangers to the new queen and state - does, in fact, put Carthage literally on the map: 35 - "esto; aegram nulli quondam flexere mariti" (the suggestion is, surely, that Dido has been ill ever since the loss of Sycaeus?). 36-3 - "non Libyae, non ante Tyræ; despectus Iarbar/ductoresque alii, quos Africa terra triumphis/diues alit: placitome etiam pugnabis amori?"

It is not mere rhetoric. Any one of these suitors could perhaps have been pleasing if Dido's idealism had not been so strong, her character
weaker. Venus and Cupid have indeed triumphed.

Anna completes the geographical and political picture: 39-44

nec uenit in mentem quorum consederis aruis?
hinc Gaetulae urbes, genus insuperabile belli,
et Numidae infreni cingunt et inhospita Syrtis;
hinc deserta siti regio lateque furente
Parcae. quid bella Tyrsa surgentia dicam
germainique minas?

In Virgil the trap is vividly portrayed, as it must be to overcome Dido's strength of character. Her geographical circumstances, it could be argued, are as much against her survival as are the gods. Nor in Virgil have we heard the last of despectus Iarbas; he is provoked by Fama to complain to Jupiter (cf A. IV. 196-212), and is thereby an indirect cause, in part, of Dido's ruin. And so it is unsurprising that Berlioz has concentrated in the person and name of Iarbas all the dangers enumerated and described in Virgil by Anna.

Berlioz's Dido, when she has praised her people for their greatness in time of peace, exhorts them to become a nation of heroes in war (bars 31-63). They fervently reply that they will do just that, and we immediately wonder if this is possible for such a young nation.

Berlioz builds the shadowy Iarbas of Virgil into a real and present threat. His Dido shows her pride, mettle, and fire when she informs her people in very direct terms of the suit of Iarbas and her absolute rejection of it (bars 66-72). The people echo their complete support of her attitude toward Iarbas (bars 72-3). The greatest appeal of all is in Dido's next words: "Le soin de ma defense est a vous comme aux dieux" and the strongest evidence of how vulnerable she feels. To this confession, the people respond with a musical repetition and textual extension of the National Anthem,
making extravagant promises of defeating and routing Iarbas when he attacks.

Dido's last lines suggest that she is trying desperately to cherish this
day because she actually feels that it may be the last day of peace; and she
summons the workers of her kingdom to reward them for their efforts.

The recit. is noble in the best tradition of public declamation. It
tells the Carthaginians nothing they do not already know, but catalogues
their achievements - from their courageous abandoning of a former life to
their supremely successful completion of the building of a new one. While
praising the Carthaginians, it communicates the necessary information about
the past to the audience.

The tension between Dido's vocal phrases and the orchestral responses
in this classically recitativo secco style creates a feeling of pride, of
empire (bars 1-4), of unity in suffering - almost of intimacy (bars 5-8),
and of triumph over adversity (bars 9-11); wistful wonderment at achievements
which are so remarkable that they seem miraculous (bars 11-25). But the
wistfulness also contains a sadness occasioned by Dido's awareness, through
experience, of the ephemeral nature of peace, prosperity, even empire.

Berlioz uses a large orchestra here for power and grandeur. It comments
supportively on Dido's opening phrases, unobtrusively harmonizes her vocal
line as she reminisces (bars 3-9), bursts forth with the syncopation and
dotted rhythm of pomp and assurance (bars 9-11), and shimmers delicately as
the picture of prosperous Carthage unfolds (bars 14-17).

The recit., then, is designed to reveal Dido as a woman of regal mind,
sensitivity, and responsiveness to her physical, social, and political
environment. The aria which follows it consolidates this impression and
extends it.
Technically an aria de capo, its first section brings back the wistful beauty of the middle of the recit. as Dido warily expresses her gratitude, (bars 32-9) "Chers Tyriens, tente de nobles travaux/ont enviré mon coeur d'un orgueil légitime!" and increases in intensity as she appeals to them to maintain their level of exertion, until it blossoms into bravura as its climax (bars 47-55) "Du dieu qui vous appelle, du dieu, du dieu qui vous appelle, à des efforts nouveaux, qui vous appelle à des efforts, à des efforts nouveaux!". But the middle section is itself climactic. Prepared by a short ritornello (bars 55-6) which effects a change of music from passionate but graceful bravura to almost military exhortation, it emerges suddenly as a most intense plea by Dido, which is echoed with the utmost fervour by the people (bars 63-66) "Grands dans la paix, devenez dans la guerre/Un peuple de héros!". This fervour precipitates a change in the orchestra, from emphatic comment (of bars 59-63) to a repetition which is fanatically determined and military (bars 66-76) as Dido explains the reason for her appeal, revealing the full extent of her pride and independence of spirit as she does so. Note the extremity of the language (bars 67-72) "Le farouche Iarbas veut m'imposer la chaîne/D'un hymen odieux, son insolence est vaine" - but note now the contrast, textually, which comes with her confession of vulnerability (bars 73-7): "Le soin de ma défense est à vous comme aux dieux". The people's response is immediate - the National Anthem allegro assai con fuoco in contrast with the original maestoso non troppo lento in No.18.

Her people's complete loyalty, their assurance that they are ready to die for her, and their promise to vanquish Iarbas allow Dido to relax a little for the present, and that is why the return of the first section is so effective. When first heard, it made the climactic middle section possible, and now it provides the necessary cooling - but not too much - of that white-
hot intensity; for its duration (bars 112-135) the people quietly reaffirm their loyalty and support.

Now that Dido and her people have established the fact that their mutual desire is a future for Carthage which does not include a marriage between Dido and Iarbas and a uniting of the Numidian and Carthaginian peoples, Dido is able to proceed with a ceremony which she believes crowns seven years of magnificent achievement on the part of her people, and which she hopes will be the basis of the future greatness of an independent Carthage, and in a final recit. (bars 138-54) she summons her workers to receive their tribute. This recit. is also tinged with sadness, shadowed by her opening words (bars 138-141) "Cette belle journée,/Qui dans vos souvenirs doit rester à jamais...." in which Dido is clinging hard to what she half-consciously believes may be the last moments of peace.

1. "The victim must be unaware of what is happening until it is too late ...... In other words, the fatal passion comes on Dido unawares. Her resistance is undermined before she can collect herself". N. Rudd, Lines of Enquiry C.2. Idea. Dido's Culpa. (C.U.P. 1976), p.51.

2. Of Virgil's Dido Hightot writes "her pride comes out in every one of her speeches", p.135.
These processional numbers are an expansion of A.I.507-8:
"viura dabat legesque viris, oporumque laborem/partibus aquabat iustis aut
sorte trahabet"; and reflect the low-keyed happiness suggested by their
rhythm.

We are reminded of the Trojans' popular games (No.5). There we had
royal and popular spectators of wordless actions performed by a few central
but anonymous figures of no importance beyond their entertainment value.
The music is pleasant and relatively trivial, providing timely contrast
between numbers of intense importance and dramatic significance. Royalty is
present in anticipation of the arrival of Andromache and Astyanax even though
we are unaware of this at the time.

Here, in Act III, we have royal and popular spectators of wordless
action. But this is not entertainment - the people are not celebrating an
imaginary peace but the products of peaceful endeavour: and the music is
different for each procession. Although it is light except for 22, the
music is expressive of different aspects of the workforce of Carthage.
The recklessness of the Trojans is absent, but a certain jauntiness of spirit
takes us back to that brief respite before Troy's final disaster. Does this
now presage a disaster for Carthage?

20. Marked allegro moderato and dominated by the woodwind with very little
use of strings and the brass relegated to a decidedly subsidiary role, the
Entrance of the Builders is brisk, businesslike, and jaunty, characterized
by much dotted rhythm.

From bars 6-9, we are reminded of Virgil's description of the Cartha-
ginians, as seen through Aeneas' eyes A.I.430-5 (the metaphor of the bees),
and of his description of the Trojans about to leave Carthage A.IV.402-7 (the metaphor of the ants). Berlioz and Virgil surely intended this similarity between Carthaginians and Trojans. (Perhaps at this stage in A.IV. the Trojans, after a rest from their toils, are finding themselves again).

At the end of bar 9 the music changes to a rather pompous march. Although the rhythm is the same, the melody is more static with none of the flight of bars 7-9.

They take 23 bars of music to reach the throne, during which the music has told us a great deal about them. These are a people at peace. The builders are secure; there is, too, an underlying current of responsibility. After Dido hands the trophies to their leader, the music changes. The strings are added, there is increased use of timpani, the tiny motif urement, heard only three times previously, becomes a proud flourish in its own right, expressing the pride of the builders, and toward the same end, the dotted rhythm itself broadens as the builders return to the back of the stage.

21. The sailors enter with a nautical swagger, heralded by a merry, hornpipe-like chuckle or chirrup from the piccolos playing in thirds. Throughout, the orchestra is restricted to piccolos, clarinets, bassoons, and strings, in contrast to 20, for most of which the orchestra was confined to woodwind, brass, and timpani. The procession toward the throne is in strict binary form, section A (bars 1-11) being highly syncopated, section B (bars 12-19) not. The return upstage is a joining of A and B and ends abruptly with the original piccolo motif heard unaccompanied. The sailors are unchanged; merrily they approach their queen, merrily they depart.
22. Berlioz has left the Entry of the Farmworkers until last, and it is possible that he intended it to be the only procession to leave a lasting impression. Its rhythm is virtually Sicilian, its melody decorated by quasi-oriental trills (piccolo, flutes, violins - all high-pitched instruments). There are no brass or percussion in this movement; woodwind and strings work solidly together for graceful sadness for 27 bars, then for a lighter, happier 10 bars of major tonality, to conclude in the minor key (B) of their beginning. Marked andantino, and therefore moving at a thoughtful pace, this music with its graceful shifting rhythm, oriental shadings, and subtle changes in tonality, its darker and lighter moods (chiaroscuro), reflects the contrasts in Dido herself. The dignity here is akin to hers. These people, the farmworkers, really understand sobriety and the demands of toil. There are more in this procession than in the others, and Berlioz states that their leader is a sturdy old man. Here there is another connection with Act 1; in this case it is age and experience. Nos.20, 21, 22 follow the same order - (i) firm, pompous, (ii) vigorous, light, (iii) solemn and deep - as Nos.4, 5, 6, No.6 having as its climax the presentation of Astyanax to Priam.

The farmworkers do not withdraw from the throne as the others did; the trophy which Dido presents to them is of gold, and she keeps them before her throne to receive her passionate thanks and that of the people in No.23; recit and chorus.
This continues Berlioz’s expansion of Virgil’s picture of a very successful and peaceful Carthage, and is linked with A.I.443-5 "... quod regia Juno monstrarat, caput eris equi; sic nam fore bello egregiam et facilem victu per saecula gentem".

The procession will demonstrate the importance and dignity of the popular classes who traditionally are ranked far lower than royalty. In Carthage, royal and popular respect is absolutely mutual. The Carthaginians are a people who speak their hearts; they have a queen who speaks hers; she has one, and lacks completely the pretense, aloofness, hypocrisy, and manipulative rhetoric of many traditional or historical rulers. Dido is the ideal queen, Carthage the ideal state; full co-operation is their touchstone.

The emphasis here on the peaceful nature of the Carthaginians contrasts with Virgil, A.I.539-43, (Iliouxeus Dido).

\[
\text{quod genus hoc hominum? quaeque hunc tam barbara lorem permittit patria? hospitio prohibebatur harenas; bella cierit primaque ustituit consistere terrà. si genus humanum et mortalia temnitis armis, at sperat deos memorae fandi atque nefandi.}
\]

And the importance which Berlioz’s Dido places on the tilling of the soil, the land, is a new idea which Berlioz has added to Virgil’s picture of a rich and rising Carthage. But is Dido being realistic by stressing agriculture and the arts of peace? Is it not wise of Virgil’s Dido, surrounded by hostile and expansionist nations, determined as she is to build and rule Carthage without a king, to ensure the solid defence of her boundaries? How far can Berlioz’s Carthaginians progress toward greatness in war, inexperienced as they are, young and small in nationhood as they are, and having no king to lead them?
After the beautiful, lingering procession of farmworkers during which
the audience may indulge in dreams of pride and greatness through toil, two
sharp secco chords from the orchestra recall our attention from pastoral
solemnity to the next stage in the proceedings, and Dido calls emotionally
upon the people to applaud the greatest of the arts, that which nourishes
mankind. It is only after this applause that she crowns the old man with the
wreath of flowers that she has waved aloft like a talisman. Berlioz has been
working toward this moment since the end of No.19, and the people respond
with unsurpassable intensity and fervour, matching their queen, not merely
echoing her.

This is one of the ways in which 23 differs from 19. Another is that
their text is different from hers and their music is different from hers also;
in 19, Dido's text and music were faithfully reproduced by the chorus. They
have the independence of spirit of a true nation of whom future greatness may
be expected, and Dido's aside after their resounding praise of the farmworkers
is a psychologically sound reaction as far as it goes, for she is attempting
to blind herself to the fact that so much emphasis on agriculture and the
nourishing of mankind will not automatically result in greatness in the
martial arts. (bars 15-17) "Ô Cérès! l' avenir de Carthage est certain".

A magnificent 3-bar brass fanfare with timpani returns the attention of
the people to Dido: all their worship at this time is for her. After the
first familiar statement of the National Anthem comes a new musical and
textual statement of the readiness of all to give their lives for Dido
(bars 24-37); and rhythmically, melodically and harmonically there is absolute
conviction. The double choir and full orchestration reaffirm success through
good fortune such as beauty, grace, intelligence, and all other things which
are the direct favour of the gods.

As the people file out to leave Dido and Anna alone, they sing a short, emphatic, and ecstatic coda which is extended in feeling as well as length by a six-bar orchestral climactic frisson of delight which includes the expansiveness of an extended perfect cadence. Berlioz has ensured that by now we are emotionally involved with Dido's Carthage.
Before Aeneas arrives in Carthage, Berlioz presents early in his plot an intimate duet between Dido and Anna, based on A.IV.9-53.

In Virgil, Aeneas has by that point been welcomed by Dido and told her the story of the misfortunes of Troy and his wanderings in search of Italy. Venus has substituted Cupid for Ascanius (A.I.664-94) to ensure that Dido will be poisoned with love for Aeneas.

In Berlioz, Aeneas has not yet arrived in Carthage. Dido is privately unhappy in the loneliness of widowhood. Anna obliquely mentions the power of Venus, but for the present there is no man in the drama worthy of Dido's love or capable of winning her.

In Virgil Dido has made a vow of fidelity to her dead husband (A.IV.15, 24-9); in Berlioz she has made no vow, but simply claims that a faithful widow must subdue and deny her need for love. When pressed, however, she invokes a divine and popular curse on herself in the event of her ever betraying Sychaeus' ring.

In Berlioz Anna regards Carthage as an established fact of which to be proud, and is concerned only for her sister's state of mind and heart. In Virgil Anna, ambitious for Carthage, is aware of its vulnerability, and seeing what seems to be the perfect opportunity for an alliance which will bring great happiness to Dido and security and empire to Carthage, she spares no effort to persuade Dido to follow a course which will lead to the fulfilment of both her hopes.

In Virgil the two speeches of Dido and Anna are highly rhetorical. They are complete, uninterrupted, with no verbal interplay. Dido's speech to Anna A.IV.9-29 confirms, from Dido's own lips, what Virgil has told us in A.I.712-
22, 749-50, A.IV.1-8: that she is seriously wounded by love for Aeneas. Her speech has two subjects: her admiration for Aeneas (9-14) and the temptation, at present strongly but miserably resisted, to break her vow of fidelity to Sychaeus (15-19).

Anna's reply is the presentation, with intensity, of several arguments designed to persuade Dido to abandon her vow: she is too young to remain a childless widow (31-33), it is very doubtful whether the dead hold fast to vows such as hers (34), many other royal suitors have failed to move her from sorrow into love (35-8) and here at last is a man who has; Carthage is in a precarious position geographically and needs an alliance and a king (39-46), and this would be an exceptional alliance, an exceptional king; Carthage would not only be assured security, but achieve glory hitherto undreamed of (470-9).

Anna has two strategies, metaphysical and practical: enlisting the favour of the gods (50), and persuading the Trojans to stay in Carthage until the maritime dangers of winter no longer threaten (50-3).

In Berlioz, Dido and Anna's duet is less serious and intense in content and more gentle in tone, due to the difference in situation. Unlike Virgil's Dido, Berlioz's Dido is not yet in love. This fact is the basis for the duet as well as the reason for its lighter nature and structural difference of constant verbal interplay. This major dramatic transformation is not only valid, but necessary. Aeneas has not yet arrived in Carthage, nor does any Carthaginian dream that the city is very safe: to give shelter to the famous survivors of Troy.

In Virgil Dido is gravì iam ludum saucia cura (A.IV.1) and male sana.
(A.IV.8). In Berlioz she believes that the implications of the festival we have just witnessed (Nos.18-23) have restored her happiness and tranquillity. (bars 14-16). In Virgil the crisis has already come; in Berlioz it has not.

We have seen Dido's public persona (Nos.19-23), that of a proud and happy queen devoted to her people and city, fulfilled by her work and responsibilities. The private queen before us now is confessing to a private agitation (bars 17-18).

Anna reiterates the success of Carthage and of its queen as she asks the reason for Dido's anxiety (bars 29-46). The positive adjectives glow with optimism:

Reine d'une jeune empire
Qui chaque jour s'élève florissant,
Reine adorée et que le monde admire,
Quelle crainte avait pu vous troubler un instant?

At this stage it would seem that Berlioz's Anna sees nothing which might provoke concern, in contrast with Virgil's Anna who quickly reveals that she considers Carthage, for which she is ambitious (47-9), vulnerable (39-44).

Berlioz's Dido takes five lines of subtle text full of neo-classical descriptions of the emotional phases through which she is passing: (bars 49-70)

Une étrange tristesse,
Sans cause, tu le sais, vient parfois m'accabler
Mes efforts restent vains contre cette faiblesse, (A.IV.24-9)
Je sens transir mon sein qu'un ennui vague oppresser,
Et mon visage en feu sous mes larmes brûler. (A.IV.30)

Here there are both similarities and differences between the two Didos. Both are struggling; Virgil's against yielding to a divinely inflicted love to which she has already fallen victim; Berlioz's against a faiblesse which is
actually a need; for her delicately yet vividly described symptoms are those of the loneliness of faithful widowhood. (cf A.IV.24-9, and 130).

Then there are very obvious differences. There is a considerable difference between furor and faiblesse. The strange sadness without apparent cause experienced by Dido in Berlioz is entirely different from the easily identifiable passion - emotion and object - which has gripped Virgil's Dido (cf A.IV.1f).

"Je sens transir mon sein qu'un ennui vague oppresse". Unlike Virgil's Dido, whose life was fulfilled by her work - there is no evidence that it was not, in spite of aegram (35) - and to whose heart new love has suddenly come unbidden, Berlioz's Dido is only just beginning to see the first signs of victory in her struggle to sublimate her need for love. Anna, correctly diagnosing her problem, impedes Dido's victory: (bar 72) "Vous aimerez, ma sœur".

Anna's position here is very different from the position of Virgil's Anna whose sister already loves - against her will. But both Annas believe more strongly in the laws of nature than in man-made laws such as vous. They believe in following one's inclination. And the romance of suffering for an ideal does not appeal to them as much as the romance of a new love. Dido's contradiction here (bars 73-6) "Non, toute ardeur nouvelle/Est interdite à mon cœur sans retour" is not unlike A.iV.15-16.

Like her Virgilian counterpart, Anna here does not pay court to this struggle against nature. When she reiterates "Vous aimerez, ma sœur" (bars 78) Dido at last makes a direct statement which makes explicit the implications of her previous words: (bars 79-85) "Non, la veuve fidèle/Doit éteindre son âme et détester l'amour". Unlike Virgil's Dido, who has
made a specific vow, Berlioz's Dido is following a more general code. It is not that she, Dido, must be faithful to him, Sycaeus, but that all widows ought never to allow new love to enter their lives. The strength of the verb détester suggests the strength of the need Dido is trying to suppress rather than her actual opinion of the emotion itself.

Now that the truth is fully revealed, Anna may present arguments to counter Dido's beliefs. She makes five points — Dido's position, her youth (nubility), her beauty, the rightness of the law of love, the need of Carthage for a king: (bars 85–93) "Dion, vous êtes reine, et trop jeune, et trop belle/ Pour ne plus obéir à cette douce loi;/ Carthage veut un roi". These five points emerge as one idea — Dido, for all practical purposes, ought to re-marry, for her own sake and that of Carthage. This is the sum of the arguments in both works, and the point towards which Nos. 17–23 have been working in this one. The douce loi of Berlioz is closely related to the praemia Veneris of A.IV.32. And indeed, Berlioz's Anna at this stage is concentrating more on Dido's personal needs (cf A.IV.32–3) whereas the climax of the speech of Virgil's Anna is the security and envisioned glory of Carthage. Here, of course, Anna might well be the earthly counterpart of Juno, whom she cites in A.I.45.

But now Berlioz takes inspiration for Dido's action from a source other than Virgil. Later, in Act IV (No. 35) he creates a tableau based on a painting by Pierre-Narcisse-Guérin, in which Dido, listening to Aeneas recounting the misfortunes of Troy, is oblivious to the removal of the ring from her finger by Ascanius, and the important role which the ring is to play (cf No.35) is foreshadowed here. Here, in No.24, Dido uses the ring of Sycaeus to aid her in her self-denial. Using the ring as a symbol of her fidelity, she invokes a total curse against herself in the event of her
betraying her dead husband: (bars 93-7) "Puissait mon peuple et les dieux me maudire,/Si je quittais jamais cet anneau consacré!" The ring is sacred; she makes no new vow, believing that the one she made when Sychaeus gave her the ring was eternal.

Berlioz bases Anna's reply on the actual event of A.II.664-94 instead of A.IV.34; (bars 97-109) "Un tel serment fait naître le sourire/De la belle Vénus; sur le livre sacré/Les dieux refusent de l' inscrire". The picture of Venus here is a pleasant one in contrast with A.II.664 f; to Anna it is inconceivable that the divine powers would punish Dido for failing to keep such an oath. Berlioz is humanist about the entire issue, from the ring onward, since Dido is bringing down a curse on her own head as punishment for possible future behaviour which is in accordance with the laws of nature. The tension is between living up to an ideal and surrendering to inclination. The inclination, however, is, in both works, an obedience to a natural law.

Dido herself finds Anna's reassurances convincing: (bars 111-25)

Sa voix fait naître dans mon sein  
La dangereuse ivresse;  
Déjà dans ma faiblesse  
Contre un espoir confus je me débats en vain.

She feels delight, weakness, not the furor or infelicitas of Virgil's Dido. Anna, for her part, echoes what Dido has just expressed (bars 125-39) acknowledging the efficacy of her influence. But when Dido says (bars 139-180):

Sichée! Ô mon époux, pardonne  
A cet instant d'involontaire erreur,  
Et que ton souvenir chasse loin de mon coeur  
Ce trouble qui l' étonne.

Anna feels remorse and begs Dido for forgiveness for the unease of heart Anna has caused. Here there are two major differences between Berlioz and
Virgil. In Berlioz Dido speaks directly to Sychaeus - the pact is between
them and only them. In Virgil, Dido's oath has been to Pudor, and it is Pudor whom she invokes when tempted to love again (A.IV.24-7).
In Berlioz Anna feels remorse. It is not only because she appreciates her
sister's sensitivity and serious turn of mind; here, because there is no one
to kindle Dido's love and receive her affection, the disturbance of Dido's
newly and hard-won serenity is perhaps not merely fruitless but wasteful.
In Virgil the crisis has come; Virgil's Anna may well fail to appreciate her
sister's tragic stature, but she does feel that the situation on a personal
and political level is urgent, and is attempting to act upon the opportunity
which seems to be offered. Why should she feel remorse?

The tragedy of Berlioz's Dido is that, given time, she would have
regained her equilibrium and strength after Anna's unintentional undermining
of her resolve, but that she is not granted time for that recovery. In
Virgil the only picture we have of Dido before Venus' insinuation of Cupid
into her life is one of calm, secure stability (A.I.496-508), of gracious
warmth and generosity (A.I.562-78, 613-30); but after she gazes upon Cupid
there is a complete change; Virgil describes her thereafter as infelix
(A.I.712). Not only does the contrast cause us almost unbearable pain,
but it is the Dido infelix with whom Anna has to deal in A.IV.1 ff.

The music has been designed by Berlioz to accommodate the considerable
repetition of the text so that text and music together make a very careful
exploration of the situation. Berlioz has chosen a combination of instruments
bound to produce gentleness in agility, fine delicacy of nuance, and subtle
poignancy. The strings begin alone (bars 1-10). They are joined by flutes,
clarinets, and oboes at bar 11, bassoons at bar 28, and horns at bar 34.
The duet unfolds imperceptibly, as it meets the demands of the text, in three sections: the revelation of Dido's need and Anna's prophecy of its eventual fulfilment (bars 1-93); Dido's climactic resistance and Anna's continued opposition to her chosen course (bars 93-109), and the pastorally beautiful outcome (bars 109-180) by the end of which the sisters have actually changed sides - Dido responding to instead of resisting Anna's arguments, and Anna regretting her disturbance of Dido's new-found calmness of spirit.

Thirteen and-a-half bars of introduction begin quietly and busily with strings only (bars 1-10). At bar 10 the rhythm broadens into a new idea - a little more serious, wistful without sadness, and above all calmly contemplative (bars 10-14). The entry of the upper woodwind at bar 11 introduces the poignancy.

The music of the first ten bars is quite closely related to the introduction of "Chers Tyrins" (of No.19 bars 25-30); and indeed Dido's opening recit. here (bars 14-26) is in a similar spirit musically to her opening recit. of No.19.

The busy music returns with the addition of bassoons (bar 28) and horns (bar 34) for Anna's query (bars 29-46) which is musically golden, gently confident and warm. She is utterly sincere in her opinion of Dido and Carthage, and admires both quite passionately. Note the noble sequences of bars 33-6 as she cites Carthage's progress, and the bravura of bars 42-3 as she claims that the world (le monde) admires Dido.

Berlioz uses repetition in this number for emphasis and to create a feeling of unhurried intimacy which has none of the urgency of A.IV.1-53.
One such repetition is "Reine adorée" (bars 38-41). It is worthy of special mention here because it is exactly how Aeneas addresses Dido in absentia when he is about to leave her. (No. 41 bars 177-83).

As the duet unfolds, the differences between the musics of the two sisters are very subtle; they are not in complete contrast at this stage as Virgil's Dido and Anna are in A.IV. And it remains this way throughout the number, even as the music increases in intensity. Note the marked similarity in the two musics as Dido invokes the curse on her own head and as Anna finds it inconceivable that the curse should ever take effect (of bars 93-109) - and in the text this is the climax of the divergence of the two points of view.

The final section of the duet is a sweet pastoral of love (the time changes from $\frac{4}{4}$ to $\frac{6}{8}$) in two sections; the longings and recognition of the aroused by Anna's words (bars 109-139), and the remorse of each sister - Dido for her disloyal feelings, Anna for stirring Dido's emotions (bars 139-180). But the music is always a tender pastoral, graceful, gracious, smoothly flowing; with the two sisters perfectly in accord, their intimacy crowned, made whole. (of bars 143-5, 152-7, 161-3, 170-80).

With the last orchestral comment (bars 180-4) we feel that the brief, if intense, ripples have subsided completely for the time being, and that Dido is again perhaps safely on the way to regaining the tranquillity for which she has been striving.

In Berlioz, the confrontation between the two sisters is not a climax in itself (as in Virgil), but produces a highly volatile situation.

2. cf. Glover, pp.175, 177, 179.
Now that Dido’s emotions have been disturbed by Anna’s firmly held claims, Berlioz immediately paves the way for proving the truth of Anna’s

Didon, ma tendre soeur, pardonne,
Si je dissipé une trop chère erreur......
Pardonne si ma voix excite dans ton coeur
Ce trouble qui l'étonne......

and reveals that Dido’s hope of attaining and maintaining a loveless and lonely tranquillity is a delusion.

As Iopas, a messenger, presents Dido, who is still emotionally disturbed, with news which arouses her sympathy; some shipwrecked suppliants require admission to her palace.

Berlioz has developed Iopas from the singer he is in Virgil (cf A.I.763-1) to one who closely attends the queen. His message is an adaptation of A.I.518-19. Dido’s response and monologue are a development of A.I.628-30.

Because Berlioz has developed these brief but significant lines of Virgil’s Dido, and uses his music even more than his text to make a very marked and important revelation of Dido’s personality, the discussion of the musical textures in this scene will be more detailed than usual.

Virgil has been preparing us for the meeting of Trojans and Carthaginians since A.I.297 f, and at the same time he has been preparing us for the kindly welcome Dido will give them (A.I.297-304). Even before Venus in disguise tells Aeneas that the country in which he finds himself is dangerous (A.I.339), the audience of Virgil’s day would have expected Dido and her people to be suspicious of and hostile toward strangers in the light of the threat to the hard won security of a new city and nation (A.I.298 novae.....Karthaginis). Virgil naturally uses the divine apparatus to explain the almost boundless warmth and graciousness with which Dido receives the Trojans before (562-73)
and after 627-30 the disclosure of Aeneas.

In Virgil, Dido is given very little preparation for the Trojan arrival. (see the speech of Ilioneus A.I.522-60). She has no time to reflect on her own emotional reactions before Ilioneus speaks. Jupiter, through Mercury, has ensured that she will not impede the fates (A.I.257-96), and has at this stage made the consequences of any possible interference by Juno less disastrous (A.I.37-49). But he has not honoured Dido with any knowledge of the fates which he is attempting to ensure she will not obstruct; she is still _fate necia Dido_ (299).

In A.I. the approach to the temple of chosen men from among the shipwrecked Trojans is briefly described but creates a vivid impression; they burst in noisily on the scene of Carthaginian calm: (518-19) "..... cunctis nam lecti navibus ibant/orantes ueniam et templum clamore potebant". And so their dignified humility is not put into practice until Ilioneus is granted permission to address the queen. Avoiding delay at this crucial stage of his narrative, Virgil passes very quickly over the entry of the Trojans into the temple and leaves the protocol to our imagination, allowing us to take it for granted. (A.I.520) "Postquam introgressi et coram data copia sando"; this single line suggests the ceremony involved, and the action of the narrative is able to continue uninterrupted. In Virgil a general Carthaginian calm of prosperity and peaceful existence is interrupted by and contrasted with the noisy entrance of unfortunate souls who are very ruffled indeed (A.I.532-43).

In Berlioz the strangers do not burst in upon Carthaginian public life. While Virgil prepared his audience, but not Dido, for their interruption, Berlioz prepares Dido and the audience simultaneously by means of the formal
message delivered by Iopas (bars 4-11). Iopas later emerges (in Act IV) as a member of Dido's intimate circle, and this number is his introduction to the audience, even though knowledge of his identity comes later.

It is the private world of Dido and Anna (No.24) which Berlioz breaks up by bringing the external problem into contrast with their intimate one, and so private and public worlds are again contrasted in this Act. We shall find as the music drama unfolds that this interruption of Dido's personal life, at this time when she is emotionally charged, is the beginning of the destruction of her public persona and achievements. As in Virgil after the intervention of Venus (A.I.657-83), in Berlioz Dido emerges more and more as a woman whose personal life destroys her public life; her queenly stature and achievement disintegrate.

Berlioz brings the outside world within by a sudden three-bar orchestral passage which is both martial and businesslike (bars 1-3). To this music a sensitive messenger enters to bring Dido the news of the shipwreck's emissaries. As this is Iopas' first entry, the messenger is unfamiliar to us, and this unfamiliarity adds to the effect of mystery, of the unknown. In seven quick bars (4-11) he tells Dido all that is necessary to provoke a response in favour of the victims of the storm at sea. "Échappé à grand' peine à la mer en fureur/Reine, les députés d'une flotte inconnue/D'être admis devant vous implorent la faveur". The dramatic irony is different from Virgil's at this stage. In Virgil we did know the identity of the strangers before Dido knew (cf A.I.544), but in Berlioz we do not actually know, even though we can guess. Dido's immediate reply to Iopas' news could inspired by Purcell's Dido and Aeneas as well as by A.I.628-30. Berlioz has made the Carthaginians naturally peace-loving (see Nos.17,22) in contrast
with the circumstantially ferocious but divinely tamed Carthaginians of Virgil, (A.I.297 f) and he now makes Dido naturally sympathetic. She is able here to act for herself, out of a greatness of heart which is unimpeded by political and geographical dangers. In Virgil she had to explain the forbidding and hostile nature of her boundary arrangements to Ilioneus in a long speech (A.I.562-78) which allows her exceptional generosity to flow as soon as explanation has been given (565 f).

The descriptive line preceding Dido's reply to Ilioneus (561) "Tum breuiter Dido voltum demissa profatur:" is important to this comparison, as Berlioz's music gives his queen this very aspect, with the additional passion and intensity of one who has been rendered emotionally vulnerable. The text of her reply to Iopas (bars 11-14) "La porte du palais n'est jamais défendue/ beginning on G, passes a dark part of F major (G – Bar). A de tels suppliants"

The tonality reflects her appearance as described in A.I.561. The deliberate and decisive nature of the rhythm expresses the free will of Dido, as does the text, which makes it clear that these strangers are not an exception to a rule as is the case in Virgil, where Jupiter has intervened on their behalf.

Berlioz's Dido declaims to the barest accompaniment (bars 11-14). The two chords are the tonic and the dominant seventh of the key of F major. This near-bitonality of F major harmony and implied G minor melody produces a musical tension which is translated into dramatic effect; her reaction is made more than merely deliberate and decisive. For the surge of wonder, and of emotional animation, begins right here; we can feel Dido's inner soul stirring with the life that responds to the needs of others, whose suffering she understands, having suffered similarly herself, but the relationship takes longer
to develop here than in Virgil, where Dido knows who the Trojans are as soon as Ilioneus has spoken, and is immediately impressed with them (cf. A.IV.563 f). Berlioz then is developing the sympathetic aspect of Dido’s nature to prepare for the disclosure of Aeneas, which is so different in his music drama from Virgil, where Aeneas is able to reveal himself once he is sure that there is no hostility and at least an adequate welcome to serve the Trojans’ needs (cf. A.I.520-87).

Berlioz needs considerable emotional involvement on Dido’s part before she actually meets Aeneas; their relationship must come about naturally, without the need for Virgil’s divine machinery. There are three stages in this; Dido’s need for a reciprocal loving relationship (No.24); the arousing of her sympathy (No.25) and a crisis needing Aeneas’ aid (No.28). In Virgil, the relationship between Dido and Aeneas is a very major episode in Aeneas’ long history of hardship and wanderings — but only an episode; in Berlioz it is an end in itself from Act III onwards. Although the unity of his work is provided by Aeneas’ mission, the tragedy of Dido is the tragedy in the Iliad which has captured his imagination beyond any other. In Virgil, the interference of Venus is an attempt to explain the fickleness and cruelty of the forces which guide the universe as well as an attempt to explain the self-destruction by a queen of exceptional goodness and talent who has loved a man, and lost him to his destiny. Berlioz needs other means, and No.35 continues the development of his unfolding of Dido’s emotional capacity.

The forty-bar air, which is a soliloquy (Iopas leaves the stage), develops in two sections as dictated by the text, and progressively grows in intensity. The first four lines of text

Errante sur les mers,
Ne fus-je pas aussi,de rivage en rivage,
Emportée au sein de l'orage,
Jouet des flots amers!

A direct statement of physical suffering recalled, are transposed by the music, which expresses the deeper meaning of the literal words. The steady shallow swirl of the inner strings (bars 14-30), broken almost imperceptibly by semiquaver rests into eddying phrases, recalls even at this stage (especially bars 14-24) the emotionally stormy journey she has made to her present state of near-serenity.

Above this string accompaniment which shifts harmonically between C and F major, Dido's melody soars in a glorious lyricism expressing an outward-reaching sympathy rather than inward recall. A balance between the outward and the inward is achieved with the increased intensity of bars 25-30: "Hélas, des coups du sort je sais la violence/Sur ceux qu'il frappe" during which we know that she is aware that she is remembering her emotional suffering even more than her physical. Here the woodwind join her outcry, and the outer strings add a nervous, exciting syncopation which is anticipatory; for after two-and-a-half bars of orchestral music introducing the second part of the air, beneath Dido's new melody with its triumphant sense of direction, the strings pulsate with a triplet rhythm which fully re-establishes the familiar intensity of this woman's determination. In this number Berlioz ensures that we are aware of Dido's splendid qualities.

She makes her first statement of a personal truth very emphatically (bars 32-6) "Au malheur compatir/Est facile pour nous" and the orchestral response (bars 36-8) is an extension of her emphasis and decision. Her wistful repetition of that statement (bars 38-42) underlines the vulnerability of all people who give help generously and unguardedly. Perhaps here, as in the first two acts of the lyric tragedy, Berlioz is again beginning to
make the point that life is built on the mutual trust of human beings.

Her last statement here "Qui commut la souffrance/Ne pourrait voir en
vain souffrir" being sung twice, but leaving the listener with the impression
that it has been heard three times. This obsession leads to Lido's personal
tragedy.

And indeed, the final four bars, comprising an orchestral affirmation
of her resolution, which describes also her radiant and heroic reverie, are
broken into by the imperious trumpet blast which begins No. 26.

1. No. 6, bars 15-25.
Berlioz introduces the suppliants to the music of the Trojan March in a minor key. We see them from Dido's point of view, whereas in Virgil we saw the meeting of Trojans and Carthaginian queen from that of Aeneas.

The scene grows out of Dido's disturbed or ruffled calm at the end of No. 24, and is drawn from A.I. 505-6, 439-40, 516-19, 647-56.

In Virgil, the Trojan survivors who clamour for audience with Dido include Antheus, Sergestus, and Cioanthus as well as other unidentified men (A.I. 510-11). We see them through the eyes of Aeneas who, in the company of Achates, observes the proceedings through the concealing mist with which Venus enshrouded them (A.I. 516-19). Ascanius is still on board ship, and it is not until Aeneas has disclosed himself and been welcomed into the palace (A.I. 586-642) that he is able to send Achates to the ships for Ascanius and the gifts (A.I. 643-56).

In Virgil Ilioneus, the eldest of the Trojan deputation, makes the speech of appeal to a Dido who has had no warning of their arrival and no presentiment of danger (A.I. 520 f.), although A.I. 613-30 show that Dido is deeply affected by Aeneas' first speech to her. Venus does not play her trick with Cupid until A.I. 657 f., and it is only then that the Trojans begin to work on Dido's emotions in a way which is potentially harmful to her.

In Berlioz we see the Trojans from Dido's viewpoint, and she does experience a certain fear at the arrival of these strangers. The deputation comprises Panthus, Ascanius, Trojan captains, and Aeneas. Ascanius emerges as the spokesman, Aeneas is disguised as a sailor, and the Trojan captains are bearing the gifts. The Trojans do not enter until almost three-quarters of this processional number has been heard, so that the focus is on the
expectant Dido and her reactions.

The initial trumpet blare both cuts into and breaks Dido's heroic but happy mental preparation for the shipwrecked strangers, and serves as a musical intrusion and disturbance. In the duet (No. 24) Dido's emotions were disturbed and unsettled, and she had no time to regain her calm. Now the disturbance continues. The four-bar trumpet fanfare (bars 1-4), because of its particular type of melodic and rhythmic simplicity, is both commanding and menacing. Of the seven notes of its structure, the first and last are long and emphatic, further emphasised by rests; the third and fifth, also long, are further emphasised by preceding short notes; and all occur on the tonic of B flat minor except for the penultimate note, which plunges to the dominant. This plunge and return constitutes the melodic contribution to the menacing nature of the fanfare.

It is left to the trumpets and trombones to maintain and recall the feeling of menace. As soon as the Trojan March in its key of B flat minor - Berlioz sub-titles this number dans le mode triste to stress the point - interrupts the last note of the fanfare, all the brass except the trumpets and trombones are busily stating the theme; it is familiar to us, and we know who the strangers are immediately, while Dido is still ignorant (of No. 11 bars 1-18). In bars 6-7 the trombone plays a motif with a stealthy ascent not unlike the music experienced by Cassandra (No. 2 bars 17-27) and Aeneas (No. 12 bars 75-87).

After fourteen bars of brass statement, Dido speaks. The last words we heard from her have been followed by orchestral music which left her in a particular frame of mind and state of anticipation. This new music is not hers, and we have yet to see how it affects her. At the end of these fourteen
bars, immediately before she reveals her thoughts, trumpets and trombones
blare out a warning fragment of the fanfare on the tonic, and Dido responds
rhythmically and melodically to this, as though already influenced by its
power, and sensing the menace, expressed by the brass, which these people
bring into her palace.

(bars 15-20) "J' éprouve une soudaine et vive impatience/De les voir,
et je crains en secret leur présence". The suppressed excitement she admits
to is expressed by an accompaniment of viola tremolos throughout. This brief
recit. reveals Dido's ambivalence. She is a brave and vivid woman ready and
eager to accept new challenges and experience new people, but her duet with
Anna has left her shaken, unsure of herself, and this tension between her
courage and her apprehension is felt here. Her use of the aside "en secret"
is the first sign of her need to protect her private self with her queenly
dignity, and her mounting of her throne demonstrates with classical economy
that she is suppressing her fear by becoming Queen Dido once again.

The way the March sounds now suggests that the intervening years since
the fall of Troy, the hardship and suffering, have matured the Trojans. As
Dido waits enthroned, the music gradually changes, firstly in texture with
the entry of the woodwind (bar 24) and a string cadence (bar 23). The most
significant change occurs at bar 29 where woodwind and horns only play the
secondary theme. This entirely lacks menace, and suggests the vulnerable
aspect of the strangers, their weariness. As the woodwind and horn passage
ends at bar 37, the violins state a fragment of the principal theme, and
this two-bar reminder acts as a bridge between the two themes. As the
secondary theme fades, Aeneas in sailor's disguise, Panthus, Ascanius, and
the chiefs enter to the return of the principal theme with subtly changed
orchestration which gives a more humble and docile effect; the trumpets are
gone and do not reappear.

During this march without chorus (cf No. 11) there is great dramatic
development. Initially the feeling is one of distance and immense space.
After Dido's aside we are aware of a tension between the as yet unseen and
the waiting, thoughtful Dido with her presentiment of danger. By the end the
suspense is very great. From bars 58-61 the horns play a motif which is
funereal in effect, and in the last two bars, beneath a frisson which
increases and decreases in volume, in the upper strings, the lower strings
develop a phrase of the March (bar 3) into

an echo of Cassandra's introductory music (bar 63, cf No. 2 bars 2 ½)

which sounds prophetic whether we actually remember it or not. When the march
began, the Trojans were too far away to be felt as anything more than a
vague menace; at the end we can actually feel them as potentially menacing
human beings confronting Dido.
Ascanius, as spokesman, asks Dido for shelter for the people he represents. Berlioz has drawn his appeal from Ilionus at A.I. 520-60.

Dido's question concerning the name and nation of their chief is an invention by Berlioz which replaces her expressed wish in Virgil that Aeneas, whom Ilionus named and described as lost at sea, could be found and join the company (cf A.I. 575 f).

Ascanius presents her with the gifts by whose description he and his companions should easily be identified as Trojans. Berlioz has drawn this from A.I. 520-60 and 647-55, 695-6.

Panthus informs Dido of the divine mission of their leader, Aeneas. Berlioz has drawn his words, with modifications which reiterate the promises of Hector (No. 12), from A.I. 530-3.

Dido reveals that the name and deeds of Aeneas are not unknown to her, and offers hospitality to them all. Berlioz has based her words on A.I. 565-6, 573-6, 627, and 488-9.

In Virgil, Aeneas knows of Dido's deep interest in Troy and knowledge of its history from his examination of the murals, which awaken painful memories rendering him emotionally vulnerable — more so than the cool but graciously hospitable queen who has not yet fallen victim to Cupid's power (A.I. 459-95).

In Virgil he is accompanied by Achates, and both are concealed by Venus' protective mist. Venus is a very powerful influence throughout A.I. from line 227. (227-304, 314-417, 586-93, 615-16, 657-722). Neither Aeneas nor Ascanius is part of the deputation of which Ilionus is spokesman. Ascanius
is still on board ship, making it simple for Venus to replace him with Cupid.

In Virgil, Ilioneus tells Dido that the Trojans were originally bound for Italy and will continue to seek it as long as Aeneas is alive. If he is dead, they will return to Sicily (A.I.522-60).

The two major influences in Virgil here, which promote the love affair, are the murals and the trickery of Venus. The murals depict major episodes in the Trojan war, and Aeneas is only part of them. It is the Trojan people and their history which have engaged Dido's interest, not just Aeneas himself. While they indicate Dido's affinity with the Trojans, they serve even more to act upon Aeneas' emotions, and since Aeneas is vulnerable, Venus is determined to ensure that Dido will be vulnerable too. As soon as he is safely within Dido's palace, Venus, fearing the possibility of Carthaginian duplicity, substitutes Cupid for Ascanius to ensure that Dido will fall irrevocably in love with Aeneas. So it is Cupid who bears the gifts (cf Trojan Horse A.II.13-20, 42-9, 254-64 and A.I.657-96).

In Virgil, Dido knows that Aeneas is lost and separated from his companions perhaps forever (A.I.544-60), and this gives his disclosure great impact (A.I.586-614).

In Virgil, Dido extends to Ilioneus an offer of unsurpassable generosity; firstly a choice between having her escort take them to Italy, or settling in Carthage with her on equal terms (A.I.569-74), and secondly an intention to send to the ends of Libya to find Aeneas (575-8). ¹

Early in A.I. (A.I.12 f) we learn of the existence and geographical position of Carthage, that Tyrians have settled there, and that as it was
the land dearest to Juno, that goddess hoped to make it the capital of nations, but had already heard that descendants of the Trojans would overthrow it.

The name Italy (or synonymous expressions) occurs eight times in the first thirty-four lines of A.I. (2, 2, 6, 7, 7, 13, 31, 33), and it has been Virgil's first and most important task to impress on us, however briefly at first, (A.I.33) "tanta molis era Romam condere gentem". We learn from Jupiter (A.I 257-96) the course which history will take - world domination by the Romans, and the eventual cherishing of those Romans by Juno who now hates them. This is established long before the Trojans actually meet the Carthaginians.

At line 380 we hear for the first time from Aeneas' own lips the purpose of his wanderings, and the divine origin of his mission: "Italiam quaeror patriam, et genus ab Iove summo".

Of all this, Berlioz keeps only Aeneas' divine mission, the obsessive naming of Italia which he simplifies and therefore intensifies, and Rome's immortal future, and he withholds this last until No 52. These motifs are all he needs to make clear Aeneas' direction and destiny, his essential and unchangeable course of action. The divine politics are omitted, and even the filial bonds have a much smaller place in his work, which deals with present generations solving their own problems. In Virgil a family line of caring is very evident: Venus is the same kind of mother to Aeneas as Aeneas is father to Ascanius and the Trojan people. Berlioz preserves and re-creates the Aeneas - Ascanius bond. The Trojans keep an uneasy human watch over proceedings at Dido's court while Mercury and the ghosts of Cassandra, Hector, and Priam keep watch on behalf of Fate.

Berlioz has omitted the substance of the first 417 lines of A.I. In
Virgil the Carthaginian episode begins at line 418, and Berlioz has modified the episode from 418-756.

In No.27, the Trojans insinuate themselves into Dido's heart as Simon won their own sympathy so long ago. Although the Trojans speak the whole truth and Simon's story was fictitious, the result is betrayal nonetheless. Simon had his mission, they have theirs.

Four chorale-like bars for brass prepare us with expansive and mellow solemnity for Ascanius' appeal to Dido. Berlioz's direct confrontation of Dido with Ascanius here is the equivalent of Venus' substitution of Cupid for Ascanius in Virgil (A.I.695-6, 709 f). Whereas Virgil's scene is one of deception, Berlioz's fills us with wonder; the four-bar introduction is a musical expression of the beauty of character, the sincerity and innocence expressed by the upturned face of the boy as he appeals directly to a woman whom recent recall (of Nos.19 and 26) of personal suffering has conditioned to empathize with the little band of whom Ascanius is the spokesman. Berlioz's Dido is emotionally involved, but not yet with Aeneas, nor is she bemused and confused by the influence of Cupid like the Dido of A.I.709 f. (The modified use in Berlioz of Virgil's Cupid - Ascanius substitution is fully discussed in the chapter on No.35).

Ascanius' first speech to Dido is drawn from A.I.522-5, part of the speech of Ilious whom Berlioz omits in order to dramatize A.I 695 f, and to make maximum use of Ascanius. In a music drama there is not the scope for a landscape teeming with minor characters. The support between the fine young prince and the sympathetic, lover-starved, and childless queen is immediately involving, whereas Virgil has intended that there be a distance between the queen and the rhetorical and formal eloquence of the old Ilious, so that
when her warm welcome is finally extended, the impact is so much greater.

Dido's reply (bars 17-19) is an invention by Berlioz. In Virgil Ilioneus has told her who the suppliants are, the name of their chief, their fear that he might have perished. The music of bars 15-16, which separate Ascanius' address from Dido's reply, is significant. A full-bodied passage for strings, ascending in dotted rhythm in B minor and reinforced at the final cadence by woodwind and horns, it represents the thoughtful considering of what she has just heard, by a mature woman who has lost a love and had to abandon her former home. At this stage in Virgil we have known for a long time that Dido is deeply interested in the history of Troy. In Berlioz we do not yet know that she has ever heard of the Trojans. We do know that she has felt apprehension as well as excitement at the arrival of those strangers.

From bar 20 Berlioz uses the strings to add a new emotional dimension to Ascanius' next utterance. This is the main body of his story; Berlioz has added to the telling of the story of the sufferings of the people an actual identification of the gifts as he hands them to Dido; and as Ascanius warms to his theme, his simple and guileless vocal line is accompanied by an increase in orchestral intensity to charge his words with yearning and an appeal for understanding as well as shelter.

As he presents the gifts, his eloquence changes from poetic narrative to youthful, ecstatic pride, which is heard in the shape of the melody and rhythm (bars 28-32). Light, quick woodwind (cf No.12 bars 26-36) express his pride and excitement at presenting Dido with "Ce sceptre d'Ilios/Fille du roi Priam". At bar 34 national and family pride is replaced by pride of achievement as he offers her "ce voile léger d'Hélène ô l'or rayonnant. Here the
strings express the pride and knowledge of foreign gain, then the woodwind (from bar 36) the delight in the beauty of the veil and of its former owner. In Berlioz, each gift is presented to the accompaniment of different music; the confrontation is personal, and the identity of the suppliants is revealed to the audience through the identification of the gifts. Dido's reply reveals that even these names of famous women have not fully prepared the unsuspecting queen for these particular visitors.

Virgil with his hasty, retrospective gift-giving is hard to understand here, for traditionally, gifts are offered first, in an attempt to establish diplomatic relations. The circumstances are unusual, of course, with Aeneas and Achates separated from the others, but there has been no planning; the entire scene in which Aeneas and Achates are enshrouded in the mist had kept Dido firmly in her place as the one being used; the gifts seem no more than an afterthought, as indeed they are. Ascanius is the focal point of Virgil's Aeneas once the Trojans have been offered Carthaginian hospitality (A.I.643-655, especially munera praeterea, 647).

But Virgil does bestow a rich description upon the gifts once Ascanius has been take care of (647-55). All belonged to royal women distinguished by deed or birth; the mantle and veil of Helen given her by her mother Leda are symbols of beauty and sensuality; the sceptre of Ilione a symbol of the power of a chaste woman; the necklace and crown are symbols of their need to adorn themselves, and so to set themselves above their fellows in beauty and wealth.3

Berlioz takes three of the gifts, and reverses the order of presentation. The sceptre of Ilione is presented first; next the crown, of unidentified ownership in Virgil, Berlioz attributes to Hecuba, the most important woman
in Troy and traditionally powerful in her character, personality, and emotional intensity. The veil of Helen he presents last. Berlioz's Ascanius does not need to describe the gifts in detail; the eyes can see them, the ears respond to their music. Their purpose is to give Dido a wider vision of the Trojans than the small band of shipwrecked survivors (whose leader is in disguise and therefore, as far as she is concerned, absent) who stand humbly before her.

Berlioz has used the gifts in a manner which is more traditional than that used by Virgil. But he has used them to the best dramatic effect; they lead to the identification of the bearers instead of following it, but at the same time help to establish a relationship with Dido on a level of interest rather than diplomatic protocol.

The end of Ascanius' speech is also the climax: (bars 42-4) "Notre chef est Enée, Je suis son fils". His earlier (bars 38-41) "Doivent vous dire assez que nous sommes Troyens" provokes Dido's surprised but brief "Troyens!" (bar 41). His climactic utterance provokes another brief but almost mystical response (bars 45-6): "Etrange destinée!". These responses reveal that Berlioz's Dido has at least some minimal knowledge of the Trojans. These responses are abrupt, not extended, and this can only be understood in the light of the psychological picture of Dido which Berlioz has developed in Nos 24 and 26. Now wholly emotionally involved with the Trojans, her starved, romantic, yet visionary soul responding to a possible linking of Trojan destiny with hers, she is inaccessible to the interruption of Panthus (bars 46-53), an interruption which is both timely and too late. He steps in to state the adult truth,

Obéissant au souverain des dieux,
Ce hérao cherche l'Italie
Où le sort lui promet un trépas glorieux
Et le bonheur de rendre aux siens une patrie.
after the boy's engaging speech has fulfilled its purpose of gaining Dido's interest. But Ascanius has done his job too well. The magic has entered Dido's life, and her mind has left the present plane. This is the beginning of her failure as a queen, although we already have seen the danger with her unequivocal rejection of Iarbas; to escape a marriage which would be hateful to her, she would be prepared to die and have her people give their lives.

And so it is to no avail that the older man replaces the youth. He is not able to impress upon the queen's consciousness the importance of Italia. She contrasts significantly here with Virgil's Dido, who responded to the speech of Illicenus with an awareness of the Trojans' purpose: A.IV.569-71 "seu vos Hesperiam magnum Saturniique arva/sive Erycis finis regemque optatis Acesten/auxilio tutos dimittam opibusque iuvabo". In her response to Panthus, Dido makes no mention of Italia, even though she well knows that kingdoms and homelands are desperately important to those who lack them.

The words of Panthus are drawn from the speech of Illicenus and from the speech of Hector (A.II.289-96). Hector's advice and prophecy are used by Berlioz as the thread by which the Trojans make their way through the changing world. In Virgil, Dido and Carthage are an episode in that changing world, to Berlioz Dido's tragedy is central and climactic; he emphasises her historical significance at the end of his music drama where the implications carry at least as great a degree of tragedy as the end of A.XII. (cf chapter 52).

Dido's last utterance in this number is drawn from the reply, in Virgil, of Dido to Illicenus (A.I.562-78), and that reply includes no mention of Hector. But in Berlioz, Hector replaces to some extent Virgil's divine machinery. The other major difference from Virgil here is that Dido's most excited response is to the name of Aeneas (bars 54-9). Her Carthage is full
of Aeneas' name, not Trojan history as in the murals in Virgil.

In Berlioz, Dido has not been told anything of Aeneas' location. She assumes he is waiting by his ships (cf final bar). And so, like Virgil's Dido to Ilioneus (A.I.569-78), she extends her hospitality to him in absentia. Each Dido offers him unlimited hospitality: Virgil's Dido makes the general statement (574) "Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur". Berlioz's Dido is more specific, offering her harbour, her court, and the opportunity to forget his troubles. (cf bars 55-1 of No.28). But there is one difference in Berlioz: Dido knows he is on her shores and offers him superb hospitality; she has heard of his mission, but does not offer to help him regain his course as Virgil's Dido does (cf A.I.569-74).

By now, Dido has been drawn to the Trojans by Ascanius' winsome if not irresistible approach and personality; Aeneas is, although she is not cognisant of it, within her palace already; and at this stage in Berlioz we have reached the stage of A.I.722. Berlioz leaves us wondering how and when Aeneas will abandon his disguise.

1. "And when Dido wishes the king Aeneas himself were present, it is possible to divine that, after her long loneliness, she is unconsciously ready to give him her love". Hight, p.140.

2. "Ascanius is heard for the first time in the fifth book where he sounds like a young prince (670-3)". Hight, p.28.

3. But of "They (the gifts) came from a family of bad women". Glover, p.175.
Berlioz brings Dido and Aeneas together by means of an extensive development of Virgil's Iarbas and the degree to which he is a threat to Carthage. This extensive development is actually a change of plot, a dissent from Virgil, based on the brief mentions of Iarbas in A.IV.36, 196-218, 326.2

Narbal brings news that Iarbas is invading Carthage with hordes of soldiers who are already slaughtering the flocks and ravaging the fields, and in spite of the eagerness of the Carthaginian warriors, whose clamour for arms can be heard in the distance, the supply of weapons is small, and the odds are overwhelmingly in favour of Iarbas. All of this has been invented by Berlioz. The rest of A.I. (631-756) is postponed by the Iarbas crisis, delaying the fully expressed love of Dido and Aeneas in public until No.35.

In response to the crisis, Aeneas drops his sailor's disguise, revealing himself in his heroic glory. Informing Dido of his identity, he offers himself, his Trojans, and his fleet (which in Virgil is hors de combat) as allies in the battle to repulse Iarbas. Much of this is Berlioz's invention, inspired by A.I.595 f, A.IV.40, 53, 141-2. Whereas in Virgil Aeneas and Achates long to break out of the protective and concealing mist because they are so inspired and heartened by Dido's speech, in Berlioz Aeneas drops his concealing disguise in response to Dido's urgent need for help.

Dido accepts with grace and a surge of confidence, revealing to Anna her great admiration for the hero. Berlioz has based her aside on A.IV.11-15.

Aeneas exhorts the Trojans and Tyrians, who fervently respond, while his helmet and shield are brought to him. Now in full armour, he sends Pantthus
to inform the rest of the Trojans of the intended action, and asks Dido to
take care of Ascanius in his absence. He embraces Ascanius and leaves him
with words of wisdom; whereas all prior to the embrace is Berlioz's invention,
the embrace and words of leave-taking are based on the Iliad, Book VI, 467 f,
and on A.XII.430-40.

There is a fresh demand for arms by oncoming Carthaginian troops, and
after a repetition of the exhortation, all leave to vanquish Iarbas. This
is all Berlioz's invention.

In Virgil we see Aeneas struck by furor as Troy fell (A.II.316 f),
and gradually outgrowing it imperfectly and with difficulty during A.II.
(567 f) and III.3 In Berlioz we do not see Aeneas after No.13, where he
rushed into battle against overwhelming odds and against the advice of the
ghost of Hector. Through Cassandra's summary statement at the beginning of
No.15 we assume that he has returned to his destined path, but, because
Berlioz unfolds his story in chronological order, we do not observe any of
the long process whereby he learns to divest himself of furor.

Both Virgil and Berlioz create a situation which forces Dido and Aeneas
towards becoming lovers. Virgil does this by ensnaring Dido with
Cupid's arrow and Aeneas' narrative (A.II. and III.), so that by the beginn-
ing of A.IV. Dido is irrevocably in love with Aeneas; Berlioz brings them
together to fight against Iarbas.

In Virgil Carthage is presented with no threat to its peace and security;
it is the Trojans who need help, in the form of shelter for themselves and for
the repair of their broken fleet (A.I.551 f). Venus has wrapped Aeneas in a
mist because he is helpless, and the mist disperses only when it is clear
that Venus' words (A.I.390 f) were true and disclosure is quite safe
(A.I.579-87). Aeneas' speech to Dido when the mist leaves him contains only two themes—a compressed reference to Troy's misfortunes and the wanderings of its surviving remnant, and fulsome, grateful praise of Dido herself (A.I.595-610).

In Berlioz we do not actually see the Trojans as wanderers. When we saw them at the end of Act Two, the doom of Troy had come; they had suffered a catastrophic loss as a nation, almost annihilation. No.26 is devoted to their entry into Dido's palace to a sad, subdued version of the Trojan March (cf No.11), a weary, pathetic little band who look to past glories while seeking a new goal, and use those glories as part of an eloquent appeal to Dido for shelter in order to recover from their most recent blow, the storm.

Their leader is with them, unlike Virgil's Aeneas, but in disguise, and we never find out why, even though, and partly because, the dramatic impact of the device is stunning. Berlioz, while changing Virgil's plot quite drastically, making the shadowy threat of Iarbas in A.IV. into a full-scale invasion of Carthage at a stage equivalent to A.I. fin, emphasising the peace-loving nature and existence of the Carthaginians by having them short of weapons (and presumably man-power), does nonetheless base the disclosure of his Aeneas quite closely on the disclosure of Aeneas in A.I. And due to the nature of music drama and the way in which its impact when it unfolds swiftly give us no time to look back, we do not wonder in the excitement of No.28 why Aeneas entered in disguise, and why, when he realised the great danger threatening Carthage, he was able to offer, as an allied army, those who a moment earlier had found it necessary to plead so earnestly for shelter. Whereas in Virgil, by this stage, Aeneas has left most of his pueri behind, clinging in wisps to his many hardships, the impulsive Aeneas here, the
Floire—seeking Aeneas of Berlioz rushes to the challenge like the Aeneas of A.II.314-598, when in the grip of furor.

In Virgil Aeneas was able to reveal himself in response to a sure knowledge of his safety. In Berlioz he abandons his disguise in response to the Carthaginians' need for assistance in battle.

In both works, Dido's reaction to Aeneas' sudden revelation is one of amazement. The murals in Virgil have made his Dido well motivated to fall in love with Aeneas even without the interference of Venus. In Berlioz Dido has recently been forced into awareness of her own loneliness, and so the unexpected arrival of a glorious hero, at a time of great crisis, is all the motivation needed.

In Virgil, Aeneas, after the Trojan war, the fall of Troy, and seven years of wandering, is vulnerable; kindness, a comfortable environment, admiration after so much thankless toil, deep sympathy for all that Troy suffered (as he sees it in the murals) are dangerously seductive. Venus' description of Dido has indicated Dido's strength, courage, and determination (A.I.340-68), and through the eyes of Aeneas and of Virgil we have seen a Dido who is calm and secure as well as most generous (A.I.496-630). So Dido is not vulnerable. Not even trusting that Dido might be susceptible to the total excellence of Aeneas (see especially A.I.588-93), Venus uses Cupid to seal her fate. Berlioz replaces Virgil's divine machinery with the military alliance between a Dido who is, in his work, emotionally vulnerable, and an Aeneas who, in his work, has not lost his furor by this stage, and is still the bold and impetuous hero of No.13 and A.II.314-593.

It is precisely because Aeneas is still so bold and impetuous that he
is vulnerable to love for Dido; making war together - especially when the outcome is victory - is very plausibly followed by making love. This victory, for which Aeneas was largely responsible, must have acted like a drug on the struggling and under-compensated leader of the survivors of ruined Troy.

In Virgil there is no mention of advisers to the queen or of Carthaginian elders (A.1.496). Berlioz has created an adviser for his Dido - Narbal - and in this number Narbal's principal function is to help communicate to us Dido's helplessness in this crisis. Berlioz breaks Narbal's report of the invasion into four parts to place Dido and her Carthaginians into particular perspectives - Dido is helpless, the Carthaginians are aware of their disadvantage - and to emphasise, dramatically, the alarming nature of the news. As a non-combatant unfamiliar with battle, Dido asks the questions which keep Narbal's narrative both musically flowing, and dramatically arrested for brief periods during which she is able to absorb and assimilate the news Narbal brings. Her brief but alarmed questions contrast her with her intrepid but underequipped Carthaginians, who also interrupt Narbal's narrative with their distant then nearer clamour for the weapons which their kingdom needs for this emergency, but does not possess. The Carthaginians are living up to their promise to give their lives for Dido's honour (cf No. 19). Totally responsive to Dido's earlier exhortation, they are determined to become a nation great in war. This they cannot do alone, but help comes in season as though their passionate cries constitute a prayer impossible to leave unanswered. Help comes because the Carthaginians have proved their supreme worthiness. They are fit for Trojan defence; and so much more keenly do we feel the disappointment when these two most plausibly allied nations must part. (cf Act V). Dido too has, by her unlimited generosity,
proved her worthiness.

Narbal's narrative is as follows:

(a) he sounds the alarm (bars 17-21)
(b) he states its nature: Iarbas and his hordes are about to invade (bars 25-34). The Gaetulæ and Numidæ were neighbouring tribes in Africa. In Virgil, Iarbas is a Gaetulian; Berlioz has made him a Numidian, a tribe much better known to the modern world and readily associated with black skins, and this factor would be enough in the eyes of a nineteenth century audience to justify Dido's repugnance.
(c) The Numidians are already devasting the countryside and threatening the city, and the keen Carthaginians are short of weapons (bars 37-62).
(d) The Carthaginians are outnumbered (bars 64-68).

Dido's brief queries occur at bars 21-2, 62-4. The Carthaginians' cries of "Des armes!" occur at bars 35-8, 42-5, 73-7. And so in Berlioz the attention at this stage is shared by Narbal, Dido, and the Carthaginians, with Narbal dominant.

Virgil's technique virtually forces us to focus all our attention on Aeneas and then Dido, when Aeneas emerges from the mist. There are eight lines of description of Aeneas' glorious appearance (586-93), a little more than a line telling us that he addresses Dido unexpectedly (594-5), and these ten lines ensure that we see before us only Aeneas and Dido. Far more of the content of Aeneas' speech to Dido is concerned with her praise than with Troy and the Trojans (A. I. 595-610).

The lines describing his warm gestures of greeting to his friends (610-12) do little, after such effusive praise, to remove our attention from the object of it, and during lines 613-14 we both observe her reaction and
see Aeneas, briefly, through her eyes. Her entire address to him is serious and reflective (615-30), and emphasises the deep affinity which she has felt for so long with the sufferings and toils of Aeneas and his people, and her wonder at this crossing of their paths.

But Berlioz has already shown us Dido's deep humanity by developing A.I.630 in No.25. We have observed her humane response to Ascanius and Panthus in No.27. Events now move very swiftly. There is no time for Dido to reflect on the fortunes of Aeneas, who in any case emerges from his bruised and dejected band as a hero fit and ready for action, unable to resist the challenge and the opportunity for glorious adventure (bars 86-120, 222-5), and Dido's reaction here is a mixture of supreme gratitude and excitement (bars 123-146). At this stage and from now on, although the attention is shared by Aeneas, Dido, Trojans and Carthaginians, Panthus, and Ascanius, Aeneas is the dominant figure. By placing Dido in a position where she is dependent on Narbal for advice and on Aeneas for a military alliance, Berlioz has created a woman who is more obviously vulnerable than Virgil's autocratic - in the best sense of the word - queen. He has devised a situation whereby Dido has as much reason for feeling gratitude toward Aeneas as vice versa; in Virgil all the gratitude is on Aeneas' side (cf A.IV.262-4, 333-6).

In Berlioz, due to the Numidian crisis, both Dido and Aeneas are equally beguiled into love; in Virgil, due to the cruelty of Venus, the pressure on Dido is far stronger.

In Berlioz, Aeneas' revelation is as stunning as in Virgil. There is a fanfare (bars 81-3) during which Aeneas discards his disguise revealing his dazzling armour, then a long fortissimo chord (bars 84-5) during which he stands poised giving Dido and the audience time to assimilate the sudden transformation. The music itself points us in the direction of surprise and
Aeneas' offer of assistance is grand, heroic, vigorous and uncomplicated (bars 95-120). Dido's acceptance is brief but warmly gracious at first (bars 123-131) "Je accepte avec orgueil une telle alliance" then excited and confident of heavenly favour (bars 132-146) "Enée armé pour ma défense! / Les dieux se déclarent pour nous". Her excitement at the prospect of her rescue by a hero is undeniably Romantic, as is the aside to Anna which follows it, the text of which is drawn from A.IV.11-13 but which contains only excitement and delight in contrast with the morbid and distraught musing of its original (bars 148-161); "Ô ma soeur qu'il est fier, ce fils de la déesse, / Et qu'on voit sur son front de grâce et de noblesse". The duet No.24 has prepared us for this reaction of Dido's to Aeneas' presence and the role of champion he has cavalierly assumed. During Act Three Berlioz has led us to expect a division in Dido between the personal and political (cf Nos.19, 23, 24). Here, personal and political needs unite to force Dido to abandon her resolution of faithful widowhood. This is why Berlioz had to bring forward the duet (No.24) based on A.IV.9-53; our knowledge, before Aeneas arrives, of those important personal realities constitutes a part of his replacement of Virgil's divine machinery.

For the rest of this number Berlioz focusses most of our attention on Aeneas, so that we see him almost exactly as Dido sees him; for now that he has taken charge, Dido withdraws somewhat, musically and dramatically although not visually. A new very substantial musical section (bars 162-194), which puts the spotlight on Aeneas and his warriors, concludes the finale. Berlioz reveals different aspects of Aeneas' character here, and implies that Dido is already in love with him. Firstly, Aeneas demonstrates his leadership in a vigorous exhortation of the warriors (bars 162-194). This gives
rise to a choral response in which all on stage demonstrate their confidence in this heroic son of Venus (bars 196-220).

The next revelation of Aeneas' character occurs at the beginning of a new section which acts as a middle section — a rallentando — to give greater impetus to the extended recapitulation of bars 162-220. (bars 222-5) "Annonce à nos Troyens l'entreprise nouvelle/Ô la gloire les appelle". This direction to Panthus is an indication of the essentially adventurous and glory-seeking motivation of Berlioz's Romantic Aeneas.

A third aspect of Aeneas' character is revealed immediately he has completed his command to Panthus, and at the same time Berlioz communicates to the audience the possibility that Dido has fallen in love with Aeneas. Berlioz shows us here Aeneas' quality as a father, which we observe continually throughout Virgil: (bars 230-2) "A vos soins généreux,/J'abandonne mon fils".

In Dido's wistful and tender reply we feel the irony of the text: (bars 232-5) "De mon amour de mère/Pour lui ne doutez pas". Dido is prefiguring a marriage to Aeneas when she utters these words. In Aeneas' embrace of and message to his son, Berlioz combines the paternal Hector of Iliad VI (467 f.) and the paternal Aeneas of A.XII, 432-40. Since bar 230 the music has been slowing down (of bars 230, 232) and the slowest tempo used in this number, moderate assai, quasi andante, is heard during eight bars of exquisite tenderness; four of these bars belong to Aeneas (bars 37-40, "Viens embrasser ton père") and four to the solo clarinet (bars 241-4), which Berlioz has used before in a scene of highly emotional effect where the central figures are a child and a parent — Astyanax and Andromache, in No. 6. The clarinet's melody is not precisely the same, but is strikingly
similar.

The message itself is a little faster (allegro moderate (un peu plus animé) = 80); this is more urgent, and grows in intensity: (bars 245-279)

D'autres t'enseignera, enfant, l'art d'être heureux;
Je ne t'apprendrai, moi, que la vertu guerrière
Et le respect des dieux;
Mais révère en ton cœur et garde en ta mémoire
Et d'Enée et d'Hector les exemples de gloire.

For the last line, which is climactic, tenderness and solemnity are replaced by pride and exhortation. In Berlioz, gloire is the powerful motivating force behind Aeneas' actions; it keeps him striving toward that hero's death promised him by the ghost of Hector in No. 12. Berlioz is suggesting that, in spite of all the profound tenderness and wisdom, this last is Aeneas' true legacy to his son, that he has made a choice between personal happiness and glory, and his pursuit of the latter debar's him from any lasting participation in the former, so that he can give his son no such example to follow.

Berlioz, in re-using here the words of that memorable moment from A.XII. in which Aeneas takes leave of Ascanius, is creating a tension already between what Dido seems to long for and what Aeneas can give. At the same time, he is creating a contrast between Dido and Aeneas - between the woman who has voxel to shun all opportunities of personal happiness and the man who accepts the fate which is his, the fate which, at this pre-Hesperian stage certainly, does not permit him any personal happiness. Berlioz is also establishing a hope in the minds of the audience that perhaps Dido, being able to provide Ascanius with that which Aeneas states he himself cannot provide, will be a useful partner for Aeneas, and that Ascanius' needs and Dido's response to them, will draw the queen and the Trojan leader together.

Aeneas' climactic word gloire sweeps him and everyone else toward the
present task—itselt a pursuit of glory. The final choral allegro assai begins in the minor key—an even sterncr, deeper sense of responsibility after the baring of Aeneas' soul, and sounding more grim and determined after the tender, yearning beauty of that section. This music brings on all the warriors, and after a final terraced cry "Des armes!" (bars 284–8) the key of B major returns for the magnificent choral finish, and it is the tonality which shines through; so many melodies are woven together that any one of them is barely recognizable as an individual thread. The final word sung by the ensemble spans four-and-a-half bars (367–71), its high pitch straining the singers to the limit. After this return to Romantic heroism, preliminary to victory, the orchestral postlude (bars 371–415) is different in mood. Between tense strings and woodwind, wide-ranging trombones combine with bassoons and clarinets (bars 381–403) to provide a highly ominous undertone before the final cadence (of bars 408–415). The irony is that Dido's present crisis is solved totally on the political side, and apparently totally on the personal level.

1. "The part played by the gods in the action is not very skilfully worked out, and the African king, Tantias, appears to be introduced only for the sake of drawing Jupiter's attention to Dido and Aeneas". Crump, p.60.

2. See also text and footnotes, Cairns, p.96.

3. Williams, p.252.

4. "In Book II Aeneas is the typical soldier who cannot resist a battle". Quinn, p.17. This description of Virgil's younger Aeneas almost precisely fits Berlioz's Aeneas here.

5. "In A.IX.277–302, when Euryalus requests that his mother be cared for, Ascanius vows she will be treated like his own mother Creusa". Higet, p.145.

4a. The dramatic effect of Aeneas' appearance also depends on the modulation, from Ab (E#) to E.