

Virgil's Dido and Jupiter, the Models for the Allegorical Representations of Queen Elizabeth I in Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage*



LETREN
FAKULTATEA
FACULTAD
DE LETRAS

Ane Martín Ibisate

Degree in English Studies

Academic year: 2019/2020

Tutor: Alejandro Martínez Sobrino

Departamento de Estudios Clásicos

Abstract

Dido, Queen of Carthage has been hitherto ignored by the academia and in fact, it has not been until the last century that the play has started to acquire the recognition it deserves. More specifically, this dissertation's approach will be focused on the stain that the author's Elizabethan political and religious background left on the play. Queen Elizabeth was a monarch whose *imperial* project created admiration as well as rejection among her subjects. Marlowe, who was among the last ones, employed the play *Dido, Queen of Carthage* in order to express allegorically the risks that the marriage between Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou could mean to the crown. In addition, due to his atheist influences, this play also displays a critique to the divinization of the queen. The hypothesis that this dissertation presents is that Marlowe probably found in Virgil *Aeneid*'s Dido and Jupiter the models in order to represent allegorically Queen Elizabeth as *imperator* and a divinity, and avoid being punished. In order to demonstrate that they were the best suitors for the playwright's purposes, this dissertation aims at showcasing the connections between Virgil's models and Elizabeth.

Keywords: *Queen Elizabeth, imperator, French marriage negotiations, divinization, princeps Augustus.*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|----|
| 1. Introduction | 1 |
| 2. Marlowe and Virgil's political and religious backgrounds | 2 |
| 2.1. Marlowe | 3 |
| 2.1.1. Elizabethan Age | 4 |
| 2.1.2. Protestant Church's Settlement | 5 |
| 2.2. Virgil | 6 |
| 2.2.1. Augustan Age | 7 |
| 2.2.2. Restoration of Roman Religion | 8 |
| 3. Queen Elizabeth as <i>Imperator</i>: Virgil's Dido and Elizabeth | 9 |
| 3.1. Dido and Aeneas | 12 |
| 3.2. Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou | 14 |
| 4. Queen Elizabeth as a Divinity: Virgil's Jupiter and Elizabeth | 16 |
| 5. Conclusion | 20 |
| 6. References | 22 |
| 7. Appendix | 25 |

1. Introduction

Dido, Queen of Carthage (1585-6), probably the first dramatic work of one of the most acclaimed playwrights of English literature, Christopher Marlowe, has been for years ignored by the academia. It has not been until the 20th century that several scholars have put the focus on this play. In fact, a previous interpretations of the play has focused on the dilemma of 'staying and leaving' as in Ann Christensen's "Men (Don't) Leave: Aeneas as Departing Husband in *Dido, Queen of Carthage*" (2012) which presents Dido and Aeneas as an early modern couple. However in the case of this dissertation's interpretation, the author's political and religious background will play a fundamental role. For this reason, the focus will be placed on the person who embodied both political and religious power in that époque: the Queen Elizabeth.

With the arrival of Elizabeth from the House of Tudors to the throne, England entered into a new age, where expansionism and religion were the centres of the political agenda. However, the lack of care that the monarch was showing about the human consequences caused by the wars 'in the name of God' against the Catholic monarchies of Spain and France, which put into question her 'empire project' added to the later 'French Marriage negotiations' between Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou, not only accentuated the feeling of disenchantment among the English, but also provoked a fall on her popularity. Catholics as well as Protestants firmly opposed to this marriage since they feared Elizabeth could 'sell' England to the French, and let 'the enemy', Duke of Anjou, became their king.

Marlowe, who was indeed an openly admitted atheist, wanted to criticize the irresponsible attitudes of the queen due to her excessive divinization and the dangerous consequences that her role as *imperator* was producing. He could not do it openly since it could mean an offense toward the crown; thus, Marlowe decided to criticise that situation allegorically throughout figures Elizabeth could be identifiable with and this way avoid being punished. In fact, he recurred to Virgil's books I-IV of the *Aeneid* and more specifically to the characters of Dido and Jupiter as sources of models for his critique subject. Accordingly, the additional aim of this dissertation will be to demonstrate that Virgil's Dido and Jupiter were the best suitors in order to represent allegorically the duality of Queen Elizabeth since they all shared several similitudes in terms of their roles and Virgil's own allegorical representations. In the case of Dido, her connections with the

English monarch will be based on the resemblances that they share regarding their role as *imperatores*, which were already established in the Elizabethan Age as previous plays, Massys the Younger's portrait and commemorative coinage on the victory over the Armada proof (Stump 80-81; Weber 141). Regarding Jupiter, his connection with the queen will reside in the fact that Virgil also hides behind the deity a very comparable figure to Queen Elizabeth in terms of divinization; the *princeps* Augustus.

The dissertation will proceed as follows. First, the political and religious backgrounds of Marlowe and Virgil will be presented since they are fundamental in order to understand their respective works. Second, the different allegorical representations of Queen Elizabeth in Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage* will be analysed. On the one hand, queen's facet as *imperator* and her identification in this term with Virgil's Dido and her allegorical representation, Cleopatra, will be explored. Also, the subsequent inversion of Dido and Aeneas' roles in order Dido to represent allegorically Elizabeth and Aeneas the Duke of Anjou, will be explained. On the other hand, queen's divine status will be explored and her connection to the figure that Virgil's Jupiter allegorically represents: the *princeps* Augustus. Finally, an overall conclusion obtained from the presented analysis will be put forward.

2. Authors' political and religious backgrounds

It could be said that *Dido, Queen of Carthage* and the *Aeneid*, from which Marlowe took his models, are the result of their authors' historical backgrounds. Both authors lived in similar historical contexts, where new governors came to power starting an 'empire project' emphasizing religion and its doctrinal role; for Marlowe, Queen Elizabeth and for Virgil, the *princeps* Augustus. Herein, literature playing its traditional role of being a mirror of the surrounding world, *Dido, Queen of Carthage* and the *Aeneid* will serve to the writers as tools in order to represent allegorically their realities. Consequently, it is fundamental to have knowledge about Marlowe and Virgil's political and religious contexts previously to analyse how they are represented in their works.

2.1. Marlowe

Born the 26th of February of 1564 in Canterbury, Christopher Marlowe, who proceeded from a humble family of immigrants, became one of the most recognized playwrights of England and controversial figures of the Elizabethan Age.

Marlowe from an early age showed a mastery of Latin language and poetry that, in fact, enabled him to enter to King's grammar school via a scholarship granted by the Church to poor children (Riggs 26). An institution which pursued the creation of a quarry of local authors, as stated by one of their heads, their aim " [was] to make those purest Authors our own, as Tully [Cicero] for prose, so Ovid and Virgil for verse, so to speak and write in Latin for the phrase, as they did" (Riggs 27). In 1580, Marlowe moved to Cambridge Corpus Christi College where he started to write drama in a classical style, such as in *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, his *opera prima*, and the later *Tamburlaine the Great*, one of his most acclaimed plays (Riggs 34).

His entrance to Cambridge was considered an inflection point in his life, since therein the young playwright interested himself in Machiavelli's writings and got in contact with atheist¹ students who perceive religion as a doctrine rather than as a way of life (Saleh 22). As a result of these influences, Marlowe showed an open rejection toward religion, which was in fact very present in his works and which originated the rumour of him being an atheist (Saleh 15). Herein starts Marlowe's most controversial époque which will be even more prominent during his post-graduate life. His multiple absences during his MA, gave wings to speculations about him being a secret agent of the Queen's Privy Council² (Riggs 28). In fact, due to his relationship with the agency and his simultaneous relationship with Sir William Stanley, one of the leaders of the English Catholics who wanted to murder the queen, have made scholars question whether Marlowe was a double agent or if he simply wanted to gather information for the Privy Council (Riggs 35). Finally, the English author died at the age of 29 in 1593, probably by an order of the queen

¹ At Elizabethan times the term 'atheist' was used to make reference to anyone "whose beliefs were heterodox" (Kuriyama as cited in Saleh 15).

² Due to the constant political tensions with Spain, the Queen Elizabeth strengthened the Privy Council (an organization that offered advice to the monarch in different aspects) and created the very first ever "state-sponsored secret service in English history". In fact, it was very common for this organization to use poets as messengers or mediators (Riggs 28-29).

since the archival records describe the “feast” between the writer and Ingram Frizer as “a conflict between the insurrectionist playwright and the court”³ (38).

2.1.1. Elizabethan Age

Elizabeth I of England came to power in 1558 after a succession of failed aims of reign by her brother Edward VI and her sister Mary I of England who inherited and even caused more political and social troubles in the Kingdom of England. Those troubles, as Carole Levin (5-14) points out, were rooted in the traumatic consequences that the War of the Roses caused among the English, and in the subsequent creation of an atmosphere of disenchantment that did nothing but aggravate during the following Tudor reigns. However, the arrival of Queen Elizabeth, “the hope of the reformers”, to the throne meant a relief in regards to all the political and religious tensions generated by the previous monarchs, and the transition of England into a new age.

In terms of politics, the Queen started to conceive the idea of a great British Empire, which is going to be magnified during the Victorian Age. A politic based sentiment of expansionism arose, as a result of the queen’s obsession with creating an empire that could rival the Holy Roman Empire led by the Pope and its allies the Spanish and French monarchies (Stump 80). One of the methods in order to expand her territories was by marrying one of the multiple suitors she had (Philip II of Spain, Erik XIV of Sweden or the Duke of Anjou among others); nevertheless, as it is going to be shown later, Elizabeth viewed courtships as a mere tool that could serve her to satisfy her political aims or intentions (Levin 18). Another form far from the spectrum of diplomacy was by military power, which was the procedure that she will in fact explore as it was employed in the victory over the Spanish Armada. However, from this triumph onwards until the death of the queen, the reign entered in a downfall, and as MacCaffrey states, “[h]ad she died then, Elizabeth would have retained among her contemporaries the image of Astraea, the golden age goddess of peace and plenty” (Levin 104).

³ What is more, regarding his mysterious death, as Riggs points out “[j]ust a few days before Marlowe was murdered, the spy Richard Baines informed Queen Elizabeth’s Privy Council that the playwright was a proselytizing atheist, a counterfeiter, and a consumer of ‘boys and tobacco’”(24). As a result of this accusation of immoral attitudes and his possible involvement in the ‘Stanley’s plot’, Marlowe became the bull’s-eye of Queen Elizabeth.

Besides, Elizabethan politics also entered into the agenda of Elizabethan writers. Literature was in fact, a tool for dramaturges of the Elizabethan Age such as William Shakespeare, Edmund Spenser, and this study's matter of analysis, Christopher Marlowe to criticize the crown's politics. Thanks to the influence of the Humanism in "vernacular literature" along with the study of classic texts, writers such as Marlowe took the license to explore the realms of scepticism toward the politics and religion of the late Tudor era, as it will be analysed later on this dissertation (Carroll 246).

2.1.2. Protestant Church's Settlement

The truth is that the religious situation that Elizabeth inherited was not easy to solve. As Levin states, in the previous reigns, there were a lot of religious fluctuations: on Edward's reign, Protestants were on power, whereas on Mary's reign England returned to Catholics. These constant changes of state religion caused not only a division among the society but also a feeling of confusion (22). This lack of religious stability ended with the arrival of Queen Elizabeth to the throne. In 1559, following her will, the Parliament by the Act of Uniformity "returned England to the Edwardian Protestant form of worship", and via the Supremacy Act, Queen Elizabeth was given the title of 'Supreme Governor over the Church of England'⁴ (23). From that moment on, Queen Elizabeth started her so aimed settlement of her very own branch of Protestantism in order to control her people. The Pope as the head of the Church was replaced by the Queen who from that moment on was seen as "semi-divine and incapable of error"⁵ (Honan as cited in Saleh 20-21). Consequently, the bond between the English crown and the Catholic Church completely disbanded when the Pope Pius V, by a papal bull, excommunicated Elizabeth in 1570, paving this way the way for the monarch to occupy his place (Levin 20).

The divinization of the figure of Queen Elizabeth, on the one hand, made England get involved in religious wars against the Catholic Spanish and French monarchies, however, these wars were a mere strategy in order to be the most powerful reign of the Old Continent (Saleh 63). On the other hand, it supposed the creation of an unbreakable bond

⁴ As Levin (24) points out, the Queen preferred the term 'governor' over 'head', not because it was not suitable for a woman, but because the second one "usurped Christ's place".

⁵ As Saleh Alguzo (19) states, Queen Elizabeth was considered by the Protestant Church of England "a divinity who represented God's will on Earth", and for instance she was referred to as the 'Virgin Queen' (Levin 21).

between the crown and religion where “anyone who violated any of the political or religious laws of the Queen was considered heretic” (Saleh 19).

2.2. Virgil⁶

Publius Vergilius Maro, most commonly known by his *nomen*, Virgil, was born in a village near Mantua, the 15th of October in the year 70 BC under the consulship of Pompey and Crassus. He moved to Rome around the year 54 BC where he started the compulsory rhetoric studies in order to become a lawyer. After several failures due to his lack of eloquence, Virgil realised that poetry was his true vocation, which in fact, matched more with his introvert nature, so he headed to Naples (around 48-45 BC) where the potential poet immersed into Siron’s Epicurean circle. Therein Virgil composed the poems called *Catalepton*⁷, nowadays collected in the *Appendix Vergiliana*, and the famous *Eclogues* and *Georgics*.

Virgil, similarly to Marlowe in the Elizabethan Age, lived in one of the most convulse periods of the Roman history in terms of politics. He lived the Civil War between Caesar and Pompeius (49-45 BC), the murder of Julius Caesar (March 44 BC), the Second Triumvirate (formed by Mark Anthony, Octavian and Lepidus) and the later Civil Wars between Octavian and the followers of Mark Anthony, which ended permanently with the battle of Actium (31 BC), where Mark Anthony and Cleopatra were defeated by the Octavian army. In fact, the trace of this political situation can be clearly found in his work

In the posterior Augustan age, Augustus who was very aware of the fact that Virgil was already considered the best Roman poet and even a historicist⁸, elected the esteemed poet in order to write his so aimed panegyric: the *Aeneid*. His supposed relation with

⁶ The whole section is taken from the pp. 10-27 from the introduction of J. C. Fernández-Corte to *Catedra’s Virgilio.Eneida* (1989).

⁷ Which include *Priapea et Epigrammata*, *Dirae*, *Ciris*, *Culex*, *Aetana* and *Copa*, poems that as scholars including J.C. Fernández-Corte reject Virgil’s authority of them all (Fernández-Corte 17).

⁸ For instance, he had such fame and public impact that in one of his scarce appearances on public, at the public theatre he was welcomed with a big ovation, a privilege exclusively reserved to Augustus. Moreover, his poems are another prove of the relationship that Virgil maintained with the higher spheres of Rome and more specifically with Octavian (later Augustus), since he will be alluded in the *Eclogues* (42-39 BC) and later in the *Georgic* (Fernandez-Corte 10-17).

Augustus confirmed and endured with the composition of the epic poem, since as it has been claimed Virgil wrote the *Aeneid* as a piece of political propaganda under the influence of the *princeps*⁹. For instance, it will be the own circle of Virgil and more specifically Augustus who will betray the writer in the sunset of his life. In 19 BC when Virgil was heading to Greece in order to revise the *Aeneid*, the writer coincided with the *princeps* who was coming back from the East. From then on Virgil's health worsened and at his deathbed, he confessed his desire to burn the epic poem since it was not finished yet. Finally, Virgil died in Brindisi on the 21 of September on 19 BC, but that did not stop Augustus from publishing his so aimed panegyric published eventually around the year 17 BC¹⁰.

2.2.1. Augustan Age

To have an overall knowledge of the Augustan Age is fundamental in order to understand the *Aeneid*. As it has been previously anticipated, Virgil lived the 'rebirth' of Rome by Augustus. It all began after the battle of Actium in 31 BC, where Octavian defeated the general Anthony and Cleopatra, becoming this way the ruler of Rome (Beard et al. 167).

The arrival of Augustus to the position of Roman ruler after an almost endless period of Civil Wars supposed the beginning of the *imperium* and consequently the arrival of the so-called *pax Augusta*¹¹. The establishment of peace was understood by the Romans as the result of the imperial triumphs of Augustus; in other words, it was celebrated as a gift given by the *princeps* to the people of Rome (Woolf as cited in Morley 45). As Neville Morley points out "Augustus' claim was that he had pacified, once and for all, the provinces of Spain, Gaul and Germany, as well as recovering provinces lost in the east and adding Egypt to the Empire (*Res Gestae*, 26–7)" (45). Thus, Augustan peace was used as an excuse to justify all the conquests that were needed to expand the *imperium*, and at the same time, as J.R Seeley (as cited in Morley 38) defines, to give "internal tranquillity" and

⁹ It is very likely that Augustus and Virgil had a *nobiles-cliens* relationship, following the line of the literary clientelism of ancient Rome (Fernández-Corte 27).

¹⁰ Although this issue remains enigmatic since it is still not clear if the *princeps* persuaded the poet in a last instance to publish it or if he just did not consider Virgil's desire. Finally, the *Aeneid* was published after a revision without any additions (Fernández-Corte 18).

¹¹ It is important to mention that Romans did not conceive 'peace' as it is in modern days; it meant the end of the civil wars and the reestablishment of order and authority in the Empire (all embodied in Augustus) (Morley 44).

sensation of order to the Romans. Helped by his multiple titles (e.g. *divi filius* and *Pontifex Maximus*) and most importantly, the recognition of the Romans, Augustus started to build his *Res Publica* via his so-called ‘Restoration of Religion’.

2.2.2. Restoration of Roman Religion

As Jane E. McMullin (1) points out, straight from the beginning, Roman religion has always been the *nucleus* of the Roman society, since it contained all the values that all citizens shared, respected and were very conscious of. That is the reason why the *princeps* intelligently restored Roman religion in order to take advantage of that universality of religion and tried to introduce his message of stability and order into the consciousness of the Romans through it¹² (McMullin 1).

Furthermore, among the number of titles that Augustus held, the one with most religious importance was that of *Pontifex Maximus*. As the Latin expression defines Augustus, himself, was the main bridge builder between the mortals and the gods, becoming in the closest human to the gods (Beard et al. 252). Hence, as McMullin (25) states, “[n]ow Augustus, serving as head of the pontifical college, was truly the leading figure in Roman religion, which provided even more legitimacy to his restoration of Roman religious practice”¹³.

Provided by these political and religious backgrounds, it can be seen how *Dido, Queen of Carthage* and the *Aeneid* were heavily influenced by their respective governors and thus, it will be easier to understand why Marlowe chose Virgil’s *Aeneid* as the source for his allegorical representations of Queen Elizabeth regarding her role as *imperator* and divinity.

¹² For instance in order to have a view of the magnitude of his restoration, as Beard et al. (168) point out, during the Augustan era numerous ruined temples were reconstructed, decaying priesthoods were filled and almost forgotten rituals reinitiated.

¹³ What is more, the *princeps* made a history changing choice: he decided not to move to the *domus publica* (the traditional residence for the *Pontifex Maximus*), he remained in the Palatine and hence he had to accommodate a part of his *domus* to the public cult (McMullin 25). Intentionally or not, as Taylor (as cited in McMullin 25) suggests “by making a part of his house public domain Augustus was making his private household worship an official cult of the Roman state” and he was transforming his person into a cult subject (later developed into the ‘imperial cult’).

3. Queen Elizabeth as *Imperator*: Virgil's Dido and Elizabeth

This section will aim at analysing how Marlowe undresses the figure of Queen Elizabeth as *imperator* through Virgil's Dido and her allegorical representation, Cleopatra, both pioneers of female political and military power. In fact, Marlowe will deconstruct the figures of Virgil's Dido and Aeneas and he will strengthen her role as an *imperium*¹⁴ ruler transforming the queen into the total protagonist of the play, leaving Aeneas as the foreign suitor. This scenario will enable the English playwright to inverse the role that Virgil's Dido presents as the blocker¹⁵ of Aeneas. Now Aeneas is the blocker of Dido and hence, they are Marlowe's best suitors in order to criticise the so-called French Marriage between Queen Elizabeth and his foreign suitor, the Duke of Anjou. Thus, the question if Marlowe or Elizabethans were aware of the connections of Queen Elizabeth with Dido and its allegory, Cleopatra, arose, a dilemma that will be solved in the following section. But before proceeding with the several connections that were already made in the early sixteenth century between Virgil's Dido and Queen Elizabeth, it could be interesting to analyse how Dido is portrayed as *imperator* in the *Aeneid*, since she will be the model of the English Queen's allegorical representation in regards to that role.

A priori taking into consideration the pretext and the historical moment in which Virgil wrote the *Aeneid*, Dido was destined to be the blocker of Aeneas since she clearly represented the stereotypical Eastern woman who seduces or corrupts the prototypical ideal Roman¹⁶. However, her role as *imperator* will not be diminished since one of the multiple innovations that Virgil brought to the epic poem was the "representation of women who undertake epic journeys", and Dido will be the most remarkable woman regarding this new

¹⁴ Herein it is important to mention that English and Romans conceive the notion of 'empire' in different ways. For the Romans the *imperium* as the already existing word expressed, it was associated with command, order, judicial and supreme power. In contrast, for the English, as for nowadays understanding, 'empire' stands for a nation and its conquered territories which are ruled in unity by an authority.

¹⁵ The term 'blocker' is taken from Helene P. Foley's article on "Women in Ancient Epic" (2005) with its original sense which refers to the goddesses or mortal females (as in this case) who handicap or impede the action of the hero in an ancient epic (106).

¹⁶ Several African writers such as Tertullian opposed to this election since they considered that Virgil perverted the original story of Dido, which was considered an example of fidelity and chastity as the version of the commenter Servius claims to be (Fernández-Corte 43).

role (Keith 132)¹⁷. First, when Venus describes Dido to Aeneas as “a woman [who] leads the enterprise” (*dux femina facti*) (*Aen.* 1.364), (a phrase that as Foley (115) claims could also resemble Cleopatra and her undisputable leadership of a powerful Egyptian nation and armada, based on the fact that some scholars, such as J.C. Fernández-Corte (45), claim that the story of Virgil’s Dido and Aeneas could represent allegorically the love stories of Cleopatra with Julius Caesar and the general Mark Anthony if the Carthaginian queen is seen as the woman who led them into perdition). Secondly, when Aeneas is looking at the frieze at the temple of Juno representing scenes involving Amazonian Penthesilea previous to the entrance of Dido (Keith 135):

Raging Penthesilea leads the file of Amazons,
with crescent shields, and shines out among her thousands,
her golden girdle fastened beneath her exposed breasts,
a virgin warrior daring to fight with men.

(*Aen.* 1. 490-493)

This is in fact the side of Virgil’s Dido that Marlowe will explore and emphasise in *Dido, Queen of Carthage* since it matches with Queen Elizabeth’s role as *imperator* and since the English writer counted with some literary antecedents which already presented this resemblance between the two queens. Previous to the publication date of the play, as Stump indicates, there was a certain interest among the English court on the myth of Dido since in 1564 “Edward Halliwell staged a Latin play entitled *Dido* (now lost) before the Queen at Cambridge”, a play which boosted the interest of Elizabeth’s panegyric writers on her myth (80). In fact, it inspired William Gager to write the play also called *Dido*, which was performed for the Queen during a royal visit at Oxford in 1583, and which epilogue suggested the notorious resemblances between the Carthaginian queen and the English one in terms of her status as an *imperium* founder (80). It was also a connection to which Elizabethans were familiar as it is going to be presented. As Weber (140) indicates, the resemblance between Queen Elizabeth and Virgil’s Dido in terms of “sea power” are obvious, since both of them are the possessors of powerful fleets as a result of their condition of *imperators*. In fact, there is evidence that connects both queens, since according to Weber (141) “Elizabeth’s Armada victory was commemorated on coins

¹⁷ For instance previous to the first encounter between Aeneas and Dido, scenes that suggest the role of the Carthaginian queen as an expedition leader are presented in order to warn the Roman hero about her power.

inscribed with the phrase (*dux femina facti*)”, the phrase that Venus uses in order to describe the Carthaginian queen to Aeneas¹⁸. However, such positive resemblances ended when the negotiations of the French marriage started, becoming the new depictions of Queen Elizabeth more focused on the “self-destructive desires that led Dido’s fall” (Stump 81). As Foley states (114-115):

The *Aeneid* evokes admiration for Dido’s courage in founding Carthage, building a city, and dispensing law and justice. But once in love, Dido neglects her duties, betrays her first husband by entering into a liaison with Aeneas, incurs the wrath of native African suitors, and ends by fomenting future enmity between Carthage and Rome with her curse.

The same was happening with Queen Elizabeth and her courtship. English people were afraid that their queen will let England in the hands of the irresponsible Duke of Anjou or that she would basically ‘sell’ England to the French. Hence, in order to warn the queen about the dangerous consequences that this courtship will cause not only to her but also to England, new portraits of the queen included references to Dido’s story as a warning signal. According to Stump (81) an example of this depiction could be the *Sieve Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I* by the Dutch Quentin Massys the Younger of 1583 (see Fig. 1.). The English Queen is portrayed next to elements that remind the viewer of her status as *imperator* (i.e. the globe), but most importantly next to her “the story of Dido and Aeneas is depicted in a series of nine gold inlays” (81). What is more, behind the monarch, Sir Christopher Hatton, an openly opposing of the French marriage appears as well as the King Philip of Spain, two suitors who were already rejected by the queen (81-82). Consequently, it is obvious that as a result of the combination of those elements, this portrait was already making a comparison with the French marriage situation to Dido and Aeneas’ and hence to the possible end of Queen Elizabeth.

Thus, as it has been proved it could be very possible that Marlowe was aware of the recurrent thematic connection between Queen Elizabeth and Dido regarding their role as *imperatores*. Due to the very possible familiarity of the Elizabethans with this connection,

¹⁸ As it has been said this phrase can remind of Cleopatra. For instance, for further reading regarding Elizabeth’s similarities with the Egyptian queen, see “Queen Elizabeth I ‘Shadowed’ in Cleopatra” by Hellen Morris, University of California Press, 1969, pp.271-278, which claims that resemblances between the two queens are also perceivable in Shakespeare’s play *Antony and Cleopatra*.

Dido became the best suitor for Marlowe in order to disguise his queen and her issue with his main suitor, the Duke of Anjou. As a result, Marlowe inverted the traditional roles of Dido as the blocker of Aeneas, since it was the Duke of Anjou (Aeneas) who became the blocking element in Queen Elizabeth's (Dido) reign.



Fig. 1. Massys the Younger, Quentin. *Sieve Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I*. 1583, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, Italy.

3.2. Dido and Aeneas

Proves that the roles within Virgil's Dido and Aeneas' relationship invert in *Dido, Queen of Carthage* are found directly on the literary work itself. As the title of the play predicts, Dido will be the one and only protagonist in Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, leaving this way the Roman hero on a secondary plane. Consequently, her figure as *imperator* will be strengthened in contrast with the figure of a lost and undecided Aeneas who will end being an obstacle to her reign. For instance, the scene in which Dido and Aeneas first meet is a clear example of this difference of status, since it must be by the help of Ilioneus' information that the queen realises in front of whom she really is:

DIDO. What stranger art thou, that dost eye me thus?

AENEAS. Sometime I was a Trojan, mighty queen:

But Troy is not; - what shall I say I am?

ILIONEUS. Renownèd Dido, 'tis our general,

Warlike Aeneas.

DIDO. Warlike Aeneas! and in these base robes?

Go, fetch the garment which Sicheus wore.

(*Dido* 2.1.106-115)

As a result, unlike in Virgil's first encounter where Dido "is amazed at the hero's [god-like] looks" (*Aen.* 1.613), in Marlowe's meet an image of a queen receiving a vagabond-like man is projected (Stump 89).

In addition, due to the election of Marlowe of placing Dido as the protagonist, the tragedy of the original story accentuates. As Gamel points out, Virgil text, and especially Dido's passage (book IV), contained many potential tragedy oriented formal and thematic elements, such as "the agonistic speeches" or "her thoughts on imitating the savage violence of Medea and Atreus" (613). Hence, Marlowe by electing Dido as the protagonist chooses to exploit the potential tragedy twist of the epic poem (613). In fact, the influence of this election is noticeable in the new structure that Marlowe showcases. The English writer shortens Aeneas's recounts of the Fall of Troy, which occupy the whole book II of the *Aeneid*, into four large soliloquies (see the soliloquies on the Appendix), and also emphasises its tragedy dramatizing the events, e.g.: "Young infants swimming in their parents' blood!/Headless carcasses piled up in heaps!" (*Dido* 2.1.249-250) (613). As a result of this new distribution, Marlowe gives preference to the story of the Queen of Carthage almost silencing Aeneas' one.

Indeed, regarding the role of love, a big influence from Ovid, the so-called 'poet of love', can be perceivable. Taking into consideration that Marlowe was surely familiar with Ovid's works and probably knew the letter of 'Dido to Aeneas' from the *Heroides*, it could have influenced the author to present an *imperator* Dido but also in love. At the same time, as Gamel states "Marlowe's Dido [...] is forced to fall in love with Aeneas [...]" (616). This does not exclude the fact that Dido did fall in love in the *Aeneid*, but it is Aeneas in that

case who seems to be forced by the gods to fall in love with the Carthaginian Queen. In *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, since Dido is the protagonist, she will be the chosen victim of Juno and Venus' complot in order their desires to be satisfied and they will provoke this way Dido to fall in love with the Roman hero. Although, there is no explicit scene where Cupid wounds Dido with his arrow through the whole first scene of the third act, her character changes immediately after having Cupid disguised as Ascanius close to her breast, and starts contradicting herself and insulting Iarbas and everyone who opposed to her relationship with Aeneas (Gamel 618). In fact, her relationship with Aeneas was causing the queen to lose popularity among her citizens, since for Carthaginian people she was dishonouring her husband's memory. In the end, she is so drunk for Aeneas' love that she cares little about her reign and her sister has to remember her who she is (5.1.339-340) (Gamel 618). Consequently, after recovering her composure, the queen realises that suicide is the only option in order to return her dignity back, and so did she.

3.1.1. Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou

As Donald Stump (95) points out, "Marlowe's formal study of the *Aeneid* took place in the years 1579-81, precisely when Elizabeth was most actively pursuing marriage negotiations with the Duke of Anjou". Hence, this could be the a definite proof that one of the objectives of Marlowe with this play was also to criticize a blind queen who was able to let in the hands of the irresponsible Duke of Anjou her *imperium* (Stump 96). Taking into consideration the presented inversion of roles, the connections between Virgil's Dido and Queen Elizabeth, and the political background of Marlowe, it is impossible not to be reminded of Queen Elizabeth's courtship with the Duke of Anjou by these new roles of Dido and Aeneas. In fact, such strong are the similarities that Dido and Aeneas share with their 16th century counterparts that it will be easy for the reader to guess who is really hiding behind Aeneas, once realising that Dido is Queen Elizabeth.

The relationship between Marlowe's Dido and Aeneas share the same agenda as the courtship between Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou to expand her empire. As Dido sees in Aeneas an opportunity to create a great *imperium* "to war against [her] bordering enemies" (3.1.200), similarly Queen Elizabeth sees in the Duke of Anjou a chance to merge the Kingdom of England with the French, following her obsession with being "the dominant power in Europe" (Saleh 20). What is more, this resemblance between the queens

confirms when Marlowe intentionally names Dido “Eliza” (4.2.13), changing her Phoenician name “Elissa”¹⁹ into the queen of England’s name (Stump 84).

However, the election of the Duke of Anjou to be his suitor will cause her more trouble than happiness as Aeneas to Dido. For instance, the arrival of the Duke of Anjou to the coasts of England is very similar to the arrival of Aeneas to the coasts of Libya (Stump 89). Aeneas arrived after a storm to Carthaginian shores, having a noticeably deteriorated appearance as it is pointed out when Ilioneus hears Aeneas voice in Dido’s palace: “I hear Aeneas' voice, but see him not,/For none of these can be our general” (2.1.59-60), or when Dido first meets the Roman hero: “Warlike Aeneas! and in these base robes?” (2.1.114) (Stump 89). Similarly, the Duke of Anjou arrived in England in 1579 after a tremendous storm and in order not to arouse a public scandal, he had to disguise himself as a Frenchman, arriving this way in such plain attires that no one could identify him as a noble (Stump 99-100). In fact, likewise Ilioneus, Sergestus and Cloanthus, the emissary of the French Prince arrived earlier, acquired better clothes than the actual prince, and was already enjoying of the royal palace’s food as Aeneas’ mates.

Besides their appearances, what really meant an obstacle to Dido and to Queen Elizabeth in their political careers was their suitors’ weak nature. An example of that nature is their behaviour at the battle. In the massacre of Paris on Saint Bartholomew’s Day in 1572, the Huguenots (French Protestants) and the Catholics fight against each other, as a result to the insurrection of the first ones it is estimated that the Catholics killed around 3000 Huguenots in Paris²⁰ (Simkin as cited in Saleh 70). Regarding the performance of the Duke of Anjou, after the massacre, a story circulated saying that the Duke run away in the middle of the battle and that his mother gave shelter to him (Stubbs as cited in Stump 101). For instance, this event will be present in Marlowe’s mind while writing the play. He will portray the lamentable behaviour of the French Prince through the figure of Aeneas, suggesting that he could have done more at the battle or even avoid the killing (Stump 101).

¹⁹ For instance, her Phoenician name was already used by Ovid in the epistolary compilation of poems, the *Heroides*, in order to address Dido. As it can be noticeable in the epistle VII called ‘Dido to Aeneas’, the Carthaginian queen addresses herself by her native name: “Dardanian, receive this song of dying Elissa [...]” (7.1). Hence, it could be another hint to prove that Marlowe was also influenced by Virgil’s contemporary poet at the time of drafting her Dido.

²⁰ More specifically, “[...] the Catholic state followed a policy of extermination that aimed to eradicate the Huguenots by all means, including killing, burning and crucifixion” (Saleh 70).

Consequently, unlike Virgil's Aeneas who fights until the end in order to rescue his people and the royal family, Marlowe's Aeneas similarly to the Duke of Anjou, guided by his mother Venus runs away and lets Pyrrhus kill Priam and Hecuba (2.1.281-283) (Stump 101).

Furthermore, Marlowe also represents the terrible consequences that the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day caused to the English queen. Although many French Protestants died, many Christian soldiers did also. Hence, the killing of soldiers added to the lamentable performance of the suitor of the queen, caused a feeling of disenchantment among Elizabeth's followers and a downfall of her reputation (Stump 102). In fact, Marlowe portrays the "public uproar" giving more prominence to Iarbas, who could be identified with the Earl of Leicester, English monarch's previous suitor who was also lurking behind one of her ladies as the North African King with Anna (Stump 99). Consequently, as it is perceivable in the words of Dido "Hast thou forgot how many neighbour kings/Were up in arms, for making thee my love/How Carthage did rebel, Iarbas storm" (5.1.188-190) (Stump 99), Queen Elizabeth was pretty aware of the problems that her relationship with Duke of Anjou was causing not only among society but also among the high spheres.

4. Queen Elizabeth as a Divinity: Virgil's Jupiter and Elizabeth

The aim of this section will be to analyse how Marlowe also represents allegorically the facet of Queen Elizabeth as the 'head' of religion through the Roman deity, Jupiter. The English playwright was, as well as his contemporaries, very aware of the double power of Queen Elizabeth. She did not only have the political and military control over the kingdom, but she was also the 'Supreme Governor of the Church of England', a title that basically placed her as the maximum authority regarding religion in England. This privileged position facilitated her person to become divinized by her followers and consequently enabled her to find a justification in order to involve England into numerous wars against the Catholic Kingdoms (e.g. the Catholic monarchies of Spain and France) in the name of God. An attitude that reminds the reader of the one of Jupiter in *Dido, Queen of Carthage*. The reason behind this resemblance resides in the fact that Marlowe is hiding Queen Elizabeth behind the supreme deity of the Roman pantheon. For instance, the *Aeneid's*

books I-IV already contained a Jupiter who allegorically represented the ‘head’ of the religion of Virgil’s époque: *princeps* Augustus, who was also considered a divinity. Hence, due to the several connections between the English monarch and Augustus, Virgil’s Jupiter was the best suitor for Marlowe in order to represent allegorically Queen Elizabeth as a divinity as it will be proved. Nevertheless, before proceeding to explore the allegorical representation of Queen Elizabeth through Jupiter, it is fundamental to have a glimpse of how Virgil allegorically represented the *princeps* Augustus’ status as the maximum authority of the Roman religion via the supreme god of the Roman pantheon: Jupiter.

As scholars, such as Julia Hejduk, suggest that Virgil’s Jupiter could represent the divinization of the *princeps* Augustus, since the Roman poet depicts an unapproachable deity who provided of that position cares little about the consequences that his actions cause on the mortals (280). Taking into consideration that Virgil probably wrote the epic poem under the influence of Augustus, part of these resemblances could be a result of Augustus’ requirements in order to acquire his wanted connection with the supreme deity. As Orlin (77) claims since Roman religion “lack[ed] of a prophetic tradition”, the *princeps* might wanted the *Aeneid* to be the very first book that provided the so-aimed common narrative and he indeed succeeded. Consequently, following this approach, Jupiter could be considered the symbolical founder of the Roman religion, similarly to the *princeps* who “founded a new religious system that expanded the boundaries of Romanness” (92). For instance, Augustus will rely in this connection with Jupiter in order to justify his status as the head of his old but at the same time new Roman religion. Furthermore, Jupiter, himself, reveals the divine ancestry of the *princeps*, to which this last one will hold to justify his religious authority:

From this glorious source a Trojan Caesar will be born,
who will bound the empire with Ocean, his fame with the stars,
Augustus, a Julius, his name descended from the great Iulus.

(*Aeneid* 1.287-289)

Jupiter attaches to the figure of the Caesar the qualities of having fame as big as the one of the stars and an empire that only the Ocean will be able to bound, all the attributes that Augustus wanted. What is more, these lines could hide Augustus’ desire of being

connected with the divinity, since Jupiter also desires to have a twin (“Trojan Cesar”) to rule Rome and be worshiped (Hejduk 290).

Therefore, helped by the familiarity that the Romans had with the figure of this deity as a “chief god” and with the subsequent readers’ expectations regarding this role, it was very easy for Virgil to suit the deity for the religious context of his époque (280). As a result of the strong influence that Augustus had on Roman religion along with the previous references, the reader is almost forced to interpret Jupiter as a person rather than a principle or an idea (e.g. Fate) (281). For this reason, Virgil portrays a personified Jupiter who as it will be presented reminds of Augustus since his anxieties does not go “beyond power and adulation” (280).

Similarly, this obsession with self-divinization will connect Queen Elizabeth with the *princeps* Augustus. Regarding the English monarch, her grandfather, Henry VII, already claimed to have an ancestral connection with the legendary King Arthur in order to justify his right to be the king of England and his role as “God’s agent” (Levin 5). Queen Elizabeth as the *princeps* reached to divinization by the own recognition of their people, but she also acquired a divine connection in order to justify her reign. For instance, likewise Augustus’ godlike status as a result of possessing the title of *Pontifex Maximus*, Elizabeth was entitled as the ‘Supreme Governor of Church’, and she was referred to by the English as ‘the Virgin Queen’; titles that directly converted the queen into the representation of god’s will on earth (Levin 21; Saleh 19-20). As a result, likewise with Augustus’ ‘Imperial cult’ people started to devote “as much time to the worship of Elizabeth as to the worship of God” (Walter as cited in Levin 27). What is more, Augustus’ connection with Jupiter, the protector of the Roman people, made them believe that Augustus was the reason for their greatness (Fears as cited in Hejduk 281). Such attributes completely recall the perspective that the English had of Queen Elizabeth as a divinity who was leading England to supremacy. These resemblances are the reason why there is the possibility that Marlowe’s Jupiter as the supreme divinity he is, could be representing allegorically Elizabeth’s divinization and her lack of empathy with her people’s suffering due to her sometimes irresponsible decisions.

However, it is interesting to give first an account of how even though Marlowe’s aim was to criticise the Queen’s divinization, he did not make explicit reference either any

direct offence to any kind of religion (Saleh 63). Besides their lack of religious content, Marlowe's deities in *Dido, Queen of Carthage* (Jupiter, Venus and Juno) and more specifically Jupiter will be depicted as selfish and narcissistic deities who are "concerned only with status and pleasure, using human beings only to satisfy their desires" (Gamel 614). Characteristics that will obviously recall the reader of Queen Elizabeth's despotic behaviour as a result of her divinization.

For instance, that connection of Queen Elizabeth with the divine realm will be explored by Dido and her connection to her godlike alter ego: Jupiter. As Preedy claims there are several instances where Dido "acknowledges the connection between heaven's dictates and her royal position" (269). For instance, those 'heaven's dictates' are executed by the father of all the gods, Jupiter, the one that as the plea of Iarbas reveals, it is the deity who has given the reign to Dido (*Dido* 4.2.14-18) (268). Taking into consideration that, as it has been analysed in the previous section, Queen Elizabeth's role as *imperator* is represented allegorically through Dido, hence this could recall of Elizabeth justifying her status as a monarch due to god's command, i.e. herself. In addition, Dido (Queen Elizabeth), will self-identity as a goddess in order to justify her authority (270):

The air wherein they breathe, the water, fire,
All that they have, their lands, their goods, their lives,
And I, the goddess of all these [...]

(*Dido* 4.4.104- 106)

Thus, it is possible that Jupiter could be the divine alter ego of Dido, or in other words, that Jupiter represents allegorically Queen Elizabeth's god-like position on the basis of the fact that Dido also represents the English monarch. Moreover, that divine position will enable the English queen to behave in a selfish way and enter into wars with the Catholic kingdoms without considering if that was the best for her people. As Saleh claims the figure of Marlowe's Jupiter represents the irresponsible Queen Elizabeth and her ignorance of the English people's interests in order to achieve her geopolitical desires through her god-like status (63). Therefore, Marlowe presents Jupiter as an "indifferent" deity who cares little about the voyage of Aeneas (the English), and only takes action in order his desires to be satisfied (64). For instance, as it can be seen at his very first intervention: "Come, gentle Ganymede, and play with me: /I love thee well, say Juno what

she will” (*Dido* 1.1.1-2), the reader can perceive that “chaotic” image of a god who is more interested in ‘playing’ with a young boy rather than looking after the Aeneas and the Trojans (65). Thus, Marlowe portrays a “careless go[d] who lead human beings to destruction throughout their playfulness” (62), an attitude that clearly recalls the reader of Queen Elizabeth’s insistence on involving into wars against the Christian kingdoms of Europe, which sometimes were not necessary and caused the death of hundreds of English soldiers, and sometimes the non-payment of their service (63). This first scene also serves to boost the image of an imperfect god who strikingly has homosexual conducts, which was in fact an atheist conduct improper for a god’s image (62). This way, Marlowe could be as well criticising the fact that there was not such a perfect god-like queen and that the settlement of Protestantism was a mere tool in order to indoctrinate people, since even the closest being to god had improper or atheist conducts.

5. Conclusion

In light of the presented analysis, the main conclusion that can be extracted is that Marlowe undeniably used Virgil’s *Aeneid* as a source of models in *Dido, Queen of Carthage* in order to represent allegorically Queen Elizabeth’s different statuses. As it has been showcased, Dido was the best suitor in order to portray Queen Elizabeth’s role as *imperator* and correspondingly, Jupiter was the perfect model in order to depict the English monarch’s divinity-like status. Consequently, it can be deduced that Marlowe elected Dido and Jupiter as his models for two main reasons. Firstly, the similitudes that Queen Elizabeth shared with the original roles of Dido as an *imperium* ruler and Jupiter’s status as the supreme deity of Roman religion could have had an influence on the writer’s decision to use them in order to mask Elizabeth’s duality. Secondly, it could be the fact Virgil’s Dido and Jupiter already represented allegorically the historical figures of Cleopatra and *princeps* Augustus, two figures that suggest a big resemblance to Queen Elizabeth in her role as *imperator* and her divinization. Moreover, from the presented analysis it can also be concluded that the English writer does not only merely criticise the imperial power and divinization of Queen Elizabeth, but he also mocks the irresponsible decisions that the monarch was making as a result of her status. As it has been pointed out there was an already existing tradition (e.g. Edward Halliwell and William Gager plays, the commemorative coinage, and Quentin Massys the Younger’s ‘Sieve Portrait of Queen

Elizabeth I') that made possible for the public to recognize that Dido was hiding behind Queen Elizabeth. On the one hand, regarding her position as *imperator*, Marlowe portrays the public uproar and the popularity downfall that the French marriage negotiations were causing to her figure. On the other hand, focusing on her status as a divinity, the English playwright depicts the lack of sensitivity of the English monarch in regard to the hundreds of deaths that her wars in the name of God were causing.

6. References

- Beard, M., et al. *Religions of Rome*. Vol. 1, Cambridge University Press, 1998. *World History*, [http://www.worldhistory.biz/download567/Beard_-_Religions_of_Rome,_Vol.1_A_History_\(1996\).pdf](http://www.worldhistory.biz/download567/Beard_-_Religions_of_Rome,_Vol.1_A_History_(1996).pdf). Accessed 4 June 2020.
- Carroll, C. "Humanism and English literature in the fifteenth and sixteenth century." *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*, edited by J. Kraye, Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 246–268, <https://doi-org.ehu.idm.oclc.org/10.1017/CCOL0521430380>. Accessed 4 June 2020.
- Dido, Queen of Carthage* by Christopher Marlowe and Thomas Nashe 1585-6. *An Annotated Collection of Elizabethan plays: Elizabethan Drama .org*, 2017, <http://elizabethandrama.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/Dido-Queen-of-Carthage-Annotated.pdf>. Accessed 2 June 2020.
- Fernández-Corte, J. C., editor. *Virgilio. Eneida*. Translated by A. Espinosa Pólit, Ediciones Cátedra S.A., 1989.
- Foley, H. P. "Women in Ancient Epic." *A Companion to Ancient Epic*, edited by John Miles Foley, Blackwell Publishing, 2005, pp. 105-118.
- Gamel, M. "The Triumph of Cupid: Marlowe's Dido Queen of Carthage." *American Journal of Philology*, vol. 126, no. 4, 2005, pp. 613-622, <https://search-proquest-com.ehu.idm.oclc.org/docview/223133586/fulltextPDF/47E08E3515C049B7PQ/1?accountid=17248>. Accessed 28 May 2020.
- Hejduk, J. "Jupiter's Aeneid: *Fama* and *Imperium*." *Classical Antiquity*, vol. 28, no. 2, 2009, pp. 279-327, <https://online.ucpress.edu/ca/article/28/2/279/25463/Jupiter-s-Aeneid-Fama-and-Imperium>. Accessed 11 June 2020.
- Keith, A. "Women's Travel's in the *Aeneid*." *The Epic Journey in Greek and Roman Literature*, edited by T. Biggs & J. Blum, Cambridge University Press, 2019, pp. 130-144, <https://www.cambridge-org.ehu.idm.oclc.org/core/books/epic-journey-in-greek->

- [and-roman-literature/D3A30218DD22C0F5548CD703BAA041C5](#). Accessed 29 May 2020.
- Levin, C. *The Reign of Elizabeth I*. Palgrave, 2002. Springer, <https://link-springer-com.ehu.idm.oclc.org/book/10.1007%2F978-1-4039-1939-7>. Accessed 4 June 2020.
- McMullin, J. E. *Augustus' Use of Religion to Secure Order, Stability, and Power in Rome*. Master thesis. Missouri State University, 2004, <https://search-proquest-com.ehu.idm.oclc.org/docview/305054400/9907927E2582481EPQ/1?accountid=17248>. Accessed 5 June 2020.
- Morley, N. “‘They Make a Desert and Call it Peace’: The Nature of Roman Rule.” *The Roman Empire: Roots of Imperialism*. Pluto Press, 2010, pp. 38-69, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt183pb5x> . Accessed 6 June 2020.
- Orlin, M. E. “Augustan Religion And The Reshaping Of Roman Memory.” *Arethusa*, vol. 40, no. 1, 2007, pp. 73-92, <https://search-proquest-com.ehu.idm.oclc.org/docview/221119919?OpenUrlRefId=info:xri/sid:wcdiscovery&accountid=17248>. Accessed 5 June 2020.
- Ovid. *The Heroides*. Translated by A.S. Kline, 2001. *Poetry in Translation*. <https://www.poetryintranslation.com/klineasheroides.php>. Accessed 28 July 2020.
- Preedy, C. K. “(De)Valuing the Crown in *Tamburlaine*, *Dido Queen of Carthage*, and *Edward II*.”, *Studies in English Literature*, vol. 54, no. 2, 2014, pp. 259-277, <https://search-proquest-com.ehu.idm.oclc.org/docview/1530597960/fulltextPDF/62FAA2EC9DE54C68PQ/1?accountid=17248>. Accessed 6 July 2020.
- Riggs, D. “Marlowe’s life.” *The Cambridge Companion to Christopher Marlowe*, edited by P. Cheney, Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 24-40, <https://doi-org.ehu.idm.oclc.org/10.1017/CCOL0521820340>. Accessed 5 June 2020.

- Saleh Alguzo, N. I. “*Religion but a Childish Toy*”: ‘Atheism’ and Cynicism in the Life and Drama of Christopher Marlowe. PhD dissertation. Indiana University of Pennsylvania, 2012, <https://search-proquest-com.ehu.idm.oclc.org/docview/1033213398/F69E0900CB0A4DB0PQ/1?accountid=17248>, Accessed 2 June 2020.
- Stump, D. “Marlowe’s Travesty of Virgil: *Dido* and Elizabethan Dream of Empire.” *Comparative Drama*, vol. 34, no. 1, 2000, pp. 613-622, <https://search-proquest-com.ehu.idm.oclc.org/docview/211708677/fulltextPDF/E19E4640516C4480PQ/1?accountid=17248>. Accessed 28 May 2020.
- Virgil. *The Aeneid*. Translated by A.S. Kline, 2002. *Poetry in Translation*. <https://www.poetryintranslation.com/klineasaeneid.php>. Accessed 2 June 2020.
- Weber, C. “Intimations of Dido and Cleopatra in Some Contemporary Portrayals of Elizabeth I.” *Studies in Philology*, vol. 96, no. 2, 1999, pp. 127-143, <https://search-proquest-com.ehu.idm.oclc.org/docview/222462690/fulltextPDF/1D780531C4B24CA2PQ/1?accountid=17248>. Accessed 14 July 2020.

7. Appendix

Soliloquy 1

AENEAS. Then speak, Aeneas, with Achilles' tongue!

And Dido, and you Carthaginian peers,
Hear me! but yet with Myrmidons' harsh ears,
Daily inured to broils and massacres,
Lest you be moved too much with my sad tale.
The Grecian soldiers, tired with ten years' war,
Began to cry, "Let us unto our ships,
Troy is invincible. Why stay we here?"
With whose outcries Atrides being appalled,
Summoned the captains to his princely tent;
Who, looking on the scars we Trojans gave,
Seeing the number of their men decreased,
And the remainder weak, and out of heart,
Gave up their voices to dislodge the camp,
And so in troops all marched to Tenedos;
Where, when they came, Ulysses on the sand
Assayed with honey words to turn them back:
And as he spoke, to further his intent,
The winds did drive huge billows to the shore,
And Heaven was darkened with tempestuous clouds:
Then he alleged the gods would have them stay,
And prophesied Troy should be overcome:
And therewithal he called false Sinon forth,
A man compact of craft and perjury,
Whose ticing tongue was made of Hermes' pipe,
To force an hundred watchful eyes to sleep:
And him, Epeus having made the horse,
With sacrificing wreaths upon his head,
Ulysses sent to our unhappy town,
Who, grovelling in the mire of Xanthus' banks,
His hands bound at his back, and both his eyes

Turned up to Heaven, as one resolved to die,
Our Phrygian shepherds haled within the gates,
And brought unto the court of Priamus;
To whom he used action so pitiful,
Looks so remorseful, vows so forcible,
As therewithal the old man, overcome,
Kissed him, embraced him, and unloosed his bands.
And then, – O Dido, pardon me!

(Dido 2.1.177-215)

Soliloquy 2

AENEAS. Oh! the enchanting words of that base slave
Made him to think Epeus' pine-tree horse
A sacrifice t' appease Minerva's wrath;
The rather, for that one Laöcoön,
Breaking a spear upon his hollow breast,
Was with two wingèd serpents stung to death.
Whereat, aghast, we were commanded straight,
With reverence, to draw it into Troy,
In which unhappy work was I employed:
These hands did help to hale it to the gates,
Through which it could not enter, 'twas so huge.
O, had it never entered, Troy had stood!
But Priamus, impatient of delay,
Enforced a wide breach in that rampired wall,
Which thousand battering rams could never pierce,
And so came in this fatal instrument:
At whose accursèd feet, as overjoyed,
We banqueted, till, overcome with wine,
Some surfeited, and others soundly slept.
Which Sinon viewing, caused the Greekish spies
To haste to Tenedos, and tell the camp:
Then he unlocked the horse, and suddenly

From out his entrails, Neoptolemus,
 Setting his spear upon the ground, leaped forth,
 And after him a thousand Grecians more,
 In whose stern faces shined the quenchless
 That after burnt the pride of Asiä.
 By this the camp was come unto the walls,
 And through the breach did march into the streets,
 Where, meeting with the rest, "Kill! Kill!" they cried.
 Frighted with this confused noise, I rose,
 And looking from a turret, might behold
 Young infants swimming in their parents' blood!
 Headless carcasses piled up in heaps!
 Virgins, half-dead, dragged by their golden hair,
 And with main force flung on a ring of pikes!
 Old men with swords thrust through their aged sides,
 Kneeling for mercy to a Greekish lad,
 Who, with steel pole-axes, dashed out their brains.
 Then buckled I mine armour, drew my sword,
 And thinking to go down, came Hector's ghost,
 With ashy visage, bluish sulphur eyes,
 His arms torn from his shoulders, and his breast
 Furrowed with wounds, and, that which made me weep,
 Thongs at his heels, by which Achilles' horse
 Drew him in triumph through the Greekish camp,
 Burst from the earth, crying "Aeneas, fly,
 Troy is a-fire! the Grecians have the town!"

(Dido 2.1.219-266)

Soliloquy 3

AENEAS. Yet flung I forth, and, desperate of my life,
 Ran in the thickest throngs, and, with this sword,
 Sent many of their savage ghosts to hell.
 At last came Pyrrhus, fell and full of ire,
 His harness dropping blood, and on his spear

The mangled head of Priam's youngest son;
And, after him, his band of Myrmidons,
With balls of wild-fire in their murdering paws,
Which made the funeral-flame that burnt fair Troy;
All which hemmed me about, crying, "This is he!"
[...]

My mother, Venus, jealous of my health,
Conveyed me from their crooked nets and bands;
So I escaped the furious Pyrrhus' wrath:
Who then ran to the palace of the king,
And at Jove's altar finding Priamus,
About whose withered neck hung Hecuba,
Folding his hand in her's, and jointly both
Beating their breasts, and falling on the ground,
He, with his faulchion's point raised up at once,
And with Megaera's eyes stared in their face,
Threat'ning a thousand deaths at every glance;
To whom the agèd king thus trembling spoke: –
"Achilles' son, remember what I was,
Father of fifty sons, but they are slain;
Lord of my fortune, but my fortune's turned!
King of this city, but my Troy is fired!
And now am neither father, lord, nor king!
Yet who so wretched but desires to live?
O, let me live, great Neoptolemus!"
Not moved at all, but smiling at his tears,
This butcher, whilst his hands were yet held up,
Treading upon his breast, strook off his hands.

(Dido 2.1. 270-304)

Soliloquy 4

AENEAS. At which the frantic queen leaped on his face,
And in his eyelids hanging by the nails,

A little while prolonged her husband's life.
At last the soldiers pulled her by the heels,
And swong her howling in the empty air,
Which sent an echo to the wounded king:
Whereat, he lifted up his bed-red limbs,
And would have grappled with Achilles' son,
Forgetting both his want of strength and hands;
Which he, disdainingly, whisked his sword about,
And with the wound thereof the king fell down;
Then from the navel to the throat at once
He ripped old Priam, at whose latter gasp,
Jove's marble statue gan to bend the brow,
As loathing Pyrrhus for this wicked act.
Yet he, undaunted, took his father's flag,
And dipped it in the old king's chill-cold blood,
And then in triumph ran into the streets,
Through which he could not pass for slaughtered men;
So, leaning on his sword, he stood stone still,
Viewing the fire wherewith rich Ilion burned.
By this, I got my father on my back,
This young boy in mine arms, and by the hand
Led fair Creusa, my beloved wife;
When thou, Achates, with thy sword mad'st way,
And we were round environed with the Greeks,
O there I lost my wife! and had not we
Fought manfully, I had not told this tale.
Yet manhood would not serve; of force we fled;
And as we went unto our ships, thou know'st
We saw Cassandra sprawling in the streets,
Whom Ajax ravished in Diana's fane
Her cheeks swollen with sighs, her hair all rent,
Whom I took up to bear unto our ships;
But suddenly the Grecians followed us,
And I, alas! was forced to let her lie.

Then got we to our ships, and, being aboard,
Polyxena cried out, "Aeneas! stay!
The Greeks pursue me! stay, and take me in!"
Moved with her voice, I leaped into the sea,
Thinking to bear her on my back aboard,
For all our ships were launched into the deep,
And, as I swam, she, standing on the shore,
Was by the cruel Myrmidons surprised,
And after by that Pyrrhus sacrificed.

(Dido 2.1.308-352)