SONGS OF THE DYING SWAN: DIDO, AENEAS, AND THE DIVINE IN 14TH THROUGH 16TH CENTURY LITERARY ADAPTATIONS

An Undergraduate Research Scholars Thesis

By

RYAN ANSLEY MALIA RANDLE

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ABSTRACT

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Ryan Ansley Malia Randle
Department of English
Texas A&M University

Research Advisor: Dr. Britt Mize
Department of English
Texas A&M University

Literature Review

Within the sphere of research regarding 14th to 16th century English adaptions of the story of Aeneas, the primary emphasis up to this point has been a comparison of his status as a hero acting upon a moral code to the knights and chivalric code of Medieval English literature. For example in Joanna Scott's paper regarding the multiple manifestations of Aeneas in medieval English literature she argued that scholars constructed Aeneas "as one of its mythical ancestors" (Scott 64). Also discussed in great depth is the literary parallel between his role in founding the civilization of Rome and Middle English Arthurian tales regarding the formation of Camelot and the Round Table. In his article, Irving Singer interpreted the affair between Aeneas and Dido as "a testing of his objective commitment" (Singer 769), to Aeneas ultimately founding Rome. Not nearly as much level of analysis is expended on his romance with Dido within early English adaptions with exception to Chaucer's retelling of their love affair in *The Legend of Good Women* and *The House of Fame*. Louis Brewer Hall's article regarding the immediate sources for Chaucer's adaption of the *Aeneid* goes through great lengths to discuss five "techniques in medievalizing the Aeneid" (Hall 149), but fails to mention the influence of Ovid, particularly in

the *Heroides*, in either *The House of Fame* or his epistle from Dido to Aeneas in *The Legend of Good Women*.

Thesis Statement

My research objective is to find out how the depictions of the god(s) within classical Latin source texts and the early English adaptations of the tragic love story of Aeneas and Dido ranging from the 14th to 16th century frame the way we perceive the actions and character of the mortals it concerns. The purpose of looking at the relationship between the depiction of divinity to the perception of the human characters within the story of Aeneas and Dido before and across the English Reformation is to see if there is a notable shift in more Catholic to more Protestant sentiments and undertones across this period of time.

Theoretical Framework

To answer this research question I will first be reviewing the relevant sections of three source texts from Virgil and Ovid, which include the *Aeneid*, the *Metamorphoses*, and the *Heroides*. After that I will be analyzing various Middle English and early Modern English translations, retellings, and adaptations of the Aeneas and Dido narrative from these Classical texts to see how medieval authors chose to represent the higher powers at work and the repercussions of those choices.

Project Description

This will be an analysis of the literary and cultural significance of changes regarding divinity between the Classical source and English texts. To reveal these changes this thesis paper will focus on three major points of stress for adapters of the story. The first is the mechanism by which Dido fell in love with Aeneas, the second is the depiction of Iarbas and his prayer to Jove, and the third is the agency of Juno amongst the other gods and goddesses.

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this research thesis to Dr. Kallendorf for exposing me to the *Aeneid* last year. My unanswered questions about the nature of divinity, free will, and politics of the gods within this work have pushed me towards my current project.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Dr. Craig Kallendorf, Dr. Nancy Warren, and Dr. Britt Mize for all sparking my interest in Classical and Medieval literature. If I had not taken their excellent courses, or received advice and guidance from them along the way this would not have been possible. Additionally, I would like to thank Dr. Laura Mandel and Dr. Britt Mize for helping me through the writing process of this research paper.

The help provided to me by Colby Lorenz in scanning Latin verse I cannot understate. I am sure Vergil and Ovid would have appreciated it as well if they had a look at my translations before and after you corrected them.

I would also like to thank my fellow Glasscock Undergraduate Summer Scholars for being pillars of support and empathy throughout this process of writing and presenting my research. Additionally, I would like to thank my thoughtful and ever-patient boyfriend for listening to my conspiracy theories, musings, trials, and tribulations throughout this summer up to the completion of this project. Justin, you know way more about medieval adaptation than you probably should but hopefully one of my fun facts comes in handy during one of those rambunctious Facebook socials you will be going to this summer.

Finally, I would like to recognize the programs that facilitated my research including the Glasscock Humanities Center, LAUNCH, and the University Writing Center. The Glasscock Undergraduate Summer Scholars program is a joint initiative among the Melbern G. Glasscock Center for Humanities Research, LAUNCH: Undergraduate Research, and the University Writing Center.

INTRODUCTION

Within the sphere of research regarding 14th to 16th century English adaptations of the story of Aeneas, the primary emphasis up to this point has been a comparison of his status as a hero acting upon a moral code to the knights and chivalric code of Medieval English literature. For example in Joanna Scott's paper regarding the multiple manifestations of Aeneas in medieval English literature she argued that scholars constructed Aeneas "as one of its mythical ancestors"[1] (64). Also discussed in great depth is the literary parallel between his role in founding the civilization of Rome and Middle English Arthurian tales regarding the formation of Camelot and the Round Table. In his article, Irving Singer interpreted the affair between Aeneas and Dido as "a testing of his objective commitment"[2] (769), to Aeneas ultimately founding Rome. Not nearly as much level of analysis is expended on his romance with Dido within early English adaptations with exception to Chaucer's retelling of their love affair in *The Legend of Good Women* and *The House of Fame*, but even then, the primary lens of analysis is a feminist one that looks at Chaucer's reinventions of the *Aeneid* without addressing its other contemporary adaptations. Louis Brewer Hall's article regarding the immediate sources for Chaucer's adaption of the *Aeneid* goes through great lengths to discuss five "techniques in medievalizing the *Aeneid*"[3] (149), but fails to mention the additional influence of Ovid, particularly in the

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[1] Joanna Scott, "Betraying Origins: The Many Faces of Aeneas in Medieval English Literature." *LATCH: A Journal for the Study of the Literary Artifact in Theory, Culture, or History,* no. 3 (2010): 64–84. http://ezproxy.library.tamu.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=hus&AN=50375728&site=ehost-live.

[2] Irving Singer, "Erotic Transformations in the Legend of Dido and Aeneas," *MLN 90*, no. 6 (1975): 767-83. doi:10.2307/2907019.

[3] Louis Brewer Hall, "Chaucer and the Dido-and-Aeneas Story," *Mediaeval Studies,* no. 25 (1963): 148-159. https://doi.org/10.1484/J.MS.2.306812

Heroides, in either *The House of Fame,* or even more shockingly, in his epistle from Dido to Aeneas in *The Legend of Good Women*.

For too long, the question of the relationship between fate and the divine, as well the debate between the presence of free will versus determinism within the narrative of Aeneas and Dido has remained answered only in Virgil's *Aeneid*. Given its notoriety, the *Aeneid* has a plethora of scholarship conducted on it concerning if mortals possess free will[4], if fates are tied to certain people or groups of people[5], and if the gods can change fate[6]. However, later Classical iterations of this story from Ovid and Silius Italicus, as well as other later Middle and Early Modern English adaptations, have been neglected in this discussion thus far. This paper aims to take into account these discrepancies and build upon past scholarship of the *Aeneid* that examine correlations between fate, the divine, and mortals within passages relevant to the love story of Aeneas and Dido to create a more holistic view of how writers over time adapted these factors.

This paper is not an examination of the literary genealogy of the included adaptations of the *Aeneid*, nor is it intended to provide a new perspective to the current research done on the topics of fate, the divine, and mortals within solely the *Aeneid*. This paper aims to critically look at a selection of 14th through 16th century English adaptations of the story of Aeneas and Dido to see how the agency of divinity is portrayed, how mortals and the divine relate to one another, and to what degree the mortals concerned possess free will. Through this examination, this paper will reveal valuable information regarding the effects of the English Reformation upon literature that concerns piety and virtue from antiquity. Additionally, because of the excerpt selection it

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[4] George E. Duckworth, "Fate and Free Will in Vergil's *Aeneid*," *The Classical Journal 51, no. 8 (1956): 357-64. http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.library.tamu.edu/stable/3293518.*

[5] Louise E. Matthaei, "The Fates, the Gods, and the Freedom of Man's Will in the *Aeneid*," *The Classical Quarterly 11*, no. 1 (1917): 11-26. https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.library.tamu.edu/stable/635987.

[6] C. H. Wilson, "Jupiter and the Fates in the Aeneid," The Classical Quarterly 29, no. 2 (1979): 361-71. http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.library.tamu.edu/stable/638103.

should also reveal key insight into how later European writers characterized the relationship between divinity and different ethnic groups including: Aeneas and his Trojans, Dido and her Carthaginians (and former Tyrians), and Iarbas and his North African kingdom, as well as the relationship between gender dynamics and power.

The passages used to cite Virgil's version of the *Aeneid* are taken from Robert Fagles translation, and the passages used to reference Ovid's *Heroides* are taken from Paul Murgatroyd, Bridget Reeves, and Sarah Parker's edited edition. All of the English adaptations are left in their original transcription from more recent edited editions. In the case of more challenging passages, there will be a footnote editing them into idiomatic English as to provide context to readers without prior knowledge of reading certain dialects of Middle English or Middle Scots while not detracting attention from the main stream of analysis. It is also worth mentioning that within the chapter themes selected, not every work is examined because they do not all possess the listed elements, and thus cannot be included in the paper.

The works touched upon in this paper include: Chaucer's *House of Fame* and his *Legend of Dido*, William Caxton's translation of the *Metamorphoses* and his *Eneydos*, Gavin Douglas' translation of the *Aeneid*, and Christopher Marlowe's play *Dido Quenne of Carthage*. To provide answers to the questions raised earlier, this paper is organized into three chapters that reflect three major points of stress for the adaptors. These points of stress within the love story of Aeneas and Dido include the mechanisms by which Dido is made to fall in love with Aeneas, the second is Iarbas' portrayal and parentage, and the third is Juno's agency within this portion of the story. In these areas there are significant changes made to account for certain discrepancies and dissonances with the conventions of the adaptor's own time, agenda, and beliefs. Additionally, the changes made, whether they be additions, deletions, or alterations, will be

compared and contrasted to reveal what different writers wanted to emphasize and what narratives they promoted. Through this examination, the hope is to reveal what the adaptors did similarly in their changes, and what they all diverged from one another on in their attempts to reconcile the text for themselves and their audience. The correlations and divergences from one another in and of themselves reveal aspects of not only these adaptors, but also the sentiments of the audiences they were writing for

The selection of the story of Aeneas and Dido examined in this research paper extends from Aeolus' intervention on the journey of Aeneas through the seas at the bidding of Juno, and ends with Aeneas' departure from Carthage and Dido's death. This provides a multitude of stressors and variables to look into in regards to the relationship between the divine and mortals. One area of alteration is the level of involvement of the gods on the lives of the humans concerned, another is the politics between the different gods and how their own status amongst the other gods affects their agency, and yet another are the motivations behind why the gods choose to do what they do and how they do it. On the human side of things, the way the characters are depicted in terms of their piety to the gods, their worldly virtue, their emotional temperament, their morality in terms of how good or bad of a person they were portrayed to be, and finally even their sexual orientation.

The three chapters of this essay come from the most altered portions of this excerpt within the *Aeneid* to see what adaptors changed, how they changed it, and to posit for what purpose. These excerpts however were not solely selected on the basis of the English adaptors dramatically shifting the trajectory of the plot line, but more importantly when and how they shift the perspective of a reader with small or large textual additions, deletions, or alterations. Thus, while the third chapter over the Agency of Juno focuses on scenes more pivotal to the plot

because of the importance of Juno to the story on the *Aeneid*, the second chapter on Iarbas does not focus on such caliber of scenes because in a narrative sense, he was not that important as a character to the plot structure. Regardless, the alterations made to him and his role sometimes reflect a desire on the part of the adaptor in question to portray other characters in a more or less flattering light.

Within these chapters, the scenes selected are those most relevant and most pivotal to framing of the story as a whole. There will be some overlap between chapters, for example, the rivalry between Juno and Venus is central to not only why Dido falls in love with Aeneas in many of the stories, but is also tied to Juno's limitations and place in the hierarchy of the gods. With this in mind, repetition of pieces of analysis will be avoided but the reuse of certain scenes to make a new point cannot be. Additionally, in revealing the divergent means of alteration in regards to the themes of these chapters, the aim is not only to create analysis pertinent to just those particular scenes chosen but to also synthesize an overarching series of arguments that apply to the entire narrative of Aeneas and Dido. These points of stress thus serve as examples for the claims this paper will end with.

In examining the way Dido falls in love with Aeneas within these particular English adaptations versus the original, it reveals who all is culpable for Dido taking her own life. Additionally, this examination shows how the writer wanted to emphasize the rivalry between Venus and Juno, to what degree the gods other than Jupiter can change fate, and the desired portrayal of morality within both the gods and mortals concerned. The first method to accomplish this in the *Aeneid* was through Venus urging Cupid to inflict Dido with love for Aeneas in the form of his son, Ascanius. What motivates Venus to do this and why she did it in this way is enigmatic. If fate was predetermined within Virgil's construction of it in the *Aeneid*,

then this move on her part not only is unnecessary, but also indicates cruel intentions. Looking at this scene from the opposite perspective, if fate was not predetermined, then this opens up a more interesting discussion of to what degree the gods can influence and change fate. The later adapters therefore handled this passage with special attention to their stances on the degree of free will present in their retellings because the impression of Juno, and more importantly, the agency of all gods, depended on which way they leaned on the spectrum of free will and determinism.

The various changes made to the way Dido falls in love with Aeneas includes: a purposely vague mention of Cupid making Dido fall in love with Aeneas without explaining how he accomplishes this, an emphasized desire on Dido's part with Aeneas before Cupid arrives, Cupid simply shooting his arrow of love into Dido, and an entire omission of the scene (leaving the reader to assume that Dido fell in love with Aeneas on her own accord). These alterations all to some degree remove culpability and malice from Venus. However, simply claiming that the changes to make Venus look better are on account of her being the mother of Aeneas is not an altogether convincing argument for why adaptors chose to moralize her. This is due to the fact that even when Aeneas is written as a fraudulent and deceiving character, Venus still maintains a morally superior stance to at least the likes of Juno. This appeal to consistently present Venus in a better light contrasts with the scattered attempts by these authors to make sense of the mortal character, Iarbas.

The second chapter focuses on this minor character due to the problematic nature he presents to the English writers trying to characterize him. The depictions of this North African king range from a forlorn courtly lover to a whitewashed suitor to a nomadic warlord. The central issue that denotes why Iarbas is so problematic for these authors to portray lies primarily

in his parentage from the *Aeneid,* and secondarily in how the writers intended Aeneas to be portrayed. Originally, Iarbas was the son of Jove and a nymph within the *Aeneid,* but this notation by Virgil was found to be problematic by the other authors who most of the time entirely deleted this passage or changed Iarbas' father to a different god not associated with the Olympians. The second approach of altering Iarbas' parentage dually distances his ancestry from that of Aeneas' and racially distinguishes him and his people in North Africa from Aeneas and his band of Trojans. Additionally, Iarbas' role within these stories is much determined by how the author wishes to characterize Aeneas due to the inverse relationship between the two of them in how they are perceived.

The relationship between the depiction of Iarbas and Aeneas generally can be described within these sources as an inverse one. Typically, if Aeneas is presented as an infallible heroic character, Iarbas conversely is represented as a barbaric adversary, whose only positive attribute to the story is unwittingly notifying Jupiter that Aeneas was not en route to Italy. To an even greater extreme, if Aeneas is completely eliminated from the story[7], Iarbas takes on an entirely antagonistic role towards Dido. On the other hand if Aeneas is written to appear as a coward and false lover, Iarbas is either not mentioned or reads as a scorned lover who maintains little to no ill will towards Dido. These shifts between the two men on the spectrum of heroism to villainy shows a peculiar need by these adaptors to have these two men always contrast each other in terms of their quality of character. Additionally, this forced opposition between the two men in all the English adaptations raises the question of why both of them cannot be more evil or more valorous simultaneously.

[7] In one of William Caxton's versions of Dido's story that he translated from the author of the French epic poem *Roman D'Enéas,* who took this story from Boccaccio's *The Fall of Princes*, Aeneas is never mentioned because Dido takes her own life not on account of a broken heart but rather as a means to protect her body and country from Iarbas who demands her hand in marriage.

The third and final chapter moves on to the topic of Juno and her degree of agency within the *Aeneid* and its English adaptations. Her role in the advancement of the plot of the Dido and Aeneas' story cannot be understated. It is through the tempest she arranged with the wind god Aeolus that Aeneas landed in Carthage, and through her agency that Aeneas and Dido fall for each other in the infamous cave scene. Additionally, revealed in a rare moment of remorse, Juno is seen to have some form of sway over the course of mortal fate as shown by her expressed feeling of guilt for being partially responsible for altering Dido's fate. Her remorse over the death of Dido shows that at the very least she perceives herself to have enough power to shift the course of human fate and raises the question that if she could change fate, what other entities were also capable of doing so. Similar to the inverse relationship of morality between the Aeneas and Iarbas, albeit at a lesser extent, is similar to that of Aeneas and Juno. When Aeneas is intended to read as valorous, Juno reads as particularly vindictive as his primary antagonist. However, when Aeneas is depicted as a cowardly lover, Juno's adversarial role is either reduced, or completely eliminated from the narrative.

The recognition on Juno's part of her hand in the downfall of Dido is one of the most notable passages concerning the agency of Juno for a few reasons. The first is that since Juno maintains to herself that she is partially culpable for changing Dido's fate is that by this logic all of the gods are capable of changing the fates of humans if another god does not counteract them. This revelation occurs here within Virgil's Aeneid to raise the stakes on him making it to Italy and fulfilling his destiny. Up to this point, it was unclear how much of a choice Aeneas had in fulfilling his destiny, if he could refuse it, or if an outside force could change it. This scene confirms that if Juno can unintentionally help destroy a prominent queen, she could potentially destroy Aeneas as well. The English adapters were aware of this and those that kept this scene

did so to maintain that Aeneas made it to Italy not on account of a predestined fate but rather because of his choice to do so. [8]

The range of changes on these points of stress provides multiple talking points as to the different way these authors chose to reimagine the way fate, divinity, and mortals relate to one another in the story of Aeneas and Dido. The following chapters aim to illuminate within this range of English adaptations why these writers chose this story to write about, what values they wished to express, and how they changed the story to do so. Additionally, given the selection of readings from the 14th to the 16th century, they will also provide valuable commentary on the ramifications of the English Reformation upon literature. In addition to analyzing relevant text, the marginalia, prologues, and closing remarks are analyzed as they provide context as to why certain modifications were made on their part. Finally, any political, religious, or cultural events significant enough to mention for the sake of explaining any particular morphological choices on the part of the adaptor are listed in the footnotes as not to detract attention from the literary analysis.

Given the scope of this project and the physical limitations of reading and reviewing all relevant primary and secondary sources some discrepancies will undoubtedly occur in what is not included. These shortcomings have been taken into account for this paper by the writer, and hopefully by the reader as well. Therefore the observations made in this paper may or may not be applicable to other English adaptations not covered like Layamon's *Brut* or John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, however this paper was not written with those in mind so any continuity or discrepancy found with this thesis to those works are coincidental. Additionally, since the narrative covered within this paper from the *Aeneid* and its later adaptations are confined to only

[8] Gavin Douglas' prologue to his *Aeneid* discusses this issue in more depth; ultimately, he asserts that Aeneas performed his deeds of heroism through his own free will even though it was his fate to found what would become Rome

the story of Dido and Aeneas, which should be taken into account. It is the hope that the reader will find this paper sufficient in its claims and supporting evidence

CHAPTER I

DIDO'S FATAL ATTRACTION

All is fair in love and war, though the incendiary of it may not be. Within the *Aeneid*, Dido's infatuation with Aeneas came about from the divine intervention of the goddess of love Venus. It produced within her, an involuntary and incurable passion for the Trojan warrior. It is fairly clear that at least in the *Aeneid*, Dido was perfectly content to remain celibate in her kingdom and not remarry. She pushed away the advances of the neighboring kings and warlords for her hand and up to the point of Venus' involvement, avoided romantically attaching herself to Aeneas. For the Roman reader, her decision to not remarry would have been interpreted as odd considering the era in which this was written. Emperor Augustus had decreed that any single woman whose husband had died was allotted a certain period of time for grievance and then would be compelled to marry again. Contrastingly, in Medieval and early Modern Europe the practice of remarrying after the death of one's husband would have been seen as tasteless and lowly on her part. Additionally, within the hierarchy of women established by the Catholic Church, celibate widows were of a higher social ranking than every other status a woman could be other than a virgin[9].

With additional this cultural shift progressing through Western Europe into the middle and late medieval periods, Dido's fall from grace hits harder. Now she is not only a defeated leader, but also in addition a broken and disgraced woman. These cultural discrepancies allow for the later writers to enhance the plight of Dido to their readers while its original form accounts

[9] Kane C. Bronach "Defamation, Gender and Hierarchy in Late Medieval Yorkshire." *Social History* 43, no. 3, (356-74) 2018 doi: 10.1080/03071022.2018.1472886.

partially for why Dido found the end that she did. Within the *Aeneid* the vast majority of the female characters that have described thoughts and speech die fairly horrible deaths, and Dido is no exception. Her refusal to remarry made her a rebellious female in terms of Roman standards, and her authority as queen only aggravated this situation.

It is worth bearing in mind that within the *Aeneid*, a notable trend for women is that they should abide by their specific gender-roles, and that if they do not, they either have unfortunate things happen to them, or they themselves are unfortunate and unsavory characters. This trend can be observed within the female characters: Dido, Juno, the Massylian priestess, Helen, King Latinus' wife, and Anna. Over time however, this dynamic became less compelling for adaptors as their cultural surroundings morphed to the point where this line of reasoning no longer made sense. With the societal norm of women remaining as widows for the rest of their life the dominant one, Dido could and would now become a more heroic and tragic character in her future incarnations.

The two adapters that utilized this cultural phenomenon the most were Chaucer and Marlowe though their implementations differed slightly. Chaucer included Dido's plight in both his *Legend of Good Women* and in the *House of Fame*. Within both adaptations Chaucer vilifies Aeneas for leaving Dido potentially pregnant, and in his eyes, definitely married. These two developments were highly controversial in terms of the array of changes made to the *Aeneid* because it was made very clear by Virgil that in the eyes of the gods and Aeneas that they were not married, and that Dido was not pregnant. Despite his status as a master poet, Chaucer received mostly tactful criticism from his contemporaries and later writers for these edits, and even Marlowe, who also sympathized a great deal for Dido, did not make these alterations.

Scottish poet Gavin Douglas would later comment on Chaucer's depiction of Aeneas and Dido in the prologue to his translation of the *Aeneid* saying that:

> Excuss Chauser fra all maner repruffis
> In lovyng of thir ladeis lylly quhite
> He set on Virgill and Eneas this wyte,
> For he was evir (God wait) all womanis frend[10] (446-449)[11]

To strengthen his case for Dido, he also left out her origin story and any mention that she was the Queen of Carthage, but rather referred to her as a queen in the regions of Libya. This omission on the part of Chaucer is note-worthy in that it shows his attempt to distance her from Phoenician culture as it had been consistently marginalized by the Roman-centered Western literary tradition in Medieval Europe[12]. An emphasis on glorifying literary and historical figures of Rome is particularly prevalent within this work as well as Chaucer's other works, *Troilus and Criseyde* and *Parliament of the Fowls*. This dynamic of celebrating Roman culture clashes with his portrayal of Dido as the tragic heroine of his adaptations in that her inclusion within the *Aeneid* primarily serves as a mode of explanation for the later Punic Wars between Rome and Carthage, and the subsequent genocide of the Carthaginian people by the Romans after the conclusion of the Third Punic War. With this historical context, it can be inferred that during Virgil's time, Dido would have been regarded as a lowlier individual than Iarbas because she was the leader of a racial group that the Romans were later at odds against.

Additionally, amongst the choices of Phoenicians that the Romans had to potentially vilify as a means to channel their anxiety over a militaristic and cultural takeover by them, Dido

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[10] Gavin Douglas, *Aeneid* ed. David F. C. Coldwell (Edinburgh & London: William Blackwood & Sons Ltd. 1959), 16

[11] Excuse Chaucer from all manner of reprove in loving of these ladies quite so much for he set on Virgil and Aeneas in this way for he was ever (God wait) a friend of all women

[12] Randy Schiff, "On Firm Carthaginian Ground: Ethnic Boundary Fluidity and Chaucer's Dido" *Postmedieval: A Journal of Medieval Cultural Studies 6,* no. 1 (23-35) 2015 https://link-springer-com.srv-proxy1.library.tamu.edu/article/10.1057/pmed.2014.42

was the prime target. Not only was she a well-known queen of her peoples from Tyre; she was just that, a queen. Her physical attractiveness, aptitude in ruling, and cultural divergences from the norm for Roman women resulted in only more criticism and condemnation from later Roman poets, scholars, and society for the Phoenicians. Roman senators and elites used this narrative to consolidate the power of themselves and the Roman Republic by supplanting this mounting anti-Phoenician hysteria onto the Carthaginian civilization. By Virgil's time, over a hundred years had passed since the last Punic War, but the racial stereotypes had been so engrained into Roman culture that it would have still been relevant and common within a literary work.

This attitude of the subservience of the Phoenician race to the Roman race persisted throughout the English adaptations and transpired into the Caxton translation most heavily as well as the Douglas Middle Scots translation. However, as time passed authors also chose to omit Dido's origin story and the exact local of her kingdom, as Chaucer did in both of his works, or to dismantle the underlying hierarchy of ethnic groups, as Christopher Marlowe did in his play. Individuals no longer could sway good or bad within Marlowe's work depending on their familial or racial connections, and dispersed within each distinct ethnic group were characters of mixed morality. Returning back to Chaucer, both *The Legend of Good Women* and *The House of Fame* omit her Phoenician origins and current Carthaginian Empire resulting in a more palatable and less contrived female protagonist that allowed him to make her both heroic and tragic for his readers.

Interestingly enough, within Chaucer's renditions, he does not elect to vilify an obvious choice that is Venus. Instead he maintains that mostly Aeneas and Juno are responsible for her unfortunate fate. His reverence for Venus and avoidance of insulting her office of love is a consistent feature in all of his works as even in his prologue of the *Legend of Good Women* he

depicts the protagonist Chaucer reprimanded by Cupid and his queen for his flawed characterization of a woman in love in his earlier work, *Troilus and Criseyde*. In the *House of Fame* Chaucer elects to omit the passage in which Venus sends Cupid to make Dido fall in with Aeneas, and instead describes her fall for Aeneas as thus:

> Dido, quene of that contree…
> Becam his love and let him do
> Al that wedding longeth to[13] (241-244)

This scene deletion is extremely important in both the perception of Venus and Dido in the scope of the story. In the original story of the *Aeneid*, Venus sends her son Cupid in the form of Ascanius to make Dido fall in love with Aeneas for the reasoning that she was concerned for her Aeneas' safety. However in further examination, this line of thought looks flawed at best and nefarious at worst. Preceding Cupid's task, Venus pressed Jove concerning the fate of her child and he assured her that his fate, and the fate of his descendants, was set for glory in what would be Rome. To further console her, he even sent Mercury down to calm down all of the Carthaginians and make them more open to peace and good will. Despite this, Venus still elects to take matters into her own hand and make Dido fall in love with Aeneas under the pretenses of protecting her son.

If fate is fixed in Virgil's universe, then this action by Venus is gratuitous. Even if fate is not fixed, but rather a decree made by the Fates that the gods uphold, it was not necessary for her to meddle further in matters because it was in the best interest of Jupiter that Aeneas make it to Italy intact. Additionally, her mechanism of making Dido fall in love with Aeneas potentially makes this action also a dig at Dido to pull a power play on Juno. She sent Cupid in the guise of Aeneas' child to sit in her lap and through their physical touch, inflict her with the pain of love

[13] Geoffrey Chaucer, *The House of Fame* ed. Kathryn L. Lynch (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. 2007), 49

for Aeneas. Considering that Dido had formerly been happily married to Sychaeus, it is curious why she would not have a child of her own.

Additionally, even after she later copulates with Aeneas in the cave and all subsequent times after that it is made very clear by Virgil that by the time Aeneas leaves, that she is not pregnant. While the argument of infertility cannot be made one way or the other for Sychaeus, it is very clear that Aeneas is not because of his son Ascanius. Dido on the other hand could quite possibly be incapable of having children of her own. Furthermore, the rivalry between Juno and Venus cannot be overlooked in this line of examination. The two goddesses are the patrons of Dido and Aeneas respectively.

This rivalry between Juno and Venus at least partially accounts for Venus' decision to have Dido fall in love with Aeneas. Her meddling successfully assured that Dido would neglect her duties as ruler in favor of spending time with Aeneas, and that at his departure she would at the very least be despondent. This rivalry also extends to the people and cities of Dido and Aeneas. Both Juno and Venus know that if Aeneas is successful in his quest to reach Italy, and found what would become Rome, that its greatness would eventually surpass that of Carthage. Given their animosity towards each other, attempts to thwart the others hero's and cities is of little surprise.

Going on in this line of thought, Venus did not have Cupid use his bow and arrows to pierce the heart of Dido, but instead told him to go in the form of Ascanius. If Dido is indeed barren, then Venus doing this to her in this fashion was more than just her protecting her son, it was another way to stick it to her rival at the expense of a human life. This reading of the *Aeneid* makes Venus look more conniving than originally perceived, and can account for why Chaucer made the editorial change that he did in the *House of Fame*. With the elimination of this

unsavory action by Venus he can maintain that she is a benevolent character in the narrative and that Dido is still wronged, albeit by her son, Aeneas. In the *Legend of Good Women*, Chaucer elected to include this detail but with the note that he did not believe that Cupid or Venus was culpable for Dido falling in love with Aeneas. It was described as thus:

> But natheles, our auctour telleth us
> That Cupido, that is the god of love,
> At preyere of his moder hye above
> Hadde the lyknew of the child y-take
> This noble quene enamoured to make
> On Eneas; but, as of that scripture,
> Be as be may, I take of it no cure[14] (1139-1145)

Chaucer flatly denying that either of the gods of love is responsible for Dido falling in love with Aeneas shifts the blame from them all to Aeneas and partially Dido for their ill-fated romance. Throughout the *Legend of Good Women* Chaucer uses classical stories of virtuous women wronged by men as the base for one of his arguments against the male sex that they use women till they are bored with them, and move on. With this as one of his recurring motifs through this work and others, it makes sense for him to elect to vilify Aeneas as opposed to vilifying Venus for what happens to Dido. This shift of culpability also makes the agency of the divine in Chaucer's adaptations less vivid than in other iterations and the original. The resulting sense for the reader is that those most responsible for the misfortunes of their life within this narrative are themselves.

While both authors sympathize heavily with Dido for her fall and subsequent death, Marlowe takes her character development another step forward and portrays her as the tragic heroine of his play. His play aims not to demonize any of the characters necessarily, though it is clear that it is meant to be sympathetic towards Dido and Iarbas. All of the mortal characters

[14] Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Legend of Good Women* ed. Kathryn L. Lynch (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. 2007), 150

concerned do not have an uplifting end. Even Aeneas, who was last seen sailing away from Carthage, does not leave happily or flippantly. Interestingly in Marlowe's rendition, he became aware of what Venus had done in replacing his child, Ascanius with Cupid after Mercury came down to compel him to leave. His realization of what had been happening and why Dido fell in love with him so strongly is depicted like so:

> AENEAS: This was my mother that beguiled the Quen,
> And made me take my brother for my son:
> No marvel Dido though thou be in love,
> That daily dangelest Cupid in thy arms[15] (1494-1497)

This new addition to the narrative of Aeneas and Dido is intriguing because it makes Aeneas more aware of the behind the scenes action the gods had been taken in regards to him. His knowledge of his mother's intervention on his behalf does not go over well with him as he knows that she's responsible for Dido's attachment to him and thus her aversion to him leaving even though he has to by the beckoning of Jupiter. Additionally, this revelation stung him because while love was inflicted upon Dido, he fell in love with her on his own accord and still had to leave knowing that she would hate him for it. This development casts the gods into a more negative light than any of the humans involved in the play. Even Jupiter, usually depicted as all-knowing and the supreme god in both power and morals from the *Aeneid* on, preoccupies himself in the play with doting on the effeminate Ganymede instead of keeping an eye on Juno as she wrecks havoc on the will of the Fates.

On the other side of the spectrum of depictions of Dido lies Douglas' translation of the *Aeneid* and William Caxton's *Eneydos*. Douglas made clear in his prologue that he did not see Dido as nearly as much of a victim as the other adaptors before him had. His line of reasoning concerning Aeneas' treatment of Dido stipulates that:

[15] Christopher Marlowe & Thomas Nash, *The Tragide of Dido, Queene of Carthage*

Was he forsworn? Than Aeneas was fals-
That he admittis and callys hym traytour als...
Certis Virgil schawys Ene dyd na thing…
Spekis to the queyn Dido, says he nocht thus,
Thar curss by fait was set tyll Italy?[16] (415-433)[17]

Given that Douglas was adamant about writing his translation of the *Aeneid* as closely to the meaning of the original text, the literary criticism in his prologue is interesting because it reveals what he thinks Virgil intended for his audience to perceive, and thus was what Douglas tried to invoke in his own adaptation. This reading of the original text also glosses over the influence of the gods upon the doomed romance of Aeneas and Dido, not even mentioning whether or not he saw them as partially responsible or completely blameless. His omission of this group of people from his argument begs the question of why in his thorough vindication of Aeneas from the common criticism of his treatment of Dido, Douglas would not address all parties involved.

One possible reason for omitting the gods from any blame in this respect for Douglas' case is that he was attempting to moralize the gods to make them more analogous to the Christian god. Within his marginalia he makes numerous comparisons between Jupiter and the Christian god, Venus and the Virgin Mary, and other Catholic-influenced notes concerning the representation of the divine in the *Aeneid*. Another possibility is that Douglas did not want to credit the divine with the faults or achievements of the mortals concerned because it would lessen the accomplishments of Aeneas. It is also possible that both are working in tandem in his adaptation given that they are not mutually exclusive. Regardless, his omission of them in this

[16] Gavin Douglas, *Aeneid* ed. David F. C. Coldwell (Edinburgh & London: William Blackwood & Sons Ltd. 1959), 15

[17] Was he forsworn? Then Aeneas would be false- he also admitted and called himself a traitor… Certainly Virgil shows he did nothing [wrong]... Speaking to Queen Dido, did he not say that, his curse by fate was set to Italy?

discussion leaves only one individual culpable for what went wrong, and that one person left to be blamed is Dido.

Other than his prologue, Douglas takes obvious pains to provide a translation as close to the *Aeneid* as he could get while William Caxton on the other hand elected to adapt different adaptations of the *Aeneid* in his *Eneydos*. Caxton's text is unique in that he renders two different accounts of what happened, one derived from Boccaccio and John Gower, and another derived from the French epic romance, *Roman D'Enéas*. In his first narrative within the text, Dido meets her end not at the hands of her love for Aeneas, but rather as a venture to protect her country and avoid marrying the neighboring barbarian king, Iarbas. Aeneas' elimination from this version of her story makes it very clear to the reader that she is intended to be the hero of it. Additionally, considering Caxton adapted this from Boccaccio's *De Mulieribus Claris*, a book concerning virtuous pagan women from Classical myth, it makes sense that he would have omitted all content related to Aeneas because her infatuation for him makes her good character more questionable to that audience.

Caxton's second iteration of the story, while it followed more closely Virgil's account of the two, is undoubtedly the most amended and altered account of the *Aeneid* as a whole, and especially in regards to his treatment of Aeneas and Dido. His version greatly expanded the portion of the book relevant to the two from about a tenth of the overall narrative, as is the case with Virgil, to over a third of the entire story about the two of them. The major additions that occurred to this work are indicative of how contentious, and emphatic later readers and writers found this section of the *Aeneid*. With all of the added content, an interesting omission is once again the scene of Venus sending Cupid down in the form of Ascanius, and additionally the scene before that of her conversation about Aeneas with Jupiter. In this version Dido falls in love

with Aeneas on her own accord after having saw him enter her court, and neglects her duties as ruler, not after their time in the cave, but well before then. Her oversight is described as thus by Caxton:

> the werkes and doynges of Dydo are taryed, and lefte
> in the astate of Inperfection
> … the exercyse of armes is
> dyscontynued; the noble men were robuste and rude
> wythout exercise of fayttes of werre; The brydges /
> poortes and passages ben lefte wythoute warde[18] (11-18)

This amendment is intriguing in that it speaks negatively to Dido's character on two counts. The first is how easily she became enamored with Aeneas, and the second is how easily she began to disregard her role as Queen for a man whose destiny was not to stay with her. Furthermore, it is clear that Caxton's second version attempts to parallel the decline of Carthage to the negativity of Aeneas and Dido's relationship to one another. Evidently is was the opinion of Caxton and the writer he adapted his work from that Dido was a toxic influence on Aeneas and that even though she was a fine queen on her own, that she was intended to be written as an obstacle for Aeneas on his journey and not a casualty of it. This alteration thus intends not to make Dido into a more sympathetic character, or heroic character like Caxton's first tale in this manuscript collection, but rather form her into an even more challenging test for Aeneas to pass through before he reaches the shores of Italy

Regardless of how they depict Dido in life, all the writers concerned portray her death in a tragic manner. Even Douglas and Caxton, whose iterations of Dido were mostly unflattering, acknowledged the biased nature of her death. Her end was not originally destined to be, but rather was inflicted upon her by the meddling of the goddesses Venus and Juno. The culpability of Aeneas for her death however, was highly contested between the English adaptors and readers

[18] William Caxton, *Eneydos* ed. W. T. Culley (London: Oxford University Press 1890), 49.

going forward. While he certainly was never seen as entirely responsible for her death, he also was not seen as entirely absolved of it either. Dido's fall is arguably one of the sections in which Aeneas appears as the most morally questionable. Additionally, Dido is the character with more instances of divine intervention than any other character other than Aeneas in the *Aeneid* and the English adaptations, making this episode one of the most pivotal in the narrative of Aeneas as a whole.

Following her death, Aeneas came upon her again in the underworld looking for his father:

> Phoenician Dido drifted along the endless woods.
> As the Trojan hero paused beside her, recognized her…
> [he] tried to soother her rage, her wild fiery glance.
> But she, her eyes fixed on the ground, turned away[19] (521-545)

His admission of guilt and apologies fall on deaf ears, although they do show that he did care for Dido in some capacity, though certainly not as much as she had for him. His excuse for leaving her was the will of the gods, a valid answer, but he does not venture to claim who is culpable for her death. The answer to that question greatly varies depending on the text read as characters shift on the spectrum of agency, morality, and blame in each one on the wishes of the writer. A clear relationship is established between the person or peoples responsible for Dido's death and a more antagonistic role within the narrative. Therefore, the depiction and course of Dido's fatal attraction speak volumes about not only her varying characterizations but also that of the Venus, Aeneas, Iarbas, and Juno.

[19] Virgil, *Aeneid* ed. Robert Fagles (New York: Viking Penguin 2006), 197

CHAPTER II

THE ISSUE OF IARBAS

Iarbas proves a difficult character for the English adapters to reconcile as evident by the variety of ways they chose to portray him. For example, Caxton opted to include a translated passage from Boccaccio that vilified him, and another passage from a different original source that represented Iarbas more similarly to the impression gathered from Iarbas in the *Aeneid*. Chaucer instead chose to mention Iarbas briefly in a relatively positive light within one of his works, while in the other he did not mention him at all. Douglas' characterization of Iarbas remained mostly faithful to the original with exception to one major change regarding his parentage. Finally, Marlowe presented Iarbas as a tragic hero that was cheated out of his happy future with Dido because Venus deemed it necessary for the sake of Aeneas accomplishing his fate.

Within Chaucer's *House of Fame*, Iarbas is never mentioned and thus no analysis can be done on his role or how he interacts with the divine. However, in Chaucer's *Legend of Dido* from the *Legend of Good Women* Iarbas is mentioned briefly:

> And whan the king that Yarbas hight, it wiste
> As he that had hir loved ever his lyf,
> And wowed hir to have hir to his wyf,
> Swich sorwe as he hath maked and swich
> chere,
> It is a routhe and pitee for to here.[20] (1245-1250)

This characterization differs greatly with respect to Virgil's Iarbas in that Chaucer transforms the irate neighboring king into a despondent courtly lover. This not only shifts the

[20] Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Legend of Good Women* ed. Kathryn L. Lynch (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. 2007), 153

reader's opinion of Iarbas from seeing him as an antagonist, meant to act as a foil to the virtuous Aeneas, but also skews the opinion of Aeneas more negatively. In Chaucer's two accounts of Dido's story he vehemently takes her side by reinventing Aeneas as a womanizing coward that left her after marrying and impregnating her. This focus on Aeneas as a more villainous character is more plausible for readers if the original antagonists are either removed or altered. Thus, he removed Iarbas from one of his narratives and extensively modified his image in the other. Additionally, Chaucer opts to leave out both the information regarding Iarbas' parentage and his prayer to Jupiter on account of either thinking they were not necessary for his purposes or to avoid further complicating the reader's perception of a relatively minor character within his narrative.

This depiction from Chaucer of Iarbas as a spurned courtly lover strikes in direct contrast to William Caxton's first iteration of Dido's story from his *Eneydos* in which Iarbas was portrayed as a forceful, neighboring warlord to Dido's Carthage. Upon her arrival from Tyre, he demands to her advisors that she marry him as is shown in the excerpt below:

> … whom he
> requyred to haue this quene dydo in maryage / sayenge
> by grete menaces, yf he had her not / that he sholde
> reduce that cyte into ruyne, & sholde put all the people
> therof in-to exyle[21] (29-33)

A demand, to which Dido asks for three months to mourn her dead husband, and at the expiration of it, kills her. What is incredibly remarkable about this short story, meant to glorify Dido as a virtuous queen who took her own life to save her country, is that Aeneas never appears and Dido maintains her chastity up to her death. This alternate version of Dido's story is curious in its presentation of Dido as an entirely positive character, and stems from Boccaccio's *Fall of*

[21] William Caxton, *Eneydos* ed. W. T. Culley (London: Oxford University Press 1890), 32.

Princes. Her more positive depiction comes at the expense of Iarbas made out to look like a cruel warlord. Additionally, this rendition is interesting because Iarbas is presented as an agent of Fortune in Dido's life that takes her from prosperity to woe:

> … But this
> Notwythstondynge, fortune inpacyente, whiche maye
> not suffre the pe[r]sone longe to dwelle prosperous / ne
> Good werkes wythout enuye[22] (14-17)

In doing this Caxton's Iarbas is less of an independent character than he is a device to push the plot of this story forward. Additionally, his exaggerated portrayal paired with Dido's perfected virtue aids in her appearance as an *exempla* for how a woman in power ought to behave herself under similar circumstances. Additionally, this story of a woman who uses a sword to protect her country is meant to invoke thoughts of the biblical Judith and Livy's Lucretia. Within these parallels, Iarbas ranks among the other power eager males who used their authoritative positions to take advantage of, or at least attempt to take advantage of, pious women. This depiction of Iarbas makes him into the stock character of the typical evil man in power that persecutes a righteous female, which is not unlike the formulaic nature of a virgin martyr story.

William Caxton's second iteration of Dido's story from the French *Roman D'Enéas* surprisingly provides one of the closest renditions of Iarbas to Virgil's version despite the work's notoriety for being exceptionally divergent from the original text of the *Aeneid*. Within this text he is described in much the same way, down to the detail regarding Jupiter being his father. Additionally, Caxton does not fail to mention Iarbas' piety that was also emphasized in the *Aeneid,* and omitted by every other adaptor from this selection. Caxton describes him as thus:

> This Yarbas was ryghte deuote, and in his tyme had

[22] William Caxton, *Eneydos* ed. W. T. Culley (London: Oxford University Press 1890), 32.

construed, edyfyed, and made an hondred temples wythin
his royalme, wyth an hondred othre sacraryes, in whiche
he had consecrated the fyre brennyng without ceasse[23] (18-21)

This continuity with the original text proves interesting because both passages raise the question as to how Iarbas can be so devout to the gods and yet not receive any of their good graces. The most straightforward answer is that all of the things Iarbas prayed for, including Dido's hand in marriage, were not things he was destined to receive, nor were any of the gods compelled to make enough of an effort to change fate on his account. This answer raises more questions however, primarily being, the motivations of the gods to act upon a mortal's life and change the course of their future. One obvious example that motivates the actions of the gods is their own expressed personal desire for a certain result of a major event, or a hidden agenda that a certain action of a mortal fulfills. (*Beyond this I have no proposed answer to as of right now but I am thinking a lot about it*)

His prayer to Jupiter however, possesses some key exaggerations and alterations from Virgil's that slightly change the perception of him as well as Aeneas. While it is clear that in Caxton's translation that he intended for Aeneas to be represented as a valiant hero, Iarbas' description of him in his prayer gives a more negative impression as compared to Virgil's'. His description of Aeneas is as follows:

… The whiche seductor of ladies
as parys that enwedded ye fayr heleyne, keepth himself
in maner as a woman, in their companye, wyth his longe
heres that he maketh to be enoynted & kemed for to
be yelow as golde, makyng theym to be bounden in a
Coyffe rounde a-boute his hed[24] (30-35)

Special negative emphasis is put upon Aeneas as a seducer of women and upon his appearance, which Iarbas deems as effeminate. While the second assessment is an exaggeration

[23] William Caxton, *Eneydos* ed. W. T. Culley (London: Oxford University Press 1890), 59.
[24] William Caxton, *Eneydos* ed. W. T. Culley (London: Oxford University Press 1890), 61.

of what Iarbas claims Aeneas to be in the original text, "leading his troop of eunuchs, his hair oozing oil"[25] (269), the first is a new addition. These two heightened attributes of seducing women and an effeminate appearance make Aeneas, not necessarily homosexual, but certainly queerer in this iteration.[26] This queerness is seen by Iarbas as not rooted in Aeneas' biology, as he is quick to comment that Venus could not possibly envision this for her son, but rather in his mannerisms and how he conducts himself. Though Iarbas' perception of Aeneas is meant to be a stretch from the truth it is one that does bear some truth to Jupiter and is meant to reveal to the reader that the pairing of Dido and Aeneas is not the correct one. Thus this behavior described by Iarbas in his prayer to Jupiter is more meant to be a commentary on Aeneas not following his destiny that it is about Iarbas.

The latter part of Jupiter's response to Iarbas was extended in the Caxton translation by taking information regarding Aeneas' poor performance in the Trojan War against the Greek heroes Diomedes and Achilles that is described as thus:

> … we kept and
> saued hym two tymes ayenst the grekes hys enemyes,
> And gaffe hym vyctorye one tyme ayenst Dyomedes,
> and a nothre tyme ayenst Achylles[27], whan atte bothe
> the tymes he enterprysed for to doo armes ayenst theym[28] (27-31)

This not only puts Aeneas in an even more negative light than before, but also puts into question how Jupiter feels about Aeneas at this moment. Additionally, this inclusion of Aeneas' divine assistance in battle to survive raises the stakes for the gods who protected and helped him up to this point. With such a sizable investment, it is even more understandable why Jupiter

[25] Virgil, *Aeneid* ed. Robert Fagles (New York: Viking Penguin 2006), 135
[26] Richard E. Zeikowitz, "Befriending the Medieval Queer: A Pedagogy for Literature Classes," College English 65, no. 1 (2002): 67-80. Doi: 10.2307/3250731.
[27] This information comes from Homer's Iliad, though it is incorrect. Aeneas did in fact fight against these two Greek heroes, however, he had to be saved by his mother, Apollo, and Poseidon from being killed by both of them in two separate engagements.
[28] William Caxton, Eneydos ed. W. T. Culley (London: Oxford University Press 1890), 61.

would be upset with him for not continuing his journey to Italy. Additionally, by mentioning this earlier account, Jupiter raises the stakes for Aeneas fulfilling his destiny and highlights the notion that mortals need the aid of the divine to achieve their full potential, and owe them thanks and their full effort later on because of that. This addition makes Aeneas look even more less heroic than before from Iarbas' prayer, and marks one of the lowest points morally for Aeneas in the story.

Douglas' Iarbas remains mostly faithful to Virgil's Iarbas with exception to the alteration of Iarbas' parentage from Jupiter in Virgil's version to the minor Carthaginian deity Amon. This change is presented as thus:

> Hyarbas kyng…
> To Amon he wes son, beget alswa
> Apon the maid revist Garamantida ;
> Within his large realmys huge braid
> Ane hundreth tempillis to Iupiter he maid,
> Ane hundreth altaris[29] (44-51)[30]

This modification was done on Douglas' part for a few reasons. The first of which is that within the *Aeneid*, Aeneas was charged with abiding by the *pietas* code that essentially means fulfilling one's obligations to the gods, one's country, one's family, and finally one's fellow countrymen. However, when the word *pietas* was translated into English instead of becoming most accurately, "duty" or "virtue" it was translated to "piety"[31]. This development for Douglas, a member of the Catholic clergy and future Bishop, is problematic because in Virgil's version, the king of gods in question is one that rapes women, and is also the same one Aeneas is

[29] Gavin Douglas, *Aeneid* ed. David F. C. Coldwell (Edinburgh & London: William Blackwood & Sons Ltd. 1959), 166

[30] King Hyarbas…To Amon he was son, beget also upon the maid ravished, Garamantida; within his large realms hugely broad he made a hundred temples to Jupiter [and] a hundred altars

[31] T. Christopher Hoklotubbe, "The Rhetoric of Pietas: The Pastoral Epistles and Claims to Piety in the Roman Empire," Harvard Theological Review 108, no.4 (2015): 633. http://ezproxy.library.tamu.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?

religiously devout to. Consequently it becomes necessary to moralize Jupiter for the sake of a more positive interpretation of Aeneas.

Along with this heightened religious connotation is also an attempt on Douglas' part to distance Aeneas' lineage from Iarbas'. If Iarbas was the son of Jupiter, then he would technically be Aeneas' maternal uncle because Aeneas' mother Venus is also the daughter of Jupiter. This is also precarious for Douglas to have the two men so closely related because of Iarbas' antagonistic role in the plot development of the fourth book of the original, as well as his own, *Aeneid*. Additionally, by choosing a Carthaginian deity as the father of Iarbas rather than another Olympian, Douglas racially distinguishes him and the other people of North Africa from Aeneas and his band of Trojans. Thus this paternal change for Iarbas not only affects the way he and Jupiter are perceived but also provides social commentary on collective morality of ethnic groups.

Within Christopher Marlowe's play, *Dido Queene of Carthage*, Iarbas undergoes another transformation and is depicted as a tragic, jilted suitor of Dido. What is particularly notable in this version is that Marlowe also reimagines his and Dido's relationship. He portrays Iarbas' main predicament as that both he and Dido love each other, but that on account of divine intervention from Venus, unbeknownst to him, she is forced to love Aeneas instead. This development is further exacerbated by Iarbas' portrayal as a kind and just man within Dido's court who helps Aeneas and his men when they initially land in Carthage after suffering through a terrible storm:

> IARBAS- Myself will see they shall trouble not ye,
> Your men and you shall banquet in our Court,
> And every Trojan is welcome here [32]()

[32] Christopher Marlowe, *The Tragide of Dido, Queene of Carthage* ed.

Also notable in this is Iarbas' comfortability in Dido's court to the point where he feels free to invite a group of strangers to stay in what he refers to as "our Court," implying both his and Dido's though it is in fact just Dido's court. This was not a one-sided opinion, as Dido also viewed Iarbas as her foremost suitor and trusted companion within her court. It thus comes across in Marlowe's version that through Juno's and Venus' meddling with the way fate should have played out that they brought about the ruin of the relationship between Iarbas and Dido for the sake of Aeneas' destiny. Additionally, Marlowe's adaptation features yet another love triangle between Iarbas, Dido, and Aeneas as well as Iarbas, Dido and, Anna. This inclusion was made on Marlowe's part to add to the sorrowfulness of the ending of this tragic play and to perhaps provide more motives to Anna's encouragement of Dido moving forward with her relationship with Aeneas:

> ANNA- Poor soul I know too well the sour of love,
> O that Iarbas could but fancy me.
> DIDO- Is not Aeneas fair and beautiful?
> ANNA- Yes, and Iarbas foul and favorless[33] (59-61)

This passage is also indicative of Marlowe's choice to depict Iarbas in a much more favorable light than any other adaptor before him. This drastic change in Iarbas portrayal is a move on Marlowe's part to make the fall of Dido to the whims of Juno and Venus even more tragic than in retellings before. Given that this play is meant to be tragic, and meant to have the viewer primarily sympathize with Dido as the tragic hero, having Iarbas as yet another happy thing taken away from her makes sense in terms of enhancing the drama. This also accounts for why he would be depicted as her closest suitor even though he was not the most powerful or wealthy, why he would be depicted as the object of affection for her younger sister due to his

[33] Christopher Marlowe, *The Tragide of Dido, Queene of Carthage* ed.

virtue and appealing looks, and why this play is effective in depicting tragic ends for almost every single mortal character involved.

Out of all the characters adapted from the Aeneid, Iarbas proves to be the single most frustrating supporting character for them to depict. His characterizations vary more than even the major characters, and his range of agency swings from nonexistent to a tyrannical amount of power over his surroundings. His depicted morality possessed an inverse relationship to that of both Juno's and Aeneas'. Additionally, his paternal relation to Jupiter was both omitted and altered in many of the English adaptations to distance him from the lineage of Aeneas and to distance him from Roman culture for later readers. This shift along with others in the English adaptations shows a growing negative sentiment from Western Europeans towards peoples from North Africa.

CHAPTER III

THE AGENCY OF JUNO

Amongst the adaptations of Juno within this selection of works ranges from her driving the plot line of the story forward to a reduction of her involvement to almost a footnote within the first four books. The differentiation between her degrees of efficacy within the adaptations are intriguing because they typically speak to how much control the humans concerned possess over their own life. The inverse relationship between mortal free will and Juno's agency within the *Aeneid* and its adaptations further highlight the monstrosity of her depiction in every iteration. She over all other gods and goddesses intervenes the most in the affairs of mortals and creates the most problems for all characters involved, and yet, her power is not limitless. It is very clear that at least within the retellings of the story and the original text that she is either prevented from acting on her desires because of fear of retaliation from deities higher on the proverbial totem pole than her, or by other deities actively stopping her.

The efficacy of Juno is also worth examining because it exposes this dynamic between Juno and the other gods, and reveals how they relate to one another. There exists within the *Aeneid* an established yet understated power ranking amongst the gods. This ranking is tested and challenged by both Juno and Venus throughout the course of the interactions between Dido and Aeneas. The first point of notable intervention on Juno's part was her asking the wind god, Aeolus, to do her bidding in exchange for a selection of beautiful sea nymphs to be his wife. In a telling move of where he sees himself in relation to Juno, he kindly refuses her offer of exchange and instead says:

Yours is the task, my queen,

to explore your heart's desires. Mine is the duty
to follow your commands. Yes, thanks to you
I rule this humble little kingdom of mine[34] (90-93)

This engagement highlights Juno's elevated status to the more minor deities like Aeolus while the consequence of him doing her bidding shows her limitations. Aeolus unwittingly offended Neptune by inciting a stormy sea, which he soon ended after he asked the messengers' of Aeolus to relay him this message:

Power over the sea and ruthless trident is mine,
not his- it's mine by lot, by destiny. His place,
Eastwind, is the rough rocks where you are all at home.
Let him bluster there and play the king in his court[35] (162-165)

Neptune's speech is notable because it emphasizes more that Aeolus was wrong to intervene because this was not his domain, rather than that he was the more powerful of the two. While the latter is certainly implied, what Neptune takes issue with most is the clear breaching of his authoritative spheres. In this version, and most adaptations after it, this interaction sets the precedence that gods are expected to stay in their domains and not meddle in the realms of other gods, though it appears that occasionally it does happen. Within William Caxton's rendition, he elected to have Neptune aid the wind god in creating a tempest for Juno. This alteration of the original text was described as thus:

On that other syde
cam vpon theym Neptunus wyth all his vorages, &
wawes alle full of scume[36] (17-19)

This alteration by Caxton eliminates the violation of expected decorum between the gods, and thus eliminates one of the facets of what makes Juno a villain. Beyond her obvious antagonistic role of persecuting Aeneas across the Mediterranean, Juno in Virgil's *Aeneid* is such

[34] Virgil, *Aeneid* ed. Robert Fagles (New York: Penguin Group 2006), 50.
[35] Virgil, *Aeneid* ed. Robert Fagles (New York: Penguin Group 2006), 52.
[36] William Caxton, *Eneydos* ed. W. T. Culley (London: Oxford University Press 1890), 39.

a compelling antagonist because she rebels against the expectations of herself among the other deities. Further past this scene is her attempt to sway Venus into helping her pair up Dido and Aeneas to jointly rule Carthage against the will of her husband, Jove, and fate itself. This is again a violation of how gods are expected to act, and thus Venus feels very skeptical towards her advances. Venus knowing how vindictive Juno can be elects rather than to directly tell her no she plants seeds of doubt in her plan and agrees. Venus so placidly agreeing to Juno's plan is not indicative of her naïveté, rather quite the opposite. Her cool resolution stems from her faith in knowing that Juno's plan will not work because it is not what Jove wants to have happen, or what is fated to happen. She coyly reveals this to Juno in a series of leading questions after agreeing to help her:

> Would Jove
> want one city to hold the Tyrians and the Trojan exiles?
> Would he sanction the mingling of their peoples,
> bless their binding pacts?[37] (136-139)

This conversation also highlights the difference in perception between Venus and Juno even though both meddle for than they should in the affairs of mortals. While Venus only changes elements associated in her domain of love in accordance with the will of Jove, Juno goes rouge. She does not abide by either of the central rules by both acting upon humans in ways outside of the authority of her realm and going directly against her husband's wishes, and thus fate. Within each adaptational change to her efficacy is also a change to how antagonistic she can be to Aeneas and his Trojans. When her ability to act upon her will increases, so does her negative depiction.

Another relationship to note that also points to Juno's rebellious phase being seen as a negative one is how rebellious mortal women are treated. In the *Aeneid*, the mortal women Dido,

[37] Virgil, *Aeneid* ed. Robert Fagles (New York: Penguin Group 2006), 131

Camilla, the wife of King Latinum, and even Anna face death or a horrible fate as a result of their divergent decisions. The only mortal woman in the *Aeneid* left alive and with a positive outlook connected to Aeneas is Lavinia, who never spoke a word or even had an expressed thought. It is clear that this parallel between Juno and the other divine, semi-divine, and mortal women that went against the grain of the Roman ideal of what a woman should do and not do was a purposeful one. Through depicting these women as villainous or awarding them with unfortunate endings, Virgil made it very clear that the expectation of women in early Imperial Rome was to not be seen or heard from.

Within each of the adaptations Juno comes off fairly poorly, though in Caxton's *Eneydos* and Chaucer's *House of Fame,* she is the most strikingly negative. Additionally, it is clear that in the *Eneydos* that Juno wields more power over her fellow gods than in any of the other rendition with exception to perhaps Marlowe's play, *Dido Queene of Carthage*. In both cases, her increased efficacy to carry out her own agenda made her more tyrannical, more unhinged, and more masculine. Her request to the wind god Aeolus and Neptune near the beginning of the narrative of Aeneas' story also reveals the enhanced power she has over them, as well as over the trajectory of fate itself. Her dialogue to the two gods concerning what she wanted done to Aeneas is shown below:

> that it myghte playse eche of theym to putte
> theym in payne, & doo theyr deuoyr, to empesshe the
> goynge of the sayd enterpryse, and makynge to breke
> and destroye alle the nauye, in plongynge vnder the
> water... to drowne and destroye alle the hooste of Enee [38](16-21)

This addition by Caxton makes Juno a much more dangerous adversary to Aeneas because now instead of her delaying his fate with the knowledge that she could not change it,

[38] William Caxton, *Eneydos* ed. W. T. Culley (London: Oxford University Press 1890), 38.

Juno has the ability to alter the course of fate. Her mission is not to make Aeneas miserable, it is to obliterate him and all of the remaining Trojans left on Earth so that they may never build up a civilization ever again. This attempted divine genocide, albeit ultimately unsuccessful, points out an interesting facet of who can change fate in Caxton's universe of Aeneas and how they can do so. Additionally, it opens up the question of if demigods, like Aeneas and perhaps the Massylian priestess, or even mortals can change their own fate, or if they can only alter various parts of it within Caxton's text

Similarly, within Chaucer's *House of Fame,* Juno is portrayed overwhelmingly negatively, and is established quickly as a deranged goddess out for vengeance. Her portrayal parallels to that of a maenad or some other mad woman running amuck and wreaking havoc on the lives of mortals. She is initially, and only, included in the first part of Chaucer's dream vision in which she is characterized as thus:

> That art Daun Jupiters wyf,
> That hast y-hated al thy lyf
> Al the Troyanisshe blood,
> Renne and crye as thou were wood[39] (199-202)

Her inclusion in Chaucer the narrator's dream is confined only to the beginning of the story of Dido and Aeneas. This elimination of her role from the rest of the retelling most likely can be attributed to the condensed nature of the retelling, and the necessity for the inclusion of Juno being only towards the beginning of the story to catalyze the future events Chaucer was more concerned with. Nonetheless, in a short passage as this it is well established that Juno is certainly not one of the more heroic, or even sympathetic characters, but due to Chaucer's even more overtly critical view of Aeneas, she is soon overshadowed by his vivid description as a no-good womanizer. Differing slightly from Caxton though, Chaucer's characterization of Juno here

[39] Geoffrey Chaucer, *The House of Fame* ed. Kathryn L. Lynch (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. 2007), 48

also trivializes her to the point of almost being comically evil. While in the *Eneydos* she is a terrifying force fully capable of thwarting the efforts of Aeneas, her presence in the *House of Fame* is a token one, and certainly intended to be an overly dramatic and exaggerated depiction of the malevolent Juno. While she too demands the help of Aeolus to wipe out Aeneas and the Trojan race as she does in Caxton's text, nothing comes of it, as this is the last mention of her for the rest of the *House of Fame*, and leads readers to believe that this iteration of Juno is not as potent as she perceives herself to be.

Interestingly, in Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women* he makes no mention of Juno anywhere. However, Venus and Cupid are still included, as is the goddess Fama who spread the rumor about Aeneas and Dido. This exclusion of her from the text partially allows Chaucer to fill the void left by her absence for an antagonist with Aeneas. Given Chaucer's practice of writing more so about evil men inflicting themselves upon a woman, rather than the reasons why the woman herself is virtuous, this elimination was crucial for him. With the liberty to reinterpret Aeneas as an inconsistent and disingenuous lover, Chaucer now had no need for Juno's rebellious female presence to conclude his narrative. While Virgil used women in his epic to make a point about how they should abide by the societal expectations of them, Chaucer chose to flip this ideal on its head and use women of his choice from the same story to criticize men who took advantage of women.

The Douglas Middle Scots translation, *Eneados,* depicts Juno most closely to her original characterization in the *Aeneid*. Thus it does not possess anything incredibly revisionary or divergent that requires a great deal of additional analysis other than his additions of biblical allusions regarding her within his prologue and the first book of his *Eneados*. Within his epithets

for her and his footnotes he vilifies Juno in comparable ways to that of Virgil with an addition of biblical implications:

> "Quhen that Iuno, till her euerlestand schame,
> The etern wound hyd in hir breist ay greyn,
> Ontill hir self thus spak in propir teyn[40]" (66-68)[41]

This passage harkens to David 12:2[42] of the Bible in which a scene from Judgment Day is described. This allusion places Juno alongside the souls of the dammed at the day of reckoning and adds a layer of tainted moral conduct to her part as an antagonist. In other footnotes Douglas uses the actions of Juno to make an allegory about the effects of scattered or malicious thoughts on the pure mind during prayer. Thus through these minor additions Juno becomes an obstruction of not only fate but also positive morality according to the likes of Gavin Douglas. Other than these occurrences however, Douglas portrays her role in very much the same manner as Virgil.

Finally, Christopher Marlowe maculates Juno in his play to act as a counterpart to the more effeminate Jupiter. Furthermore, her role in the play is reduced only to her attempting to kill Ascanius, an addition by Marlowe that no other adaptor included in their works, and a dialogue between her and Venus after the goddess of love discovers what Juno intended to do. By framing Juno's entrance to the narrative with her attempting to kill a child, Marlowe makes her more cruel and monstrous. Additionally, the motif of a woman killing their own child, or

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[40] Gavin Douglas, *Aeneid* ed. David F. C. Coldwell (Edinburgh & London: William Blackwood & Sons Ltd. 1959), 21

[41] When that Juno, till her everlasting shame, the eternal wound hidden in her breast and groaned, onto herself thus spoke in proper tone

[42] From the Vulgate Bible this passage reads: "Et multi de his qui dormiunt in terrae pulvere evigilabunt, alii in vitam aeternam, et alii in opprobrium ut videant semper." The translation for this passage comes out to "Many of those who sleep in the dust of the land will wake up—some to eternal life, others to shame and eternal disgrace"

someone else's, prevails throughout the realms of classical to English Renaissance literature.[43] When Venus apprehends her however, Juno lies and tells her that she remained there to protect his life.

Following this episode, Juno attempts to assert the power of her patron city Carthage, but Venus' response shifts from a flippant affirmation though she saw through Juno's plans, to a now more hesitant no because she saw that he was already destined to go to Italy and to be married to Lavinia:

> VENUS: Well could I like this reconcilement's means;
> But much I fear my son will ne'er consent,
> Whose armed soul, already on the sea,
> Darts forth her light [un]to Lavinia's shore[44]. (80-83)

This alteration in Venus' response to Juno shows that within this version of events, Venus sees herself as an agent of fate (in the place of Jupiter), and views Juno as a goddess going rouge to destroy it. Additionally, this exchange between the two goddesses heightens the aspect of competition between the two and put them on more equal footing in terms of efficacy. After Venus' initial attempt to rouse Jupiter failed, she relied more and more on herself to preserve the ordained course of fate for her son and the other individuals concerned. Juno appears less as a flawed antagonist with petty reasons for persecuting Aeneas and the Trojans, but rather as a ruthless and competitive goddess who asserts her power over the other gods through whatever means at her disposal.

This examination of Juno provides valuable insight to not only the depictions of her morality and power over her dominion and others, but also that of the other gods. Additionally, the hierarchy of the gods in relation to one another reveals itself from this analysis. The politics

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[43] The women that comes to mind for instance would be: Philomela and Procne, Medea, Lady Macbeth, and other villainous women who kill/talk about killing children within their respective stories.
[44] Christopher Marlowe, *The Tragide of Dido, Queene of Carthage* ed. Thomas Nash

of the divine shifts from work to work and shows how the gods relate to one another and see their place amongst the other gods around them. In a similar vein, this chapter also shows how the gods are supposed to use their role to promote the decree of fate, yet can also use their dominion to work against it if unchecked. Juno never appeared as a heroic figure to any of the adaptors, but her degree of villainy in the *Aeneid* and its English adaptations speak volumes about what it meant to be a virtuous god and mortal.

CONCLUSION

This project started with intentions of looking at how English adaptations of the Dido-Aeneas narrative from the *Aeneid* across the 14th-16th century would change their depictions of divinity due to the English Reformation. However, going into this project looking for such specific results and correlations from the texts proved to not be the most fruitful of endeavors, though other avenues of analysis did present themselves. Within the Douglas translation *Eneados* between his completed manuscript and first printing omissions of his Catholic-leaning marginalia and sections of his prologue occurred as after his death in 1522 Scotland grew increasingly more and more evangelized and Anglicized till the printing of his manuscript in 1553. This would be the only concrete form of observable Catholic to Protestant influence on any of kind within the selected works. However other points of analysis emerged with regards to the relationship between divinity and mortals and that was simply put, ethnic groups.

The narrative's intersection of three distinctly different ethnic groups, and their respective leaders, provided an opportunity to compare the treatment of these peoples by the gods. Not surprisingly, Aeneas and his Trojans had the most direct help and adversity from the gods, followed by the Carthaginians, and last Iarbas and the other North Africans. It seems as though the ethnic groups with the most at stake get the most intervention, whether it be good or bad, from the gods while others either receive less, or are subjected to the consequences of the gods intervening in the Trojans fates. It could be argued that this continuity of the heightened intervention within the lives of the Trojans is due primarily to that this is a story about the ancestry of Rome. However, the instances of divine intervention must also be looked at through the lens of what the agenda is for the god in question.

In the case of Iarbas, his pleas to Jupiter are used in the *Aeneid* as a means to gather information about Aeneas' activity and he is never given a response back from his father. It was not in Jupiter's self interest or the interest of the Fates to intervene on Iarbas' behalf because he was not destined for anything of note. In the later English adaptations, this silent rebuff was interpreted by some not as that Jupiter did not care for Iarbas because he was not destined for greatness, but because he was a North African and thus, inferior to the Trojans whom Western Europeans imprinted themselves onto in their literature and art. This new literary interpretation is most heavily reflected in Caxton's first segment of his *Eneydos* that was adapted from Boccaccio's *De Mulieribus Claris* in the depiction of the North Africans as nomadic warring tribes with no semblance of culture, cohesion, or morality. Additionally, Dido and the Carthaginians were only slightly better off in their characterizations in some cases. In Caxton's second segment of his *Eneydos* she is portrayed as a negligent ruler over a group of unruly people that Jupiter had to pacify before the Trojans entered the city.

These sentiments reflected a mounting social thought in the educated minds of Western Europe that they were of a superior stance in terms of culture, education, piety, and decency to peoples in Eastern Europe or Africa that were considered more lowly and barbaric. In fact, by the early 20th century Benito Mussolini would come upon the *Aeneid* and use it as a tool to further his Italian nationalist beliefs by using it as quasi-historical evidence of the superiority of the Italian race. His Royal Academy of Italy produced a mirrored Italian and Latin translation of the text, along with numerous other Latin works from antiquity, and distributed it across the surviving Fascist Italian libraries. His infatuation and perversion with the *Aeneid* extended in so far as much that he created writing contests for young intellectuals to emulate the values of it (as well as the Fascist regime) with first place prizes worth thousands of lira. Additionally he used it

in a less benign way to justify his colonies in North Africa and subjugation of masses of African peoples.

This dangerous literary appropriation of the *Aeneid* shows why studying it as well as the history that surrounds it and its later iterations and adaptations is so important on a societal level. Any classicist could look at these interpretations of the text and refute them on the basis that Virgil wrote the *Aeneid* during the reign of Emperor Augustus, and during that time, any person in territories claimed by Rome had Roman citizenship. In fact, numerous later emperors and earlier consuls during the time of the Roman Republic were from surrounding territories claimed by Rome like Africa and Spain. Furthermore, Mussolini's use of this epic to celebrate and validate Italian heritage overlooks that this epic is not about Italians in fact, but Trojans, and that Italy was not uninhabited when Aeneas finally reached its shores. Thus his use of this epic is akin to if an American nationalist group using accounts from Christopher Columbus or John Rolfe as an example of true American virtue.

Papers like this one help examine how such gross appropriation of texts from antiquity occurs over time. Perversions such as the ones Mussolini undertook do not occur within a vacuum of literary commentary, nor is his the only occurrence. Surrounding this epic were years and years of textual criticism, adaptations, and common belief that were close enough in their ideological leanings to support his agenda that he was able to take the *Aeneid* and do what he did with it. While this paper's focus is not on this development, it does help to begin to provide context to why it was able to happen. This research objective is valuable within the field of comparative literature because it builds upon previous research on divinity, fate, and free will about only the *Aeneid* and applies it to a selection of its later English adaptations. This in turn

reveals how, where, and why alterations were made to the text for their Medieval and Early Modern readers.

A general finding of this thesis project is that mortals or gods depicted with more agency over their life, and particularly the lives of others, are typically characterized as more antagonistic. This observation can apply to Juno, Venus, Aeneas, Dido, the Massylian witch and Iarbas depending on the text in question. Due to the nature of this thesis, finding such a correlation in some of the works would be expected, however its presence in all five of the English texts was surprising. Additionally, this trend was very visible with the likes of Juno and even Venus because they were two of the major goddesses. Within the mortals however, seeing this relationship was not anticipated, but did make logical sense if the premise that gods with more efficacy tended to be more tyrannical held, which it did, that this trend would also apply to all individuals.

A less obvious finding from this project was that Dido's portrayal over time improved in some of the adaptations due to the shift in perspectives on women remarrying after being widowed. During the reign of Augustus in which the *Aeneid* was written, women were expected to remarry within four years after the death of their husband so Dido's choice to remain unmarried within the *Aeneid* would have seemed to the reader at the time as not a very Roman thing to do as well as uncouth for a lady of her stature. However, later going into the Medieval period, women remarrying after the death of their husband was seen in some circles of society as the indication of a loose woman if the proper time of mourning and widowhood had not elapsed. With this development came the new perspective from readers that her choice to not marry was a virtuous one, and that if not for Aeneas, she would have remained chaste and as a virtuous queen

of Carthage. Additionally, it helped authors like Chaucer and Marlowe to make her predicament all the more tragic and unjust in their adaptations.

Another one of the largest takeaways from this research project was the differing nature of divine politics within each of these adaptations. From the very beginning of the Dido-Aeneas narrative the power dynamics of the gods was partially unveiled through Juno's interaction with the wind god Aeolus and later Neptune. The idea of dominion and the notion that a god could act outside their own but that they ought not to was established in this scene. Moving along through the story, it also becomes clear that the gods are all held accountable, or in certain cases such as Marlowe's play, ought to be held accountable by Jupiter, who mandates that the rule of the Fates is what all gods are to support. This model of determinism thus makes the gods as enforcers and guardians of fate, whose own personal desires and prejudices paradoxically make it more difficult for them to do so.

The English adaptations of the Aeneid generally followed this model of the enforcing of fate with only small adjustments, as is the case in Christopher Marlowe's play, *Dido Queen of Carthage*. This deviation from the other texts in respect to the Virgil's original model of fate enforced through the gods stems from Marlowe's depiction of Jupiter as apathetic and what would have been considered "sexually deviant" at the time. In this absence of Jupiter wielding his authority over the other gods, as is his duty, Juno and Venus filled the power vacuum. This shift in Jupiter's depiction on Marlowe's part also highlights the reluctance the other English adaptors had in depicting Jupiter worse than he had been in the *Aeneid*. In fact, many of the adaptors made efforts to moralize Jupiter as a means of reconciling a story written with pagan gods to a Christian audience.

Gavin Douglas' Middle Scots translation of the *Aeneid* in particular comes to mind with this occurrence, as his position as a Catholic Bishop warranted his trepidation surrounding the characterization of Jupiter. Given that Douglas strived more than any of the other English adaptors to portray Aeneas in the best light, this endeavor makes sense. Throughout the *Aeneid*, Aeneas is compelled to fulfill his fate and uphold the *pietas* code[45] by the prodding of Jupiter. However, when this word *pietas* was translated into English instead of it being rendered to "duty" or "virtue," it was instead translated to "piety". While piety was a major factor in abiding by the *pietas* code, it was not the only one. With this shift in semantics, it would only make sense to have Jupiter as an altruistic god so that the paradox of Aeneas being religiously devout to a morally crooked god would not occur.

Additionally, Douglas' heightened religious emphasis within Aeneas and Jupiter inversely affected the characterization of the morality of both Dido and Iarbas. His adherence to producing a translation that did not compromise the integrity of his religion within a work about pagans was only rivaled by his pursuit to produce a faithful vernacular translation of the *Aeneid*. With this venture also came criticism of his predecessors' attempts to adapt the text. The areas he found most contentious with both Chaucer and Caxton were those regarding Aeneas' conduct with Dido. While his criticism of Chaucer was light-hearted, he made no attempts to mince words for what he thought of Caxton's rendition of the romance between the Trojan leader and the Carthagian queen. This commentary from one adaptor to another's work shows persistence in the relevance of the *Aeneid* across time, particularly with the sections of the it that induce the most questions regarding the morality of Aeneas. Thus, the episodes covered within the overarching points of stress not only reflect on the characters concerned (Venus, Dido, Juno, and

[45] Essentially means fulfilling one's obligations to the gods, one's country, one's family, and finally one's fellow countrymen

Iarbas), but also provide commentary on these adaptors perception of Aeneas' character when they read the *Aeneid*.

Finally, this thesis pointed out why the fourth book of the *Aeneid* was the most contested, adapted, and discussed book of the twelve. Attesting to this fact is that almost every student taking Latin in the past few centuries who has scanned parts of the *Aeneid* would have scanned the fourth book. Perhaps this is because it is arguably the best one with the most engaging characters, the one with the most emotionally charged scenes, and the one with the most at stake for Aeneas and Dido, or a combination of all of those things. Regardless, the story of Aeneas and Dido is one that questions the nature of fate, determinism versus free will, love and lust, obligation to something bigger than one's self, piety, and the inner mechanisms of divinity. With these questions answered concerning other adaptations of this masterpiece of classical epics, more arise unanswered for another time, and another paper.

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