DIDO, TIME AND SPACE IN THE *AENEID*, *DIVINA COMMEDIA* AND *DIDO QUEEN OF*

CARTHAGE

by

JESSICA HOPE ROBERTS

(Under the Direction of Cynthia Turner Camp)

ABSTRACT

In this thesis, I explore temporality and spatial rhetoric in Publius Vergilius Maro's *Aeneid*, Dante Alighieri's *Divina Commedia*, and Christopher Marlowe's *Dido Queen of Carthage* by focusing on medieval and early modern appropriation of Virgil's Dido and Aeneas story. The Dido-Aeneas story these authors adapt comes from the *Aeneid*, which Virgil originally created as a nationalist epic glorifying Augustan Rome. His epic contains anachronic (non-linear) and antichronic (against historical time) temporalities, as well as Augustan teleology (temporality that privileges the future). Later authors also use this story and these temporalities to suggest similar communities, but communities divorced from any nationalist agenda. Dante Alighieri proposes a Christian, instead of pagan, community through his manipulation of Virgil's teleology, and Christopher Marlowe proposes a queer, instead of hetero- and gender-normative, community by his use of antichrony and anachrony.

INDEX WORDS: Virgil, Dante, Marlowe, Dido, Temporality, Queer theory, Narratology,
                 Aeneid, Divine Commedy, Dido Queen of Carthage

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DEDICATION

For my parents, Kenneth and Barbara Roberts, who fostered my love of reading, and Dominic Sevieri, for encouraging and/or tolerating my love of science fiction and medieval literature and the writing of this thesis.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: TIME AND COMPARATIVE LITERATURE IN SPACE

Growing up on a steady diet of science fiction, especially time and space travel fiction, readied me to venture into this study of temporality. The conflation of "science" and "fiction" still appeals to me in areas outside the genre, as I love to read analytical articles as well as literature. Not until this thesis did I realize that I can actually combine my interest in science and fiction within my literary studies and that I think about time in a similar manner to science fiction – thinking that shapes my literary analysis of texts. As such, I present two texts that shaped this thesis, even though I do not use the terminology from them. The first text is the BBC's series *Doctor Who*. In the June 9 (2007) episode "Blink," the Tenth Doctor states that "[p]eople assume that time is a strict progression of cause to effect, but actually, from a non-linear, non-subjective viewpoint, it's more like a big ball of wibbly-wobbly... timey-wimey... stuff."[1] Time is not linear; instead it is a messy ball of temporalities. Through the vocabulary of science fiction, I was first able to articulate my ideas about time, and as such early drafts of this work included "timey wimey" before my research led me to narratology and temporality theory. There I found a theoretical vocabulary for the "mixed up" time in Virgil's *Aeneid* and Chrisopher Marlowe's *Dido Queen of Carthage*. The description of time as "stuff" also suggests that it is material, which caused me to think about the relationship between authors and history. I conclude that the "stuff" of history is malleable in the right hands, as is the temporality of texts.

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1 Steven Moffat, "Blink," *Doctor Who: The Complete Third Series,* Dir. Hettie MacDonald. (British Broadcasting Company, 2007). DVD.

One way authors manipulate the malleable stuff of history is through wrinkling history to focus on certain points. Again, science fiction enabled me to think about and articulate these ideas. In Madeleine L'Engle's *A Wrinkle in Time,* Mrs. Whatsit tells Meg her difficulty understanding space travel occurs "because you think of space in only three dimensions."[2] She explains that the shortest distance between two points is not a straight (i.e. linear) line, but a wrinkle or tesseract that places the two points next to each other (See Fig. 1). This wrinkled spatial relationship molded my thinking about Virgil's legacy, but instead of a wrinkle only between two spatial points, there exists a series of wrinkles and folds in the fabric of space-time between the *Aeneid* and Dante Alighieri's *Divina Commedia*, and the *Aeneid* and *Dido Queen of Carthage* (See Fig. 2). As with modern, non-Euclidean understandings of time and space, the canon of literature is not linear.

Figure 1: A tesseract versus a linear relationship
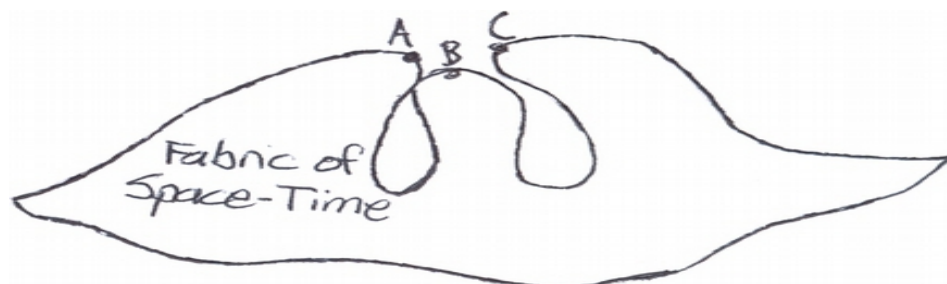
Figure 2: Space is not two dimensional, like a line, but three. Folds and wrinkles in the fabric of space-time would also be three dimensional, as this figure attempts to show.

My thesis examines not *Doctor Who* or *A Wrinkle In Time*, but the *Aeneid* by Publius Vergilius Maro, *Divina Commedia* by Dante Alighieri, and *Dido Queen of Carthage* by Christopher Marlowe. The lessons I learned from the former texts do influence my study of

2   Madeleine L'Engle, *A Wrinkle in Time* (New York: Yearling, 1962), 70.

temporality in the latter, and some day, when I have time and space, I want to examine many more of these folds in the literary canon. I only focus here on the source text, Virgil, and two alterations of it. I start with Virgil, because the beginning of the Western, written canon starts with Virgil (or so most past and present versions of the canon suggest). He is the written epic poet to whom other epic poets, and, after epic poetry fell out of fashion, different types of authors compared themselves. To talk about time in literature, then, I must start with Virgil. Instead of doing a broad, narrative comparison, I show that in *Divina Commedia* and *Dido Queen of Carthage* not only did later authors modify the narrative of the *Aeneid*, but they also modified its time and space, particularly the times and spaces surrounding Virgil's characters Dido and Aeneas. By looking at time and space surrounding Dido and Aeneas, we can start to unpack a new reading of these texts: one which includes a layer of interaction with the *Aeneid* not yet uncovered. Through these authors' manipulation of temporality, we learn not only about literature, but also about history *as* literature. The past is repeatedly altered by authors, and Dante and Marlowe's revision of the *Aeneid* is also a revisionist history, molding the stuff of history into new poetic forms. Dante molds the Dido-Aeneas story into a Christian epic, and Marlowe molds it into a play.

I posit that these alterations of the *Aeneid* do not seek to supersede Virgil but seek to respond to him in the same ways Virgil responded to earlier authors, such as Homer, Appollonius and Catullus.[3] The *Aeneid* originally was a multi-layered, enfolded record influenced by past authors, and the story of Aeneas continues to be so as it develops through the ages. As the story evolves through retellings, it becomes an overlapping record of many of these

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3   David O. Ross, *Virgil's Aeneid: A Reader's Guide* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2007), 32. He compares Virgil's description of Dido to earlier authors descriptions of Nausicaa, Medea and Ariadne, making Dido a composite of the three. Virgil's poem was also a layered, enfolded piece of literature.

pasts (revised or otherwise), presents (entirely depending on the subjective viewpoint of the author), and (potential) futures. This record is a textual construction of time, because these narratives are consciously created by authors entering into the textual discourse with Virgil. The story becomes a *papier mâché* sculpture, evolving and responding to each textual layer, and as such is also three dimensional, expanding outward as further layers are added to the surface. The original history of Aeneas has been obscured by later fictional narratives, but not erased – it forms the inner skeleton over which authors like Virgil and Ovid, initially, layered their stories.[4] St. Augustine and Thomas Aquinas added a religious layer over parts of these works. Later authors, like Chaucer and Dante, reacted to different parts of this *papier mâché*; Dante reacts to Virgil, Augustine and Aquinas, and Chaucer reacts to Virgil, Ovid, Gower and Dante. Both authors add yet another layer to this ever-growing compilation. These later layers do not completely obscure earlier ones, and depending upon the angle from which they look, authors might see something completely different. I imagine the textual layers as very thin onion skin paper, and because some authors borrow parts from earlier stories, the new stories are more like collages of texts added to the *papier mâché*, bringing earlier authors closer to the surface on the compilation: Dante includes Augustinian and scientific influence while riffing on Virgil, and Christopher Marlowe reacts to medieval layers, directly quotes Virgil, and adds new scenes.

Though I focus on Dante and Marlowe's Dido(s), Dido exists in many forms in the medieval period. The most notable Dido's are in Chaucer's *House of Fame* and *The Legend of Good Women*, Gower's *Confessio Amantis* and Christine de Pizan's *City of Ladies*.[5] All four texts

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4   Attempts to erase and secede over earlier tellings were common, but that is not the relationship I see these authors having with this text. It is more of a conversation than a competition.

5   Current editions include Geoffrey Chaucer and Larry Dean Benson, *The Riverside Chaucer* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1987), John Gower, *Confession Amantis,* ed. Russell Peck, trans. Andrew Gallway (Kalamazo:Western Michigan Univ Medieval , 2006), and Christine de Pizan, *The Book of the City of Ladies*, ed. Rosalinde Brown Grant (London: Penguin Group, 2000).

are dream visions, presenting an ideal or a mock ideal of lovers and/or women who inhabit a dreamscape. The time and space of dreams are unreal and untrustworthy, and the narrative distancing of Dido's habitation in this unreal space enables these authors to idealize or parodize her. When critics consider Chaucer's interrogation of the role of poets, particularly Virgil's, those writing about Chaucer's Dido focus on *House of Fame* more than *The Legend of Good Women*.[6] *The Legend of Good Women*'s format as an *exemplum* couched inside a dream vision makes Chaucer's intentions more difficult to parse than in *House of Fame,* because of his untrustworthy narrator and the genre, an *exemplum* within a dream. Gower's *Confessio Amantis* is a more serious religious work than Chaucer's *The Legend of Good Women*, and instead presents Dido's story as straightforward *exempla*. Christine de Pizan uses the distancing of the dream vision to build her *City of Ladies*, which refigures history to create an imagined metropolitan space for empowered women. In addition to these four texts, Dante also wrote a dream vision with Dido as a character, *Divina Commedia*.[7] It appears that in the medieval period, poets oft dreamt of Dido.

These dream visions invite temporal readings, but scholars have taken different approaches. For example, there have been several important works on the medieval theory of authorship, illuminating that these retellings of Virgil do not equate with appropriation as

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6   See Susan Hagedorn, *Abandoned Women: Rewriting the Classical in Dante, Boccacio and Chaucer* (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan, 2004), David Lyle Jeffrey, "Authority and Interpretation in the 'House of Fame'" in *House of the Interpreter: Reading Scripture, Reading Culture* (Waco, Tx,: Baylor University Press, 2003), 87-110, Richard Firth Green, "Chaucer's Victimized Women" in *Studies In The Age Of Chaucer: The Yearbook Of The New Chaucer Society* 10(1988), 3-21 for texts that focus on *House of Fame* and Lisa Kiser, *Telling Classical Tales: Chaucer and* The Legend of Good Women (Ithaca: Cornell, 1983) and *Truth and Textuality in Chaucer's Poetry* (Hanover: U P Of New England, 1991), Sheila Delany, *The Naked Text: Chaucer's Legend of Good Women* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1994), Nancy Ruff "Sely Dido: A Good Woman's Fame," *Classical and Modern Literature: A Quarterly* 12.1 (Fall 1991):59-68 for texts that focus on *Legend of Good Women.*

7   *Divina Commedia*'s status as a dream vision is under debate, but I believe it is, following Saint Augustine's *City of God.*

modern scholars understand the term.[8] This criticism tells us that the relationship between *auctor*

and later writer was still one where later authors appreciated the *auctor*'s *auctoritas*, but "his

human qualities began to receive more attention."[9] As such, it becomes more clear why later

authors "picked on" Virgil's pagan beliefs and imperialist politics; he had human foibles.

Questions of translation are also addressed in scholarly discussions about the use of Virgil by

later authors, and these scholars identify several degrees of translation.[10] The highest degree

occurs when an author not only reshapes the source text but also takes responsibility for it as his

or her own work, asserting themselves as *auctor*.[11] Christopher Baswell's *Virgil in Medieval

England* is a comprehensive study of Virgil's use in the medieval period in which he discusses

translation and authority. His study includes annotated versions of the *Aeneid* as well as poetic

reinterpretations, and it follows Dido's poetics movements through the medieval period.[12]

Most scholars who do not focus on authorship or translation study Dido through a

feminist lens. They examine descriptions of the feminine in the texts, such as the medieval

period's conception of devious Aeneas (and as such try to save Dido from infamy) or broad

8   Such as A. J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*. 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1988), and A. J. Minnis, A. Brian Scott, and David Wallace, *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism, C.1100-c.1375: The Commentary Tradition* (New York: Clarendon P, 1988).

9   Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, 5.

10 Such as Jocelyn Wogan-Browne and Ian R. Johnson, *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280-1520* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State U P, 1999), Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (New York: Cambridge U P, 1991) and Allen J. Frantzen, *Speaking Two Languages: Traditional Disciplines and Contemporary Theory in Medieval Studies* (Albany: State U of New York P, 1991).

11 Wogan-Browne and Johnson, *The Idea of the Vernacular*, 5.

12 Christopher Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England: Figuring the Aeneid From the Twelfth Century to Chaucer* (New York: Cambridge UP, 1995).

comparisons between Dido's treatment in Virgil and the medieval version.[13] The question of lust

or inordinate love often comes up in feminist scholarship about these texts: was Dido truly to

blame for lusting after Aeneas, even after belief in the pagan gods has faded? Her suicide also

factors into this inordinate love debate: why is her suicide often forgiven in these medieval

texts?[14] The results of these questions are varied, but none of these examinations, though very

useful to the scholarly discourse as a whole, examine temporality.

Scholars of the medieval period often study Virgil and Dido, but such is not the case in

the early modern period. Early modern versions of Dido's story are few and far between.

Shakespeare includes multiple references to Dido throughout his plays and poems but wrote no

full works about her.[15] The most famous Shakespearean references to Dido come from *Hamlet*

and *The Tempest*: in Act 2, Scene 2 line 419 of *Hamlet* the first player recites Aeneas's

description of the fall of Troy to Dido, and in *The Tempest* Act 2, Scene 1 lines 800-801,

Sebastian and Antonio repeat the phrase "Widow Dido" after returning from Carthage. Thomas

Phaer and Thomas Twyne translated the *Aeneid* into English in 1584, and George Sandys

attempted a translation, but he only made it through Book 1. Dido was used in sermons and

school books, as well. Other than brief allusions in poetry, plays and educational texts, and

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13 Such as Virginia Jewiss, "Monstrous Movements and Metaphors in Dante's *Divine Comedy*" and Naomi Yavneh, "Dante's 'Dolce Serena' and the Monstrosity of the Female Body" in *Monsters in the Italian Literary Imagination,* Ed. Keala Jewell (Detroit: Wayne State, 2001), Carolynn Lund-Mead "Dido Alighieri: Gender Inversion in the Francesca Episode" in *Dante and the Unorthodox: The Aesthetics of Transgression,* ed. James Miller (Ontario, CA: Wilfrid Laurier, 2005), among many others. Lee Patterson *Chaucer and the Subject of History* (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1991) is one study that discusses Chaucer's description of Aeneas's "gentil" behavior in "The Legend of Dido" as ironic.

14 Articles such as Sebastian Sobecki, "'And To The Herte She Hireselven Smot': The Loveris Maladye And The Legitimate Suicides Of Chaucer's And Gower's Exemplary Lovers," *Mediaevalia: An Interdisciplinary Journal Of Medieval Studies Worldwide* 25.1 (2004): 107-121 suggest that because Dido was irrational, or perhaps mad, when she committed suicide, she is not culpable for her self-murder.

15 See Roger Savage, "Dido Dies Again" in *A Woman Scorn'd: Responses to the Dido Myth,* ed. Michael Burden (London, Faber and Faber, 1998) for a comprehensive discussion of Shakespeare's Dido references.

translations of the *Aeneid*, no texts about Dido exist from the period other than Marlowe's *Dido Queen of Carthage*.

Like their medieval counterparts, scholars who write about Marlowe's *Dido* again focus on feminist criticism or comparisons to Virgil.[16] There have been a few queer theory studies on *Dido* in recent years, but those tend towards the understanding of queer as homosexual, instead of queer as non-normative in all areas, not just sexuality.[17] These queer theory studies have not extended to temporality in any of Marlowe's works, though Shakespeare studies have ventured into this area.[18] In fact, there has not been any criticism that focuses on any form of temporality in *Dido Queen of Carthage*.

My approach is similar to that of a new breed of medievalists. I am, to borrow Frantzen's words, studying these texts not to "relive them or re-create them, but to render them as critical texts."[19] We are readers of these texts not in the time they were written, but in our own time; as such, we should expand our analysis of these texts with our own critical vocabularies to produce new critical readings. Dante and Marlowe also use their contemporary understandings of space,

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16 For examples of feminist readings, see Sara Munson Deats, "The Subversion of Gender Hierarchies in *Dido, Queene of Carthage*" in *Marlowe, History and Sexuality,* ed. Paul Whitfield White (New York: AMS P, Inc., 1998), Emma Buckley "'Live False Aeneas!' Marlowe's *Dido Queen of Carthage* and the Limits of Translation," *Classical Receptions Journal* 3.2 (2011):129-147, and C. Kinney "Epic Transgression and the Framing of Agency in 'Dido Queen of Carthage'" in *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 40.2 (2000): 261-276. For comparisons to the *Aeneid*, see Donatella Du Plessis "A Comparative Study of the Dido-Aeneas Episode in Virgil's *Aeneid* and Marlowe's *Dido Queen of Carthage*," *Akroterion* 53 (2008): 111-119, Roma Gill "Marlowe and the Art of Translation," in *"A Poet and a Filthy Play Maker": New Essays on Christopher Marlowe,* ed. Kenneth Friedenreich, Roma Gill and Constance B. Kuriyama (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1988) and "Marlowe's Virgil: *Dido Queen of Carthage,*" *The Review of English Studies New Series,* 28.110 (1977): 141-55.

17 For queer studies, see David Clark, "Marlowe and Queer Theory" in *Christopher Marlowe in Context,* ed. Emily C. Bartels and Emma Smith (New York: Cambridge, 2013) and Mario DiGagni, "Marlowe, Queer Studies, and Renaissance Homoeroticism" in *Marlowe, History and Sexuality,* ed. by Paul Whitfield White (New York: AMS P, Inc., 1998).

18 For example, *Shakesqueer: A Queer Companion to the Complete Works of Shakespeare* ed. Madhavi Menon (Durham [NC]: Duke University Press, 2011).

19 Frantzen, *Speaking Two Languages*, 15.

time and people when they interact with texts, and Virgil does the same. As Carolyn Dinshaw elaborates on this type of temporality, "[t]ime is lived; it is full of attachments and desires, histories and futures."[20] Though my thesis progresses through time sequentially, moving from Virgil to Dante to Marlowe, I do not treat these texts as discrete moments on a linear path towards modernity. These texts influence and are influenced by many different "attachments and desires, histories and futures," even if there is not room in this thesis for me to explore those influences fully. By focusing on my subjective temporality, I follow in Dante and Marlowe's footsteps and acknowledge their human status and influences, as well as my own. Denying that my pasts and presents influenced my reading of the texts would be misguided.

In my study, I find a middle road between judging these texts only on their historical context and only using modern literary theory. I find this road in an attempt to "go back to the texts and their contexts with a desire to listen and learn, not shout down and dominate."[21] As a result, I found new conceptions of time and space in each text. I picked these texts because I intend to keep them or make them (in the case of Marlowe) relevant to modern critical study. Through this new framework, I learn more about the texts, as well as discover ways the framework can be shaped by the texts (not even critical theory is static in my reading). As Frantzen demands, "This [critical theory] business means that every generation of critics, approaching tradition with a new perspective and new issues, will be engaged in reestablishing and renewing tradition even as tradition is overtaken."[22] Few authors have applied temporality or

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20 Carolyn Dinshaw, *How Soon is Now? Medieval Texts, Amateur Readers and the Queerness of Time* (Durham: Duke UP, 2012), 3.

21 Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, xviii.

22 Frantzen, *Speaking Two Languages*, 3.

a postcolonial view of temporality onto these works, but we must do so to restablish and renew traditions.

In an attempt to renew study of Dante and Marlowe, I focus on their reworking of Virgil because a gap exists in Dantist and Marlovian criticism when it comes to temporal readings of the texts. Because their retellings of the Dido and Aeneas story include alterations of Virgil's space and time, temporal readings uncover a form of authorial manipulation not explored by scholars: temporal adaptation (adaptation in the sense of changing temporality, not in the modern critical sense). This alteration of time and space allows the time and space for new teleologies and new communities. I argue that not only time and space are manipulated, but that the authors make feminist and queer changes simultaneously with their temporal manipulation. Dante's scientific approach to universe construction and his attention to spatial details in *Divina Commedia* alter the temporality of his text and his female characters. Marlowe's *Dido Queen of Carthage* is the major work on Dido in the early modern period, and where Dante is reverent and conservative in his alterations of space and time, Marlowe is not. Marlowe alters the space of Carthage by making it and time queer, burlesquing the *Aeneid* and creating queer characters.

My second chapter begins the thesis by discussing the ways Virgil's epic time is "timey-wimey" to present a new consideration for why *The Aeneid* is adapted so often. The episodes in the epic do not occur in linear, sequential order, but instead the epic begins according to epic convention *in medias res*. I refer to this non-linearity as anachrony, following Mieke Bal.[23] Additionally, though Virgil wrote the *Aeneid* from approximately 29-19 BCE and set it much earlier, his epic, I argue, lacks a present. Dido and Aeneas lived several hundred years apart, so their "present" in the text does not exist. This lack of a present means their story can be inserted

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23 Mieke Bal. *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative,* Trans. Christine van Boheemen (Buffalo: U of Toronto P, 1985), 53.

into other presents by later authors. I refer to this lack of a present and other untimely times as antichrony, episodes that are against or in conflict with historical time, making his epic more malleable for later authors. I focus on these two temporalities in one geographic area of the *Aeneid*, Carthage, and Virgil's Augustan teleology in another metaphysical geographic area, The Underworld. This Augustan teleology asserts that Rome reaches its Golden Age under Caesar Augustus, and everything before then, including Troy, was building towards this zenith.

Turning to the medieval period in chapter three, I contrast Virgil's spatial and temporal poetics with Dante's. Dante's *Divina Commedia* includes a new Christian teleology to negate Virgil's pagan, Augustan teleology. I take something close to a structural approach in my chapter on Dante by closely examining the space of *Divina Commedia*. This approach is appropriate since his universe is highly structured, and his main spatial alterations include alterations of time. To do so, Dante creates the first work of travel through the planets in existence: Dante alters Virgil's metaphysical space of the Underworld to include Heaven, an extra-terrestrial place one can only travel to by participating in redemptive teleology. Thusly, his imagination (plus influences from theologians) makes his temporality very different from Virgil's. His time and space in Hell and Heaven respond to Virgil's time and space in the Underworld, the Fields of Mourning and Elysium, respectively. Additionally, he adds another space, Purgatory, which further negates Virgil's Augustan teleology by offering souls the chance to move from one space to the zenith of his teleology, Heaven.

I finally turn to the early modern period in chapter four to discuss Marlowe's queering of Virgil's time and space. Marlowe's play centers on the other Virgilean space I examine in my first chapter: Carthage. *Dido Queen of Carthage* is often considered part of Marlowe's juvenalia, and therefore unimportant to study, but I disagree. I argue that his alteration of time shows it to

be a much more nuanced translation of Virgil's text than most scholars acknowledge.[24] Marlowe's play alters Virgilean time more than space, so I take a temporal approach, focusing on repetitions of the word "time" throughout the play. I specifically analyze it in terms of queer temporality to show that Marlowe removes the end point of Augustan teleology, castrating the epic, and equates heteronormative desire with death, making the space and time of his play queer.

Through these three chapters, these new temporal readings of the *Aeneid*, the *Divina Commedia*, and *Dido Queen of Carthage* teach us that poetic history is a big ball of timey wimey stuff, and that the fabric of space-time is wrinkled. In any given moment, pasts, presents and futures converge in our subjective experience, and these texts display these myriad temporalities. Through studying them, we discover more about our own temporalities. Even Virgil's *Aeneid*, the source of the written Western canon with which I begin my study, contains this timey wimey, wrinkled stuff.

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24 Sara Munson Deats's study also attempts to rescue *Dido Queen of Carthage* from this infantilizing and derogatory label of juvenalia, "The Subversion of Gender Hierarchies in *Dido Queen of Carthage*, 163.

CHAPTER 2

IMPERIUM SINE FINE DEDI: TIME AND SPACE IN THE *AENEID*

This thesis examines the temporal and spatial rewriting of the *Aeneid* by later authors, so to establish those comparisons I first must discuss the terms through which I analyze the *Aeneid* and later texts. To establish my spatial and temporal discussion, I must first discuss time and space in the places Dido occupies in the *Aeneid.* The spaces I discuss in the *Aeneid* are both crucially tied to time(s): the Underworld possesses cyclical time and Augustan teleology, and Carthage possesses anachronic and antichronic temporalities. Through my examination of these times and spaces, I argue that the *Aeneid* is an imperialist teleological epic because Virgil is rewriting history. All time in the *Aeneid* builds to a pinnacle in Augustan Rome, and all times and spaces further this Augustan teleology.

All these times are very important to the textual space of the epic, as well, but critics have not articulated them in the ways I propose. Rajesh Paul Mittal discusses temporality in his dissertation, but focuses on Virgil's philosophic approach to history, and does not use the rhetorical framework from narratology that is necessary for a critical instead of classical reading of the text.[25] Stéphane Naudad briefly discusses the Aeneid's temporality in the Underworld through a critical lens when he says: "Forgetting, in this teleology, is necessary: these souls must forget their past, which has now been completed, in order to accede to a new existence."[26] I agree with his emphasis on forgetting in the text, but that will not be my emphasis here; instead, I want

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25 Rajesh Paul Mittal, "Time And History In Virgil's Aeneid" (PhD. Diss., U of Michigan, 2011).

26 Stéphane Naudad, "Whatever Happened to Chapter Four of *Three Billion Perverts*" *Paragraph* 35.2(2012):281-298, 284.

to focus on the teleological circular path to the future. This path leads not towards a new existence, but towards the new-but-current future of Virgil. Virgil writes about his own time through the past, and the past is less important than the future-present. Dennis Costa's description of the present of the epic as "in betwixt and in between" closely aligns with my reading of the present as nonexistent in the *Aeneid*. Costa also argues that Virgil's use of ekphrasis shows that Aeneas fixates on the past through the mural in Juno's Temple. By adding space and further narrative theory, I expand on his ideas that "the present is never unproblematic and rarely even straightforward" to show that in Carthage, the present is so problematic and not straight forward that it does not exist. I also argue that Aeneas fixates on the past in many other places besides Juno's temple.[27]

Not only is the present never unproblematic, but there is also the problem of when the "present" of the *Aeneid* occurs. I argue that one reason why, from a temporal standpoint, authors are so inclined to enter into textual conversation with Virgil by rewriting his work is because of this nonexistent, problematic present.[28] The temporal vacuum created by the lack of a present sucks in reader's present(s). Sara Mack articulates the way this comes about by discussing verbs in the *Aeneid*. Virgil's use of present-tense verbs throughout the *Aeneid* causes a "partial suspension of our sense of the pastness of history."[29] I interpret her argument to mean that this suspension makes readers lose track of the "pastness of history," causing this historical present in the epic to become the present – the reader's present, no matter when in time they are situated. The present is and is not the present of Augustan Rome, or as Mack says "Augustan present,"

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27 Dennis Costa "'*incredibilis fama*': Some Remnants of Time in Virgilian Epic" *Kronoscope* 12.1 (2012):7-15, 14.

28 Temporal as opposed to poetic or historical. As arguably the greatest Latin poet , of course writers want to piggyback on Virgil's fame by adapting his story.

29 Sara Mack, *Patterns of Time in Vergil* (Hamden, Ct: Archon, 1978), 49.

depending on when readers live.[30] For Virgil's contemporaries, the present in the epic is the

Augustan present, because that is when they live. For later readers, it is not the Augustan present,

though vestiges of that present appear in the text; the *Aeneid*, instead, occurs *during their*

contemporary present, because the Golden Age of Rome belongs to the historical past, and the

present-tense verbs suspend even that past.[31] Authors, who are often avid readers, then

experience the *Aeneid* in their own times, and their own spaces. As a result, when his epic is

rewritten, it is "updated" to their present because while reading they experienced it as such as a

result of the present-tense verbs. The reader's time, then, is yet another important time in the

Aeneid, and their time also appears in "updated" versions of the epic.

The Augustan present of Virgil is the teleological endpoint of the *Aeneid*. By proclaiming

the *Aeneid* as a proponent of Augustan teleology, I realize I am taking a stand in a long-running

debate about whether Virgil was pro- or anti-empire.[32] Many scholars who contribute to this

debate are better able to articulate why or why not that is the case, so that will not be my purpose

here. Instead, I posit that the areas of the text I examine agree with the pro-Augustan side, and I

use the term "Augustan teleology" to describe my reading of Virgil's epic as an upward

movement through the past towards the zenith of civilization in Augustan Rome.

One reason I accept pro-Augustan reading of the *Aeneid* is its poetic form. J.D. Reed

states that the *Aeneid* closely resembles the Greek poetic form *ktisis,* a foundation myth for a city

or country.[33] He also explains that the "westward drift from the eastern Mediterranean world

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30 Ibid, 68.

31 See Sara Mack for more on the Augustan present. These vestiges of it are only obvious through close
examination of the text, which is not the kind of reading I refer to.

32 Philip Hardie identifies the arguments of the "Harvard" school of critics to be anti-Augustan and the "European"
school to be pro-Augustin in his book *Virgil* (New York: Oxford U P, 1998) page 94 for more.

33 J.D. Reed, *Virgil's Gaze: Nation and Poetry in the* Aeneid (Princeton: Princeton, 2007), 1.

suggests self-defining contrasts with other nations."[34] This movement between spaces, in Reed's reading as well as mine, is crucial to the Augustan teleology of the epic. Virgil uses Carthage to establish Rome as normative and Carthage as non-normative, one of many geographical others that must be conquered in the process of forming the Roman Empire. I add to Reed's reading one other space outside of physical geography, the metaphysical space of the Underworld, which also functions to establish Augustan teleology through presence in the past, waiting to be reincarnated for his future empire. These physical and metaphysical spaces represent both Rome vs. Other, and Dido as Other, because she inhabits these two spaces, Carthage and the Underworld.[35] Thusly, Augustan teleology and imperial textual domination hinges on spaces as well as times, thus necessitating my study examining both times and spaces.

Before I move on to Dido, I must say a few words about the sea, which is an undefinable, liminal space, opening up the possibility for Virgil to alter time and space while Aeneas travels. The temporal location of Aeneas's time at sea is as important as its space. The sea, in this period before cartography and navigational bearings, was an entirely "smooth space."[36] According to Deleuze and Guattari, a smooth space "always possesses a greater power of deterritorialization than the striated."[37] Therefore, while at sea Aeneas is nowhere in particular, but is in between spaces. He can attempt to define his location in relation to coasts, but only when he can see and identify them. Even then he is not *at* the coast, he is *off* the coast – in between it and another landmass. The sea as a space, then, is an in-between, liminal space, and since space and time are

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34 ibid, 1.

35 For an interesting reading of Dido as Other, see R. Hexter "Sidonian Dido" in *Innovations of Antiquity (*New York: Routledge, 1992).

36 Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari *A Thousand Plateaus* Trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987) 478-482, 479.

37 ibid, 480.

linked in my reading, Virgil can then alter the time of the epic into other in between times through travel at sea, which he does in the space between Aeneas's Troy and Dido's Carthage. Without the sea as a "smooth space," I posit that Virgil could not as effectively alter the time of his epic.

In addition to this teleology, I argue there are many other complications of time that ensure the epic is transferable to other historical presents, and entice writers to do so. The immediacy of the present-tense verbs needs a present, but there is no real present in the *Aeneid* – there is only past and future – a future which, as I suggested above, to post-Virgilean readers is also a past. Augustan teleology disappears for later readers who know the future of Augustan Rome (SPOILER: Rome falls), but the characters Dido and Aeneas are so sympathetic that authors do not want to relegate them to the destroyed past, but instead offer them a new present. There are also spaces that call out for new times: the Underworld and Carthage. In Carthage, two different forms of non-normative time converge (anachrony [non-linear] and antichrony [against the historical past]), making it a non-normative space. The Underworld contains two spaces and thus two times: both infinite time and cyclical, reincarnating teleology. Dido possesses infinite time in the Fields of Mourning, wherein she is trapped forever and secluded from Romans, i.e. soon to be normative citizens. The Elysian Fields participate in Augustan cyclical teleology and are inhabited by Roman citizens, making the Rome the *Aeneid* predicts normative. The contradiction between these differing times in differing places invites authors to "correct" it, whether through different ideas of normativity or of the afterlife. All of these times operate in the *Aeneid* to entice authors to bring the work into their present, as in later chapters we will see Dante and Marlowe do. These spaces offer a setting for authors to work in, as well. The character Dido, arguably the second most popular character in the book, also entices authors; as such, I

will focus in this paper on the ways time operates around Dido in spaces she occupies, with a few digressions, as epic conventions require. I begin in the Underworld with Dido and Anchises, before moving to Carthage to discuss Aeneas and Dido.

The Underworld

Aeneas enters the Underworld in Book VI of the *Aeneid* to search for his father.[38] The hero's adventure through and out of the Underworld, or *katabasis*, is a common trope in epic, and as such I will not discuss his trip and its epic implications; instead, I will focus on the ways Virgil equates time and space in the Underworld. The geography of Virgil's Underworld is highly structured, and a hierarchy of the dead occupies certain spaces based on Roman virtues displayed during their lives. Their afterlife temporality also changes based on their spatial organization within the Underworld, showing there to be not only a hierarchy of souls but also of temporalities. Aeneas visits two areas of the Underworld, the Fields of Mourning and Elysium. These spaces are starkly different from one another in geography, but also in temporality.

Infinite Time in the *Aeneid*

For the lesser, non-normative souls like Dido in Virgil's hierarchical construction of the Underworld, time is infinite and the souls dwell in their specific spaces eternally; greater souls like Anchises will live again on Earth. This cosmology is not a revolutionary one, but Virgil's manipulation of language shows that in this Underworld, time and space intertwine to mimic this infinite time. Dido occupies this timeless space because Dido is non-normative, and thus one of the lesser souls in Virgil's hierarchy. Aeneas meets her *inter quas Phoenissa recens a vulnere*

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38 See ll. 262-3 in Williams's edition of *The Aeneid of Vergil: Books 1-6* (London: Macmillan, 1972) and ll. 300-302 in Fagles's translation of the *Aeneid* (New York: Viking, 2006).

Dido / errabat silva in magna (6.450-1): "wandering there among them, wound still fresh, /

Phoenician Dido drifted along the *endless* woods" (6.521-22).[39] These woods, called endless in

Fagles's English translation but "large" or *magna* in the Latin, could not be endless or as large as

the poem suggests them to be in the physical world, but in the metaphysical space of the

Underworld, they can. Laws of space do not apply in this metaphysical setting, and the laws of

time suffer from the same fate; both are dilated *ad infinitum*. Time is endless for these mourning

souls, who do not have the freedom of movement we will see in the Elysian Fields. Aeneas,

while speaking to Dido, calls attention to the infinite but subjective temporality in this area of the

Underworld: here it is always night, *noctemque profundam* (6.462): "deep unfathomed night"

(6.537). The night is also endless, as are the woods; night is infinite here, where in the physical

world night is a marker of time passing. Without the travel between night and day, one period of

time expands to fill the whole of this infinite time. As such, "unfathomed" and *profundam* have

several possible meanings, but for the English "unfathomed" the second, "of unascertained

depth," shows that time and space are metaphorically aligned here.[40] The Latin *profundam* also

supports this reading. *Profundus* means "boundless" in the area of depth.[41] If time has depth, it is

measurable in the same ways space is, especially if what is normally a finite period of time,

night, has become infinite.[42] The infinite time and space in this section of the Underworld show

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39 All Latin lines from R.D. William's edited collection *The Aeneid of Vergil: Books 1-6* and all English lines from
    Robert Fagles's translation of the *Aeneid*.

40 "Unfathomed." *Oxford English Dictionary*.

41 "Profundus, a, um." *Pocket Oxford Latin Dictionary*.

42 This paradox becomes more apparent when Aeneas leaves the Underworld. He returns to camp and Virgil
    eschews his normal excessive celebration of when the Trojan hero returns. It is as if Aeneas had never left,
    which perhaps is what happened. Without markers of night and day in the Underworld, I suspect that the timeless
    time in the Underworld is both all-time and no-time. Aeneas's companions did not celebrate to see him return
    from his journey because it was as if he never left, and never traveled across the endless woods into a new area,
    Elysium, before returning to his camp.

one important aspect of Virgil's cosmology, but there is another space in the Underworld where time and space converge to show the focal point of Virgil's cosmology.

<u>Augustan Teleology in the *Aeneid*</u>

After leaving the Fields of Mourning, Aeneas journeys to the Elysian Fields and finds his father. There, Aeneas finds not only his father, but also a land of infinite day and Caesar Augustus, the representation of Augustan teleology and the focal point of Virgil's cosmology. The *Aeneid* is the representation of Rome's past in epic form from the future/present viewpoint of Virgil and nothing on Earth, in Virgil's view, was ever as glorious as his contemporary Rome. Everything up to that point was building to Rome's glory – even Troy. As such, the focal point of time in the *Aeneid* is Virgil's present, and everything is defined in terms of that focal point. His description of the *clarissimi viri* in the Underworld is evidence of this teleology, and the space of the Underworld allows him to instill his epic with this Augustan teleology.

Aeneas meets his father Anchises, whose metaphysical location Elysium is very different from Dido's Fields of Mourning. In Elysium the *clarissimi viri* live:

> *hic manus ob patria pugnando vulnera passi,*
>
> *quique sacerdotes casti, dum vita manebat,*
>
> *quique pii vates et Phoebo digna locuti* (6.660-2)
>
> here are troops of men
>
> who had suffered wounds, fighting to save their country,
>
> and those who had been pure priests while still alive,
>
> and the faithful poets whose songs were fit for Phoebus (6.764-7).

These are the souls worthy of the highest place in the Underworld, a place of light and beauty. This space also includes a different temporality than Dido's space; it is both infinite and teleologically cyclical. Unlike the *noctem profundam,* this infinite day does contain markers of time. Anchises describes the temporality of the Underworld to his son: the best of souls are purged of their sins and allowed to dwell in Elysium until *perfecto temporis orbe / concretam exemit labem* (6.748): "they have turned the wheel of time for a thousand years" (6.865-6), after which they bathe in the Lethe to forget past lives and prepare them for their next lives. The thousand-year wheel is cyclical in nature. Cyclical time does not exclude teleology, however; the world would gain the longed-for endpoint (Augustan Rome) after improving through repetitive cycles.

These men are identified to Aeneas as their future selves, and not by their pasts.[43] Anchises does not refer to the lives these men led before dying, but those they will lead in the future. This metaphysical space allows the contraction of thousands of years, so that *Trojan* Aeneas observes *Roman* Caesar Augustus.[44] Here, in the sixth book of a twelve book epic, we see the endpoint of Virgil's teleology.[45] I will speak at greater length on the ways that Virgil plays with time below; for now, I argue that this event very close to the middle shows the epic is teleological:

> *hic vir, his est, tibi qum promitti saepius audis,*
>
> *Augustus Caesar, divi genus, aurea condet*
>
> *saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arva*

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43 All the characters described by Anchises qua Virgil are men, making Elysium a masculine space.

44 l. 6.792 in Williams and 6.914 in Fagles.

45 Unless we do take the last word of the epic as foreshadowing of the founding of Rome, but I am focusing on teleology not further foreshadowing.

Saturno quondam, super et Garamantas et Indos

proferet imperium; iacet extra sidera tellus,

extra anni solisque vias, ubi caelifer Atlas

axem umero torquet setllis ardentibus aptum. (6.791-7)

Here is the man, he's here! Time and again

you've heard his coming promised – Caesar Augustus!

Son of a god, he will bring back the Age of Gold

to the Latian fields where Saturn once held sway,

expand his empire past the Garamants and the Indians

to a land beyond the stars, beyond the wheel of the year,

the course of the sun itself, where Atlas bears the skies

and turns on his shoulder the heavens studded with flaming stars. (6.913-920)

Considering Virgil's characterization of Augustus, who else could be the ruler during the Age of Gold? The entirety of time and space in this description centers around him – Aeneas has heard time and again of his coming throughout the epic. Augustus's rule will expand past the wheel of the year into infinity. His reign extends into the stars and encompasses the (known) physical universe on Earth. This hyperbolic description shows that Augustus is the center of Virgil's time and space centered teleology – Augustus is the Prime Mover of Virgil's cosmology. Virgil rewrites history and the universe to write Augustus as the person behind all time and action.

Anchises's description of Augustus's exploits continues for over ten lines describing the extent of the Roman Empire before resuming his narration of the other *clarissimi viri*. They are all men who will affect (or from Virgil's perspective, have affected) the glorious future/present of Rome. Through this epic catalog, Anchises tells Aeneas of the future he will never see: *haec tum*

nomina erunt, nunc sunt sine nomine terrae (6.776): "famous names of the future, nameless places now" (6.896). These places likely had names, but as an imperialist epic, Virgil's poem exhibits the colonial impulse to repress non-Roman names and "discover" new places and names. As such, according to Virgil, these places need a name, and only through the Roman Empire will they have one. Virgil rewrites the cosmology, geography and history of Earth through the *Aeneid's* Underworld. Those places and people who resist the imperialist endpoint of teleology and renaming, like Dido and Carthage, are relegated to the Fields of Mourning and rewritten in other ways.

Carthage

Virgil does not only intentionally alter time in the *Aeneid* by placing the teleological ending in the middle; he also presents his epic in a non-linear manner. After the invocation of the muse, Virgil sings of Carthage's history before describing Aeneas and his journey. The epic, then, begins in Carthage, making Carthage just as important as the space where the epic's teleological endpoint is revealed, the Underworld. Additionally, Virgil's ahistoric episode in Carthage makes it one of the most fascinating temporal spaces in the epic because there is not a present. In this section, I will discuss Carthage in terms of its temporality and space, and the ways those combine to make the *Aeneid*'s characters' identities defined by time.

In Medias Res in the Aeneid

The first and most obvious case of Virgil's manipulation of history occurs at the beginning of the epic; it begins, as according to epic convention, *in medias res*. The *Aeneid* does not begin with the fall of Troy, but with Carthage: *Urbs antiqua fuit (Tyrii tenuere coloni) / Karthago, Italiam contra Tiberinaque longe / ostia, dives opum studiisque asperrima belli* (1.12-14): "There was an ancient city held by Tyrian settlers, / Carthage, facing Italy and the Tiber River's mouth / but far away – a rich city trained and fierce in war" (1.14-16). Beginning in the midst of things has an impact on the *Aeneid*'s t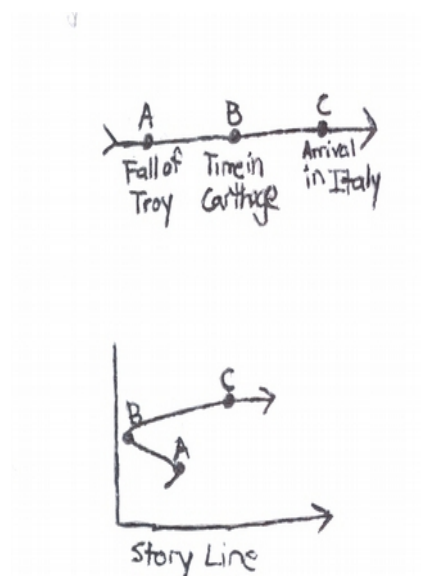emporality and plot, and affects reader's temporality. The sequentiality of an epic is not linear, but few critics who study narratology have addressed this issue that is so integral to my argument. In *Time and Narrative*, Paul Ricoeur does not discuss *in medias res*, and states that the only difference between most narratives and epic is the scope or magnitude of events.[46] While this difference between epic and other narratives is significant, I posit that there are further ways time is important to plot in an epic, such as anachrony. Mieke Bal in *Narratology* describes *in medias res* beginnings in novels as anachrony, a term I will

Figure 3: Linear narrative versus epic narrative

apply throughout this chapter to epic time. To Bal, anachrony is not the same as anachronism; anachrony means the events in a story do not occur linearly (rather than items or events from another time appearing in a time where they do not belong).[47] In other words, the sequentiality of

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46 Paul Ricœur, *Time and Narrative* Trans. Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer, Vol. 1 (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1984), 36.

47 Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative,* Trans. Christine van Boheemen (Buffalo: U of Toronto P, 1985), 53.

epic is anachronic, because the fabula, or events in the narrative, have a non-linear sjuzet. This

epic anachrony creates not a linear, straight narrative, but something much less normative and

closer to a parabola (See Fig 3).

Bal and Ricoeur are not the only theorists to discuss anachrony and *in medias res. The*

Living Handbook of Narratology also discusses the two, but does not discuss the result of *in*

medias res in the *Aeneid*'s plot. *The Living Handbook* focuses on *in medias res* in the Greek, not

Roman, and oral, not written, tradition. De Jong, the author of this article, emphasizes the effect

of anachronic events known to an audience and the ways which altering the order of those events

influences an audience. I apply her ideas to argue that because the events of the *Aeneid* were

already well known as a part of Rome's mythical past, "drawing in the past … [into the *Aeneid*]

may serve ideological purposes, the past being inserted for comparative reasons."[48] Earlier,

drawing on Reed, I posited that geographical spaces were used to form comparisons between

Rome and Other for imperialist purposes. I additionally now posit that the anachronic events

Virgil chooses serve the same purpose: he includes events from the past in an order that

emphasizes the superiority of Rome over Others.

In medias res has further effects on readers. Meir Sternberg's observations on the

relevance and narrative impact of *in medias res* in *Tristram Shandy* elucidate further the function

of temporality in the *Aeneid*. Sternberg describes *in medias res* as "anti-chronologism," and

explains the correlation between "narrative's unmatched time," i.e. *in medias res*, and "the

temporalities of history."[49] As such, an individual outside the text's relationship to history is not

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48 Irene J. F. de Jong, "Diachronic Narratology," in *The Living Handbook of Narratology* (Hamburg: Interdisciplinary Center for Narratology, 2013).

49 Meir Sternberg, "Telling In Time (III): Chronology, Estrangement, And Stories Of Literary History," *Poetics Today* 1 (2006): 125-235, 126.

linear, moving either towards or away from a zenith, but rather recursive and anachronic. Certain events trigger certain memories and short episodes from the past, not the entirety of history in a linear fashion. While the novels that Sternberg, Bal, and Ricoeur discuss include anachronic temporality and begin *in medias res*, we can expand their theories by applying them to different texts across time imbued with the same tangled relationship to narrative time and temporalities of history.

I maintain that Virgil's *Aeneid* not only embodies this anachronic, non-linear relationship to the past, presenting episodes out of sequence, but the *Aeneid* also includes an antichronic relationship to the past, because Virgil fabricates events against or contrary to historical time. These two relationships to the past intertwine in the epic in Carthage, creating an entirely new construction of the past based on privileging certain events and creating others. The result of this new past is the privileging of Rome over Carthage. I borrow Bal's term anachrony to discuss the disordering of narrative events in the *Aeneid* and antichrony to refer to those fabricated events that operate against/in conflict with historical time.[50] Both historical and narrative time overlap and enfold in the epic, but I proceed by first discussing anachrony.

Anachrony in the *Aeneid*

This anachronic relationship to time in the *Aeneid* embodies Virgil's contemporary audiences' teleological relationship to time. As David Ross argues, "The *Aeneid* is a poem of time," because while Virgil's contemporary readers read about their own past, Aeneas receives revelations about his future.[51] From their viewpoint, historical past and narrative future, then, enfold to become the same thing. Virgil's epic, though non-linear, is teleological and normative:

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50 The term itself is antichronic and represents the ahistorical relationship I am discussing: it is a mixture of Latin and Greek, fabricated because to better reflect antichrony.

51 Ross, *Virgil's Aeneid: A Reader's Guide,* 2.

Augustan Rome is the zenith of civilization, and for civilization to reach this zenith Aeneas must

leave Carthage to travel to Italy. His arrival in Italy causes a series of events leading to Rome's

founding, and eventually these will result in the rise of the Roman Empire. Aeneas will never

physically see this Golden Age that hinges upon his actions because the fulfillment of the

prophecies "exist outside the narrative, outside of time."[52] He is constantly reminded by a series

of signs that it will exist. Jupiter's predictions in Book I, the *clarissimi viri* in Book VI, and the

scene on Mars' shield in Book VIII[53] all remind Aeneas of his future destiny and Roman readers

of their past, i.e. the results of Aeneas's actions. I argue that because these reminders that Ross

lists are all figurative – words from a god, words from dead, ethereal men, and images on a

shield – they make the future of the *Aeneid*, though apparent and predestined explicitly,

undefined for Aeneas.

Ross's discussion of Aeneas's liminal relationship with time furthers my point.[54] He states

that "Aeneas exists *between* the past […] and the future;" if Aeneas is "between" two times, he is

also liminal.[55] Ross further states that Aeneas is "a hero deprived of his past" because he cannot

return to Troy, and is "on a mission to some future that he will never have a part of."[56] I expand

on Ross's ideas to posit that Aeneas is unmoored in time, able to experience concretely only the

present, but defined by his past and future. He is as ethereal as the *clarissimi viri* and as

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52 Mack, *Patterns of Time in Virgil,* 67-68.

53 See Book 1, ll. 260-279 in Williams and ll. 1.314-334 in Fagles, Book 6, ll. 756-859 in Williams and ll. 874-993 in Fagles, Book 8 ll. 738-853 in Fagles.

54 "Liminal" borrowed from Victor Turner, "Variations on a Theme of Liminality," in *Secular Ritual,* eds. Sally Falk Moore and Barbara G. Myerhoff (Netherlands: Van Gorcum and Co., 1977) ,37.

55 Ross, *Virgil's Aeneid*, 2. emphasis mine.

56   ibid, 2. emphasis mine.

indefinite as the ashes of Troy. His experience of time is not only anachronic, but because temporality defines him, he is anachronic as well.

I introduce these ideas about temporality to enter into discussions about adaptation of Virgil's epic, for Aeneas is a liminal figure trapped between past and future. He is trapped between these times, because his relationship to the past is as insubstantial as his relationship to his future: he can see it, but he cannot hold it. Costa's describes Aeneas's sense of the "present" in that it is "suspended between a near-past that is tragic for him and the unsure possibilities of his near-future."[57] Troy has been burned to the ground, and all the remains are ashes, memories and images – all are visible but not tangible, because these objects, though some are solid, represent a non-solid relationship to the past, a past to which he cannot return. The past is not a normal solid, but a non-Newtonian solid. It is an actual, tangible, substance that represents the past, but one that slides out of one's hands. This intangible past reflects Sternberg's assertions about historical past and epic narrative time. In other words, epic temporal digressions mirror the way individuals' memories work.[58] Material objects can remind us of and record past events, but they can never fully encapsulate the event. They are simply symbols of the actual event. As symbols of the past, these material objects are not entirely solid, because our memories must shape the rest of the event these objects outline. These records of the past, because they involve both solid, material objects, and alterable memory, represent my conception of time in the *Aeneid* and later adaptations I discuss below.

In many ways, Aeneas's experience of time is not solid and concrete, but is instead "in betwixt and in between": he can see and hear these representations of it, but he cannot possess them. To understand his time, he relies on ashes, words, and images. Because he is defined by

57 Costa, "'Incredibilis Fama,'" 7.

58 Sternberg, "Telling in Time," 126.

his time (his past, his future, and his lack of a present), Aeneas is a shadow puppet in the hands of gods and poets. Virgil can alter Aeneas's time, but Aeneas cannot. Parts of Virgil and his contemporaries' past, which is the same as Aeneas's future, are physically solid, but can decay or alter with time.

Not only does Virgil manipulate time and characters in the *Aeneid*, but he plays with space as well. As Ross hints above, Aeneas exists in a liminal time and space while trapped between future and past. The liminal space that Aeneas occupies between Troy and Italy is important in another aspect of the epic: meeting Dido in Carthage. In Virgil's Carthage, anachrony and antichrony converge. Carthage, in the poem, is a detour where his remaining ships all arrive after a fierce storm: after Juno causes the storm, *Defessi Aeneadae quae proxima litora cursu / contendunt petere, et Libyae vertuntur ad oras* (1.157-8): "Aeneas's shipmates make a run / for the nearest

Figure 4: Antichrony
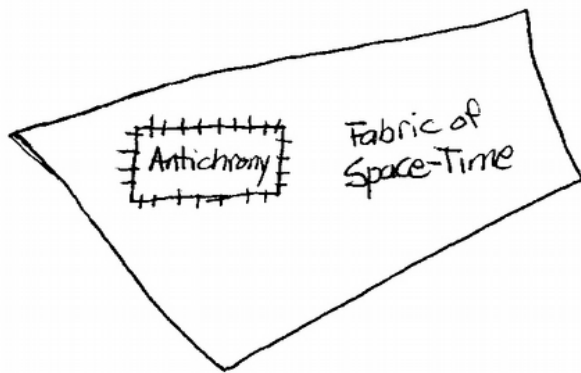
landfall, wheeling prows around / they turn for Libya's coast" (1.185-7). To the gods, Aeneas's is *Libycis ... otia terris* (4.438): "wasting time in Libya" (4.438) instead of continuing his quest to found Rome. Aeneas needs Mercury to remind Aeneas that his time is not his own. When Aeneas tells Dido he must leave, he says *Italiam non sponte sequor* (4.361): "I set sail for Italy – / all against my will" (4.451-2). Aeneas would rather stay with Dido, but because the gods manipulate his time, even Aeneas' present is not his own.

Antichrony in the *Aeneid*

There is further evidence that Aeneas' present is not his own, but Virgil's. In fact, it represents not the anachronic relationship to time present in the rest of the epic, but a new kind: antichronic. This antichronic time is just as untimely as anachronic time, but it includes another element: it is fabricated. These antichronic episodes are like patches sewn onto Virgil's space-time (See Fig.4). From a narratology perspective, we can think of anachrony as factual narration because it references historical events. Antichrony is fictional narration, because the events it references historically could not and did not happen.[59] In the space of Carthage both these times converge, and Dido and Aeneas's meeting is the largest antichronic element in the epic. Historically, Aeneas and Dido/Elyssa lived about three hundred years apart so Dido and Aeneas never met and could not have.[60] Virgil manipulates time to fabricate the Dido and Aeneas episode to explain the origin of the Punic Wars; because of the loss of Queen Dido, Carthage and Rome fought three wars for a period of almost a hundred years. These wars, which ended in 146 BCE, had been over for more than a hundred years before Virgil wrote the *Aeneid*.[61] The "present" where Aeneas exists in Carthage never existed. Additionally, the "present," because it does not serve an actual purpose in Virgil's present except to explain the distant past, is antichronic, or against the historical past. He does not need to create a story to explain why these past events happened; there is an actual historical reason the two countries went to war.[62] Virgil creates a "past" he can alter but a "present" Aeneas cannot (the gods control it) to explain a

59 Jean Marie Schaeffer, "Factual vs. Fictional Narration," in *Living Narratology Handbook* (Hamburg: Interdisciplinary Center for Narratology, 2012).

60 For an overview of Dido in literary traditions, see Christopher Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England: Figuring the Aeneid From the Twelfth Century to Chaucer* (New York: Cambridge UP, 1995).

61 Ben Fuqua. Writing Center Appointment (22 Oct. 2013).

62 It was not because of Dido and Aeneas's failed relationship, but rather a fight for control of Sicily.

distant past that does not need explanation. All these layers of antichronic ("pasts" and "presents") and anachronic (pasts and presents) temporalities make Aeneas and Dido's narrative present multi-layered and enfolded (See Fig. 5).

Virgil's Dido bears little similarity to the historical Dido, and her identity is constructed by the manipulated time in the *Aeneid*, making her antichronic. Virgil ties Dido's identity to ashes and as such her identity is as shadowy as Aeneas's – his identity is defined by the ashes of Troy.
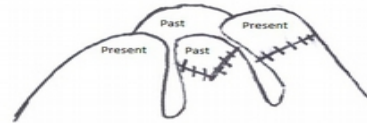

Figure 5: Aeneid*'s temporality*

Her identity, instead of being intertwined with her former city, Tyre, is defined by a resident of her former city: her late husband, Sychaeus. She made an oath to remain faithful to Sychaeus after Pygmalion murdered him, an event that forced her to leave Tyre. By starting a relationship with Aeneas, she says: *non servata fides cineri promissa Sychaeo* (4.553): "I broke the faith I swore to the ashes of Sychaeus" (4.690). Once she breaks her oath, she does not have a past – she cannot even define herself by Sychaeus's ashes, but only by Aeneas, who does not have a substantial past or future. Her past is undefined like Aeneas's, because they cannot return to their homes, but hers is doubly undefined, because she believes she cannot return to being faithful to Sychaeus. As such, her future is even more insubstantial than Aeneas's, because she cannot exist without Aeneas in Carthage. She does not have foreknowledge and revelations of the gods, as Aeneas does, but she is very aware of the effects her relationship with Aeneas will have on her future if he leaves: *quid moror? an mea Pygmalion dum moenia frater destruat aut captam ducat Gaetulus Iarbas?* (4.325-6): "But why do I linger on? Until my brother Pygmalion / batters

down my walls? Or Iarbas drags me off, his slave?" (4.405-6). Her potentiality only includes tragedy, while Aeneas's dictated future contains heroic deeds. Once Aeneas does leave, she does not have a future: she casts herself into a pyre and becomes ashes. Her "present" with Aeneas is the only time she has, and that time is fabricated by Virgil and controlled by the gods – Venus and Cupid intervene to make her fall in love with Aeneas.[63] Her identity in the *Aeneid* literally moves from ashes to ashes and is defined by time, but time that was never her own – her past is negated, her present is fabricated and her future is impossible; she is antichronic.

Aftereffects of Time in the *Aeneid*

The characters in the *Aeneid* do not know their present does not exist – only readers do. Readers' temporality, or perception of time, is integral to my reading of the *Aeneid*, *Divina Commedia,* and *Dido Queen of Carthage*: all these factors I have discussed define time in the *Aeneid*, and that temporality affects readers' reactions to the characters. The poem itself ends before readers see the physical founding of Rome, which does not affect Virgil's contemporary readers who inhabit the glorious future foretold by Jupiter.[64] Non-contemporary readers of the *Aeneid* do not have the satisfaction of concretely experiencing any of the time periods portrayed in the epic – not the past of Troy, because it burned down; "the present" of Carthage, because it does not exist; nor the future of Rome, because Rome will fall before readers read the epic. All post-Virgilean readers have are stories that are shadowy representations of history, which makes the temporality of the entire story itself as anachronic and antichronic as time is in the epic. Going forward, the temporality of medieval and early modern readers, who know the epic but do

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63 See Fagles 1.782-6 and Williams 1. 657-660.

64 Readers in Book 6 hear Anchises describe it, but the description occurs in a metaphysical, not physical space.

not credit the Augustan teleology of it, will be very important. These readers lack a concrete time or teleology for the *Aeneid*, which means that the Dido and Aeneas story wants a contemporary time. As such, authors adapt it, and readers expect them to do so.

Because of Virgil's anachronic and antichronic alteration of time and space, both by presenting historical times and creating an artificial "present" in Carthage, later authors similarly alter time and space in the Dido and Aeneas story. Readers expect it because of the present-tense verbs, and authors who are also readers know the undefined temporality of the story. Because there is no concrete time in the story for later readers, the *Aeneid*'s "present" can be easily inserted into contemporary presents, no matter where Rome falls in their historical time line. Writers like Dante and Marlowe respond to Virgil's shadowy Aeneas and Dido, and move them to their presents and spaces, to write about their own nations, times and teleologies.

CHAPTER 3

IL TEMPORAL FOCO E L'ETTERNO VEDUTO HAI: SPACE IN DANTE'S *DIVINA*

COMMEDIA

Dante's *Divina Commedia* is a Christian epic written in 1350 C.E. In it, the pilgrim Dante

travels through the divine universe, starting in *Inferno*, moving up Mount *Purgatorio*, and

arriving in *Paradiso*, before he is sent back to earth to share his new knowledge about

redemption. Dante-pilgrim obtains this redemptive knowledge through Dante-poet's most

important character, Beatrice. He meets many other characters on his journey, from times and

places as disparate as Roman history, Biblical Jerusalem and his own Florentine present. Many

of these characters speak to him, or his various guides (Virgil, Beatrice, and St. Bernard) speak

about them. The presence of Virgil as Dante-pilgrim's guide through *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*

symbolizes the importance of Virgil to this epic, both as a character and an influence. The spaces

Virgil and his character Dido occupy show they must be left behind to move forward in a

Christian teleology: Virgil and Dido are confined to Hell, and Dante-pilgrim and Beatrice exist

in Heaven. Dante also posits a new future canon by confining Virgil to Hell – one where

vernacular poetry rises over classical poetry.

This chapter will focus on specific places in Dante's spatial and temporal construction of

Heaven and Hell, but I begin with a discussion of the constructed space of *Purgatorio* to

establish my theoretical framework. Dante, in his *Divina Commedia*, alters the pagan space of

Virgil's Elysium to become the Christian space and time of Purgatory. Dante moves the Lethe, an

area crucial in the teleology of Virgil's *Aeneid* (because old souls must forget their past to

become their future Roman selves in Book VI) from Elysium to the top of Mount Purgatory.[65]

This spatial movement corresponds with another major modification of Virgil's universe: the

spaces of Purgatory and Paradise do not exist in Virgil, and this modification of space has

temporal implications; it shifts the teleology from an Augustan-centric view to a Christian-

centric one. Stéphane Nadaud emphasizes the similar yet different nature of the Lethe in Dante's

version: Aeneas must forget Troy to found Rome, and Dante must also forget his past journey

through earthly life and Hell to move on to Paradise.[66] I would argue, though Nadaud does not

expand on this point, that Dante must also forget Virgil's pagan poetic example to create his own

poetics and found his future canon. Dante's temporality, as such, contains two aspects. His

geography, especially the geography of Purgatory, represents his Christian, redemptive

teleology, and his proposed future includes space for a new canon.

Virgil cannot proceed past the top of Purgatory, because he is a pagan, so Beatrice must

lead Dante further.[67] This upward movement into Heaven which Beatrice and Dante make is

restricted to Christian souls, so Virgil cannot continue with Dante. I argue that Dante's universe

includes spaces that pagans cannot occupy to establish Christian teleology through Christian

geography and Dante's journey to the zenith of Paradise. This Christian, redemptive teleology is

not just a journey through time towards a temporal zenith (like Virgil's Golden Age) but a

journey across space(s) modeled to represent that redemptive power of Christianity. It is a

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65 See Williams's edition of *The Aeneid: Books 1-6* (London: Macmillan, 1972) ll.6.749-51 and Fagles translation of the *Aeneid* (New York: Viking, 2006)ll. 6.866-69.

66 Stéphane Naudad, "Whatever Happened to Chapter Four of *Three Billion Perverts*," 284.

67 See ll.*Pur*.27.128-9 and p. 357. All line and page numbers come from John D Sinclair's translation of *The Divine Comedy* (New York: Oxford UP, 1961). Line numbers reflect to the Italian text and page numbers to the English translation.

journey across time and space "up toward grace and light," so Dante's universe needs the upward movement through Purgatory.[68]

Not only the space, but also the temporality of Dante's Purgatory establish the differences between his teleology and Virgil's, because Dante's word choice shoes that time and space are similar conceptions to Dante. Dante ends *Purgatorio* with the word *spazio*, meaning "distance" or "interval" of time according to Armour, referring to the amount of time or space that remains for his canticle.[69] Distance measures space and intervals are measurements of time, so if time can have a distance it is similar to space. I further propose that the slippage of *spazio* from space *and* time shows them to be intertwined if not identical in Dante's mind, necessitating his construction of spaces to alter times. In my first chapter, I argued that Virgil's Elysium possessed a cyclical teleology building to the future-present of the Golden Age. Within Dante's Purgatory exists another teleology, but though its movement spirals upward and around the mountain, it is linear and normative.[70] It is also a personal teleology, instead of an empire-wide one. Each sinner must make his or her own journey around the mountain at his or her own speed. Everyone living after the time of Christ has the chance to reach redemption but not everyone had the chance to live in Augustan Rome, making Dante's teleology more egalitarian than Virgil's. Dante's teleology extends past his present into the future, instead of ending in his present, as Virgil's did.

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68 Margaret Wertheim, *The Pearly Gates of Cyberspace: A History of Space from Dante to the Internet* (New York: W.W.Norton and Co, 1999), 55.

69 Peter Armour, "Time and Space in Dante's *Comedy*" *Studi D'italianistica Nell'africa Australe/Italian Studies In Southern Africa* 14.2 (2001):1-16, 3.

70 Linear time, a sequence of ordered events, is normative, as opposed to other forms of time, like cyclical or non-linear. Cyclical time is often associated with women, and non-linear time is described as queer. See my Marlowe chapter for more.

Dante's *Divina Commedia* is his epic poem created to surpass the work of Virgil, but that is not the only way to examine the interactions between the texts. Dante uses time and space to give his universe a Christian teleology, while altering Dido into a new character, Beatrice. As a part of his modifications, he displays the vices and virtues of the characters through their spaces, displaying that not only time and space overlap, but also characters. To construct his Christian universe, he needs Christian characters to occupy spaces in Heaven and damned characters to occupy spaces in Hell. As such, he created a heroine who surpasses all other heroines in beauty and virtue, Beatrice, whom he structurally contrasts with a heroine from Virgil's pagan work, Dido. Through Beatrice, the perfect woman (next to Mary) and Dido's structural opposite, he declares that his Christian community can be superior to Virgil's imperialist pagan community, provided the Christian community, like Dante, can turn away from sin. His portrayal of Dido and Virgil is not harsh, but he nevertheless demonstrates that they both fall short of Christian virtue and are confined to a limited portion of his universe and a different temporality than those in Heaven. The structure of his universe ascends upward, just as his teleology does, but the movement is Dante-pilgrim's movement through metaphysical space, not Aeneas's movement through physical space.

As with my earlier chapter, I will continue my argument by focusing on spaces Dido occupies, either physically or metaphorically: The Circle of the Lustful in *Inferno* and the Sphere of Venus in *Paradiso*. I will also discuss the space(s) Beatrice occupies, because she is Dido modified into a Christian heroine. I argue that his spatial construction of Hell and Heaven hinges on Dido because these geographic locations bookend the rest of Dante's cosmology. Dido is integral to his construction of a Christian universe because of Dante's interest in a structuralist, hierarchical and binary universe, and Dido and Beatrice are at opposite ends of this structural

universe. Beatrice represents the ideal of romantic love, whereas Dido is an example of a lower form of love – that which subordinates reason to lust. These Dido references fall in the first circle of Hell-proper, the Circle of the Lustful and the highest sphere of Heaven, the Fixed Stars. Additionally, inhabitants of the Sphere of Venus are defined in contrast to Dido, showing that without her lower form of love it would be impossible to define perfect, Christian love and the Christian spaces which the virtuous occupy.

To further explain why Beatrice is important to my work, I must also spend some time discussing Dante's view of proper and improper love, which defines his description of Dido and Beatrice. These definitions of love shed light on why Dante arranges his Divine Universe in the way he does, because vices and virtues provide Dante with his structure. Lust, a sin of Incontinence, or animal appetites, is punished in Upper Hell because there is little rational involvement in these sins (in Circle II one finds *che la ragion sommettono al talento:* "the carnal sinners who subject reason to desire" [ll. *Inf.*5.39 and p. 75]), whereas willful, cognizant sins, like Treachery and Usury, are punished more heavily in Lower Hell. Dido and her group are punished less than those who submitted to lust their whole lives (*a vizio di lussuria fu sì rotta*: "who [were] so corrupted by licentious vice" [ll. *Inf.*5.55 and p.75]), and as such they are the least punished of all sinners in Hell-proper. The polar opposite of these imperfect beings' animalistic love is found all the way at the other end of Dante's universe in the Fixed Stars of *Paradiso* – Beatrice. She embodies the virtue of perfect love, a love that values God over all things.

Dante does not only alter Virgil's teleology, but also alters time and space; he includes his present (through his contemporaries' presence in these spaces), and several pasts (including historical, fictional and religious past figures) in his cosmology to propose a potential future. The

potential future he proposes is one with a different canon, one dominated by vernacular literature that embodies a "new poetics – one that would weave together history, philosophy, and theology in an integrated whole."[71] Dante's poem, written in his Florentine vernacular, weaves together philosophy, theology and histories. Dante acknowledges the importance of history and past canons by choosing Virgil as his guide and Aeneas as one of his role models in Canto II,[72] but his modification of space and time serves to assert his new poetical canon that operates above past canons. Dante furthers the ascension of vernacular literature over Virgil's canon by excluding Aeneas from the journey through the *Commedia*, and thereby excluding the authority of pagan Rome that Virgil established through Aeneas. Instead, Dante opts for Virgil and Dido as his classical characters but confines them to Hell. This modified construction of Virgil's spaces (Dido and Aeneas no longer occupy Rome and Carthage, but Hell) changes the *Aeneid's* story significantly. The Dido and Aeneas story moves from Carthage and the Underworld to a Christian Heaven and Hell to show the flaws in not only the classical worldview but also their literature.

Other explorations of time and space in Dante do not discuss Dido to the degree I propose, and discussions of Dido rarely involve time and space. As such, by exploring these areas I will expand current discussions of *Commedia* by showing oft-ignored elements that defines his universe. Many critics focus on Dante's physics and his untimely post-Einsteinean conception of time and space in *Divina Commedia*, though most are not through a textual criticism lens, nor do they consider temporality. William Egginton discusses Dante's supposedly anachronistic use of what modern scientists call a Hypersphere in Dante's Heaven, and Lisa

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71 Wertheim, *The Pearly Gates of Cyberspace*, 50.

72 See ll. *Inf.*2.10-15, p. 35.

Gorton responds with a description of medieval peoples ability to understand such paradoxes when God is involved.[73] These articles use a physical and philosophical lens, but do not apply those to the entirety of his universe or look farther into the temporal implications of this paradox. Margaret Wertheim's work on time and space in Dante does not focus on Dido or close-reading of the text, but provides me an excellent framework to do so in my study.[74] Textual criticism-based studies have been very influential to my work, as well. Peter Armour's injunction that "cosmology is the most important defining factor in a culture" necessitates his study as well as my own, but he and I differ on several key points – particularly his definition of medieval peoples' conception of time.[75] Other critics have long focused on differences between Dante and Virgil's depictions of Dido, but do not discuss time and space.[76] Temporality studies of medieval literature do talk about Dante, but they do not center on Dido, or Dante's relationship to Virgil's teleology.[77]

Lloyd Howard's work on *Divina Commedia* illustrates one other way that my study offers a new way to interpret Dante's universe. He states that formulas of repetition and *anaphora*

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73 William Egginton, "On Dante, Hyperspheres, and the Curvature of the Medieval Cosmos" *Journal of the History of Ideas* 60:2 (Apr. 1999): 195-216 and Lisa Gorton, "The Paradox Topos" *Journal of the History of Ideas* 61:2 (Apr 2000): 343-346.

74 Wertheim, *The Pearly Gates of Cyberspace: A History of Space from Dante to the Internet*.

75 Armour, "Time and Space in Dante's *Divine Comedy.*"

76 A few of which are Carolynn Lund-Mead "Dido Alighieri: Gender Inversion in the Francesca Episode" in *Dante and the Unorthodox: The Aesthetics of Transgression,* Ed. James Miller (Ontario, CA: Wilfrid Laurier, 2005): 121-150, and Mark Musa *Advent at the Gates: Dante's Comedy* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1974).

77 One exception is Kathleen Biddick "Coming out of Exile: Dante on the Orient Express" in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (New York: St. Martin's P, 2000). She encourages scholars to "engage complex temporalities of postcolonial histories" (46).The entire volume redefines postcolonial and other modern theories to apply them to medieval literatures. To me, this means redefining the relationship between Virgil and Dante. The Roman Empire was gone, yes, but the hegemony of Rome still prevailed, a relationship Dante attempts to redefine through his own complex temporality in *Divina Commedia*.

function as signposts across textual space and signal parts of Dante's systematic cosmology.[78]

These signposts "[guide] the reader on an alternate journey across the cantos of the text."

Through these signposts, the textual space of *Commedia* is realigned. Readers move back and

forth between disparate cantos to make connections that might not be evident.[79] The references to

Dido in Heaven act as a signpost pointing readers back to Hell, which led me to think more

critically about the connections between these disparate textual and cosmological spaces. These

references do not follow the pattern of those *anaphorae* Lloyd's discussed, but the repetition of

Dido serves the same function, because through these Dido signposts I discovered structural

connections between Heaven and Hell, and Beatrice and Dido, that might not be apparent

otherwise.[80] Using a methodology indebted to Howard, I will lead readers on an alternate textual

journey through *Divina Commedia* that focuses on Dido's spaces.[81]

Hell

Dante's journey begins with Hell, the Christian space of eternal suffering and concludes

in Heaven. From the "top" of Dante's Hell, if we count down the descent, we finds the Neutrals,

Limbo, and then Circle II of the *Inferno*. Circle II is the first circle of Hell proper, coming after

The Virtuous Heathens in Limbo – not sinners but people such as Virgil who lived before

Christ's salvation came to the world. In Circle II, Dido is positioned third from the top of Hell,

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78 Lloyd Howard, *Formulas of Repetition in Dante's* Commedia*: Signposted Journey's Across Textual Space* (Ithaca: McGill-Queen's UP, 2001), 4.

79 Ibid, 5.

80 For my earlier work on Dido, see "The Importance of Dido in the *Divine Commedy*," *Vexillum: The Undergraduate Journal of Classical and Medieval Studies* 2 (2012).

81 My backward journey also serves as an anti-teleological and queer reading of the text. These alternate journeys through Dante's space queer his teleological and spatial configuration of the universe, but that is the source of another project.

while Beatrice is seated in the *terzo giro / dal sommo grado*: "third circle from the highest tier" (ll.*Par*.31.67-8 and p. 449) in the rows in the Empyrean. The Fixed Star of Love is the most virtuous of spaces in Heaven, the Circle of the Lustful is the least sinful space in Hell. To one who paid as much attention to form and order as Dante, these positions must be significant, and I argue that they are because they establish the framework of his Christian hierarchical space. In this section, I focus on Dido and the construction of her metaphysical and textual spaces to show how integral she is to this universe.

Space In *Inferno*

The geography of the Second Circle of Hell is not as detailed as places like the Maleborge (the Eighth Circle which has ten levels of punishment within it), but Dante's construction of hierarchical relationships and textual space shows how highly structured his whole universe is. As such, I argue that none of the time and spaces in *Commedia* are accidental. Therefore, if the Second Circle of Hell punishes the Lascivious and Lustful, then lust is the least of the sins punished in Hell, because the farther down in the pit of Hell one is placed, the more grievous the sin. Dante meets nine sinners in the Second Circle; first, Virgil calls Dante's attention to seven sinners, and later two appear as Dante summons them (Francesca and Paolo). Nine is a "highly symbolic" and important number to Dante, for many reasons but especially here because it is Beatrice's number, Dante's symbol of perfect love.[82] The hierarchy of these nine imperfect lovers serve as a further contrast to Beatrice in addition to their flawed love; it takes nine sinners to equal one Beatrice. The list of nine includes three sets of three: three

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82 For more on the number nine's symbolism in Dante, see Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages,* Trans. Willard R. Trask (New York: Pantheon, 1953), 369. For more about Beatrice, see Robert Hollander, "Inferno 5.58-67" in *Dartmouth Dante Project* (Dartmouth: Dartmouth University, 2000-2007) n.p.

African queens; three participants in the Trojan War; and three contemporary sinners, two of whom Dante knows personally. Dido falls into the first group of African queens with Semiramis and Cleopatra.[83] Dido's inclusion in the epic catalogue could be simply to round out the group of three, but I agree with Curtius that her status as "a Virgilian heroine [means she] could not be omitted," especially since Virgil is identifying these sinners to Dante. Virgil would not omit his own heroine.[84] Carolynn Lund-Mead argues that Virgil would naturally point out his character from the *Aeneid* to his pupil, especially since Virgil had already placed Dido in the Underworld in his own epic poem.[85] I argue, however, that not only Dido appears as an homage to Dante's teacher, but also that she is in fact a much more important part of the epic as a whole. Her place and character help establish Dante's Christian teleology and canon by offering the foundation for his universe construction.

Even in this Circle of Hell, there is hierarchy among the Lustful. Dido and Semiramis represent the epitome of two different degrees of the same sin. There are two levels of the sinners in this canto – those who spend their entire lives devoted to lust (Semiramis), and those who have one great, lustful romance (Dido). Dido first appears in the canto second in the epic catalogue of sinners, a *periphrasis* in which she is only defined by her sin (*L'altra è colei che s'ancise amorosa / e ruppe fede al cener di Sicheo*: "she who slew herself for love and broke faith with the ashes of Sychaeus" [ll. *Inf.*5.61-2 and p. 75]). Unlike Semiramis, the first in the catalogue, Dido is not "called out" by name but only identified by her sin, suggesting a reluctance on Dante's part to judge her for it. The breadth of the sin determines his attitude

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83 See ll. *Inf.*5.53-63 and p. 75.

84 Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, 369.

85 Lund-Mead, "Dido-Alighieri," 124.

towards Dido: she only succumbed to lust once, rather than spending her whole life revelling in it like Semiramis. He mentions that "she slew herself" first before he says she "broke faith" with Sychaeus, suggesting he feels sympathetic towards her suffering because of lust. Dante is also prone to lust, as his pain in *Purgatorio* shows (*in un bolgliente vetro / gittato mi sarei per rinfrescarmi, / tant'era ivi lo 'ncendio sanza metro*: *"*I would have cast myself into boiling glass to cool me, so beyond measure was the burning there" [ll.*Purg*.27.49-51 and p.353]). Semiramis, whom Dante has no scruples about judging, has the longest description in the Italian text, totaling three complete tercets.[86] Iannuci argues that Semiramis is the most sinful person in this Circle of Hell, and I posit that the textual space of her description signals that he is correct.[87] Semiramis is so sinful not only because she proclaimed incest legal in her kingdom of Babylon (*libito fè licito in sua legge*: "she made lust lawful in her law" [l.*Inf*.56 and p.75]), but also because she spent her whole life devoted to lust. Dido's description totals two lines in the Italian text, but is the second longest description in Virgil's catalogue. Mark Musa states that she is second in importance in the hierarchy of this circle of Hell because of the degree of her particular sin, and I add that the amount of textual space she occupies in the catalogue supports it.[88] The shorter length of her description does not make her less important, however; instead, her lesser form of sin means she can occupy a metaphorical spaces in Heaven and more space across the text than many other characters. She is the symbol for a rational mind losing control in lust, and thusly an example to which Dante compares proper lovers.

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86 Mark Musa, *Advent at the Gates: Dante's Comedy* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1974), 10. These lines are *Inf*.5.52-60.

87 Amilcare A Iannucci, "Forbidden Love: Metaphor and History (Inferno V)" in *Dante: Contemporary Perspectives,* Ed. Amilcare Iannucci (Toronto: Toronto U P, 1997): 94-112, 100.

88 Musa, *Advent at the Gates*, 10.

Unlike the other sinners in the canto, Dido is mentioned twice: once in the epic catalogue and once as the leader of the train from which Francesca and Paolo proceed: *cotali uscir della schiera ov' è Dido:* "So these left the troop where Dido is" (l.*Inf*.5.85 and p. 77).[89] Other than Francesca, to whom Dante devotes much space and speech, Dante grants Dido more repetitions in the canto than other sinners. These repetitions, as Howard tells us, are signposts throughout the text.[90] The Italian word translated as "troop" by Sinclair is *schiera*, which Carolyn Lund-Mead defines as "a mobilized group whose members have something in common – at the very least a common leader," and she identifies the leader of this *schiera* as Dido.[91] I argue that she must be the leader, because she is so important not only in this canto, but also in Dante's universe as a whole. The sinners in Dido's troop have both a common leader and something in common – their sin of subordinating reason to lust. Readers can infer from Francesca, Paolo and Dido's inclusion in this troop that it consists of people who committed a singular but large sin that placed them in Hell, as opposed to sinners like Semiramis and Cleopatra, who accrued a lifetime of sins while willfully subordinating reason to lust. Instead of choosing Francesca as the leader of this troop, or perhaps Helen, Paris or Tristan, Dante chooses Dido. She is the best choice for various reasons, but especially because she is a character from Virgil's *Aeneid*, the classical Roman epic whose teleology Dante critiques. A larger percentage of the canto is devoted to Francesca, but her place in the circle is defined in relation to Dido. *Inferno* is peopled with Dante's contemporaries, and they most often are given speaking roles. Therefore, we should not assume that by giving Francesca a larger portion of the Canto than Dido, Dante signals that she is

89 Guiseppe Mazzotto, *Dante, Poet of the Desert: History and Allegory in the Divine Comedy* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton, 1979), 161.

90 Howard, *Formulas of Reptition in Dante's* Commedia.

91 Lund-Mead, "Dido-Alighieri," 121.

more important to the Circle. Formulas of repetition throughout the universe signal importance, and Francesca is important because of her relation to Dido; Dido is pagan and did not know the Christian God. Francesca, however, is the exact type of person whom Dante's redemptive teleology should benefit.

Dante's Christian spaces are linked to vices and virtues, and the Circle of the Lustful is no exception. Its inhabitants are defined by their degree of lust, and become symbols for it. The repeat appearance of Dido in this canto signals that she is the most important symbol of reason subordinated to lust. Because she is Dante's symbol for that degree of lust, in his other Christian spaces he uses her as an imperfect example against which to define perfect love.

Time in *Inferno*

Movement dictates time in *Divina Commedia*: movement of the spheres in Heaven measures time on Earth, and Dante's movement through this cosmology symbolizes his Christian teleology. In Hell, once sinners reach their circle, they cannot move from it. This spatial stasis symbolizes the eternal stasis of their punishment, just as movement through *Purgatorio* symbolizes the purging of sins. No one who enters Hell (after the Harrowing of Hell) will ever leave it. Time in Hell closely resembles time in the Fields of Mourning in the *Aeneid*. There is endless night in *Inferno,* and the residents dwell there perpetually. Dido is again trapped in eternal night and eternal time. The gate of Hell states as much: *DINANZI A ME NON FUOR COSE CREATE / SE NON ETTERNE, E IO ETTERNA DURO*: "BEFORE ME NOTHING WAS CREATED BUT ETERNAL THINGS AND I ENDURE ETERNALLY" (ll. *Inf.*3.7-8 and p. 47). There is no redemptive temporality in Hell, like there is in Purgatory, and there is no new canon of the kind Dante's wishes the future to hold. Hell holds the past pagan canons that must

be recognized, appreciated, and "forgotten" to move towards a new Christian poetics. Even Dante's movement in Hell is not upward towards redemption, but downward towards the worst of sinners, Satan. Hell is very much within time, eternal time full of suffering.

In Hell, sinners wish for a future without torment, but in Hell there is no future.[92] Wertheim describes Hell's time as "atemporal stasis." Atemporal means without time, but I argue there is time in Hell, it is simply one eternal present with no promise for future, no promise for change. Hell is a metaphysical space, but the punishments of sins are still very bodily. The metaphysical space here is not beyond Earthly space like Heaven is, but is in concert with Earthly space. I argue this bodily punishment means that unlike Heaven, where the lack of sin undoes medieval conceptions of dualism, in Hell the soul and the body, even if it is not one's earthly body, still exists. As such, Hell's temporality is rooted in the body and the present. It operates in the same time as medieval conceptions of time, the "now."

Hell includes endless time, but where "time" simply means "now" – one long, unending now. Drawing on Armour's definition of medieval understanding of time, the "now" is the only time readers can truly know exists. To medieval minds, according to Armour, "time does not even exist, because the past no longer exists, the future does not yet exist, and the 'now' is not part of a whole since time does not add up to a definable sum of 'nows.'"[93] The experience of now in Hell does not change, and the torments never cease. Time in Hell is one, eternal, enduring single moment spun out *ad infinitem.*

This stasis reflects Dante's wish for a future with a new canon. If we remain in the now instead of moving towards a future, literature will stagnate. Dante's placement of the poets

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92 Wertheim, *The Pearly Gates of Cyberspace*, 55.

93 Armour, "Time and Space in Dante's Comedy," 3.

articulates this idea. Virgil would dwell in Elysium in his own universe, but this is Dante's

Christian universe, so Virgil remains in Limbo. The best of poets and soldiers, such as Musaeus

who in Virgil dwells Elysium (6.767), in Dante's universe dwell in Limbo, located outside Hell-

proper. This change not only proposes a new geography, but a new temporality: Dante rewrites

Virgil's historical present. Virgil's "best of poets" live in Hell, showing that Rome was not a

glorious empire or a Golden Age, but a community of the damned and a pagan past. As such,

Dante's epic is not imperialist but Christian, and the spaces of his cosmology show it to have a

Christian teleology. Older poets like Virgil can lead us in the now, but we must move forward

and upward towards a future without them. We also need to move forward and away from pagan

heroines like Dido, and towards ones like Beatrice. Movement is necessary to relieve suffering

and ensure positive potentialities.

Heaven

The space of Hell is like a negative of Heaven, and its time is also the opposite. Hell is

very much within time: eternal time full of suffering. Heaven's time instead operates beyond

Earthly time, as its space is beyond the Earthly sphere. Beatrice leads Dante beyond the top of

Purgatorio into these metaphysical times and space. Beatrice occupies two spaces in Heaven: the

Empyrian, a microcosm of Heaven found outside the Ptolemaic ten spheres, and the Fixed Star

of Love. Her opposite, Dido, also occupies the Sphere of Venus in Heaven, but through the

distance of allusion. Beatrice, a perfect lover, is Dido's moral and structural binary opposite.

Heaven is a highly structured space, as are all areas of Dante's universe. Heaven as a completely

metaphysical space, one beyond the terrestrial sphere, includes metatemporality, and as such is

more difficult to discuss than *Purgatorio* and *Inferno* (even Dante's poetry fails him at places in

Paradiso). These different spaces in Heaven all include the same infinite, endless temporality (whereas Virgil's areas of the Underworld contained different ones). Time begins in Heaven and flows down into lower regions of Dante's universe.

Space in Heaven

Beatrice and Dante are able to travel to areas unavailable to Virgil and Dido. Her mobility is not only a symbol of her grace and Christianity, but also of Dante's Christian teleology. She joins Dante at the top of Purgatory to lead him further on his upward journey. The change of guides from Virgil to Beatrice illustrates the instrumental divide in Dante's teleology: redemption is only available to individuals after the death of Christ, so Virgil is not redeemed. The break in space between Purgatory, an Earthly space, and Heaven, a non-Earthly metaphysical space, furthers Dante's teleology. The Earthly spaces of Hell and Purgatory also have parallels to pagan places, like the Underworld and Mount Olympus, but there is no pagan parallel to Heaven, making its space a clean break from Virgil's pagan influence. This new space also offers a new time, one that includes potential for redemption but also potential for a new literary canon.

Beatrice's mobility is crucial to Dante's new metaphysical space, and Dante contrasts this mobility with the stasis of Dido. Beatrice, when not traveling, occupies the Fixed Stars, the highest sphere in Heaven below the Prime Mover. She is a symbol of love for God unmarred by lust, which is perfect love, and thereby the opposite of Dido, the symbol of love marred by lust. Dante placed this sphere structurally opposite from the Second Circle of Hell. The Prime Mover is the highest sphere of Heaven, and The Virtuous Heathens are the First Circle of Hell. Next below them is the Fixed Stars and the Circle of the Lustful. Dido and Beatrice are structural

opposites across from each other in this universe, and they are symbols for opposite forms of love. So though Dido does not exist in the Fixed Stars, Dante's reformed version of her, Beatrice, does.

Dido, however, through allusion does occupy the Sphere of Venus, discussed in Cantos VIII-IX of *Paradiso*. I argue that she appears here because discussing his metaphysical universe required Dante to compare Earthly, pagan beings (like Dido) to the divine ones (like Beatrice). This sphere is the metaphysical habitation of the virtuous, but it also includes Dido's third and fourth appearance in *Divina Commedia*.[94] Her appearances in Heaven show that she is, to Dante, the character to whom lustful souls should be compared. Dido's historical relevance and evocation of sympathy among readers makes her a better choice than Francesca, Dante's contemporary, or Cleopatra. This sphere is the space for Love Marred by Wantonness, and Dido, as a symbol of wantonness is necessary against which to define better forms of love. In Dido's fourth appearance, Folco, a troubadour and lover who released his sins and became a monk, says, *chè più non arse la figlia di Belo [di me]*: "The daughter of Belus did not burn more [than I]" (l. *Par*.9.97 and p. 137).[95] The "daughter of Belus" is Dido, and Folco cannot define his lust on Earth without reference to Dido's. His lust, however, was much greater than hers (she did not burn more than he), but because he lived in the Christian era he could recover from his vices and find his way to Heaven.[96] In this line, Dido functions as a reference point to whom not only Folco's lust is compared, but the rest of this sphere's occupants, because she *is* the symbol for

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94 Dido is mentioned four times in the *Divine Comedy*, in a total of three cantos, a highly important number to Dante. She is mentioned twice in Canto V of the *Inferno*, as discussed previously, and twice in *Paradiso*, in Cantos VIII and IX.

95 I am intentionally counting backwards teleologically towards Dido's first appearance.

96 Though Folco burned with lust, he appears not to have given in. See ll. *Inf*.9.103-108 and p. 137.

reason lost to lust. Dante's allusion to her is also a signpost to a literal reference point in Hell: the

Circle of the Lustful is where Folco and other Lovers Marred by Wantonness would reside if

their reason did not overcome lust through Christian teleology.

Dido's other appearance in *Paradiso* occurs earlier in the text within the Sphere of Venus,

where Dante-poet inserts Virgil's previous omission of Venus's involvement in Dido's lust: *[le*

genti antiche] dicean [che Cupid] sedette in grembo a Dido: "[ancient people] told that [Cupid]

lay in Dido's bosom" [l. *Par*.8.7 and p.117]. Carolynn Lund-Mead points out that when in Hell,

Virgil describes Dido to Dante, but he leaves out Venus' involvement in the fall of Dido.[97] I

argue that by placing the descriptor of *Cupid sedette in grembo a Dido* in Heaven, Dante furthers

his teleology because only in Heaven can the *antico errore* be corrected (*Par*.8.6). Only people

above and outside of the pagan understanding of love will interpret Dido's fall correctly. The

ancients in their error could blame lust on the gods, particularly Venus and Cupid. In Dante's

understanding, these pagan gods do not exist so individuals alone control their animal appetites.

According to Books III and IV of the *Aeneid*, Dido had sworn to stay true to her deceased

husband, Sychaeus, but Venus intervened. The goddess hoped to keep her son, Aeneas, in

Carthage and out of danger by distracting him with a new love to replace Creusa, his wife. She

sent Cupid to beguile Dido into falling in love with Aeneas, and Dido succumbed and in turn

seduced Aeneas. Had the goddess not interfered, Dido would have remained faithful to her

husband, and not ended up in Hell. Since Virgil created this event in his epic poem, it is

significant that Dante-Poet has Virgi's account of her history in *Inferno* omit Venus's

involvement. The *Aeneid*'s text shows Virgil's misunderstanding of lust which Dante-poet's

exclusion shows Dido is at fault. Dante's "modern" understanding of lust hinges on Christianity,

97 Lund-Mead, "Dido Alighieri," 123.

and Dante rewrites and rights the past by excluding the gods. Dante's rewriting of ancient error and placing it in Heaven asserts the understanding that only Dido and Augustan teleology, not the pagan gods' involvement, was to blame for her fall. He corrects it through his new space in Heaven and his present, Christian understanding of sin.

The two spaces in Heaven linked to love are also linked to Dido, either by oppositional structures or kinds of love. Beatrice is Dante's symbol of perfect love and a Christian epic heroine, one who loves God over all things, and thereby Dido's opposite, as a symbol of improper love and a classical, pagan heroine. The two references to Dido in the Sphere of Venus show she is the symbol of reasons subordinated to lust against which these reformed lovers must be compared. Reason and repentance must prevail over lust, and though lust can be forgiven and a former wanton lover can reach Heaven, the most perfect love is love for God, not other humans.

Time in *Paradiso*

Correcting Virgil's misunderstanding of sin allows Dante a space to propose his new poetics. His poetics would discuss history, theology and philosophy, all things that have changed drastically since Virgil. Dante does not preclude these past poetic, philosophic and religious canons from his work, but the space of Heaven exists for futures not pasts. In these potentialities, one is looking forward to the future, not at the present, like Virgil's Augustan teleology, and the construction of Heaven's metaphysical space makes new times possible. As Armour articulates it, Dante's view of time represents "an ideal past at the time of Christ," an evil present, and possibility of future reform.[98] Armour does not speak of the time before Christ, which I suggest

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[98] Armour, "Time and Space in Dante's Comedy," 15.

Dante considered as a regrettable pagan past (because he displays sympathy towards those characters). I interpret Dante's "future reform" as one not only of the Christian individual teleology Armour suggests, but also of a future reformed canon, which Dante begins with his epic. Dante-pilgrim exists outside and above the spaces of these other times: he is modern, not of the ideal past; he is in Heaven, not in the evil present; and he shows possibility for these futures.

The teleology in *Divina Commedia* is one of Christian redemption. Like Folco, sinners can recognize their vices and strive upward through the structural space of virtues to reach Heaven, something not allowed to sinners like Dido, who lived before the Crucifixion. All but the best of saints must travel through the finite time and space of Purgatory before reaching their defined spheres in Heaven.

Once in Heaven, however, time is no longer finite like it is in Purgatory. There is another temporality besides teleology and potential futures in Dante's Heaven. Wertheim articulates it perfectly when she says: "Heaven is not *in* time; along with God it is *beyond* time."[99] This "beyond time," or as I will term it, metatemporality, mirrors the metaphysical space of Heaven: the time and space of Heaven occur beyond and outside of the times and spaces of Earth.[100] Heaven is the only place in Dante's universe that is completely divorced from Earthly matters of time and space.[101] Once a soul has been purged from Earthly sin (after the journey up Mount Purgatory), the space they occupy (Heaven) becomes completely free from Earthly prohibitions of time and place. The residents of Heaven dwell in the Spheres eternally until the end of time,

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99 Wertheim, *The Pearly Gates of Cyberspace*, 74.

100 "Meta" can mean both alongside and beyond; I use it in the latter sense here.

101 Armour presents an interesting discussion of place names in Purgatory and Hell as reflections of medieval physical spaces on page 4 of his article "Time and Space in Dante's Comedy," which I take to mean that those spaces are very Earthly despite being metaphysical. Heaven does not contain these "earthly" place names.

which coincides with the end of space, particularly the space of the universe. Only in a place free from sin can one live out of time in this way. Hell includes eternity in the form of suffering, but that is a very different temporality than being beyond time in Heaven.

Not only are Heaven and the Prime Mover, the outermost layer of Heaven, outside Earth, they are also at the center.[102] The Prime Mover is God, and he moves everything in the universe, including time. Time in a finite, measurable sense does not exist in Heaven, but Heaven houses the beginning of times for Earth. The motion of the sphere measures time on Earth, especially the movement of the Sun and the Moon, and the Prime Mover allows them that motion.[103] Dante conceives of this tangled mass of time and space, and explains it best through Beatrice's words: *il tempo tegna in cotal testo / le sue radici e ne li altri le fronde*: "time should have its roots in that vessel and the others its leaves" (ll.*Par.*27.118-120 and p. 393). Time has its roots in the Prime Mover, and the other spheres are the leaves of that divine plant, Time.

These four types of time found in Heaven (two forms of teleology, metatemporality and the source of time) all enfold with Dante's construction of space to reflect medieval views of temporality. To medieval minds, according to Armour, "time does not even exist, because the past no longer exists, the future does not yet exist, and the 'now' is not part of a whole since time does not add up to a definable sum of 'nows.'"[104] Though Armour's reading of time follows closely my argument about anachrony in the last chapter, it is not how the temporality of *Divina Commedia* reads to me. I do think that this view of time exists in Hell. The temporality of Heaven is one potentiality available through redemptive teleology and future canons, because the

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102Egginton, "On Dante, Hyperspheres and the Curvature of the Medieval Cosmos" discusses this paradox in great detail. In modern physics, this inside but also outside space is a hypersphere.

103Armour, "Time and Space in Dante's Divine Comedy," 3.

104Ibid, 3.

future is not predestined by symbols from the gods. Dante-poet, unlike Aeneas in *Aeneid*, shows he controls his future by controlling the spaces he constructs in *Divina Commedia*.

These highly structured spaces and times needed an anchor and foundation to support them, and those anchors are Dido and Virgil. The time and space both start and end with the Prime Mover, but the metaphysical journey of Dante starts in Hell. He meets Virgil in the First Circle and Dido in the Second, but Dido leads him all the way to the top of Heaven. References to Dido exist across this metaphysical universe, offering readers a roadmap of Love and Lust through the Heaven and Hell, where they can discover new spaces and new temporalities.

Conclusion

By focusing on these few characters and spaces, I hope to add a new layer to the ongoing, 700+ year long study of Dante. Focusing in on minute details tells us more about the larger implications of a work. In this instance, I argue that focusing on Dido and two areas of Dante's universe tells us much more about the larger temporal schemes in *Divina Commedia*. Dante's use of temporality serves to not only move him beyond the canon of Virgil, but also gives him space for his religious reformation. Further studies on time, space and characters in *Divina Commedia* would likely offer us similar insights.

CHAPTER 4

"A TROJAN I WAS AND WHAT NOW SHALL I SAY I AM?": QUEERNESS IN MARLOWE'S

DIDO QUEEN OF CARTHAGE

Christopher Marlowe's *Dido Queen of Carthage* is a play about time, just as the *Aeneid* is

an epic about time. The play, however, does not follow the *Aeneid'*s time, but queers its

normativity. I use queer in the sense of reclaiming the word as a celebration of non-normativity

in all areas, not simply sexuality. To Carolyn Dinshaw, normative time is the "measurement of

discrete and identical forward-moving points on a line"; therefore normative time is linear and

teleological.[105] Virgil's time, though anachronic and antichronic, has a linear, forward moving

teleology. Marlowe preserves discrete instances, or episodes, from Virgil, but reorders and

modifies the temporality in some instances with his verb choices. As a result of these verbs and

his removal of the endpoint and Augustan teleology, the forward motion in the *Aeneid* disappears

in Marlowe's play. The lack of forward motion makes this play's temporality non-normative and

queer.

In addition to these queer temporalities, Marlowe also creates queer characters. My use of

queer when describing characters closely corresponds to the polysemy of the Early Modern

definition of sodomy. Sodomy did not simply mean homosexual sex; rather, it was always a

charge of disrupting not only the sexual, gender or class order, but also the political order.[106]

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[105] Carolyn Dinshaw, *How Soon is Now? Medieval Texts, Amateur Readers and the Queerness of Time* (Durham: Duke UP, 2012).

[106] Mario DiGagni, "Marlowe, Queer Studies, and Renaissance Homoeroticism," in *Marlowe, History and Sexuality,* Ed. Paul Whitfield White, (New York: AMS P, Inc., 1998).

Additionally, sodomy means non-procreative sex, meaning even heterosexual relationships are queer when not seeking children. In this chapter, I argue that Marlowe is queering gender roles, sexualities and temporalities, and I suggest his doing so is politically motivated and subversive. He does so to undermine the normativity of heteronormativity. Heteronormativity, as I use it in this chapter, means not just normative sexualities, but also normative gender roles, marriage and procreative sex. Sara Munson Deats offers two potential interpretations of these queer desires and identities in *Dido Queen of Carthage*, and I accept and argue the second: "the polymorphically perverse array of sexualities and gender transgressions […] passions can be seen as undermining, even burlesquing, the inflexibility and limitation of traditional amorous systems in the early modern patriarchal society."[107] These passions not only undermine "traditional amorous systems," they make the traditional queer.

Time and space intertwine in Christopher Marlowe's *Dido Queen of Carthage*, in a way similar to Dante's *Divina Commedia*, but there is extra-textual space I must address before moving into time and space in the text: the space of the theater.[108] David Clark argues that "the theatre was already a very queer space in the way the normative was suspended, inverted and parodied" or, as I would say, queered.[109] Marlowe's characters, acted by boys in and out of drag, move between non-normative gender roles and perform non-normative sexual relationships. Marlowe's play is Virgil's normativity presented in a parodic dramatic translation. As Roma Gill describes Renaissance drama, "verisimilitude was not to be looked for: the emphasis was on

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107Deats, "The Subversion of Gender Hierarchies in *Dido, Queen of Carthage*," 175.

108I use the play's title from the editions I consulted: *The Complete Plays,* Ed. Frank Romany and Roberts Lindsey (New York: Penguin, 2003) and *Dido, Queen of Carthage, and The Massacre At Paris,* Ed. H. J. (Harold James) Oliver (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1968). I realize there should be a comma after Dido.

109David Clark, "Marlowe and Queer Theory," in *Christopher Marlowe in Context,* Eds. Emily C. Bartels and Emma Smith (New York: Cambridge, 2013), 239.

artifice, on an imitation that is always ready to draw attention to itself."[110] I argue this attention

seeking is why Marlowe repeats time throughout the play: to draw attention to his manipulation

of Virgil's temporality. The time of Marlowe's play, though on the surface linear and normative,

is already queered by the space of Renaissance drama and its performance.[111] I do not focus on

performance in this chapter, but rather on other ways Marlowe further queers Virgil. For

example, the fabula of the play is very linear; however, it is non-normative when compared to

Virgil's epic's fabula, and the space of Carthage undermines the normativity of Rome.

Many critics acknowledge the non-normative gender roles and sexualities present in

Christopher Marlowe's tragedy *Dido Queen of Carthage.*[112] Sara Munson Deats argues that *Dido*

includes tragic passion, found in the play as non-normative gender roles and non-

heteronormative behaviors, in relationships between Dido and Aeneas, Anna and Iarbas (in that

these are women actively pursuing men), Jupiter and Ganymede (homosexual pedophilia), and

Cupid and Dido and the nurse (polyamorous pedophilia).[113] I argue that these non-normative

gender roles and desires show the characters to be queer, and my focus will not be sexuality or

gender explicitly, but rather when characters mirror queer temporality while they talk about time.

Scholarly discourse about the play has up to this point neglected its queering of Virgil's

temporality. Instead, many scholars, when comparing Marlowe and Virgil, have written about

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110Roma Gill, "Marlowe and the Art of Translation" in *"A Poet and a Filthy Play Maker": New Essays on Christopher Marlowe*, Eds. Kenneth Friedenreich, Roma Gill and Constance B. Kuriyama (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1988), 334.

111It is especially queer when one considers that young males performed all the characters in this play, but I will not discuss that here.

112See Emma Buckley "'Live Fals Aeneas' Marlowe's Dido, Queen of Carthage and the Limits of Translation," *Classical Receptions Journal* 3.2 (2011):129-147, C.R. Kinney, "Epic Transgression and the Framing of Agency in *Dido, Queen of Carthage*," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 40.2 (2000): 261-276 and Gill "Marlowe's Virgil: *Dido Queen of Carthage*," *The Review of English Studies New Series*. 28.110 (1977): 141-55.

113Sara Munson Deats, "The Subversion of Gender Hierarchies in *Dido, Queene of Carthage*" in *Marlowe, History and Sexuality,* Ed. Paul Whitfield White, (New York: AMS P, Inc., 1998).

the ways Marlowe's play mimics Virgil's epic. Roma Gill argues that Marlowe's translation of

Virgil's is paraphrase, characterized by Dryden as "translation with latitude, where the author is

kept in view by the translator, so as never to be lost, but his words are not strictly followed as his

sense; and that too is admitted to be amplified, but not altered."[114] I disagree with Gill's

assessment; while Virgil is in view, his sense is not preserved (not "not altered") or amplified.

Gill acknowledges Marlowe's interpolations, such as Anna's romance with Iarbas, but ignores his

more substantial and divergent interpolations, like Cupid replacing Ascanius for the majority of

the play, instead of one short instance, as in Virgil.[115] If Virgil is in view at these points in the

play, it is only for Marlowe to give him a saucy wink during his antics. These divergences will

not be my emphasis, however, because Gill and other scholars have discussed them so

frequently; instead I will focus on his more subtle alterations of time and space to argue that

though *Dido Queen of Carthage* closely resembles Virgil's *Aeneid* in plot, Marlowe deliberately

focuses on Dido instead of Aeneas and Carthage instead of Rome to make Aeneas and Rome

non-normative. Marlowe alters the order of the *Aeneid*'s episodes in his play to queer the already

non-linear epic time and create a space for his queer characters. By removing the linear end point

of the *Aeneid* (Aeneas arriving in Italy and thereby founding Rome), he disregards the

normativity of Rome, adding it to his list of queer characters. In this chapter, I argue that

Marlowe asserts a queer community through not only his gender-queer characters and non-

normative relationships, but also the play's queer temporality.

114Roma Gill, quoting Dryden, in "Marlowe and the Art of Translation" in *"A Poet and a Filthy Play Maker": New Essays on Christopher Marlowe*, Eds. Kenneth Friedenreich, Roma Gill and Constance B. Kuriyama, (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1988), 332.

115Ibid, 333.

I use the term queer temporality to mean time that is not linear, sequential or teleological. Virgil's epic is teleological, in that it suggests the normative, imperialist endpoint of Augustan Rome. I argue that *Dido*'s temporality is queer when compared to Virgil's teleological imperialist epic because Marlowe removes this teleological endpoint of Aeneas's future. Teleology is referred to as phallic, because it is straight, normative and linear, so by removing the teleology, then, Marlowe neuters Virgil's teleology. Marlowe's play contains anachrony and antichrony, as Virgil's did, but instead of arranging Virgil's fabula in a linear sjuzet, he reorders the episodes and adds his own. By exercising his authorial power in rearranging Virgil and adding new episodes, Marlowe queers Virgil's times and spaces.

When one looks at the ways the Virgil and Marlowe's temporality works, the queering of time begins to show: classical epics are already not linear and Marlowe re-orders several key events Virgil presents in the *Aeneid*: the Trojans arrival in Carthage and Aeneas's plan to leave Carthage. As such, I will avoid prior critics' urge to simply compare and contrast the two stories on a narrative level, but will focus on time instead, an area they have mostly ignored.[116] Matthew N. Proser does discuss Marlowe's reordering of events, but for a different purpose. He argues that "Marlowe has converted his narrative and mainly linear source into a true system of dramatic stresses and balances."[117] While it is true that the reordering has dramatic purposes, it has queer temporal purposes as well; the arrival and departure of the Trojans, i.e. movement through space, is what makes the *Aeneid* teleological. Marlowe queers the Trojans' journey by removing arrivals and departures. His manipulation of the *Aeneid*'s temporality does not stop

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[116] Donatella du Plessis, "A Comparative Study of the Dido-Aeneas episode in Virgil's *Aeneid* and Christopher Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage*," *Akroterion* 53 (2008): 111-119, is a good review of these comparisons and a well done comparison, but I aim to add more to the conversation by adding time.

[117] Matthew N. Proser, "*Dido Queen of Carthage* and the Evolution of Marlowe's Dramatic Style," in *"A Poet and a Filthy Play Maker."*

there, however. In his adaptation of the story, Marlowe repeatedly plays with the complicated nature of epic temporality, and makes time(s) one of the main focal points in the story. Queer characters possess queer temporalities, so Marlowe's temporal alterations allow a space for his queer characters.

Queer Time

Dido Queen of Carthage incudes no teleology and more anachrony and antichrony than the *Aeneid*, making its time queer. The play embodies both an anachronic and antichronic relationship to the past, but to a different past than Virgil's epic. Virgil interacts with Rome's past, but Marlowe interacts with Virgil's poetic past, i.e. time as set forth in the *Aeneid*. Marlowe treats the *Aeneid* as a historical record, and manipulates and fabricates events in and against the *Aeneid's* temporality. The Dido-Aeneas story, once one only looks at books one, three and four where their story occurs, is linear, but Marlowe did not simply reproduce this linear story. He queers it by reordering events. Additionally, Marlowe, a reader of Greek, could have had access to Dido/Elyssa's historical record, but instead chooses Virgil's anachronic and antichronic time, which Marlowe reorders and fabricates. *Dido Queen of Carthage* layers Virgil's antichronic Dido and Aeneas story with Marlowe's own anachronic and antichronic times, creating an even more multi-layered narrative than the *Aeneid*. The play not only includes queer time in the sense of a non-teleological story (his removal of the Augustan Roman end point), but is also queer and non-normative because of these multiple, enfolded layers of anachrony and antichrony. I argue that his purpose, as was Virgil's, was to create a new past to assert a new community – no longer the glorious Roman community of Virgil, but instead a queer community. His queering of time allows for a space for this community in his non-normative re-present-ation of the *Aeneid*.

Queer time, in the sense I am using it, includes more than non-linear and teleological time. Madhavi Menon articulates this idea when she argues that *Venus and Adonis* contains non-normative linear teleology because the play lacks the satisfaction of sexual desire.[118] *Dido Queen of Carthage* contains many instances of sexual desire, both failed and satisfied. I, however, posit that despite including the fulfillment of sexual desire, it is not heteronormative, monogamous, procreative sexual desire: there are no children or marriages as a result. As such, there is desire in the play left unfulfilled, which makes the play non-normative and non-teleological.[119] What Dido truly desires by the end of the play, marriage between her and Aeneas and a child from that union, does not occur, and what Aeneas truly desires, to reach Italy, also does not occur. Furthermore, Anna does not marry Iarbas as she desired, and Iarbas does not marry Dido as he desired. The play lacks many potential teleological endings, and those endings it does contain, i.e. the deaths of Dido, Anna and Iarbas, are the result of desire for heteronormativity, monogamy and procreation. The play instead ends back where it starts, with ashes and the liminal ocean. Aeneas sails away into the liminal ocean (but the play does not contain where he arrives afterward), and Dido, Anna and Iarbas all become ashes, nothing more than fallible representations of the past. The surface temporality is thus circular instead of linear, making the play gender and temporally queer.

Anachrony and Antichrony in *Dido Queen of Carthage*

The play begins with Jupiter flirting with Ganymede while Mercury sleeps at his feet. Venus then arrives to ask for Jupiter's protection for Aeneas, which Jupiter agrees. Meanwhile,

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118For more on queer temporality as it relates to non-heteronormative, sexual endings, see Madhavi Menon. "Spurning Teleology in Venus and Adonis" *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 11.4 (2005):491-519.

119Particularly Gill's "Marlowe's Virgil: *Dido Queen of Carthage*."

the Trojans arrive on shore in Carthage, Aeneas kills seven deer, they light fires, Venus visits the

Trojans, and then the shipwrecked sailors go to sleep. The next day, Aeneas and Achates walk to

Carthage. After Aeneas and Dido meet, their romance begins and only ends after Mercury chides

Aeneas twice for forgetting his destiny. During this final Act, Dido and Aeneas speak to each

other in Virgil's Latin.

I begin my discussion with these Latin speeches. These lines, the most self-contained

instances of Marlowe's manipulation of Virgil's time, serve to establish my discussion of queer

time in *Dido Queen of Carthage*. Near the end of the play, Dido and Aeneas speak to each other

in Latin through direct quotations from Virgil in two places: a conversation between Dido and

Aeneas at 5.1.136-140 and most of Dido's last speech at 5.1.310-11, 313.[120]Critics tend to hold a

disparaging view of these lines. Harry Levin describes the Latin lines as "an evasion [that] smells

of university," J.B Steane accuses Marlowe of laziness, and Gill believes Marlowe is being

modest.[121] I argue that none of those are the case (I have a hard time imagining a young Marlowe

as more modest than older Marlowe), but the placement of these episodes shows that Marlowe

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120 5.1.136-140:
    Dido: *Si bene quid de te merui, fuit aut tibi quidquam*
    Dulce meum, miserere domus labentis: & istam
    Oro, so quis adhuc precibus locus, exue mentem.
    Aen.: *Desine meque tuis incedere teque querelis, / Italiam non sponte sequor.*
    (Dido: If ever I have deserved well from you and if anything relating to me has ever pleased you, take pity on a
    falling house, and, I pray you – if there is still a place for prayers – abandon this present plan.
    Aeneas: Cease setting both yourself and me on fire with your laments; it is not of my own free will that I seek
    Italy" Translation Ross, Marlowe quotes *Aeneid* 4.317-319 and 360-1).

    5.1.310-11, 313:
    Dido: *Litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas*
    Imprecor; arma amis; pugnent ipsique nepotes:
    Live, false Aeneas! Truest Dido dies;
    Sic, sic iuvat ire sub umbras.
    ("I pray that coasts may oppose coasts, waves oppose waves, arms oppose arms; and may they and their
    descendants wage [unending] war...Thus, thus, I rejoice at passing into darkness" translation by Ross, Marlowe
    quotes from *Aeneid* 4.628-9 and 660).

121 Harry Levin, *Christopher Marlowe: The Overreacher* (Boston: Beacon, 1965), 33, J.B. Steane, *Christopher
    Marlowe*, 48 and Gill, "Marlowe and the Art of Translation," 336.

deliberately manipulates temporality: the episodes themselves are anachronic and antichronic.[122] Although Marlowe on one level displays his academic learning to the audience by directly quoting Virgil, I argue that the effect of the Latin alters his play's temporality. The Latin is a symbol of the learned society of early modern England, but its juxtaposition amongst early modern English makes Latin non-normative and marginal. The marginilization of Latin furthers Marlowe's marginalization and queering of Virgil and Rome.

The language of this conversation is both anachronic and antichronic, because if the characters had ever met, they would not have spoken classical Latin; classical Latin was the language of Virgil, not his characters who lived hundreds of years before him. Marlowe's use of Latin shows he controls these characters' present the same way Virgil does (whose characters would not have spoken Latin, either), and Marlowe uses Virgil's language to draw attention to his parody of Virgil. Marlowe also alters space through this conversation, because classical Latin places the play in Virgil's Rome, not in Carthage or Troy, where citizens would have spoken Punic and Greek. By Marlowe's use of classical Latin in Carthage, Dido and Aeneas's Carthage becomes an antichronic space and time that can be transported elsewhere, or in this particular scene, elsewheres.

The ambiguity of the Latin means characters in Act 5 Scene 1 are all at once in early modern London (literally), Augustan Rome (historically), and "present" Carthage (dramatically). Through this multiplicity of places, Marlowe draws attention to Virgil's anachronic and antichronic temporality, spatiality and language. If we consider the relationship between Carthage and language, most of the play is placed in Marlowe's London, because the characters speak early modern English – a fact that Marlowe emphasizes with his use of Latin. These Latin

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122I discuss the play in anachronic order purposefully, because it helps my argument and *in imitatio* of both Marlowe and Virgil.

lines not only draw attention to the ways Marlowe queers time and space, but also to the ways he transports the characters back in time to Virgil's Rome, despite the play's setting in Virgil's imagined Carthage. Here the privileging of early modern London, however, makes the other spaces and times in *Dido Queen of Carthage* marginal, liminal and non-normative.

What is the purpose of this manipulation and space and time, other than mimicking Virgil's antichronic and anachronic temporality? As I discussed in my first chapter, Aeneas' identity is malleable as a result of Virgil's undefined time and space. Marlowe takes the malleability of characters' identities one step further, and makes all characters' identities undefined. They are not stock characters from the epic or from other reworkings of Virgil, and they are not static. His characters move between times, spaces and gender roles. This malleability means all characters can be used to assert a community, instead of only Aeneas, whose identity and temporality in the *Aeneid* asserts the community of the Roman Empire. Virgil used Dido and Aeneas to glorify Rome and explain its past, but Marlowe uses all his characters to glorify a community divorced from any nationalist/imperialist agenda, but one that is necessary all the same – a community of non-heteronormative, queer characters. The temporality in the play augments his assertion of this queer community because it lacks a teleological ending, and is anachronous and antichronous instead of teleologically linear.

One way he queers and burlesques Virgil is his intentional alteration of time, in that he does not produce an entirely linear adaptation of the epic. Marlowe's challenge was adapting the Dido and Aeneas episodes into a dramatic narrative, which by early modern conventions must be linear, while still preserving anachrony and antichrony. He was educated in the classical literatures, especially Ovid and Virgil, and he might have had very practical reasons for

consciously manipulating time in the play.[123] As an audience at a "university drama," his educated readers and spectators would be familiar with the source text, and would know how the Dido and Aeneas story ends, because they were likely familiar with the order which the episodes progress in Virgil.[124] Re-presenting the episodes in a linear fashion, then, would not entertain his audience, so Marlowe as a playwright adds interest by disrupting viewers' preconceived notions of the epic. In doing so, Marlowe not only produces an attention-grabbing play, but also achieves the same antichronic, anachronic effect of the *Aeneid.* Although this practical, dramatic reason could be the sole source for Marlowe's alternative plotline, the text suggests it is not; *Dido* includes queer, not teleological, time, and the repetition of references to time asserts a queer, liminal space where Marlowe represents a queer community. These effects make the characters' identities and their non-normative times intertwined. By manipulating the events in the "present" of Carthage into a different sequence than occurs in his source material, Marlowe can also present new characters that are not Virgil's. For the remainder of this chapter, I will discuss many of the instances of the word "time" and verb choices linked to time to discuss the effects this temporality has on the characters' non-normative identities; Dido, Aeneas and Troy's relationship to time augments Marlowe's assertion of a queer community.

Queer Characters

The characters in *Dido Queen of Carthage* are not normative, and if any become so, they are dead at the end of the play. Their non-normativity is sometimes sexual and sometimes

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123See Lynn Enterline. *Shakespeare's Schoolroom: Rhetoric, Discipline, Emotion* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2012) for more about education in the Early Modern period. The footnotes to the 1968 version of the play explain the many references to Virgil and Ovid in the play.

124The play was performed by Children of the Majesty's Chapel for a private audience. This private space potentially suggests the audience was more educated than a public audience. See Prosser's article for more.

gender-queer, and often both. Their sexual relationships are not procreative, and when Dido wishes her sexual relationship had been, it is already too late. No couples marry at the end of the play, but all the characters who want this heteronormative relationship die. The genders of the main characters are fluid: Dido is often masculine and Aeneas is often passive. Dido, the eponymous character and therefore the most normative, also shifts between genders, between active and passive roles and temporalities. These non-normative characters are all linked to non-normative time, and their speech reflects a fixation on time.

Trojans as non-normative in *Dido Queen of Carthage*

Troy often occurs in literature as the city to aspire towards, or one to which nations fabricate links. The *Aeneid* possessed this aspiration, and Virgil took a Greek story and made it Roman to claim the authority of Troy. In this play, however, Marlowe undermines the normativity of this most normative community. The Trojans are outsiders in Carthage, and their behavior is nothing to which one should aspire. They define themselves by the past, Troy, but not by their present or their future, making them passive. One way Marlowe queers Virgil's Trojans is by deliberately rearranging the *Aeneid* in several places in the play. This rearrangement both mimics Virgil's anachronic time and space, and, by doing so, to create a non-normative characters: Aeneas, Dido and the personification of Rome.

In Act 2, Scene 1, Marlowe makes Aeneas non-normative by altering time, space and the materiality of the *Aeneid*. While walking towards Carthage, Aeneas sees a statue of Priam outside the city, reminding Aeneas of the past destruction of Troy. In Book 1 of Virgil, Aeneas sees Priam in a mural on the Carthaginian Juno's temple walls, not a statue outside the walls of the city. This spatial movement of the statue has a practical purpose, because producing a statue

instead of a temple mural would be much easier for the set designers, but the change has further implications for his characters. The spatial change from inside the city to outside the city marginalizes the Trojans, making them non-normative characters. If they were normative, their place would be inside the city; a place outside the city shows them to be marginal in comparisons to Carthaginians, who live in the city. They are outsiders. Additionally, the removal of Juno and her temple from the the space of Carthage makes Carthage more malleable – in the *Aeneid* Juno is the patron goddess of Carthage and plots with Venus in the *Aeneid* to keep Aeneas safe in Carthage and away from Rome. She was also the main antagonist of Aeneas and his crew, constantly deferring their arrival in Italy. Marlowe relegates her to the historical past to remove another remnant of Augustan teleology; as such, the play focuses on his "present" of a queer community in Carthage.

The Trojans in Marlowe's play, like those in Virgil, define themselves in terms of their past, which only remains in images and ashes: the ashes of Troy and the statue of Priam. Both images and ashes, as symbols of other times, rely on memory to fill in the symbolism; they themselves are not the past. Ashes, unlike images, do not even resemble the former object, and without one's memory of the referent, they are meaningless. Images, too, rely on subjective interpretation, and the Trojans' interpretation is biased by their past. Because these men define themselves exclusively by the past, they do not have a real present. Aeneas defines himself by his past and not his present, as we see in his interpretation of Priam's statue. The Trojans do not have a present in Carthage – their past, the statue of Priam, exists *outside* the walls. Because their past exists outside the walls, they are marginal and non-normative characters; the title of the play, *Dido Queen of Carthage*, tells us what is normative: Dido and Carthage. Aeneas's marginality and biased interpretation makes him unable to tell the difference between images and

normative reality. His spatial marginality and shadowy temporality are defined by the past identity: seeing the statue redefines his space. Aeneas says, "Where am I now? These should be Carthage walls...Methinks that town there should be Troy, yon Ida's hill, / There Xanthus stream, because here's Priamus" (2.1.1,6-7). Venus told Aeneas he was near Carthage, so that town *should be* Carthage, but here *is* Priam, so by proximity, that town *should be* Troy. It cannot be both, but because Aeneas defines himself by his past and not his present, the statue of Priam defines Aeneas' location. Because Troy is now only an illusory space without a present, Aeneas who defines himself as a Trojan is also undefined. Marlowe makes Aeneas' present doubly antichronic by manipulating Aeneas' identity and space in these lines while setting him outside Virgil's imagined Carthage.

Marlowe further identifies Aeneas with past Troy, so if Troy is ashes, Aeneas' identity must also be as undefined as ashes; he is no longer a Trojan because Marlowe's Aeneas cannot define himself as a person without Troy. Aeneas states, "Some*time* I *was* a Trojan, mighty Queen; / But Troy is not; what shall I say I *am*?" (emphasis mine, 2.1.75-6). In this line, Marlowe perfectly reflects the temporal and spacial issues presented in the *Aeneid*: Aeneas, despite occupying a liminal space and time, still thinks linearly and equates his time with physical Troy and the metaphysical idea of Rome, connected by Augustan teleology. In *Dido Queen of Carthage*, Marlowe removes Aeneas's future, his past is gone, and his present is empty and undefined, so he cannot define himself. Otherwise, he could identify himself with the future, saying, "I will be instrumental in the eventual founding of Rome," but Marlowe does not allow him that option – Aeneas is only defined by his past in *Dido Queen of Carthage.* Dido, as Buckley posits, chides Aeneas for forgetting himself ("Remember who thou *art*, speake like thy selfe" [emphasis mine, 2.1.100]), because he "seems to have forgotten not just his lines, but also

his self."[125] Dido speaks of Aeneas in the present-tense, but currently he has no real identity within or without present Carthage; he is trapped in a liminal space without any time – his past is gone and Marlowe does not include his future.

Marlowe further manipulates Aeneas' time in Act I, Scene 1.[126] Here, in the first Act, Marlowe establishes his dramatic license to alter space and time by creating a more lecherous Mount Olympus where non-normative behaviors occur with non-normative time. The arrangement functions to set the stage, as it were, for time and characters to be queer, and for Marlowe's burlesque of the *Aeneid*'s characters. In Book 1 of the *Aeneid*, the Trojans come ashore in Carthage, they light fires, Aeneas kills seven deer, Venus talks to Jupiter, the Trojans sleep, and then Venus visits them. In *Dido Queen of Carthage*, because of the confines of drama and staging, the conversation between Jupiter and Venus occurs at the beginning of the Act after Jupiter "dandles" Ganymede.[127] After the conversations between the gods, the Trojans come ashore, Aeneas kills deer, the Trojans light fires, Venus visits and then they sleep. The confines of drama might necessitate the alteration of this ordering, but I believe there is further significance – Marlowe is deliberately manipulating time to show that in his play, temporality is non-normative.

Dido as gender-queer

Aeneas and the Trojans, because of the space and time of the play, are non-normative in Marlowe's Carthage. Dido, as the eponymous character of the play and as queen of Carthage,

125Buckley, "Live False Aeneas!," 132.

126Oliver, footnote to l. 165.

127Gill discusses this homosexual and pedophilic relationship between Jupiter and Ganymede at length, and both editions of the play I consulted discuss the homoerotic polysemy of dandles.

dictates the space and non-normativity of the rest of the play. Though the title suggests she is normative in the play, being the heroine, she is not gender normative. This juxtaposition of non-normative characteristics in a normative character makes non-normativity normative. Her verb tenses change to show her to possess both masculine/active (present- and future-centered) and passive/feminine (past-centered) temporalities. The past is passive and therefore feminine, because one cannot actively control it. One can, however, control the present and the future, and this element of active control makes present- and future-centered temporalities masculine. As her tenses shift, Dido moves between these temporalities and gender roles. This vacillation between gender roles makes her gender queer, refusing static gender categorization.

As stated above, Dido speaks of Aeneas in the present ("Remember who thou *art*, speake like thy selfe" [emphasis mine, 2.1.100]). Dido speaks not only of Aeneas but also of herself in the present-tense ("Dido I am" [5.1.264]). Her speech displays normative behaviors, but behaviors normative for masculine individuals. These present and active speech acts show her identity performance to be different than Aeneas's: initially, her personality is assertive, present-centered and masculine, where Aeneas is passive, past-centered and feminine.[128] Dido is more "dynamic and dominant," and therefore masculine, and Aeneas is more "reticent and passive," and thusly more feminine.[129] Dido's present-centered temporality makes her dominant and active because she wishes to control her own time, and Aeneas's past-centered shows him to be passive because one cannot change the past.

These gender performances of Dido and Aeneas are not consistent throughout the play, but change depending on circumstance. If, instead of writing gender performances this way,

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128Buckley's article "Live False Aeneas!" includes a fascinating discussion of the ways speech is "self-constituting" in the play.

129Deats, "The Subversion of Gender Hierarchies in *Dido, Queen of Carthage*," 168.

Marlowe had written static characters based entirely on gender performance in the *Aeneid*, Dido and Aeneas would be solid; had Marlowe abandoned all pretense of imitating Virgil, he could have created truly fluid, antichronic characters. Marlowe's identity construction is somewhere in between, and is liminal and non-normative. Static characters and fluid characters are normative, depending on the genre, but ones that are a mixture of those characteristics are non-normative. Deats argues that Marlowe's characters, Dido and Aeneas, "smash stereotypes of sex and gender" through "their continual gender role switching."[130] While their switching between gender roles is very important, I argue that instead of smashing gender roles, it queers them and thereby Virgil's text. In Marlowe's work, there are no gender-normative characters, so non-normativity becomes normative, and normativity queer. Marlowe's use of non-normative time augments these non-normative gender performances; Dido's active present-tense verbs are masculine and gender-queer, showing her temporality to be defined by this imagined normative space and "present." Marlowe links her identity to the space of Carthage and to time throughout the play – both to Aeneas' and her own time.

Dido's time, once she is struck by Cupid, becomes passive, feminine and defined in terms of Aeneas. Aeneas, however, is also passive, so though their relationship appears to be heteronormative, it is not, because these are two feminine characters in the relationship. Her passivity manifests in her activities: "She likewise in admiring spends her time / And cannot talk nor think of aught but him"(3.2.72-73). Dido's time is not active, because talking and thinking of Aeneas is different than talking to him, and also very different from thinking about her kingdom. Her time now centers on his, which is centered on the past.

130ibid, 172.

Iarbas, the character closest to heteronormativity (he desires a monogamous, procreative, married relationship with Dido) describes Dido's identity by using allusions to time. She exhibits Women's Time, which operates simultaneously and against normative time, but is not normative.[131] Iarbas does not see her time this way, because he believes her a stereotypical woman and as such associates her with a misogynistic view of the moon and inconstancy: "O cruel women's hearts, / That imitate the moon in very change / And, like the planets, ever love to range!" (3.3.67-69). I assert that this perceived "inconstancy" is her rejection of his heteronormativity and misogyny in favor of a non-normative relationship with Aeneas. His description is also an inaccurate view of celestial bodies and another way that Marlowe makes Dido a non-normative character. Both planets and the moon appear to be constantly changing in size because of their fluctuating distance from Earth, but they are in actuality on a constant cycle. This cycle defines periods of cyclical time controlled by celestial bodies' fluctuating spatiality. Dido, by association, is as cyclical as these celestial bodies, because her antichronic time and imagined space are in flux. Her time, like her identity and her verbs, change throughout the play. Dido's time, because it relates to the moon, is cyclical but not teleological, unlike time in the *Aeneid* was cyclical and teleological. Dido and her play's time end where they begin, but there is no forward motion towards any type of teleology. This feminine temporality further removes the play from normativity à la Augustan teleology. Not only anachrony but also antichrony makes this play queer; Marlowe also adds the layer of cyclical time to make his play's temporality extra non-normative.

Dido returns to her active role when she senses she is in danger by linking her identity and time with Aeneas's. She again thinks about her future, this time in the form of eternity. As

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131Elizabeth Freeman, *Time Binds: Queer Temporalities, Queer Histories* (Durham: Duke UP, 2010).

Aeneas threatens to leave, Dido states: "For in his looks I see eternity, / And he'll make me immortal with a kiss" (4.4.122-3). Her time is defined by Aeneas not only in that she spends all her time looking at, thinking of, and talking about him; in him she sees time – time that is boundless. This time is not the Augustan teleology of Rome, because Marlowe removes that temporality. It would instead be repeated cycles of the Carthaginian "present" without a future or a past, similar to the unending "now" in Dante's Hell, but more pleasant. Instead of the future, both these characters are trapped in a limited temporality. Their lives are defined in and in between moments, but through Aeneas' looks, Dido can see all time. If Aeneas would stay, instead of departing to his future, she would be immortal and live in the eternity in his eyes. This eternity is Augustan teleological eternity, which means that paradoxically there would not be a future if he stays in Carthage. I argue, however, that Marlowe additionally uses the potential reading of "eternity" through Rome as ironic and uses it to queer Rome. From his future vantage point, he knows the Roman Empire will fall, and the Augustan teleology of Virgil's *Aeneid* is a thing of the past.

      As Aeneas attempts to leave, Dido's verb tenses again show the way her identity changes throughout the play. She shifts from speaking either in present-tense verbs or about eternity and the future, to focusing on the past, becoming passive again. She states: "The time *hath been* / When Dido's beauty chain'd thine eyes to her" (5.1.113-4). As in lines 4.4.122-3, looks define time, but instead of active seeing, looks are passive: she is being viewed. If Aeneas's eyes were still chained to Dido, she could live. Her active power (and time) has run its course, and her active temporality expires one Aeneas becomes active and gender-normative, leaving Carthage. The past perfect verb form "hath been" emphasizes that the time is not merely past tense, which would include the potentiality that it could continue into the present and future, but it is confined

to the past and does not occupy the present. Her immortality and eternity are at an end; his looks will soon leave Carthage, and she will soon become ashes, no longer operating in her active, solid state. These verb tenses have further consequences as well. Dido's temporality moves its focus from present to future to past perfect, reflecting Virgil's anachronic temporality but also adding further layers of anachrony; time in the play moves along with the verbs, from present to future to past perfect.

Her temporality and identity shift again a few lines later in the play, but her identity is still defined by Aeneas. Because her identity is tied to Aeneas' time in Carthage, Dido longs for more time from him: if he "stay but a tide or two, / that I may learn to bear it patiently; / If he depart thus suddenly, I die"(5.1.206-8). Her death here is not only metaphorical, but also true: readers familiar with the story know she will actually die once he leaves. "Tides" are linked not only to time in a general sense, as she uses it here, but also to the moon, which signifies Dido's cyclical time. She desires not only more time from Aeneas, but also to control his time and identity. She cannot, however; he is active and she is passive, meaning their relationship has become heteronormative.

She also in this Act longs for her relationship to have been procreative: "Had I a son by thee, the grief were less" (5.1.149). She uses past tense verbs, "had" and "were," showing her temporality to be past-centered and passive. Her relationship with Aeneas has ended, even though she begs him to stay. All she can wish for is that the result of their past actions had resulted in procreation. No one can control the past, however, and there is only one option for a heteronormative Dido in this universe.

As a result of this heteronormative behavior and desire, Dido dies. The emphasis on queer time throughout the play shows that to Marlowe, heternormativity and normative time

equal death. The three characters who do desire monogamous, procreative, heterosexual relationships all commit suicide and burn on a pyre: Dido, Iarbas and Anna. Time in *Dido Queen of Carthage* defines not only identity, but also mortality.[132]

Rome as non-normative

The spatial position of Carthage as normative in its non-normativity queers Rome, but Marlowe further queers Rome in *Dido Queen of Carthage.* The conversation between Jupiter and Venus in Act 1, Scene 1 alters time and shows there to be yet another non-normative identity in the play: Troy/Rome. Throughout the play, all static identities are called into question, so it is only a matter of time before Marlowe questions the largest identities in the epic, those of Troy and Rome. In fact, it is only a matter of a very short time before Marlowe manipulates this identity. Troy's ashes appear in Act 1, Scene 1, as both a symbol for an abolished past and as a liminal, undefined space from which new Troy as Rome will phoenix-like be reborn: "Which once perform'd, poor Troy, so long suppress'd, / Forth from her ashes shall advance her head" (93-94). Troy is a personified character in the play who is suppressed and shall advance. One who is queer and defines liminal characters, those marginalized by being non-Carthaginean. The ashes represent an insubstantial past, leaving Aeneas and crew caught in the liminal time before Troy can rise again, but they are also a promise for a future – without ashes, a phoenix cannot rise reborn. On the surface, this description is Augustan teleology, but Marlowe's ironic tone and queering of Rome undermines that teleology. His contemporary and future readers know Rome will fall and burn, as Troy did. Again, normativity of Troy and Rome end in fire.

132In the *Aeneid* Book 5, Dido has an afterlife in the Underworld, but the play contains no references to continued existence after death. All Dido has is the present.

This process of death and rebirth for Troy also shows her temporality to be linked with circular Dido as well as Aeneas; the play ends where it begins, in Carthage with Dido, not in Rome. Circular time is also feminine time, and Troy is a her. There is not a teleological end offered by Marlowe in the play, however, so audiences do not see the potential continuation of this cycle in Rome. If they remember it, they know it to be an ironic continuation. Because the play contains such condensed time and plot, many of the *Aeneid*'s episodes elucidating the future do not occur: the play does not include the *clarissimi viri* or the shield of Mars. The only evidence of his future comes from the words of the gods, particularly Jupiter and Hermes/Mercury, and Mercury's presence at the feet of Jupiter while he dandles Ganymede in Act 1, Scene 1 makes them all queer characters.[133]

Marlowe connects Troy to non-normative time in *Dido Queen of Carthage* in one final way. The re-emergence of Troy through Rome alters time: Jupiter, after describing Rome, says Rome's "azur'd gates ... / Shall make the morning haste her grey uprise / To feed her eyes with [Ascanius'] engraven fame" (1.1.l01-103). Rome is not only the result of anachronic and liminal time, but also has the ability to control time: the morning will wish to arrive earlier than usual, speeding up diachronic and cyclical time. Jupiter also describes exactly how long the rebirth of Troy will take: Aeneas will war with the Rutiles for three summers (91) and the Trojans (Hector's race) will rule this city for three hundred years before Romulus and Remus found Rome (104-105). All these events flow linearly, but Marlowe includes one element to again make time anachronic and non-normative: Hector's race will hold the Roman sceptre three hundred years before Rome is founded (104-105). How can one hold the Roman sceptre before

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133He is listed as both Mercurie and Hermes on the title page of *The Tragedie of Dido Queene of Carthage*, 1594, and appears as both throughout the play. I include both names to avoid confusion, but know they come from different classical traditions; this is also another case of antichrony, even if it is unintentional.

Rome exists? Even in this teleological, forward-looking sequence, Marlowe inserts anachrony, showing nothing is free from his playful manipulation.

Conclusion

Marlowe's *Dido Queen of Carthage* queers Rome, Trojans and normative time throughout the play. It includes cyclical time, boundless time, anachrony, antichrony, "pasts," "presents," "futures," multiple pasts (Trojan and Roman), present England, dilated time, condensed time, epic time and dramatic time. All of these times overlap, producing a multi-layered, enfolded temporality. All these times are also not linear or teleological; this temporality is in conflict with normative, linear, teleological time, and is linked to non-normative sexual and gender identities. If we read Marlowe's play while paying attention to time, we see the many ways his anachrony and antichrony expanded the *Aeneid*'s anachronic and antichronic epic time and added a whole new layer to this ongoing textual conversation – one that not only asserts a non-normative community, it precludes a normative one, making non-normativity normative. By focusing not on extra-textual relationships (like Marlowe's rumored sexuality) but on the ones present in texts, I argue we will find non-normative gender and sexual identities in many other texts.

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