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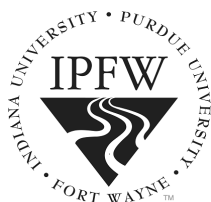
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# *Marlowe Studies:*

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## Abbreviations for Christopher Marlowe's Works

AOE	<i>All Ovid's Elegies</i>
COE	<i>Certain of Ovid's Elegies</i>
Dido	<i>Dido, Queen of Carthage</i>
DFa	<i>Doctor Faustus</i> , A-text
DFb	<i>Doctor Faustus</i> , B-text
E2	<i>Edward II</i>
HL	<i>Hero and Leander</i>
JM	<i>The Jew of Malta</i>
Luc	<i>Lucan's First Book</i>
Man	Manwood Elegy / Epitaph
MP	<i>The Massacre at Paris</i>
PS	"The Passionate Shepherd to His Love"
1Tam	<i>Tamburlaine the Great, Part 1</i>
2Tam	<i>Tamburlaine the Great, Part 2</i>

M. L. STAPLETON AND SARAH K. SCOTT  
Fore-words

We are proud to launch a historic enterprise, the first serial academic publication devoted exclusively to the works of Christopher Marlowe. We solicit essays on scholarly topics directly related to the author and his role in the literary culture of his time. Especially welcome are studies of the plays and poetry; their sources; relations to genre; lines of influence; classical, medieval, and continental contexts; performance and theater history; textual studies; and Marlowe's professional milieu and place in early modern English poetry, drama, and culture. We offer essays that represent a cross-section of Marlowe studies as they currently stand, and although they are not all devoted to any one theme, they bear relationships to one another that suggest the ensuing organizing principle.

Jeffrey Rufo's "Marlowe's Minions" analyzes the politics of *Edward II* and *The Massacre at Paris*, exploring critical responses to the issue of same-sex relationships in both plays. R. Carter Hailey's "The Publication Date of Marlowe's *Massacre*" provides a natural link, although the subject is quite different. This bibliographical study explores the specialized subject of paper types in ascertaining a fact that has long eluded scholars: which year the undated quarto of this play was actually published. Our next essay is about the world of books and publishing as well. In "The 1663 *Doctor Faustus* and the Royalist Marlowe," Meghan C. Andrews speculates that the play's next publication after the B-text of 1616, in the second half of the seventeenth century during the early years of the Restoration, was politically informed and motivated. The next essay is also on *Faustus*, Marlowe's most studied and performed work. Barbara Parker's "'Cursèd Necromancy'" suggests that the play's obsession with necromancy reflects standard Protestant polemic in the sixteenth

century that Catholicism was itself demonic, its rituals shamanistic, and its practitioners actually purveyors of magic, divorced from the Word. The next pair of essays explores intertextual connections between Marlowe and William Shakespeare (and, to some extent, Ben Jonson). James Biester's "A Storm Brewing" reinvigorates the idea of a relationship between *Faustus* and *The Tempest*, and Sara Munson Deats's "Mars or Gorgon?" explores the possible influence of *Tamburlaine* on *Henry V*. The next two pieces explore and even catalogue tendencies and motifs in the corpus: Lisa Hopkins's "Playing with Matches" examines Marlowe's consistent and frequent use of the motif of fire in the plays and poetry, and Douglas Bruster's "Christopher Marlowe and the Verse/Prose Bilingual System" iterates and categorizes the relatively few instances of prose in the plays and finds symmetries and confluences in them. The theater historians Jeremy Lopez and Paul Menzer explore the known facts about the playing company that produced *Faustus*, *Tamburlaine*, and their fellows, the Admiral's, and discuss the acting styles of its principal actor and his successors in "Alleyn Resurrected" and "Shades of Marlowe," respectively. Finally, Bruce Brandt has created a valuable tool for those who wish to engage in serious scholarship about Marlowe, an annotated bibliography that lists the most significant studies of the works published between 2000 and 2009 and provides brief abstracts of them. We are, again, very pleased to contribute these fine studies to the canon of Marlowe criticism.

We wish to offer special thanks to the distinguished members of our editorial board, who agreed to serve by evaluating manuscripts for publication and by lending their names to our enterprise. We owe a debt of gratitude to our contributors, who wrote the essays, submitted them in a timely fashion, and endured our editorial commentary and revised accordingly without complaint. We also offer special thanks to three people at our sponsoring institution, Indiana University–Purdue University, Fort Wayne: Carl Drummond, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, who encouraged us to found a journal and generously offered his financial support; Kendra Morris, who engaged in copyediting of the essays and who helped create, produce, and distribute advertising and other types of publicity for *Marlowe Studies: An Annual*; and our managing editor, Cathleen M. Carosella, whose knowledge of publication, scholarship, copyediting, journals, libraries, printers, and the financial

realities of a venture such as ours truly makes this venture possible and will surely contribute to its future success.

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JEFFREY RUFO

Marlowe's Minions: Sodomitical Politics in  
*Edward II* and *The Massacre at Paris*

Christopher Marlowe's minions are complex, ambiguous figures that warrant scrutiny because they demonstrate something particular about the intersection between politics and same-sex desire in his plays. Although his historical tragedies engage early modern politics in a meaningful way, he does not elaborate or propagate his culture's normative connection between homosexuality, immorality, and political disorder.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, his kings who enjoy relationships with their male favorites in *Edward II* and *The Massacre at Paris* are not weak and unworthy of kingship. Instead, Edward's lover Gaveston and Henry's infamous "lovely minions" (*MP*, 17.11) emerge as vital players in a tragic world where politics trumps eros as a means of explaining the relationship of the past to the present.<sup>2</sup> Even though Gaveston and

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1. Alan Bray posits such a connection. To him, homosexuality was politically subversive, since it "was not part of the created order at all; it was part of its dissolution." *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* (New York: Gay Men's Press, 1982), 25.

2. All references to *Massacre* follow *The Complete Plays*, ed. Frank Romany and Robert Lindsey (London: Penguin, 2003), 507–60. All quotations from *Edward* are taken from *Edward the Second*, ed. Martin Wiggins and Robert Lindsey (New York: Norton, 1997). This essay engages my predecessors who acknowledge the minion's centrality and argue for the importance of the sodomitical in *Edward* and *Massacre*. See Gregory W. Bredbeck, *Sodomy and Interpretation: Marlowe to Milton* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1991); Jonathan Goldberg, *Sodomities: Renaissance Texts, Modern Sexualities* (Palo Alto: Stanford UP, 1992), 111–43; Mario DiGangi, *The Homoerotics of Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997), 1–28; Curtis Perry, "The Politics of Access and Representations of the Sodomite King in Early Modern England," *Renaissance Quarterly* 53.4 (2000): 1054–83; Bruce R. Smith, "Master and Minion," in *Homosexual Desire in Shakespeare's England: A Cultural Poetics* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1994), 189–224; and Gary Ferguson, *Queer (Re)Readings in the French Renaissance: Homosexuality, Gender, Culture* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008), 147–90. For these critics, sodomy, a word used to describe a wide range of supposedly deviant acts in the early modern period, was not simply a sexual practice; rather, it was a

Henry's cadre of handsome male followers, *les mignons*, contribute to the downfall of the monarchs they serve, Marlowe consistently defends homosexual desire, despite its problematic status in Western European Renaissance politics.

The dialogue in these two plays sometimes seems ironic when it quotes or echoes early modern conversations about homosexuality and its dispersed, multivalent, and contradictory meanings. Whereas *Massacre* is direct in its use of the minion trope, depicting Henry as politically corrupt and immoral, *Edward* is less explicit in this way, because it purports to show England as it was in its medieval past. Yet audiences must have recognized that the play mirrored contemporary stories and personages from the chaotic affairs that plagued the neighboring nations of Scotland and France.<sup>3</sup> Thus, *Edward*—the more studied of these two works because of the textual problems of *Massacre*—also participated in highly charged public discourses pertaining to sodomy and the associated perils of favoritism at the royal courts of foreign but familiar lands.<sup>4</sup> For this reason, Marlowe's return to the minion and his immersion in contemporary French controversies in *Massacre* is an undervalued resource in analyzing the superior *Edward*.

Marlowe's representation of the Edward–Gaveston relationship resonates with sodomitical discourses in late sixteenth-century France.<sup>5</sup> This homosexual love affair would have reminded contemporary audiences not only of the reportedly sexual relationship between the Scottish King James—a leading contender to succeed Elizabeth in the early 1590s—and his own French favorite and cousin, Esmé Stuart, seigneur d'Aubigny, but also that between

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rhetorical device that tied homoeroticism to political weakness.

3. See Andrew M. Kirk, *The Mirror of Confusion: The Representation of French History in English Renaissance Drama* (New York: Garland, 1996).

4. Richard Hillman, writing about the “discursive air breathed by Marlowe and his audiences,” has argued convincingly that the distinctly French lines of continuity connecting *Edward* and *Massacre* indicate that the two plays were likely written in succession. *Shakespeare, Marlowe, and the Politics of France* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 73.

5. The word “minion” is a cognate of the French *mignon*. Many words entered the English lexicon from French at this point in time, like the similarly insulting term “villain,” which derived from *villain*: “Originally, a low-born base minded rustic; a man of ignoble ideas or instincts.” See *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) online, s.v. “villain,” *n.* 1, accessed May 5, 2011, [http://www.oed.com/search?searchType=dictionary&q=villain&\\_searchBtn=Search](http://www.oed.com/search?searchType=dictionary&q=villain&_searchBtn=Search). “Minion” appears on eight separate occasions in *Edward* and four times in *Massacre*. By comparison, Shakespeare employs it sparingly, more than once in only one play, *The Comedy of Errors* (1593). See John M. Berdan, “Marlowe's *Edward II*,” *Philological Quarterly* 3 (1924): 197–207, 203.

King Henri III and the Duke of Épernon.<sup>6</sup> Their perceived role in the atrocities of the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacres (1572), the backbone of the plot for the first half of *Massacre*, serves as the point of origin in a narrative about the evolution of the preferred French courtier into the politically threatening minion of the play.

Though Marlowe's *Edward* is distinctly colored by contemporary politics, his medieval England demonstrates differing perspectives about homoeroticism, manifest in the multiple points of view he dramatizes about his king's desires. The contrast between young and old, Mortimer Senior and Junior, presents us with opposing approaches to the minion problem. One accommodates Edward's passions, even if it is only in the name of an outdated humanist exceptionalism, while the other attempts, all too cynically, to convert it into political capital. Which Mortimer speaks for Marlowe?

The play frequently gives voice to a homophobic mentality, and only once does the term "minion" seem positive or even ambivalent. The French Gaveston is subjected to a steady stream of slander by his enemies, especially the spurned Queen Isabella and the hotheaded Mortimer Junior. The killers of the man they describe as a "base minion" (*E2*, 1.132) will toss his head into a pool of blood after chopping it off; the leader of the rebel faction, Mortimer Junior, sarcastically declares that Edward "is love-sick for his minion" (4.87); Isabella notes with disdain "hark, how he harps on his minion" (4.312).<sup>7</sup> However, in contrast to these earlier negative references, Mortimer Senior attempts to defend the king whom he serves as a trusted counselor. Edward's love is harmless, the kind of bond reminiscent of rulers of the classical age:

The mightiest kings have had their minions:  
Great Alexander loved Hephaestion;  
The conquering Hercules for Hylas wept;  
And for Patroclus stern Achilles drooped.  
And not kings only, but the wisest men:  
The Roman Tully loved Octavius,  
Grave Socrates, wild Alcibiades.  
Then let his grace, whose youth is flexible  
And promiseth as much as we can wish,

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6. Jean Louis de Nogaret de la Valette, created the first Duke of Épernon, was a powerful member of the French nobility. Henri showered titles upon him, and he became Admiral of France when the renowned Duke of Joyeuse died in battle at the hands of the French Holy League in 1587.

7. The barons clearly hold the same grudge against Gaveston's English replacement, Spencer Junior, but never refer to him as a "minion."

Freely enjoy that vain light-headed Earl,  
For riper years will wean him from such toys. (4.388–400)

The passage is a key to any reading of the sexual politics at work in *Edward* because it is the one instance in which we hear a well-reasoned and articulate defense of the love affair. The most astute critics, including Bruce Smith, have noticed that Mortimer's speech sanctions the relationship because it seeks to replicate the lopsided structure (in terms of power dynamics) of master and minion.<sup>8</sup> Hercules exemplified the epitome of virility, whereas Hylas was merely a pretty page boy. To some, Mortimer's response to the barons and Queen Isabella, grounded in a humanist appreciation for antiquity, might seem like an attractive alternative to the king's narcissistic self-pity. Unlike his disapproving son, the elder Mortimer uses a classical ethos to accommodate this desire for male companionship. His position is that Edward should be allowed to enjoy the company of his minion without restraint or shame—the bond between monarch and favorite is harmless.

The audience is witness to a world in which wise kings, regardless of how old they are, can frolic with their minions, according to the elder Mortimer. Unfortunately for Edward and Gaveston, the play does not take place in the classical age—a fact that is often overlooked—but in a putatively medieval England with a political landscape that is thoroughly early modern. Though Mortimer Senior is well versed in classical literature, he is not representative of his time or place since the other barons see Gaveston as anything but harmless. This difference between classical and early modern perspectives about homoerotic royal favoritism—which the elder Mortimer's ambivalent reading of the minion illustrates—introduces a new element about the intermingling of sex and power. For Marlowe, as for Michel Foucault, homosexuality was public and political, something exterior and not interior: a sodomitical performance, one might say.<sup>9</sup>

Marlowe's tragic dramatization of Edward's minion problem registers the approximation of words and ideas pertaining to same-sex desire between men in France and England alike. Sodomy had special relevance in political propaganda about the influence of minions throughout the sixteenth century. Because sodomy was an

8. See Smith, *Homosexual Desire*, 211.

9. Michel Foucault makes the important historical distinction between sodomy and homosexuality in "The Perverse Implantation" in *The History of Sexuality*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Pantheon, 1978), 1:37.

act of treason and a sin, smear campaigns making use of accusations of homosexual activity among prominent religious leaders and laypersons alike were common.<sup>10</sup> “Sodomy” was often used interchangeably with “buggery,” an unequivocal term connoting anality. In *The Third Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England* (1644), for example, Edward Coke discussed sodomy in a way that evidences the word’s meaning in the early modern period as both immoral and illegal, grouping sodomy together with buggery as sinful crimes committed either against the celestial or terrestrial king, in other words, the monarch.<sup>11</sup>

One source for *Edward*, Edward Hall’s *Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancaster and York* (1548) provides a useful point of entry into Marlowe’s interest in the figure of the minion because it illustrates what is inappropriate about Gaveston. Midway through the Tudor historiographer’s account of the reign of Henry VIII, the reader learns of two young English courtiers whose French connections landed them in trouble with their sovereign. Nicolas Carewe and Francis Bryan, as was often the case for young noblemen, had spent time at the French court, probably for educational purposes. In 1518, after their return to England, they were suddenly expelled from their posts in Henry’s privy chamber. The episode testifies to the early Tudor roots of the association between a French education (which was good) and potential Frenchification (which was bad).<sup>12</sup> According to Hall, the other courtiers were less than sympathetic to the plight of their peers:

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10. The Protestant reformer John Bradford’s *Hurte hering Masse* (1555) indicates the degree to which the political and the religious merge in “minion”: “So are the hartes of our popishe protestauntes . . . hardened . . . in that they looke yea go backe agayne to theyr sodomiticall minion.” Qtd. in *OED*, s.v., “minion,” n.1.A, accessed May 5, 2011, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/118859?rskey=rjeAou&result=1#eid>. Leaders on both sides of the Reformation’s religious divide, from Catholic clergymen in Scotland to John Calvin himself, like Gaveston and Henry, were called sodomites for political reasons. See Carter Lindberg, *The European Reformations* (London: Blackwell, 1996), 266; and David Teasley, “The Charge of Sodomy as a Political Weapon in Early Modern France: The Case of Henry III in Catholic League Polemic, 1585–1589,” *Maryland Historian* 18.1 (1987): 17–30.

11. For an accessible version of Edward Coke’s “Of Buggery, or Sodomy,” see Kenneth Borris, ed., *Same-Sex Desire in the English Renaissance: A Sourcebook of Texts, 1470–1650* (New York: Psychology, 2004), 88–94.

12. Deanne Williams explains that this was a familiar practice for aristocratic English families, many of whom owned land in France. The ability to speak French was a sign of social status and therefore a highly valued commodity. For her account of the incident, see *The French Fetish from Chaucer to Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004), 172–74.

“These yong minions which was thus severed from the king had been in France and so highly praised of the French king and his court that in a manner . . . they were so high in love with the French court, wherefore their fall was little moaned among wise men.”<sup>13</sup> For the king’s “yong minions,” exposure to French royal politics came at the expense of their reputation at the English court. Hall does not provide evidence that Carewe and Bryan’s time in France had anything to do with their dismissal from the royal chamber. What matters here, what appears in the historical record, is the public reaction, the gossip that their fall generated. The implication is that the Frenchified courtiers may have been lacking in national allegiance. Indeed, they may even have loved France’s court and king more than those of England. At least, this was the charge of the suspicious, perhaps even jealous, “wise men” advising the king.

Throughout *Edward*, the prevailing role of same-sex desire is decidedly sixteenth-century as opposed to classical in the sense that it functions as a tragic mechanism—a dramatic device or element of character that leads inevitably to tragedy. The homoerotic network constituted by plotting, torture, and death appears in the play’s very first lines. Gaveston begins the play alone on stage, entering as he finishes reading a letter from Edward. He is reflecting on his good fortune in a way that leaves open the question of what gives him more pleasure, the prospect of sharing the kingdom with Edward or being embraced by him:

“My father is deceased; come, Gaveston,  
And share the kingdom with thy dearest friend.”  
Ah, words that make me surfeit with delight!  
What greater bliss can hap to Gaveston,  
Than live and be the favorite of a king?  
Sweet prince, I come; these thy amorous lines  
Might have enforced me to have swum from France,  
And, like Leander, gasped upon the sand,  
So thou wouldst smile and take me in thy arms. (1.1–9)

Although it is perhaps too early in the play for an audience to notice the subversive quality of the quasi-Ovidian reference (such as in the *Heroides* or Marlowe’s own epyllion), an educated early modern viewer may have recognized in Leander a tragic figure who drowns in his attempted defiance of patriarchal, isolationist

13. See the excerpt from Edward Hall in *Henry VIII: The Lives of Kings*, ed. Charles Whibley (London: T. C. and E. C. Jack, 1904), 1:178.

authority. Marlowe wastes no time announcing the problem at the heart of the entire plot: Edward does not realize that the kingdom is not his to share. The playwright is at pains to foreground not only Gaveston's passion, but also his foreign French identity. If it were necessary, he would, like Leander (who must traverse the Hellespont to get to Hero), swim the English Channel. But the love affair is not a politically motivated dynastic marriage, the kind we see in other English history plays (Shakespeare's *Henry V* [1599], for instance). Instead of appearing as a tragically heroic and romantic mythical figure, Gaveston can only be perceived as a minion.

Gaveston is oblivious to his own destiny, even if he demonstrates an awareness of his tragic fate at the linguistic level. Notably, he is one of the few characters in the play who never uses "minion." Choosing his words carefully, he hopes to "live and be the favorite of a king," not be banished or perhaps even die as a hated parasite. Both here and in a subsequent monologue, his comparison of himself to ill-fated lovers exhibits dramatic irony. Late in the opening speech, he fantasizes about his life to come at court as Edward's favorite. In a gesture common at the royal courts of the sixteenth century, he intends to put on a theatrical pageant for the king. Marlowe once again draws on quasi-Ovidian mythology in the spectacle, set in a classical garden of earthly delights:

Sometime a lovely boy in Dian's shape,  
 With hair that gilds the water as it glides,  
 Crowns of pearl about his naked arms,  
 And in his sportful hands an olive tree  
 To hide those parts which men delight to see,  
 Shall bathe him in a spring (1.60–65)

The speech emphasizes male physical beauty. The boy playing the role of Diana teases his audience, Edward, by barely concealing his genitals, which remain ambiguously between the performative (female) and the actual (male). In the continuation of his monologue, Gaveston describes a role in the play that he might very well want to play in order to please the King, his lover:

One like Actaeon, peeping through the grove,  
 Shall by the angry goddess be transformed,  
 And running in the likeness of an hart  
 By yelping hounds pulled down, and seem to die.  
 Such things as these best please his majesty (1.66–70)

Marlowe represents homoerotic desire as theatrical performance. Gaveston's version of the hunt of Actaeon—the peeping Tom who Diana transforms into a male deer—does not simply emphasize the pleasures of the voyeur. Rather, the Acteon parable also insists upon the metatheatricality of the stage, in the sense of *mise en abyme*, where the spectator becomes a spectacle. Most importantly, the allusion to the story in the *Metamorphoses*, like the earlier reference to Leander in the *Heroides*, can once again be interpreted ironically. In order to please Edward, Acteon must die, a term punningly resonant with orgasm.

As the play unfolds, Marlowe sets up an important contrast between homosexual passion (exciting, genuine, and inevitably tragic) and heterosexual romance (conventional, banal) in order to structure the plot. The Gaveston–Lady Margaret de Clare and Edward–Isabella relationships testify to this aspect of thematic structure. Margaret's first appearance is a heterosexual reenactment of the love letter conceit from the opening scene. She enters reading a note from Gaveston (her would-be fiancé), and her response to the news of his impending return mimics Edward's reaction: "The grief for his exile was not so much / As is the joy of his returning home" (5.56–57). Her recitation of the letter echoes the erotic rhetoric of the first scene. Later Gaveston responds, "I will not long be from thee, though I die . . . when I forsake thee, death seize on my heart" (5.62, 64), whereas earlier he called Edward "the king, upon whose bosom let me die" (1.14). The irony of the not-quite-parallel structure established by Gaveston's two letters—one genuine in feeling, the other clearly not—does not end with his pun on the word "die." Margaret appears as a figure of conventional heterosexual romantic love, her reaction to her fiancé's letter somewhat underwhelming in comparison to the passionate homoeroticism that the play enacts.

Furthermore, Margaret's first appearance is immediately preceded by the presentation of two young male courtiers who decide to seek Gaveston's favor as a means of gaining power: Baldock and Spencer Junior. One need not doubt that Margaret's feelings of love or affection are sincere. But whereas Baldock and Spencer act with an awareness of how their love and devotion can be used as a token of exchange in positioning themselves in relation to royal power, Margaret's language casts her as naïve. Her worldview is too narrowly idealistic to help her realize that her own desires cannot be fulfilled by conventional romantic means. Between men and women, wooing has evolved, by way of inversion, into political games(wo)manship. In order to gain favor, to



procure access to royal power, courtly love is, so it would seem, the proper channel. What little political influence Margaret might possess at Edward's court, a domain where homoeroticism is the regulating principle of royal access, is due to her vicarious romantic agency. The most she can hope to be is a "beard," a false front for the performance of heterosexuality. Spencer's comment that Margaret's "love is not wavering" (5.27) may well be true, but his subsequent wager, "my life for thine, she will have Gaveston" (5.28), is not. Margaret's love leads her, forwardly, to propose marriage. Yet this act is itself a function of and a response to Edward's own feelings. He gives royal approval to the match because it brings Gaveston closer to the court, both in terms of his physical presence and as a matter of kinship. In this way, the heterosexual marriage bond, as exemplified by Gaveston and Margaret, is codified by orthodox political, dynastic considerations.

And yet, relationships between men and women in the play are subservient in explicit ways to Edward's homosexuality, which Isabella ratifies in tragic fashion, since her husband sees her as a kind of public official, not as a lover or friend. Female power is reduced to vicarious romantic agency because the king can dissimulate the appearance of heterosexuality to conceal his enjoyment of his minion in public as well as in private. Thus, Margaret and Isabella exist (initially) on the same level of the political hierarchy as Spencer and Baldock, except without hope for future advancement. The audience might experience Margaret as a pathetic character because although she possesses the ability to speak the language of erotic freedom, she lacks the power to exercise it. Like Edward and Gaveston, she too is trapped in a world ordered by orthodox early modern heteronormative male power politics—or, simply, patriarchy.

If the logical structure of *Edward* subverts female agency, then the humanist ideal of masculine intimacy as a privilege for the educated and elite, voiced by Mortimer Senior, is equally problematic. As a consequence of the mounting political pressures that contribute to Edward's loosening grip on power and authority, the language of neoplatonic idealism disappears after the first act. Such a mode of self-representation fails to index the sexual content of the king's homosexual relationships. He sees his love for Gaveston as so strong that the two of them merge ontologically, seeming to share a common soul. Edward greets his favorite by asking, "knowest thou not who I am? / Thy friend, thy self, another Gaveston" (1.141–42). Such an earnest romantic statement suggests that his homosexuality is not a stage that he will outgrow. Yet

such a neoplatonic ideal cannot accommodate the representational necessities of a love immersed in politics and vice versa. The ridiculous notion that Edward could be conceived as another Alexander the Great or the second coming of Socrates leads us to believe that Mortimer Senior, like his son, does not act as the playwright's own mouthpiece. It would appear at this point in the play that neither character speaks for Marlowe.

The antagonism that the barons exhibit toward Gaveston in *Edward* echoes some sodomitical discourses even more closely connected to contemporary affairs than Hall's story of the unfortunate Carewe and Bryan, especially those related to the issue of the succession.<sup>14</sup> Critics have long noted a link between the plot of *Edward* and the Ruthven Raid in Scotland in 1582. This affair featured an attempted coup d'état that included the abduction of the young James VI and may have been motivated by his troubling relationship with his older cousin, the French courtier and suspected Catholic, Esmé Stuart. Multiple contemporary accounts refer to public displays of affection between the young king and his cousin Esmé.<sup>15</sup> James showed his love materially and symbolically, making his thirty-seven-year-old "minion" Lord Chamberlain (an office that had gone unoccupied since 1569) and eventually Duke of Lennox, Scotland's only such peer of that rank. In a letter read aloud at a Scottish assembly meeting at the Convention of the Estates in February 1581, Elizabeth expressed serious concerns about James's much-discussed vulnerability as a young and inexperienced prince. Esmé's proximity was problematic not just because of his influence, but also because as James's nearest male relative, his father's cousin, he was a candidate for the Scottish throne. His access to James seemed

14. See Marie Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977). For connections between *Edward* and James Stuart, see Lawrence Normand, "What Passions Call You These?: *Edward II* and James VI," in *Christopher Marlowe and English Renaissance Culture*, ed. Darryll Grantley and Peter Roberts (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1999), 172–97; Perry, "The Politics of Access," and Berdan, "Marlowe's *Edward II*."

15. Not only did the Frenchman's rapid ascent at court cause concern among the Presbyterians in Scotland, but the relationship foretold future political conditions under James as an English monarch as well. As King of England, he packed his Privy Council with Scots, creating a powerful inner circle that tended to exclude native English officials. The Scottish makeup of the Bedchamber brought about tension and fueled the general perception that this inner circle was a secretive, deviant group. See Neil Cuddy, "The Revival of the Entourage: The Bedchamber of James I, 1603–1625," in *The English Court: From the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, ed. David Starkey (London: Longman, 1987), 180–81.

dangerous to those who assumed that religious subversion and political ambition motivated him: “To bring the person of the young king in danger” would be “easy to be done” for the “possessor of his person.”<sup>16</sup> Like the nobles in *Edward*, Scotland’s “auld Nobilitie” professed to be guarding the King by removing “the corruptions and confusion entered into the body of the commonwealth . . . [by] wicked persons, who did seek to corrupt him in manners and religion.”<sup>17</sup> Esmé was depicted by his enemies as someone who aspired to control the king through seduction and deception, manipulating his desires and affections. One need only look to the Spanish ambassador’s comments at the end of 1581 to recognize Lennox’s newfound power: Esmé, a man viewed by the Scots as a foreign heretic, was “governing the king ‘entirely and the whole country.’”<sup>18</sup> Following the Negative Confession of Faith in 1581, which was meant to remove “suspition of Papistrie from the Court,” the conspirators of the Ruthven Raid declared that they wanted merely to “schew his Majestie whow all things went wrang be the misgoverning of that new Counsall com latlie from France.”<sup>19</sup> Rather than surrounding himself with foreign favorites of dubious backgrounds, finally, James should take counsel from his “auld Nobilitie.”

Although Marlowe does not directly allude to James and Esmé’s relationship, he is extraordinarily attuned to the mimetic possibilities engendered by Gaveston’s foreign identity and his role as a minion.<sup>20</sup> According to the play’s phobic antagonists—Mortimer Junior, the Duke of Lancaster, and their followers—homoeroticism is a desire that can scarcely be named. “*Diablo!*” Lancaster cries, “What passions call you these?” (4.320). Here, a Spanish exclamation signifies an act of linguistic displacement, as opposed to one of epistemological difficulty. Lancaster knows very

16. David Calderwood, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland*, ed. Thomas Thomson (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1843), 3:491.

17. John Spottiswood, *The History of the Church of Scotland*, (Bannatyne Club: Edinburgh, 1851), 2:294, 288; qtd. in Normand, ““What Passions Call You These?”” 184.

18. David Riggs, *The World of Christopher Marlowe* (New York: Henry Holt, 2006), 135.

19. James Melvill, *The Autobiography and Diary of Mr. James Melvill, with a Continuation of the Diary*, ed. Robert Pitcairn (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1842), 133.

20. Charles Nicholl theorizes that Marlowe is likely to have known a good deal about the machinations by James Stuart and his supporters as he angled for the English throne throughout the 1590s, since he knew some things about Scottish politics and may even have had contact with James and his advisors. See *The Reckoning: The Murder of Christopher Marlowe* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1995), 257–59.

well what Edward's passions are. Since he would rather not name them, he uses a foreign term to respond to the monarch's alienating desire. In his invocation of Catholic Spain as the proper location of such sinister behavior, his reference to the devil indexes a fundamental Christian anxiety about sodomy.<sup>21</sup> Similarly, Gaveston's Italianate fashions link him to flamboyant transgression and inform the class resentments of the native aristocrats. Mortimer Junior speaks with the rhetorical force of patriotic nationalism on behalf of the poor English soldiers:

this I scorn, that one so basely born  
Should by his sovereign's favour grow so pert,  
And riot it with the treasure of the realm  
While soldiers mutiny for want of pay.  
He wears a lord's revenue on his back,  
And, Midas-like, he jets it in the court  
With base outlandish cullions at his heels

.....

I have not seen a dapper jack so brisk;  
He wears a short Italian hooded cloak  
Larded with pearl, and in his Tuscan cap  
A jewel of more value than the crown.  
While others walk below, the King and he  
From out a window laugh at such as we,  
And flout our train and jest at our attire. (4.404–10, 413–19)

Gaveston's ascension represents the subversion of the patronage system in that Edward's feelings for his foreign favorite trump allegiances between the monarch and the baronial class that spans generations. The younger Mortimer argues against his father's classicist reading of courtly politics, dismissing Edward's passion as a "wanton humour" that creates unjust favoritism, and obsesses over the economics of the ascension of this "villain" who is not a "gentleman by birth" (4.27). From him, we learn that Gaveston "wears a lord's revenue on his back, / And, Midas-like, he jets it in the court" (4.408–9). The rhetoric of Mortimer and his followers suggests that they worry about the affair because of its political implications rather than its sexual dimensions, a political trump card that allows the favorite to enjoy *carte blanche* in terms of patronage and access to the king. Lancaster is quick to criticize

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21. Some trace sodomy's definition as an unnatural or nonprocreative act of sexual intercourse, most commonly oral sex, anal intercourse, or bestiality, to Christian usage in ecclesiastical Latin—*peccatum Sodomiticum*—referring to the Sodom and Gomorrah episode in Genesis.

Gaveston for the arrogance that underlies his upward mobility at court:

“My Lord of Cornwall” now at every word;  
And happy is the man whom he vouchsafes,  
For vailing of his bonnet (2.17–19)

We witness this problematic crux again in Mortimer’s diatribe against Edward’s prodigality:

The idle triumphs, masques, lascivious shows,  
And prodigal gifts bestowed on Gaveston,  
Have drawn thy treasure dry and made thee weak (6.154–56)

The possible pun on “treasure” as semen reinscribes the sexual within the political, as Mortimer makes clear that Edward’s characteristically excessive passion for his minion has diminished his sovereign power, which, as any good counselor knows, is rooted in teeming coffers and baronial support.

In stark contrast to *Edward*, Marlowe’s use of the minion trope in the roughly contemporaneous *Massacre* adheres to satirical conventions of the contemporary political climate. In this play, he dramatizes the slanderous discourse associated with Henri III and Épernon throughout the 1570s and 1580s.<sup>22</sup> In *Massacre*, Henry’s foppishness and his deviance indicate a concrete link between the drama and the scandal-mongering of Catholic League propaganda.<sup>23</sup> The play addresses contemporary events directly and without fear of recrimination, even the sensational assassination of the French king as the final event in the play, which actually occurred on August 1, 1589. It may be satirical, and it seems to exhibit the standard Protestant reading of Henri’s downfall in the sense that his murder, along with that of the Guise, is yoked with the Saint Bartholomew’s Day massacres. Marlowe’s portrait of the French king is ambiguous, wavering between the sympathetic and the scornful.

Henry’s susceptibility to minions is imagined as a point of political weakness in both the polemical literature of the time and

22. See Julia Briggs, “Marlowe’s *Massacre at Paris*: A Reconsideration,” *Review of English Studies* 34.135 (1983): 257–78, 265.

23. Paul Kocher describes Henry as a “chameleon-like being who changes during the course of the play from something very black to something extraordinarily white.” “Contemporary Pamphlet Backgrounds for Marlowe’s *The Massacre at Paris*,” *Modern Language Quarterly* 8.3 (1947): 309–18, 316. H. J. Oliver disagrees, arguing that the inconsistency results from the corrupt text. “*Dido Queen of Carthage*” and “*The Massacre at Paris*,” ed. H. J. Oliver (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1968), lii–lix.

in *Massacre*. In Catholic League-sponsored texts like André de Rossant's *Les Meurs, humeurs et comportements de Henry de Valois représentés au vray depuis sa naissance* (1589), Épernon urges the Guise's murder, a historical detail Marlowe includes for dramatic effect (*MP*, 19.82–84), such political intrigue driving the plot. That he should have been depicted in *Massacre* as his king's most prominent minion (he accompanies the king at all times after the accession scene) is unsurprising, given the amount of hostility against him in print by 1589. Henry's actions are at times deplorable. For example, during the scenes depicting the massacres of the Huguenots, the King himself stabs the eminent scholar Peter Ramus at the command of the villainous Guise, demonstrating his willingness to be controlled and, therefore, blamed for the murder of a famous humanist revered by the English as well as the massacre of the Huguenots.

Contemporaneous with Rossant's propaganda, texts such as Jean Boucher's *Histoire tragique et mémorable de Pierre de Gaveston* (1588) leveled accusations of tyrannical behavior at Henri by drawing a parallel between two minions who hailed from Gascony: Épernon and Gaveston. Boucher, like Rossant, envisions Épernon as a test of the French people's virtue and the strength of their political will. He is supposed to be a scourge of God. Whereas the wickedness of Boucher's Épernon signifies divine willingness to punish the people if they endure and accept his criminal behavior, Rossant unleashes the power of the "abominable vice" of sodomy in his portrayal of Henri as a deviant who had sex with nuns and prostitutes alike:

Ne voyez vous pas bien outré plus, qu'il est tout faitart, craintif, effeminé, heliogabalizé, & du tout appasté à ses voluptez & à tant de sortes de paillardises, que la terre en regorge, & le ciel en a horreur?

(Do you not see that he is utterly negligent, fearful, effeminate, Heliogabalised and completely lured to his pleasures and so many kinds of debauch that the earth vomits them up and heaven has them in horror?)<sup>24</sup>

24. André de Rossant, *Les Meurs et humeurs et comportements de Henri de Valois représentés au vray depuis sa naissance* (Paris: P. Mercier, 1589), 89, translation mine. The French bridging of Edward II and Gaveston to Henri III and Épernon as of 1588 was noted by Pierre de L'Estoile in *Journal pour le règne de Henri III, 1574–1589*, ed. L. R. Lefèvre (Paris: Gallimard, 1943), 569. See also David Potter, "Kingship in the Wars of Religion: The Reputation of Henri III of France," *European History Quarterly* 25.4 (1995): 485–528; and Michael Wintroub, "Words, Deeds, and a Womanly King," *French Historical Studies* 28.3

Little beyond gossip and slander can confirm Rossant's accusations. Henri was known to dress provocatively, occasionally appropriating female fashions in his attendance at public spectacles, which social historians argue was not unusual. However, his letters to his favorites indicate a type of intimacy marked by loving phrases such as "I kiss your hand," which suggests that he is a man unafraid to express his feelings to a minion, and which gave his enemies ammunition for these kinds of attacks. The historian Etienne Pasquier wrote in 1589 that Henri was influenced by "ceux qu'il favorisoit, sans scavoir pourquoi" (those he favored, without knowing why).<sup>25</sup> An awareness of Henri's reputation as a doting patron and an immature politician surfaces in the coronation scene of *Massacre*, in which Catherine scornfully declares that her son Henry is too distracted by his companions, more interested in managing his stable of pretty young favorites than he is in governing and consolidating his authority: "His mind, you see, runs on his minions, / And all his heaven is to delight himself" (*MP*, 14.45–46).

Again, as with the relationship between *Edward* and the story of Esmé Stuart, Marlowe did not reproduce the propagandistic elements of his source texts for *Massacre*. He downplayed the sexual potential in Henry's intimate political relationships in order to depict the recently assassinated King of France as having lacked the political skill necessary to survive the violent wars of religion (1562–98). Unlike the Henri of Boucher and Rossant, Marlowe undermines his king more by his glee over the Guise's cuckolding (*MP*, 14.19) than by his attachment to his minions. Drunk on power, Henry surrounds himself with flatterers. In this way, he is more arrogant than debauched, finally. The audience sees that the crime, sin, or fault at issue is pragmatic, as opposed to moral. Henry's transformation from a Protestant-slaying puppet of the Guise into England's "faithful friend" is a strange stroke of invention. The connection between French events and England's reception of them goes beyond mere reportage:

Henry thy king wipes off these childish tears  
And bids thee whet thy sword in Sixtus' bones  
That may keenly slice the Catholics

.....

(2005): 387–413.

25. Etienne Pasquier, *Lettres historiques pour les années 1556–1594*, ed. Dorothy Thickett (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1966), 447, translation mine.

Salute the queen of England in my name,  
And tell her, Henry dies her faithful friend. (24.97–99, 104–5)

These words provide what can only be understood as an artificially sunny conclusion to the violent events in sixteenth-century France. Of course, any audience watching the play in 1593 would know that Navarre's accession in 1589 was not, in and of itself, the end of the wars of religion. Indeed, it was only the latest episode in a series of escalating conflicts, and one that would cause Elizabeth to commit more troops and treasure to the Huguenot cause, shifting her attention away from the Low Countries and toward the Channel towns in the north of France.<sup>26</sup> Marlowe's sketch of Henry III ultimately contradicts League propaganda and demonstrates his attentiveness to such contemporary affairs, since his characterization undermines the meanings inherent in the king's negative reputation as a possible sodomite. Though he participated in the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacres and was not a good king, he was also a victim of circumstance.

The term "minion" would have had specifically anti-French connotations for English audiences who attended a performance of *Massacre*. Of course, throughout the Elizabethan era sodomy was a Roman Catholic or Popish vice, but this also included the French because of their associations with venereal disease, a signifying characteristic of foreign identity for the English. They often viewed the Normans and their descendants as sodomites in the years following the Conquest, and even Norman clergymen frequently reproached their own lay leaders for their sodomitical ways.<sup>27</sup> Popular medieval literature portrayed the Anglo-Norman court as a place of dangerous cross-cultural exchange, where foreign vices easily corrupted native virtues, the nobility's association with sodomites, atheists, and foreigners causing political problems for the natives.

Pierre L'Estoile, a historian of the French religious wars, was instrumental in the sexualization of the minion in France towards the end of that terrible era. He helped mold the earlier figure of the asexual royal favorite into a wicked and effeminate sycophant by the 1590s. He remarked in 1577 that Henri was often shadowed by "un troupe de ses jeunes mignons, fraisés et frisés

26. See Wallace T. MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I: War and Politics, 1588–1603* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1994).

27. See Williams, *French Fetish*, 187; and Allen J. Frantzen, *Before the Closet: Same-Sex Love from "Beowulf" to "Angels in America"* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1998), 231.



avec les crêtes levées, les ratepennades en leurs têtes, un maintien fardé avec l'ostentation de meme" (a troop of his young minions frilled and frizzed with raised crests, wigs on their heads, in a made-up manner, with similar ostentation).<sup>28</sup> At first, Henri's coterie, described as *fardé* (made-up), might seem harmless enough given the dismissive tone. But this French word in its early modern sense went beyond physical description in the sense of modern-day *maquillage* (cosmetics). Instead, this adjective could be used to signify dissimulation. The description of Henri's favorites as playthings made them threatening counselors, an entire cohort of Gavestons and Epernouns. Transgressing gender norms, through a "frilled and frizzed" appearance, the courtiers symbolized political corruption by a king who indulged and encouraged the proliferation of such wanton behaviors at court. L'Estoile recorded several instances of Henri's sodomitical tendencies that consisted of playing the dominant and the submissive in sexual relationships with men. L'Estoile refers back to the poet Pierre de Ronsard, who wrote satirical poems in the late 1570s deriding Henri's as "mignons, qui portez doucement en croupe le sang de la France" (minions, who gently carry on their backs the royal blood of France), "fouteurs, foutants en fesse" (fuckers, fucking in the ass), and as "culs devenus cons" (asses that have become cunts).<sup>29</sup>

Protestant criticism associated Henri's private immorality with his public crimes. To the French poet Agrippa d'Aubigné, in his long historical poem in verse entitled *Les Tragiques* (1616), he was "un Néron marié avec son Pythagore" (a Nero married to his Pythagoras)<sup>30</sup> Like Nero, one of the archetypal tyrants of antiquity, his dual sexuality is a sign of his personal moral depravity but also corruption at court. The king was also described in terms of his ambiguous dress. Marveling at Henri's elaborate costume, courtiers wondered aloud if he was "un Roi femme ou bien un homme Reine," a king-woman or a man-queen.<sup>31</sup> The explicitly gendered

28. Pierre de L'Estoile, *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris sous Henri III*, ed. Jean-Louis Flandrin (Paris: Union générale d'éditions, 1966), 103, translation mine.

29. Pierre de L'Estoile, *Registre-Journal du règne de Henri III*, ed. Madeleine Lazard and Gilbert Schrenck, (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1992–2003), 4:79; 4:82; 2:184. On L'Estoile and Henry's reputation, see Ferguson, *Queer (Re)Readings*, 134–35; 147–90.

30. Agrippa d'Aubigné, *Les Tragiques*, ed. Jean-Raymond Fanlo (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1995), 1:215.

31. Qtd. in Augustin Challamel, *The History of Fashion in France; or, The Dress of Women from the Gallo-Roman Period to the Present Time*, trans. Frances Cashel Hoey and John Lillie (New York: Scribner and Welford, 1882), 111.

terms of the insult recall earlier descriptions of his mother Catherine de Medici and Queen Elizabeth I as “femme hommaces” (viragoes). Smith notes that Marlowe refrains from equating feminization with royal homosexuality. The king is not necessarily effeminate even though his courtiers are. Edward is not a cross-dresser, nor is he interested in flaunting his sexuality.<sup>32</sup> Gaveston is dangerous, finally, because he enjoys tremendous power, politically (over other men) and psychologically (over Edward), that of the minion.

In opposition to Gaveston’s imagined utopian pageant, Marlowe gives us an equally vivid, if more visceral account of homosexual behavior at the conclusion of *Edward*, one that emphasizes the achievements of Machiavellian cynicism as a means of tragic denouement. Lightborne’s murder of Edward, humiliating, savage, and just as precise as Gaveston’s account of Diana’s bath, seems meant to reduce homoeroticism into sodomy, to transfigure same-sex desire into a transgressive act by insisting upon its essential anality. The punishment is a perverse form of the enactment of justice, in the sense that the sadistic punishment fits the crime. Edward’s personal tragedy occurs because he refuses to abandon his homosexual desires. His murder in a violent parody of anal intercourse robs him of all human agency as well as royal authority. Lightborne’s unique form of regicide inscribes the true ruling authority’s own reading of sodomy on his sovereign’s body. The offended nobility must purge the realm of the failed monarch’s ruinous presence and completely dissolve his royal identity.

The depiction of vulnerable and inadequate monarchs in *Edward* and *Massacre* points the way to broader, more universal questions about the gradual, yet undeniable deterioration of royal authority in the late Elizabethan period. Marlowe was an artist, “a poet and a filthy play-maker,” not a political activist or commentator, and his venue, the theater, tolerated and even encouraged erotic freedom. The genre in which he worked at the end of his life, the history play, envisioned subversion and political intrigue as determining forces in the unfolding of history, as in Shakespeare’s first tetralogy, the *Henry VI* plays (1589–91) and *Richard III* (1593). In staging the lives, the loves, and the falls of princes, Marlowe and his followers in the theater inevitably risked undermining the authority of sovereignty itself. After these experiments with historical drama in the early 1590s, Elizabeth would persecute playwrights such as

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32. Smith, *Homosexual Desire*, 213.

John Hayward who appeared to question the legitimacy of the Tudor regime.<sup>33</sup> Any familiarity with political affairs in France, Scotland, England—not to mention those of Rome, as related in works of history by the likes of Livy and Tacitus—would have made a writer cognizant of favoritism as a problematic issue for all ruling magistrates.

In order to evaluate political meaning in drama, one need not speculate that a historical character stands in for a contemporary figure. (It is not necessary to wonder whether Elizabeth might have turned to a companion to complain, “I am Edward the Second, know ye not that?” if she had seen Marlowe’s play.) Same-sex desire, purged from the historical record except as perversion (as Foucault would say), could only be understood as “sodomy” in early modern England, moral failure and political transgression. For this reason, understanding the distinctly French background constituted by Marlowe’s interest in the minion is merely one step in the project of tracing the political contours of a play like *Edward*. The theatrical Edward II and Henry III together lack expertise in sodomitical politics—that is, they are naive about the politics of their homosexuality and all that it entails. Until the moment of their deaths, they are both unaware that they act in tragedies, not histories.

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33. See Margaret Dowling, “Sir John Hayward’s Troubles over His *Life of Henri IV*,” *The Library* 4.11 (1930–31): 212–24.

R. CARTER HAILEY

The Publication Date of Marlowe's  
*Massacre at Paris*, with a Note on the  
Collier Leaf

The title page of the first and only early printed edition of *The Massacre at Paris* (STC 17423),<sup>1</sup> a common octavo, reads:

The | MASSACRE | AT PARIS: | With the Death of the  
Duke | of Guise. | As it was plaide by the right honourable  
the | Lord high Admirall | his Seruants. | Written by  
Christopher Marlow. | [publisher's device] | AT LONDON |  
Printed by E. A. for Edward White, dwelling neere | the little  
North doore of S. Paules | Church at the signe of | the Gun.

The title of the play is provided, along with the company that played it, the author's name—here spelled out in its received form, with only the final *e* missing—the place of publication, the printer, the publisher, and where it might be bought wholesale. “E. A.” is Edward Allde, active from 1584–1628, printer of some fifty-two playbooks during his career, from *Cambyses* (c. 1585) to *A Game at Chess* (1625).<sup>2</sup> The publisher Edward White worked frequently with him, the pair collaborating on fifty-eight projects between 1588 and 1620, nearly half of White's known publications. Over his career he published fifteen playbooks, eleven of them printed by Allde, including several Marlowe texts. In 1592, perhaps in response to the popularity on the stage of Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (first printed in 1604; STC 17429), White published *The historie of the*

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1. *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland 1475–1640* (STC), 2nd rev. ed., comp. A. W. Pollard, G. R. Redgrave, W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson, and Katharine F. Pantzer, 3 vols. (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976–91). Hereafter cited as STC.

2. Alan B. Farmer and Zachary Lesser, DEEP: *Database of Early English Playbooks*, <http://deep.sas.upenn.edu> (accessed April 22, 2011).

*damnably life, and deserved death of Doctor Iohn Faustus* (STC 10711). White produced further editions of the *Faust* book in 1608, 1610, and 1618. In addition to publishing *The Massacre at Paris* [1594?], he also acquired the rights to *Tamburlaine*, publishing editions of part 1 in 1605 (STC 17428) and part 2 in 1606 (STC 17428a).

While the title page of *Massacre* is generally informative, *desunt nonnulla*. There is no indication of where the play had been staged, though from Philip Henslowe's diary, we know that it had its presumed first performance (marked *ne*) at the Rose Theater on January 26, 1593, earning £3 14s, the biggest take since the theater had reopened in late December.<sup>3</sup> More crucially, *Massacre* is the only early edition of a Marlowe play to be issued without a title page date. Missing dates sometimes invite speculation about dark motives, suppression, and conspiracies, but as I have argued elsewhere, undated imprints are a fairly regular feature of the London book trade, and without additional evidence, there is no reason to suppose that just because the author was William Shakespeare or Marlowe, that a missing date is significant.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, for the period, as many as five thousand items, around 15 percent of extant imprints, are uncertainly dated. Of Alde's fifty-two playbooks, nine are uncertain, including in near proximity to the *Massacre*, Thomas Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* (1592; STC 15086) and *Solimon and Perseda* (1592?; STC 22894), both published by White, and Thomas Preston's *Cambises* (c. 1595; STC 20288).

For *Massacre*, the editors of the revised STC supply the queried date 1594. Their policy for supplied dates recognizes four levels of certainty, or rather uncertainty:

*Inferred dates.* When dates have been inferred from contents, typography, and other relevant internal and external evidence, they have been supplied with differing degrees of accuracy. If supplied dates are followed by a full stop, there is virtually no doubt about their correctness. If dates are followed by a query, a range of up to two or three years on either side is generally indicated. . . . A "circa" date usually indicates a broader range, of approximately five years on either side. A "circa" date which is also queried is the most tentative supplied date, there being doubt not only about the range but also about the selection of a

3. There is scholarly disagreement about Philip Henslowe's cryptic *ne*, though the balance of opinion seems to favor it meaning "new," "new to the company," or "newly revived," perhaps in a revised version.

4. See R. Carter Hailey, "The Dating Game: New Evidence for the Dates of Q4 *Romeo and Juliet* and Q4 *Hamlet*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 58.3 (2007): 367–87, 372–73.

realistic midpoint. It is likely that a number of these supplied dates will require revision after more intensive study and as further evidence comes to light. (*STC*, 1:xxxviii)

Thus according to *STC*'s ranges for queried dates, *Massacre* could have been printed as early as 1591 or as late as 1597. The earlier year would be of considerable interest since it would then be the only play other than *Tamburlaine* to have been printed in Marlowe's lifetime, and the first to bear his name on the title page. And if the earlier part of the range were correct, it would also mean that the play was printed closer to its composition than any other of his works. On the other hand, an early date would conflict with Henslowe's *ne*, if indeed it indicates that the play was first performed in early 1593. While it is usually impossible to know what evidence the *STC* editors used to make judgments on supplied dates, in this case a plausible conjecture is possible. Two new Marlowe titles appeared in 1594: *Dido Queene of Carthage* (*STC* 17441) and *Edward the Second* (*STC* 17437). The *STC* editors apparently and reasonably assumed that *Massacre* was part of a small upturn in Marlowe publications the year after his death.

The evidence of paperstocks can be a powerful forensic tool in dating uncertain imprints, as I have demonstrated in providing a highly probable date of 1623 for the fourth quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* and a firm date of 1625 for the fourth quarto of *Hamlet*.<sup>5</sup> Two interrelated factors make paperstocks useful for dating. First, because of the heavy wear resulting from several thousand dips per day in the vat of "stuff," the technical term for the mixture of macerated linen rags and water from which paper was made, the lifespan of a paper mould was relatively brief and "a pair of moulds in continuous use could be worn out and due for replacement in less than twelve months."<sup>6</sup> Second, because paper was expensive, between thirty and forty percent of a publisher's total production cost, and sometimes more, stocks of printing paper were generally bought ad hoc for a particular job or jobs and rapidly consumed.<sup>7</sup> Thus, if paperstocks are found to match in two books, one dated, the other not, there is a high probability that they were printed no

5. See Hailey, "The Dating Game."

6. Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 63. Allan Stevenson states that "the consensus is that pairs of moulds lasted a year, when in continuous use or not alternating with moulds of like size and mark." *The Problem of the Missale Speciale* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1967), 316n4.

7. Allan Stevenson, "Paper as Bibliographical Evidence," *Library*, 5th ser., 17.3 (1962): 197–212, 201–2.

more than a year apart, and often much closer together when the same mixture of stocks was used concurrently for two or more projects, as was the case with the fourth quarto of *Hamlet*.

To use such data for dating or for any other analytical purposes, it is first necessary to identify and describe the paper or papers used to manufacture the target imprint, and to keep in mind that the basic unit of a paperstock is the watermark pair. In Allan Stevenson's classic formulation, "watermarks are twins," and identifying and distinguishing the two individuals which make up the watermark pair is "the key to all adequate studies of handmade, watermarked paper."<sup>8</sup> The twinness of handmade laid paper—and unwatermarked papers are equally twins—is the result of the manufacturing process. Two individuals, the vatman and the coucher, worked together using a pair of paper moulds and a single deckle, a wooden rim that fit both moulds. The vatman dipped a mould fitted with the deckle into the vat of stuff, let it drain briefly and passed it to the coucher who, handing the twin mould back to the vatman, then turned out the freshly made sheet onto a piece of felt. Thus passing the twin moulds back and forth, a competent team could turn out several thousand sheets a day.

Since the appearance of a watermark is frequently altered by the stresses of thousands of dips a day in the stuff and the rigorous scrubbing of the moulds at the end of the day, one cannot rely upon the watermark image alone. Appearances are frequently deceiving in filigranology—the study of watermarks. To make a positive identification of the products of specific mould pairs, I developed the "mugshot and fingerprint" method, which combines an image of the watermark, which can be a careful drawing or tracing, a beta-radiograph, or a digital image, with a chainspace model.<sup>9</sup> Some basic definitions are necessary: "Chainlines," widely spaced and vertical, are produced by the impression of fine sewing wires used to tie together the "wirelines," horizontal and tightly spaced laid wires that form the sieve-like surface of the paper mould. These wirelines are the impressions left by the laid wires in the paper, and "chainspaces" are the spaces between chainlines.

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8. Allan Stevenson, "Watermarks are Twins," *Studies in Bibliography* 4 (1951–52): 57–91; and Paul Needham, "Allan H. Stevenson and the Bibliographical Uses of Paper," *Studies in Bibliography* 47 (1994): 23–64, 29.

9. My preferred method is to backlight the leaf using a NoUVir transilluminator—a flat sheet which emits cool non-UV light—and capture images using a ProScope USB microscope with a zero lens.

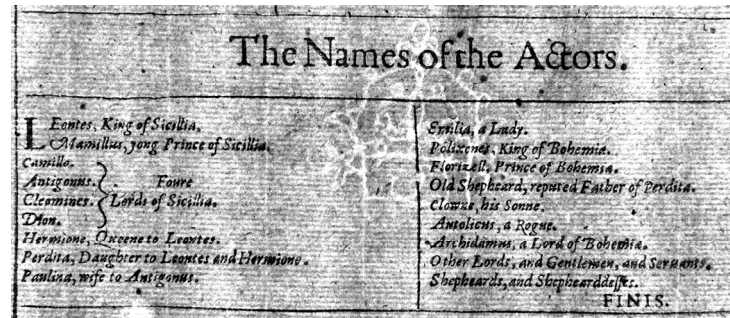


Image 1: Portion of leaf 2C2<sup>r</sup> from Folger copy 57, Shakespeare First Folio (STC 22273), showing the widely spaced vertical chainlines, the tightly spaced horizontal wirelines, and the watermark, a CROWN with the initials IG (reversed).

Chainlines “are present in every leaf of handmade paper manufactured before the introduction of wove paper in the later eighteenth century.”<sup>10</sup> Since the spacing between chainlines is rarely if ever entirely regular, chainspace models, produced by the careful measuring, recording, and ordering of chainspaces to reflect their original arrangement across the length of the sheet, can serve as a fingerprint for the mould. This is so because there is nearly always in the sequence of spaces some distinctive pattern of narrower and wider spaces that can serve as a sort of genetic marker. Since chainlines result from the impression of fine sewing wires that are secured at intervals to supporting wooden ribs, they are less likely to shift position or deteriorate than watermarks and, hence, are much more stable over time.

Since the evidence is more fragmented in octavo than in folio or quarto, measuring chainspaces and capturing images presents additional challenges, but with a bit of patience the detective can obtain reliable results.<sup>11</sup> In octavo, watermarks appear in the gutter at the top edge, and in a heavily trimmed copy, very little of the mark may remain. While the consultation of multiple copies is necessary for all sorts of bibliographical analysis, it is especially crucial in trying to piece together watermark and chainspace data

10. David L. Vander Meulen, “The Identification of Paper without Watermarks: The Example of Pope’s *Dunciad*,” *Studies in Bibliography* 37 (1984): 58–81, 60.

11. For a detailed discussion of the techniques for gathering watermark and chainspace in quartos, see R. Carter Hailey, “The Shakespearian Pavier Quartos Revisited,” *Studies in Bibliography* 57 (2005–6): 151–95, 157–65.



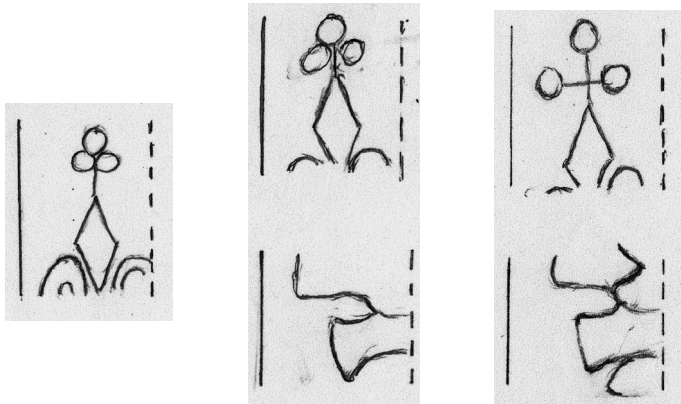
in octavo and other smaller formats. In the course of my investigation, I examined nine of the ten extant copies of *Massacre*.<sup>12</sup>

I found that it was printed on a mixed stock of three or four different unwatermarked papers and a single marked paper, the two twins of which are reproduced here in several drawings. The watermark is of a design I had not encountered before, and I am frankly unsure what it is meant to represent. It appears to be a fleur sprouting a diamond surmounted with a fleuron, with the whole thing balanced on a cake stand. I have dubbed it “<sup>B</sup>DIAMOND / FLEUR,” the superscript *B* indicating that the mark is centered “between” chainlines (superscript *O* would indicate that it was centered “on” a chainline), with the capitals indicating the general design of the mark. If there were additional individuating details, such as the maker’s initials that frequently appear in POT and CROWN watermarks, they would be added following a colon. For example, “<sup>B</sup>POT: R / CH” would indicate a POT watermark bearing the initials R over CH. Reference to one or the other twin is made by adding a superscript *a* or *b*. To provide the most complete and accurate chainspace models, whenever possible data is collected from multiple exemplars in multiple copies. Each twin is named, followed by the number of exemplars measured, the average chainspace width, and a measure of the mould’s wireline density per three centimeters (cm). In the composite model below, underneath the illustrations “Watermark Drawings and Composite Chainspace Models,” chainlines are indicated with vertical strokes, numbers are the chainspace widths to the nearest half millimeter (mm), and the position of the watermark is indicated by a bold, italicized, and underlined number. Braces and double slashes are used to indicate a gap or gaps in the model occasions by folding and cutting. The measurements before and after the gap are the widest encountered; the measurements at either end of the model are from the largest copy examined, and if a deckle edge has been encountered, it is indicated with a percent sign (%).

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12. Copies examined with shelfmarks: British Library, C.34.a.3; Victoria and Albert Museum, Dyce 25.E.18; Bodleian Library, Arch. G d.48 (6); Cambridge University Magdalene College Pepysian Library, 939.10; Folger Shakespeare Library, *STC* 17423; Library of Congress, 17423 vault; Huntington Library, 62491; Newberry Library, Case 3A 631; Williams College Chapin Library, 17423 vault.

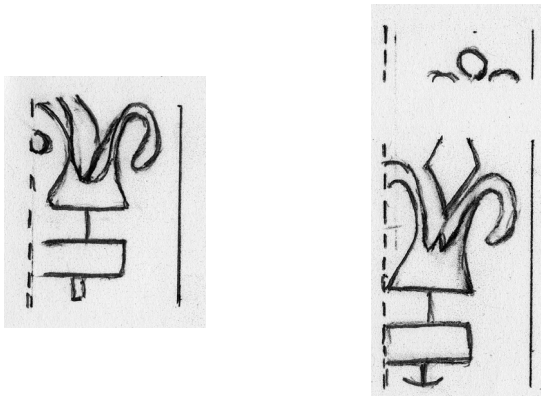
Watermark Drawings and Composite Chainspace Models



*Massacre at Paris*      *Massacre at Paris*      *Morton A Treatise*  
Huntington, Sheet    Newberry, Sheet C    Folger (1), Sheet O  
A

Figure 1: <sup>B</sup>DIAMOND / FLEUR<sup>a</sup>, 10 exemplars, average chainspace 25.56, wirelines 32.

[8.5] | 15.5 | 27 | 27 | 28 // 28 | 25 | 24.5 | 24}  
          {17 | 28.5 | 24 | 26.5 | 3 // 25 | 26.5 | 25 | 21.5 | [8]



*Massacre at Paris*      *Metamorphosis of Ajax*  
Library of Congress, Sheet C    Folger, Sheet F

Figure 2: <sup>B</sup>DIAMOND / FLEUR<sup>b</sup>, 7 exemplars, average chainspace 25.46, wirelines 32.

[8] | 19 | 27 | 25.5 | 22 // 26 | 27 | 29.5 | 23 | 4}  
          {25 | 28.5 | 27.5 | 24.5 | 3 // 20 | 27 | 27.5 | 19 | [12]

Where does one begin to look for matching paperstocks? For the years 1591–97, there are some two thousand extant imprints. Without some way of narrowing the list of potential suspects, it would be like looking for the proverbial needle in a haystack. My initial strategy is to examine imprints from the same printer and publisher in the year that *STC* conjectured. If no match is found, I then move outward concentrically to the surrounding years, again focusing on the printer/publisher partnership. This technique yielded fairly quick results with my work on the two Shakespeare quartos. Sometime the needle, like Gammer Gurton's, is found rather closer to home than one expects. But with *Massacre*, the search proved considerably more difficult.

There are no other Allde/White productions in 1594, none in fact between 1592, with four, and 1596, with three. I looked first at their 1592 imprints, then at 1596, with the same result: no matching paperstocks. I then examined books printed by Allde or published by White during this date range, again with no matches. Certainly more than one printer would have had access to the same stocks of printing paper, so I began to study the work of other printers. I reasoned that since I had found this rather odd watermark pair from *Massacre* in an octavo, I would be most likely to find a match in the same format. During my work at the Folger Shakespeare Library, I began requesting octavos and other books in small formats printed between 1592–96, regardless of printer or publisher. I was momentarily elated when I found a very similar watermark in the 1594 edition of Samuel Daniel's *Delia and Rosamond augmented* (16°; *STC* 6243.4) and in Otto Werdmüller's 1595 *A most fruitfull, pithie and learned treatyse* (12°; *STC* 25254). Perhaps the *STC*'s conjectured date was correct. But the chainlines did not match. Eyewitness identification is notably unreliable, so the search continued.

Several fruitless days later I requested a 1596 octavo, John Harington's *A new discovrse of a stale sibiect, called the metamorphosis of Ajax* (*STC* 12781), the title containing two scatological puns ("stale" meaning "urine"; "a jakes" meaning "an outhouse"), appropriate for a book that explains how to install a water closet, apparently his own invention. It is difficult to utter "Eureka!" sotto voce, and I may have startled some of my fellow readers. Not only did I find matches for both twins of the watermarked paper for *Massacre*, but also discovered one of the same unwatermarked stocks. The conjunction of two different papers in a book printed in 1596 clinched it. Marlowe's *Massacre* was printed not in 1594 or earlier, but in 1596, and he could have had no hand in it,

though considering the jumbled state of the text it would be shocking if he had. I later found confirmation in two additional 1596 imprints, both of which had some combination of the marked and unmarked stocks from *Massacre*. The first was in Harington's companion piece to the *Metamorphosis*, my favorite Renaissance title: *An APOLOGIE. 1. or rather a retraction 2. Or rather a recantation. 3. Or rather a recapitulation. 4. Or rather a replication. 5. Or rather an examination. 6. Or rather an accusation. 7. Or rather an explication. 8. Or rather an exhortation. 9. Or rather a consideration. 10. Or rather a confirmation. 11. Or rather all of them. 12. Or rather none of them* (8°; STC 12773.7).<sup>13</sup> A second imprint corroborated the publication date of 1596: both the <sup>B</sup>DIAMOND / FLEUR paper and one of the unwatermarked *Massacre* stocks are also found in Thomas Morton's *A treatise of the threefolde state of man* (8°; STC 18199).

There is another printing mystery associated with Marlowe, or rather several of them, or rather six of them: the various editions of his translations of Ovid's *Amores*, the *Elegies*, each accompanied by Sir John Davies's *Epigrammes*. All six claim to be printed at Middleborough (that is, Middelburg, in Holland) probably a false imprint in each case, though Charles Nicholl has argued that the first of these may actually have been printed in the Low Countries during one of Marlowe's alleged espionage trips.<sup>14</sup> All are undated. The two editions containing *Certaine of Ouids Elegies*, the shorter version of the translation with ten poems, exist in one and two copies (STC 6350, c. 1599?; STC 6350.5, c. 1599, respectively). I have yet to examine any of them, but there may not be enough evidence available to even permit a search for matching stocks. There are four editions containing *All Ouids Elegies*, the more complete rendering of the *Amores*: STC 18931a, after 1602; 18931, after 1602, but later than 18931a; 18932, c. 1630; and 18933, c. 1640. The first of these exists in four copies, probably sufficient for gathering reliable chainspace and watermark data, and copies of the latter two are relatively plentiful. However, 18931 is unique, and again may not provide the necessary data. But I can already

13. I made this discovery at the Houghton Library at Harvard University, and note in passing that this is the earliest text in the Harvard catalogue to have the subject heading "Outhouses." The next is not until the 1820 *Reports and other documents upon the patent, moveable, and inoderous conveniences*. Then there is another gap until the 1893 classic *Latrines of the East*.

14. Charles Nicholl, "'At Middlebrough': Some Reflections on Marlowe's Visit to the Low Countries in 1592," in *Christopher Marlowe and English Renaissance Culture*, ed. Darryll Grantley and Peter Roberts (Aldershot, UK: Scholar, 1996), 38–50.

report that *All Ouids elegies: 3. bookes. By C. M. Epigrams by I.D* (STC 18933), for which the STC editors conjecture both printer and publication date, was indeed printed in 1640 by Thomas Cotes. And over the next few years I will be pursuing the remaining Middleborough mysteries, amongst others.

#### Notes on the *Massacre at Paris* Leaf

Folger Manuscript J.b.8 (IELM MrC 23) is an alternate and longer version of a brief scene from the printed text of *Massacre*, and since the leaf at one time belonged to John Payne Collier, its authenticity has sometimes been questioned. If, on the other hand, the document is genuine, might it be Marlowe's autograph? Recent critical opinion has come down on the side of its authenticity but doubted that it is in Marlowe's hand. Peter Beal argues that a comparison between the only known Marlowe signature (Kent Archives Office PRC 16/86) and the hand of the Collier leaf "renders untenable the view that the latter could be autograph. On the contrary, the fragment is the work of an unskilled scribe. Neither is there any good reason to suppose that it is a forgery."<sup>15</sup> Arthur and Janet Freeman agree, regarding it a "genuine manuscript, though probably not in Marlowe's hand."<sup>16</sup> Were it possible to date the leaf, at least a bit of light might be shed on both questions. Beal suggests the 1590s, and clearly if the leaf were post-1593, the question of autograph would be decisively answered. But the issue of dating has rarely been raised, perhaps because it has appeared incapable of solution. Might the paper-stock of the manuscript eventually provide a clue as to its date?

The *Massacre* leaf measures 180 mm tall x 202 mm wide and represents the lower two-thirds of what was originally a pot folio half sheet (a sheet of pot-sized paper is c. 305 x 400 mm, untrimmed) folded once parallel to the shorter side and cut or torn down the middle to produce two disjunct leaves. Unquired pot folio is the normal format for theatrical manuscripts, as opposed to transcripts for reading, which were ordinarily produced in quarto.<sup>17</sup> Theatrical manuscripts were additionally folded vertically

15. Peter Beal, *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*, (London: Mansell, 1980) 1.2:325. Beal assigns it the siglum MrC 23 (1.2:328).

16. Arthur Freeman and Janet Ing Freeman, *John Payne Collier: Scholarship and Forgery in the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2004), 2:1076.

17. An exception is the fine paper folio presentation copy of John Fletcher's *Bonduca* *Queene of Brittain* (British Library, Add. MS. 36758), copied c. 1630 by Edward Knight,

twice more, the creases creating four columns, with speech headings placed to the left, dialog in the center columns, exits, and occasionally stage directions to the right. The *Massacre* leaf has only one of these folds: an inward vertical fold right along the second chainline from the left, about 35 mm from the edge of the sheet, which served as a blind rule to guide the copying of the dialog. There is also a nonfunctional medial horizontal crease where the manuscript has been folded, presumably after copying, indicating that the leaf may originally have been folded in thirds, with the top third torn off at the upper crease. What has not I think been noted is that the Guise's last speech in the play is continuous from recto to verso, thus the top third had already been torn away before composition or copying had begun, and the scene still did not require all the available space. This is in itself not unusual. Several insertions in the *Sir Thomas More* manuscript (British Library, MS. Harley 7368) are on paper fragments. But it would argue that if the leaf represents an authentic contemporary theatrical document, whether holograph or not, the scene was probably an insertion produced subsequent to the author's initial draft. It could also represent an addition for a revival. We know for instance that in 1602 Henslowe paid Ben Jonson and William Birde for additions to *The Spanish Tragedy* (c. 1587) and Birde and Samuel Rowley for additions to *Doctor Faustus*. But another feature may argue against theatrical origin: There are no speech rules, which playwrights typically use to mark the end of each speech. If the leaf is not autograph and is nontheatrical, its purpose is obscure.

In the top center of the *Massacre* leaf is a nearly intact watermark, a <sup>B</sup>POT: AH, with only a small bit of its ornamental head-gear lopped off. Constance Kuriyama has kindly pointed out to me two more Folger Shakespeare Library manuscripts on paperstocks bearing a <sup>B</sup>POT: AH watermark, one of which was also at one time in Collier's possession. Among a group of sixteen items removed from Collier's own extra-illustrated copy of *The History of English Dramatic Poetry* (1879), Folger MS. X.d.459 (13) has on one side Marlowe's translation of Ovid's *Amores* book 2, elegy 4, with the first line: "I meane not to defend the scapes of any" (*EV* 10032).<sup>18</sup> On the other side and in another hand is "Another answer" to Sir Walter Raleigh's "The Lie," beginning "Stay synick

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bookkeeper to the King's Men.

18. Steven W. May and William A. Ringler Jr., *Elizabethan Poetry: A Bibliography and First-Line Index of English Verse, 1559–1603* (London: Continuum, 2004). Hereafter cited as *EV*.

soule thy arrant" (EV 20971).<sup>19</sup> The fragment measures 188 x 140 mm, and was apparently cut down to its current size from a full pot sheet before either of the poems was copied since it does not correspond to a fractional part of any regular format such as a single quarto leaf. The bottom two-thirds of a <sup>B</sup>POT: AH watermark is visible towards in lower left of the leaf. To the naked eye it may appear identical to the same portion of the *Massacre* leaf watermark, but its chainspace sequence demonstrates that it must have come from a different mould. Beal suggests that the manuscript dates "c.1600?," while Steven May and William Ringler believe it to be after 1600.<sup>20</sup> The crucial question is whether the <sup>B</sup>POT: AH papers of the *Massacre* and *Amores* leaves are twins from the same paperstock. It is certainly singular that two Marlowe items known to have been in Collier's possession have similar watermarks, especially considering that Collier was an early champion of Marlowe and at one point planned an edition,<sup>21</sup> and it could be coincidental. But if the two manuscripts were indeed found to share the same stock, their authenticity would be seriously challenged.

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19. The Freemans apparently do not discuss this leaf.

20. Beal, *Index*, 1.2:326; EV, 1:751.

21. Constance Brown Kuriyama, *Christopher Marlowe: A Renaissance Life* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2002), 167–69.

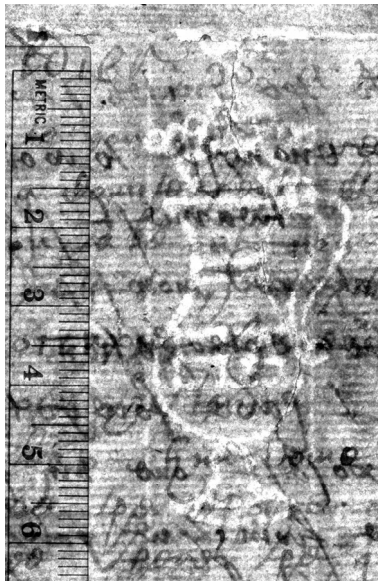


Image 2: Christopher Marlowe, *Massacre at Paris* leaf, Folger MS. J.b.8

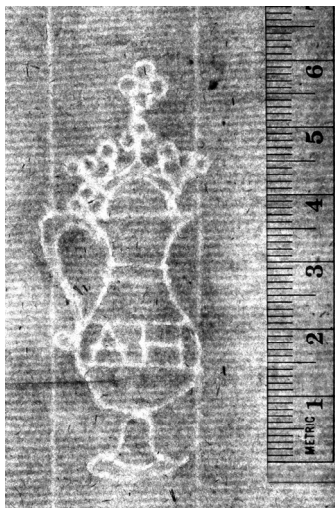
<sup>B</sup>POT: AH      average chainspace 21.38      Wirelines: 28  
 11.5 | 23 | 21.5 | 22 | 20.5 | 22 | 21.5 | 22 | 18.5 | 11.5 | 3



Image 3: Marlowe, *Amores* leaf, Folger MS. X.d.459 (13)

<sup>B</sup>POT: AH      average chainspace 21.00      Wirelines: 26  
 3 | 21.5 | 21 | 23 | 20 | 21 | 21 | 19 | 21.5 | 11.5 | 3





<sup>B</sup>POT: AH      average chainspace 21.00      Wirelines: 26

(the central space is 20, with brackets representing the medial fold:  
8||12)

Further complicating matters is a third manuscript, “A book of the soldiers at Portsmouth . . . under the government of the . . . Earl of Sussex” (Folger MS. X.d.467), which consists of two pot folio two-sheet booklets quired in fours. They are paymaster’s accounts for the 35th and 39th months, dated November, 2–29, 1589, and February 22–March 21, 1589/90. The first of these appears on another example of <sup>B</sup>POT: AH paper. Since there are two sheets, it would have been possible for both twins of the pair to be represented, but alas, it is not so. Although half of any large sample of paper will present a roughly 50/50 ratio of each twin, they cannot be expected to alternate with any regularity in a particular quire or ream given the vagaries of the multiple manufacturing steps of couching, laying, drying, sizing, finishing, and culling. What can be established is that the 35th month payroll paper does not match either the *Massacre* or *Amores* leaf. So what we are left with is three individual examples of <sup>B</sup>POT: AH paper, any two of which could be twins, since all three have similar average chainspace widths of around 21 mm and wireline densities

of 26–28 per 3 cm; if, for example, one of the three had average chainspaces of 23.5 mm, it would rule it out as a twin to either of the others. And it is possible, perhaps even likely, that each is a single representative from three separate stocks. Furthermore, the two or three stocks could have been manufactured over either a relatively brief span of a year or two, or they might be separated by ten years or more. As noted above, paper moulds in continuous use had relatively brief life spans of between six and twelve months before they were worn out and due for replacement. Additionally, manufacturers tended to repeat designs in pair after pair, sometimes over the course of many years or even decades. But since the wireforms that leave their impression as watermarks are newly handcrafted for each pair of moulds, and the moulds themselves will have chainspaces that differ from their mould-pair ancestors, the mugshot and fingerprint method can distinguish pairs of like design. I have for instance seen <sup>B</sup>POT: IM watermarks as early as 1550 and as late as 1635, and there are no doubt both earlier and later examples. I have also frequently found multiple pairs of similar design in the same book and even, having examined multiple copies, of the same gathering of a book. There are, for example, in the Shakespeare first folio four pairs of <sup>B</sup>CROWN: IDO watermarks; I think of them as the “marriage of true minds” group.

To establish whether or not the paper of the *Massacre* and *Amores* leaves came from a pair of twin moulds, one would need to find a match for one of the two in a printed book or a manuscript that had both twins represented. Their twinness could then either be established or ruled out, and even in the latter case, valuable contextual evidence might be provided if a match for one of the two were found in a firmly dated book. Unfortunately since we have only conjectural dates for the two manuscripts, it is difficult to know where to begin the search. On the other hand we know precisely the date of the payroll manuscript: November 2–29, 1589. So it may well be that matching paper could be found in a 1589 London imprint, but there are several important caveats. Paper from the same mould pairs could be used for either printing or manuscript, though manuscript paper required a heavier gelatin sizing. But a paperstock was not necessarily used up as quickly by handwriters as it would have been by a printer. In theory an individual might lay in a ream or two of paper and use it up gradually over many years. I am unconvinced, however, that this practice was typical, at least in London where paper was readily available from a number of stationers, and probably not in

Portsmouth or Southampton, directly across the channel from Le Havre, a natural shipping point for paper from the numerous mills of Normandy. And while the sample size is admittedly small, we find the same paymaster using a different stock for the 39th month accounts—<sup>B</sup>POT:IA—than he had for the 35th.

It appears unlikely that the *Massacre* leaf could date from as early as 1589, since the play ends with the death of Henry III, which had occurred on August 2nd of that same year and, on the evidence of Henslowe's diary, was perhaps first performed in 1593. On the other hand, it is possible that the death of Henry spurred Marlowe to write a play about the Guise, and that the 1593 performance was a revival. In hopes of finding the payroll paper in a printed book, where I would certainly encounter both twins, I examined numerous 1589 imprints held by the Folger Library. I have looked through about seventy-five titles without finding the same paper. It is of course possible that the Portsmouth paperstock had been bought in the previous year, or even several years previously. So it might be worth looking at 1588 as well. Or, if the paper had been obtained locally, it might have come from a stock never imported into London. Although the search has been so far fruitless, the evidence for dating one or both of the *Massacre* and *Amores* leaves, and possibly for exposing one or both as forgeries, is out there somewhere. So, armed with the mugshots and fingerprints provided above, be on the lookout for a fugitive <sup>B</sup>POT:AH watermark; should you spot one, alert the proper authorities. Preferably me.

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## The 1663 *Doctor Faustus* and the Royalist Marlowe

Over the past fifty years, the 1663 *Doctor Faustus* has been the most critically neglected of the pre-1700 editions of Christopher Marlowe's work.<sup>1</sup> An examination of its publisher's career and the changes made to its text strongly suggest, against what a contemporary critical audience might expect, that this *Faustus* was a surprisingly conservative work, read as an allegory of Oliver Cromwell's fall. Though this edition is not authentically Marlovian, it nevertheless demonstrates how his tragedy was received and repurposed by his later audiences, which contributes to our critical understanding of seventeenth-century reading formations and communities.<sup>2</sup>

The 1663 quarto of *Faustus* rests in an odd position in Marlowe's canon. None of his plays had been published for thirty years—the previous quarto had been *The Jew of Malta* in 1633—and the 1663 *Faustus* itself marked the last time any of his works would see print for almost a century, until Robert Dodsley included *Edward II* in the second volume of his *Select Collection of Old Plays* (1744).<sup>3</sup> But William Gilbertson's decision to publish this

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1. I am deeply indebted to Douglas Bruster for reading and critiquing several drafts of this essay. Thanks are also due to Gregory A. Foran, Jonathan P. Lamb, Dustin D. Stewart, and the editors of *Marlowe Studies: An Annual*, who provided extremely helpful feedback at various stages of the revision process.

2. Christopher Marlowe, *The tragicall history of the life and death of Doctor Faustus*. . . . (London: Printed for W. Gilbertson at the Bible without Newgate, 1663). I am using the term "publisher" in its modern sense for clarity's sake, acknowledging that it is a term Gilbertson might never have applied to himself.

3. On Marlowe's entry into the canon in the nineteenth century, see Thomas Dabbs, *Reforming Marlowe: The Nineteenth-Century Canonization of a Renaissance Dramatist* (Lewisburg: Bucknell UP, 1991); and Irving Ribner, "Marlowe and the Critics," *Tulane Drama Review* 8.4 (1964): 211–24.

Restoration edition was surprising not simply because of its author's obscurity. Theatrical fashions had also drastically shifted since the 1590s. As Nancy Klein Maguire has argued, "Tragedy as formerly understood was impossible after 1660," making most of Marlowe's plays generically unsuited to a stage that had come to prize tragicomedy.<sup>4</sup> What might have enticed Gilbertson to print such a text? Leah Marcus theorizes that the 1663 *Faustus* critiques Charles II, contemporizing its radical politics to renew what she has termed the "Marlowe Effect."<sup>5</sup> Although some readers might have experienced such a sensation as they read, the material circumstances of the quarto's publication imply that Gilbertson intended to elicit the opposite reaction. A close look at his publishing career suggests that this *Faustus* was actually a Royalist publication.

Late seventeenth-century theater audiences saw an adaptation of the pseudo-Marlovian *Lust's Dominion* (1657), in the form of Aphra Behn's *Abdelazer, or The Moor's Revenge* (1677), and a farcical takeoff on *Faustus*, William Mountfort's *The Life and Death of Doctor Faustus* (1697). But on the whole, Marlowe's plays—in marked contrast to those of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, William Shakespeare, and Ben Jonson—remained surprisingly unadapted in the second half of the seventeenth century. They were not, however, forgotten. Allusions to Marlowe in English Civil War and Interregnum publications (mostly Cavalier) suggest that his drama was still circulating in the public consciousness during the middle part of the century.<sup>6</sup> The pamphlet *Wonders foretold* (1643) predicts,

4. Nancy Klein Maguire, *Regicide and Restoration: English Tragicomedy, 1660–1671* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992), 35. By Maguire's count, out of twenty-five self-professed tragedies and seventy "serious" plays written between 1660 and 1671, only five have truly tragic endings. She argues that tragicomedy was so prevalent because it played out the "movement from the threatened environment of regicide to the hoped-for stability of restoration" (37).

5. See Leah S. Marcus, *Unediting the Renaissance: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Milton* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 62–65. Her discussion of the 1663 quarto along with articles by Seymour M. Pitcher and Richard H. Perkinson are the only substantive scholarly treatments of this edition that I have encountered. See Pitcher, "Some Observations on the 1663 Edition of *Faustus*," *Modern Language Notes* 56.8 (1941): 588–94; and Perkinson, "A Restoration 'Improvement' of *Doctor Faustus*," *English Literary History* 1.3 (1934): 305–24.

6. See Lois Potter, "Marlowe in the Civil War and Commonwealth: Some Allusions and Parodies," and John T. Shawcross, "Signs of the Times: Christopher Marlowe's Decline in the Seventeenth Century," in "*A Poet and a Filthy Play-maker*": *New Essays on Christopher Marlowe*, ed. Kenneth Friedenreich, Roma Gill, and Constance B. Kuriyama

“There shall also crete inflammations of Lightning happen tis yeare about the fortune in Colding Lane, if the players can get leave to act the tragedies of Doctour *Faustus*,” and a character in Abraham Cowley’s *The Guardian* (1650) mocks another by comparing the latter’s roaring to that of Tamburlaine’s at the Bull.<sup>7</sup> On April 8, 1654, *The Maiden’s Holiday* was entered in the Stationers’ Register as coauthored by Marlowe and John Day, suggesting his name still held some capital. Also in 1654, Edmund Gayton reported that popular festivals featured performances of *Tamburlaine the Great* and *The Jew of Malta*, while Robert Baron’s *Mirza* (1655) alludes to Bajazeth’s captivity at the hands of Tamburlaine. *Lust’s Dominion* was attributed to Marlowe in both 1657 and 1661. William Davenant’s *Playhouse to Be Let* (1663) mentions *Tamburlaine* and *Faustus*, and Gilbertson’s *Faustus* was published in the same year.<sup>8</sup> Marlowe’s plays appeared on the play lists of Richard Rogers and William Ley (1656), Edward Archer (1656), and Francis Kirkman (1661, 1671). In 1670, Thomas Shadwell’s character Drybob also mentioned Tamburlaine’s humiliation of Bajazeth in *The Humorists*, while in 1681 Charles Saunders was accused of plagiarizing Marlowe in his *Tamerlane the Great*, suggesting that some theatergoers remained familiar with Marlowe’s *Tamburlaine*.<sup>9</sup> In that same year, a political pamphlet satirizing Titus Oates compared him to *Faustus*, while critics Edward Phillips (1675), William Winstanley (1687), Gerard

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(New York: AMS, 1988), 73–82 and 63–71, respectively. This article does not present anything resembling an exhaustive list of allusions to Marlowe in the period, as such a task is beyond the scope of an individual essay; rather, it provides a representative selection of allusions that attempts to give the general “flavor” of the allusions.

7. *Wonders foretold, by her crete Prophet of Wales*. . . (London: 1643), A2; Abraham Cowley, *The Guardian* (London: Printed for John Holden, 1650), C3v (act 3, scene 6). *Wonders* was reissued in 1647, retaining the reference to *Faustus*; the allusion was adapted from John Melton’s *Astrologaster; or, The figure-caster* (1620). See Leslie Hotson, *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1928), 18, 78n175.

8. Edmund Gayton, *Pleasant Notes upon Don Quixot* (London: Printed by William Hunt, 1654), 271; William Davenant, *The works of Sir William Davenant, Knight, Consisting of Those which were formally printed*. . . (London: Printed by T. N. for Henry Herringman, 1673), K3v. Patrick Cruttwell points to the heavy influence of *Tamburlaine* on William Davenant’s *The Siege of Rhodes* (1656); see Cruttwell, *The Shakespearean Moment and Its Place in the Poetry of the 17th Century* (New York: Modern Library, 1960), 231–32.

9. Thomas Shadwell, *The Humorists* (London: Printed for Henry Herringman, 1671), H1r; Saunders, *Tamerlane the Great* (1681); qtd. in C. F. Tucker Brooke, *The Reputation of Christopher Marlowe* (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1922), 384. Brooke’s study contains a wealth of allusions, most of which I have chosen not to cite here.

Langbaine (1691), and Anthony á Wood (1691) each briefly mentioned Marlowe, though all categorized him as inferior to Shakespeare.<sup>10</sup>

Given the relative frequency of allusions to Marlowe, his absence from the Restoration print market becomes more puzzling. And while critics have offered various explanations for his fade into obscurity, none has emerged as definitive.<sup>11</sup> In an essay dedicated specifically to the issue, John T. Shawcross argues that Marlowe's plays disappeared because during the Restoration, "the belief in the strength of the individual so essentially a part of the Renaissance had disappeared into the concept of governmental force. . . . Or else . . . the individualistic nonaccepter of political reality was hanged."<sup>12</sup> But this does not explain why Marlowe's plays were not adapted, and Gilbertson, we will see, was attracted to, not repelled by, *Faustus*'s demise.

The 1663 *Faustus* does not name a printer. Its title page simply indicates that it was "Printed for W. Gilbertson at the Bible without Newgate, 1663." Not much is known about the bookseller William Gilbertson. Born to Francis Gilbertson of Guildford, Surrey, also a bookseller, young William was apprenticed to John Wright senior from 1640 to 1647. Upon completion of his tenure, he immediately took over the bookshop at the Sign of the Bible on Giltspur Street, outside of Newgate Prison. He worked steadily for eighteen years and accepted five apprentices before his death in the year of the great plague, 1665; he was probably in his mid-thirties at his death.<sup>13</sup> His widow Rachel briefly continued his

10. *The Loyal Protestant and True Domestick Intelligence*, September 10, 1681, qtd. in Jane Lane, *Titus Oates* (London: A. Dakers, 1949), 279; Edward Phillips, William Winstanley, Gerard Langbaine, and Anthony á Wood, qtd. in Millar MacLure, ed., *Marlowe: The Critical Heritage, 1588–1896* (Routledge: London, 1979), 51–54.

11. MacLure speculates that Marlowe's decline was prompted by "the re-establishment of the London theatres under different managerial arrangements," "the influence of the Puritan calumnies," and "the scarcity of texts," while James S. Shapiro blames Marlowe himself: "The ease with which lesser authors could begin to approximate the sound of his verse and the nature of his visual spectacle helped ensure his canonical demise." Constance Brown Kuriyama has argued that "given the ephemeral nature of drama, and the lack of stature enjoyed by contemporary authors . . . Marlowe's sudden death at the age of twenty-nine virtually insured a temporary lapse into obscurity." MacLure, *Critical Heritage*, 8; Shapiro, *Rival Playwrights: Marlowe, Jonson, Shakespeare* (New York: Columbia UP, 1991), 37; and Kuriyama, *Christopher Marlowe: A Renaissance Life* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2002), 163.

12. Shawcross, "Signs of the Times," 70.

13. D. F. McKenzie, ed., *Stationers' Company Apprentices, 1605–1640* (Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1961), 138; D. F. McKenzie, ed.,

bookselling business, but soon disappears from the Stationers' Register.

Gilbertson's apprenticeship to Wright would prove formative for his professional career, as he modeled his business very closely upon his master's. Both men were members of the seventeenth-century ballad and chapbook cartel, specializing in what scholars have labeled "cheap print."<sup>14</sup> Also like Wright, for his longer titles Gilbertson did not solicit "new and promising copy" but instead "sought out books that had already proved their worth," such as Ovid's *Epistles (Heroides)* and *Tristia*; Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*; Thomas Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday* (1600); Philip Stubbes's *A chrySTALL glasse for christian women: containing a most excellent discourse of the godly life and death of Mistris Katherine Stubs* (1591); Shakespeare's *The Rape of Lucrece* (1594); William Perkins's *Death's Knell* (1628; though the title page claims this is the eighth edition); English and Latin versions of Marcus Junianus Justinus's *The History of Justin* (1586; 1654); and Marlowe's *Faustus*.<sup>15</sup> All were old but proven bestsellers. Gilbertson was particularly inclined to publish works that had sold well for Wright, who had produced the previous editions of Richard Johnson's *The pleasant conceites of Old Hobson the merry Londoner* (1607) and *Crown Garland of Golden Roses* (1612), the second volume of Nicholas Breton's *The Figure of Foure* (1626), *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, *A chrySTALL glasse for Christian women*, *Death's Knell*, and crucially for our purposes, the second through ninth editions of Marlowe's *Faustus*. The former apprentice was so derivative of Wright, in fact, that he often mimicked as closely as possible the physical layout of his former master's quartos, going so far as to commission a copycat woodcut for the title page of his *Faustus*.

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*Stationers' Company Apprentices, 1641–1700* (Oxford: Bibliographical Society, 1974), 64; Henry R. Plomer, ed., *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (Oxford: Bibliographical Society, 1968), 82.

14. See Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and Its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Methuen, 1981); Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991); Zachary Lesser, "Typographic Nostalgia: Play-Reading, Popularity, and the Meanings of Black Letter," in *The Book of the Play: Playwrights, Stationers, and Readers in Early Modern England*, ed. Marta Straznicky (Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 2006), 99–126; and Cyprian Blagden, "Notes on the Ballad Market in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century," *Studies in Bibliography* 6 (1954): 161–80.

15. Lesser, "Typographic Nostalgia," 109–10. Gilbertson also acquired the rights to the popular works *Mucedorus* (c. 1590), Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* (1593), and several sermons of Lancelot Andrewes, though if any saw print no copy survives. *Venus and Adonis* had been entered in the Stationers' Register to John Wright and John Haviland in 1638, though again, if they ever produced an edition no copies have survived.



Over a career that began during the English Civil War and ended after the Restoration, Gilbertson's publishing politics might best be described as cautiously Royalist.<sup>16</sup> In the two years he worked at the Sign of the Bible before the beheading of Charles I, he showed a clear sympathy for the king, offering for example a single-sheet ballad entitled *The cavaliers comfort; or, Long lookt for will come at last*. The first stanza reads

Cheer up your hearts, and be not afraid,  
all you that faithful served the King,  
What though you long have bin dismayd,  
good news I now intend to bring.<sup>17</sup>

Published around the time of Charles's execution, the title of *Women will have their will; or, Give Christmas his due, In a dialogue betweene Mrs Custome, a victuallers wife neere Cripplegate, and Mrs Newcome, a captains wife, living in Reformation-Alley, neer Destruction-street* (1649) makes the pamphlet's politics quite clear. During the Interregnum, he offered a number of works that suggested Cavalier sympathies. *The last news from France* (n.d.) details Prince Charles's escape into France, emphasizing the sorrow surrounding his father's execution, while *The Harmony of the Muses* (1654) collects poetry by noted Cavalier authors such as Henry King, William Strode, John Cleveland, and Kenelm Digby. Gilbertson's reissue of Shakespeare's *Rape of Lucrece* in 1655, the poem itself suggestive insofar as it condemns a usurping tyrant, included a new epistle by Royalist John Quarles.<sup>18</sup> He also offered an English translation of Richard Perrinchief's *A messenger from the dead* (1658), a dialogue between Henry VIII and Charles I that places the blame

16. All publication information for pre-1640 imprints is derived from *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640*, ed. A. W. Pollard et al., 2nd ed., 3 vols. (London: The Bibliographic Society, 1976). All information on post-1640 imprints is taken from *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641–1700*, ed. Donald Wing et al., 2nd ed., 4 vols. (New York: Modern Language Association, 1998). Unless otherwise noted, all dates refer to the earliest extant edition. I should emphasize that I speak of Gilbertson's political sympathies as a bookseller rather than as a man.

17. *The cavaliers comfort; or, Long lookt for will come at last* (London: Printed for William Gilbertson, n.d.). Though there is no date given for this ballad, it must have been printed between 1647 and 1649, as it implies that Charles I has not yet been executed.

18. For a discussion of the seemingly paradoxical publication of a "republican" poem by Royalist sympathizers, including a discussion of Quarles's epistle, see Sasha Roberts, *Reading Shakespeare's Poems in Early Modern England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 120–29.

for Charles's death on Henry's sins and characterizes Charles as relatively innocent, and *A discovery made by his Highnesse the Lord Protector* (1658), which sympathetically describes a failed plot by Prince Charles to overthrow the Interregnum Parliament. He also printed two accounts of the life of Richard Hind, a highwayman who in the popular Cavalier imagination was cast as a Robin Hood figure, stealing only from Parliamentarians.<sup>19</sup> In contrast, the only title he offered that took the Lord Protector as its subject matter was an account of Cromwell's funeral: *The true manner of the most magnificent conveyance of his Highnesse effigies* (1658).

In 1660, with caution no longer necessary, Gilbertson's shop exploded with overtly Royalist works. Twenty-seven of his thirty-six surviving imprints from this year celebrate the Restoration, with titles such as *Englands day of joy and rejoycing, or, Long lookt for is come at last; Englands pleasant may-flower, or, Charles the second, as we say, came home; A looking-glass for traytors being the manner of the tryall of those barbarous wretches at Justice-Hall in the Old-Baily, who contrived and compassed the death of his late Sacred Majesty King Charles the First; and A free and full Parliament. Or General Monks restoring of England antient liberties*. He continued to print at least one Royalist title a year through 1663, including elegies for John Gauden, probable ghost author of *Eikon Basilike*, and Robert Sanderson, antiparliamentarian bishop and chaplain to Charles I. His 1665 edition of Plutarch's *Lives* included a fawning dedicatory epistle penned by the fervent Royalist David Lloyd and addressed to James, Duke of Monmouth.<sup>20</sup> Unfortunately, his premature death in 1665 prevents us from knowing how he might have responded to popular disenchantment with Charles later in the latter's reign.

Gilbertson's dramatic corpus is a microcosm of his career. Along with *Faustus* in 1663, he offered seven other dramatic works: *Wily Beguiled* (his edition in 1653), *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* (1655), Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday* (1657), *Lady Alimony* (1659), an English translation of George Ruggle's *Ignoramus* (1662), R. A.'s *The Valiant Welshman* (1663), and *Knavery*

19. See Dale B. J. Randall, *Winter Fruit: English Drama, 1642–1660* (Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1995), 304–5.

20. That it is David Lloyd seems extremely probable, since he often published as “Da. Lloyd” (the signature on the Plutarch epistle). Gilbertson, John Williams, and Henry Marsh are listed as the booksellers on the title page of the 1665 *Lives*. Lloyd had also collaborated with Marsh on several explicitly Royalist works such as *Eikon basilike. Or, The true pourtraicture of his Sacred Majesty Charls the II in three books. . . .* (London: Printed for H. Brome and H. Marsh, 1660).

in *All Trades* (1664), dubiously attributed to John Tatham. True to form, four of his eight plays were amongst the best-selling early modern public theater plays (*Wily, Merry Devil, Shoemaker's Holiday*, and *Faustus*), and *Ignoramus* was likewise one of the most popular university plays of its day.

Moreover, his dramatic offerings also demonstrate Gilbertson's Royalist sensibilities, especially after 1660. Published slightly before, in 1659, *Lady Alimony* satirizes those who oppose the theater, broadens into a satire on Commonwealth domestic disorder, and ends with a monarch (in this case a duke) returning home and instituting order over his unruly subjects.<sup>21</sup> *Knavery in All Trades* is a domestic drama that "exemplifies the effort to place both apprentices and wives under the control of the master and husband, while expressing anxiety about the fragility of such containment," indulging in the post-Restoration "curtailment of political activity by subaltern groups," who had largely backed Parliament in 1641.<sup>22</sup> As he printed the first edition of both plays, it seems likely that it was their Cavalier politics that persuaded Gilbertson to take a chance on these first editions in defiance of his preference for proven works. He also deviated from his normal practice in publishing *The Valiant Welshman* in 1663; his was just the second edition of the play, the first having come in 1615, almost fifty years earlier. Despite its poor sales record, however, it was so topical and sympathetic to Charles that Gilbertson must have felt his Royalist clientele would respond favorably to it. In *The Valiant Welshman*, after all, the hero Caradoc wanders the world faithfully defending various kings from tyrannical usurpers. Lastly, critics have long recognized *Ignoramus* as an implicitly Cavalier play, satirizing common-law lawyers whom Royalists often associated with Puritans. Content aside, its publication symbolized Gilbertson's political allegiances, as it was known to have been a great favorite of James I.<sup>23</sup> Thus, given the general

21. Nigel Smith stresses that the adulterous men in *Lady Alimony* are "allegorically associated with the urban life of the Commonwealth," while Susan Staves observes that the "restoration of the good Duke Eugenio" forms "a transparent allegory." *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640–1660* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1994), 90; and Staves, *Players' Scepters: Fictions of Authority in the Restoration* (Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1979), 119.

22. Mihoko Suzuki, *Subordinate Subjects: Gender, the Political Nation, and Literary Form in England, 1588–1688* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), 203; see also J. Douglas Canfield, *Tricksters and Estates: On the Ideology of Restoration Comedy* (Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1997), 210–11.

23. Juan A. Prieto-Pablos, "Ignoramus, *The Woman Turned Bully*, and Restoration Satire on the Common Lawyer," *Studies in English Literature* 48.3 (2008): 523–46. Paratextual

Cavalier tenor of his oeuvre, and especially the politics of the plays he published after the Restoration, we can assume that Gilbertson printed *Faustus* in 1663 partially because it had been a bestseller for Wright, but also because he read *Faustus* as a Royalist text.

What about Marlowe's play might have struck Gilbertson as conservative? Faustus himself could have resonated as a negative depiction of Cromwell, rising from base origins (no doubt through nefarious means) to become a powerful political figure before suffering a dramatic fall.<sup>24</sup> His ambitions might have reminded Restoration audiences of the Levellers and other equality-seeking groups of the 1640s, groups that had supported Parliament in the Civil War. Moreover, in Faustus's damnation we see a vengeful impulse otherwise apparent in Gilbertson's larger body of work. His post-Restoration publications lauded not only the restoration of the king but also the punishment of the opposition; in 1660 alone, he offered six titles that celebrated the capture and execution of various Protectorate officials.

Gilbertson also tapped into a preexisting Restoration typology when he associated Cromwell and Faustus. During this period almost all stage villains were imagined as analogues of the former Lord Protector and written in the same vein as Marlowe's infamous characters: power-hungry, clever, and amoral. Several works of the period even drew unmistakably explicit connections between Cromwell and Marlowe's protagonists. For example, James Heath's *A chronicle of the late intestine war* (1676) reports that Cromwell's coaching accident "happened on a Friday in *Iuly*, that desirous to divert himself with driving of his Coach and six Horses in *Hide-park*, with

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changes to Gilbertson's edition of *Ignoramus* (London: Printed for W. Gilbertson, 1662) also suggest his support for the monarchy. As was his wont, he largely followed the typesetting of the previous quarto (Londini: Ex Officina I. R., 1659), no doubt in an attempt to capitalize on its popularity. But Gilbertson centers, enlarges, and capitalizes "King James" on the title page, making it dwarf everything else. Additionally, his edition adds "before the King" to the first prologue's headnote and capitalizes "King" in the second prologue's headnote, which underscores the play's royal pedigree.

24. Crutwell, for example, suggests Tamburlaine (and by extension other Marlovian protagonists) as a dramatic anticipation of and preparation for Oliver Cromwell, as both are self-made military heroes scornful of tradition and favored by fortune (*The Shakespearean Moment*, 188–97). See also Charles Whitney, *Early Responses to Renaissance Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006), 60–61, who also observes that Cromwell was connected to Tamburlaine in contemporary literature; and Maguire, *Regicide and Restoration*, 147–50. Smith, discussing the two parts of *Craftie Cromwell* (1648), notes that they portray Cromwell as a "stage Machiavel, both Marlovian anti-hero and revenger" (*Literature and Revolution*, 77).

his Secretary *Thurloe* in it, like *Mephistophilus* and Doctor *Faustus*,” proceeded to crash.<sup>25</sup> In the anonymous *The famous tragedie of King Charles I . . .* (1649), Nigel Smith observes that exchanges between Cromwell and his chaplain Hugh Peters mimic those of Faustus and Mephistopheles, and Peters even compares Cromwell to Tamburlaine: “like great *Tamberlaine* with his *Bajazet*, canst render him within an Iron-Cage a spectacle of mirth, when e’er thou pleasest.”<sup>26</sup> Susan Wiseman flags *New-Market Fayre* (1649), a play heavily indebted to *Faustus* and *The Jew of Malta*, as another in which Cromwell and Peters recall Faustus and Mephistopheles, while in an unpublished poem, Henry Tubbe went so far as to refer to Cromwell as “Oliver Tamburlaine.”<sup>27</sup> In his prose pamphlet *A vision, concerning his late pretended highnesse, Cromwell, the Wicked* (1661), Abraham Cowley twice refers to Cromwell as Faustus (amongst a host of other abusive names), though he does not mention any Mephistopheles.<sup>28</sup> Even pro-Parliamentary pamphlets indulged in this rhetoric; *Mercurius Britannicus alive again* (1648), speaking of the captive Charles I, asks “would you have him carried up and down (as *Tamberlaine* did *Bajazeth*?)”<sup>29</sup> With such an association already pervasive in print, Gilbertson must have felt *Faustus* would appeal to his Royalist clientele precisely because of this typology.

His conservative impulses help explain some of the modifications made to the 1663 quarto, which makes only three significant changes to the body of the B-text. The first is the addition of sixty-five lines to the end of act 4, scene 5, which simply show the men begging the Hostess for a song as she badgers them to pay for

25. James Heath, *A chronicle of the late intestine war in the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London: Printed by J. C. for Thomas Basset, 1676), 363.

26. *The famous tragedie of King Charles I . . .* (London: 1649), B1v. Potter also notes that the scene is “full of Marlovian echoes,” including allusions to *The Jew of Malta* (“Marlowe in the Civil War and Commonwealth,” 80). Smith contends that this likeness in the *famous tragedie* comes “not for the first time in this kind of drama” (*Literature and Revolution*, 81). Diane Purkiss suggests that Faustus’s vision of Christ’s blood as he is about to die is the “ur-text” of English Civil War and Restoration literary scenes in which Cromwell, close to death, is bathed in or has visions of Charles’s blood. *Literature, Gender and Politics during the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005), 145.

27. Susan Wiseman, *Drama and Politics in the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998), 49; G. C. Moore Smith, ed., *Oxford Historical and Literary Studies: Henry Tubbe* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1915), 5:89–92.

28. Abraham Cowley, *A vision, concerning his late pretended highnesse, Cromwell, the Wicked . . .* (London: Printed for Henry Herringman, 1661), 59.

29. *Mercurius Britannicus alive again* (London: Printed by T. B., May, 16, 1648), 7.

their drink. The second change is the systematic omission of some of the theological language of the original. References to God, hell, and damnation are largely removed from Gilbertson's version, though these excisions do not substantively alter any speeches. The largest and most puzzling change, however, is the deletion of the scene at Rome and the substitution of an episode in Babylon based on *The Jew of Malta*. To summarize: As Faustus and Mephistopheles arrive at the court of Salomaine (presumably Suleiman the Magnificent), the emperor calls on his generals to detail their capture of Malta. They come forward and explain that when the Turkish fleet arrived to demand the ten months of tribute owed, the Christian governors of Malta stepped in and stripped the Jews of half their estates to finance the payment. But soon after, the Spanish general Martine Belbosco arrived and convinced the governors they should hold out instead of pay. The Turkish forces then laid siege to the city, until one day they found a man who had been expelled from the city and beaten almost to death. When he revived, the man told them he was a Jew, and led a Turkish force into the city through a secret underground passage. The Turks went on to conquer Malta; this scene is set at the celebration of the conquest. After this recitation, Faustus and Mephistopheles taunt Salomaine just as they torment the Pope in the B-text.

Marcus argues that the revisions update the play's subversive politics because of unflattering parallels with the behavior of Charles II.<sup>30</sup> But if Gilbertson had thought the play to be at all critical of his king, it is unlikely he would have published it. Also, the theater of the early 1660s was generally so sympathetic to the monarch that such an obvious critique would have been uncharacteristic. The redactor's criticism of governmental tolerance of the Jewish population was more likely to have been aimed at Cromwell's controversial policies, not those of Charles.<sup>31</sup> Since Gilbertson was demonstrably Royalist, it seems more likely that "Charles'

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30. Negative "traits of Salomaine would have called up uneasy parallels with the dissipations of Charles II, and the perception of likeness could easily have spread into questions about the king's conduct of foreign affairs or his relationship with the English Jewish community." Marcus, *Unediting the Renaissance*, 64.

31. Hugh MacKay argues that *Lust's Dominion*, printed in 1657 and 1661 and the only other "Marlovian" play issued in the late seventeenth century, was a response to Cromwell's relationship with Jewish travelers seeking to settle in England. MacKay, "Lust's Dominion and the Readmission of the Jews," *Review of English Studies* 59.241 (2008): 542–67, 549, 567. For the play as a criticism of Cromwell, see also Charles Cathcart, "'You Will Crown Him King That Slew Your King': *Lust's Dominion* and Oliver Cromwell," *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 11 (1999): 264–74.

known proclivity toward Rome was . . . responsible for the removal of the slapstick scenes at the Vatican,” the relocation to Malta capitalizing on the popularity of Turk plays in the mid-1660s.<sup>32</sup> Even if in 1663 the English people did not know the full extent of their king’s Catholic tendencies, he had recently married the very Catholic Catherine of Braganza. Including the original scene at Rome must have seemed a risky proposition, excising it merely prudent.

But why insert a scene from *The Jew of Malta*, with only one edition to its credit? If there had been a need for a Turkish Marlowe scene, the redactor could have turned to the more popular *Tamburlaine* and its huffing hero; we have seen that by 1663 *Tamburlaine*’s humiliation of Bajazeth was iconic. Perhaps the politics surrounding the single edition of *The Jew of Malta* prompted its inclusion. Zachary Lesser has argued that Nicholas Vavasour printed this play in 1633 because it was coded as a Laudian drama, associating Jews with Dutch Protestants (largely Puritan) who refused to assimilate into the Church of England and thereby threatened schism.<sup>33</sup> In 1663, English relations with the Dutch were strained, and war would break out in 1665. If the publication of *The Jew of Malta* was prompted by anti-Dutch and anti-Puritan sentiment, perhaps the implied association of these two groups with the traitorous Barabas prompted the redactor to make the scene substitution, condemning both in one move.<sup>34</sup> It is

32. Pitcher, “Some Observations,” 591; see also Perkinson, “A Restoration Improvement.” One hopes that the irony inherent in this substitution, Charles’s Catholic sympathies necessitating the removal of an episode featuring a vanquished leader restored to his rightful position, was not lost on the redactor.

33. Zachary Lesser, “Marlowe’s *Jew* Goes to Church: Nicholas Vavasour and the Creation of Laudian Drama,” in *Renaissance Drama and the Politics of Publication: Readings in the English Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004), 81–114. No doubt responding to anti-Dutch sentiment during the war, Rachel Gilbertson published a ballad entitled *The Royal Victory Obtained (with the Providence of Almighty God) against the Dutch Fleet* . . . (London: Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, and R. Gilbertson, 1665).

34. Marcus describes a tradition linking Marlowe with anti-Dutch sentiment that dated back to 1593, when the anonymous writer of the Dutch Church Libel, who signed the document as Tamburlaine, “threatened a massacre of resident foreigners on the grounds that they undermined English prosperity through unscrupulous trading practices while allowing the English to fight in their stead on the Continent,” linking the Dutch and Jews within a Marlovian discourse, since the Libel also alluded to *The Jew of Malta* and *The Massacre at Paris* (*Unediting the Renaissance*, 57). In Gilbertson’s oeuvre, an association between Parliamentary forces and Jews is also made in the anonymous *The Lamentation of the safe committee* . . . (London: Printed for William Gilbertson, 1660), in which a regicidal army officer comments “was this not a brave, sweete, Jewish, heretical life for us two to a liv’d in?” (4). See also Potter, who notes that in the pamphlet *Have Amongst You, My*

also possible that the correlations among this play, *Laud*, and prewar Royalism might have prompted the redactor to incorporate it into the 1663 *Faustus*, its inclusion symbolizing support for the king much as Gilbertson's publication of *Ignoramus* had.

We can understand the prevalence of Marlovian plays at the Restoration (*Lust's Dominion* in 1657 and 1661; *Faustus* in 1663) as Cavalier responses to Cromwell's demise. But as he receded into memory, the intensely politicized stage soon lost the roman à clef reading it so desired for Marlowe's characters, which deprived his plays of their one remaining allure. As they were otherwise unappealing to a late seventeenth-century audience, their long hiatus from the stage began.

Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the potential existed for a far more orthodox Marlowe to come down to us than the one that actually survived. Lois Potter finds allusions to him in predominantly Royalist books and pamphlets, and the comparison of Oates to *Faustus* similarly endorses a Cavalier agenda. Lesser has argued that the 1633 *Jew of Malta* was fundamentally a conservative publication, as have Charles Cathcart and Hugh MacKay for the two editions of *Lust's Dominion*. This essay posits the same for the 1663 *Faustus*. The 1654 registration of *The Maiden's Holiday* in the Stationers' Register, listing Marlowe as coauthor, came from noted Royalist publisher Humphrey Moseley. The later adaptations—Behn's *Abdelazer* and Mountfort's *The Life and Death of Doctor Faustus*—share this conservative impulse. And Marlowe's lyric poetry, far more popular than his drama in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, also resonated with a conservative audience. Nicholas McDowell has argued that "when Milton thought of Marlowe's verse in the early 1630s, he thought of pastoral, *carpe diem* poetics and the expression of an Epicurean, materialist philosophy of pleasure," and that Milton associated these with the "riming parasites' of Laudian and court society."<sup>35</sup> It is no stretch to imagine that Marlowe's *carpe diem*, Epicurean

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*Masters* (1647), Parliamentary committees are slandered by being called "Jewes of *Malta*" ("Marlowe in the Civil War and Commonwealth," 76).

35. Nicholas McDowell, "Lycidas' and the Influence of Anxiety," in *The Oxford Handbook of Milton*, ed. Nicholas McDowell and Nigel Smith (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009), 112–35, 119 and 127, respectively. Regarding William Mountfort, see Judy A. Hayden, "Harlequin, the Whigs, and William Mountfort's *Doctor Faustus*," *Studies in English Literature* 49.3 (2009): 573–93. Regarding Aphra Behn, see Cathcart, "'You Will Crown Him King That Slew Your King,'" 265.



poetics indeed appealed to a Cavalier audience. For example, Izaak Walton excerpted “The Passionate Shepherd to His Love” in *The Compleat Angler* (1653), a Royalist text, while the myth of Hero and Leander was adapted by several Royalist writers familiar with Marlowe’s poem.<sup>36</sup>

Thus it seems that Restoration audiences, beyond one or two localized readings, understood Marlowe to be a conservative author in a much more general and global sense. Lesser argues that *The Jew of Malta* can be categorized in this way because of the circumstances of its publication and because of the association drawn between Jews and Puritans—but Restoration audiences evidently understood *Faustus* and *Lust’s Dominion*, at least, to be conservative exactly as presented. While this conception of Marlowe proved unsustainable, the Restoration proclivity to interpret his plays as orthodox and didactic nevertheless must inform our view of the ways in which Restoration and eighteenth-century audiences read, perhaps especially when they read in modes they themselves would not acknowledge. Despite the Carolean theater’s condemnation of medieval and early sixteenth-century dramatic traditions, for example, its understanding of *Faustus* suggests that spectators were more attracted to morality play structure than they cared to admit.<sup>37</sup> The enduring popularity of *Faustus* himself serves an example of this attraction; the legend appeared fifteen times in print between 1664 and 1700, an average of one new edition every two and a half years.

Evidence also indicates that seventeenth-century readers possessed a greater ability to imagine a subversive Shakespeare than a subversive Marlowe (though certainly both existed), reversing the political commitments we commonly associate with the two playwrights.<sup>38</sup> A comparison between Gilbertson’s *Faustus* and

36. For an essay on Izaak Walton, see Steven N. Zwicker, “Hunting and Angling: *The Compleat Angler* and *The First Anniversary*,” in *Lines of Authority: Politics and English Literary Culture, 1649–1689* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1993), 60–89. For *Hero*, see Roy Booth, “Hero’s Afterlife: *Hero and Leander* and ‘Lewd Unmannerly Verse’ in the Late Seventeenth Century,” *Early Modern Literary Studies* 12.3 (2007): ¶1–24, <http://extra.shu.ac.uk/emls/12-3/boother2.htm> (accessed April 22, 2011).

37. Ruth Lunney argues in *Marlowe and the Popular Tradition: Innovation in the English Drama Before 1595* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2002) that a central feature of Marlowe’s drama was his turn from medieval morality structure to a dramaturgy that allowed the audience to make their own judgments. With the return to sympathetic reading for the play’s moral structure, however, Restoration readers also returned to a more medieval interpretation.

38. See Ernest Sirluck, “Shakespeare and Jonson among the Pamphleteers of the First

Nahum Tate's *King Lear* (1681) may prove instructive. In order to restore the characters to their rightful places at the end of *Lear* and inject topical conservatism, Tate had to create a romantic subplot between Edgar and Cordelia, return Lear to the throne, engage the young lovers so that Edgar might rule lawfully, and show the British people rebelling against the tyranny of Goneril and Regan. John Dryden and William Davenant's Prospero in *The Tempest*; or, *The Enchanted Island* (1670) is more powerful than Shakespeare's mage, possessing an even stronger patriarchal control over his family. And it seems Shakespeare's plays could be viewed as subversive even when they were not intended to be; Tate's adaptation of *Richard II* (1681) was censored and shut down even after he retitled it *The Sicilian Usurper*, changed the setting, and attempted to lessen the play's criticism of the monarch.

In *Faustus*, on the other hand, proper order is restored with the death of the title character, which some would say holds true for all of Marlowe's drama insofar as his plays tend to return to the status quo. Adapting his works by making his protagonists less transgressive, or their endings happier, would actually detract from the very reestablishment of order that the Restoration stage desired. Thus it may be that Restoration playwrights shied away from adapting his texts because they would have been hard-pressed to make larger changes that would conform to their contemporary theatrical ideals (order, poetic justice, morally unambiguous characters, happy endings) but that would not detract from Marlowe's signature dramatic characteristics, as altering the Marlovian characteristics would in turn decrease play quality and audience interest.

The idea of a politically orthodox Marlowe augments other views of the playwright as religiously or culturally conservative,

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Civil War: Some Unreported Seventeenth-Century Allusions," *Modern Philology* 53.2 (1955): 88–99; Margot Heinemann, *Puritanism and Theatre: Thomas Middleton and Opposition Drama under the Early Stuarts* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1980), 254; Jean Marsden, *The Re-Imagined Text: Shakespeare, Adaptation, and Eighteenth-Century Literary Theory* (Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1995), 43–46; Nicholas McDowell, "Milton's Regicide Tracts and the Uses of Shakespeare," in *The Oxford Handbook of Milton*, ed. McDowell and Smith, 252–72; Smith, *Literature and Revolution*, 16–17; and Gregory Foran, "Macbeth and the Political Uncanny in *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*," *Milton Studies* 51 (2010): 1–20. Thomas Cartelli has cautioned against this binary: "If there were no Tamburlaine with whom to compare Henry V, no Barabas with whom to compare Aaron the Moor or Shylock, we might well be entertaining a more radical Shakespeare than we entertain at present." Cartelli, *Marlowe, Shakespeare, and the Economy of Theatrical Experience* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1991), 2–3.

which may also complicate our understanding of the various uses to which his drama was put. Charles Whitney, for example, has demonstrated that *Faustus* was read by Richard Norwood as an allegory for his dissolute, immoral youth; by John Davies as an exhortation to virtue cloaked in *de casibus* form; and by a young Francis Kirkman as “an orthodox and compelling warning about the wages of sin.”<sup>39</sup> A politically conservative *Faustus* can bridge these disparate readings, enhancing understanding of these readers’ positions within their culture along with their cultural investments and even the culture itself. At the same time, Gilbertson demonstrates a different mode of understanding the drama than his contemporaries possessed, one rooted in the context of his own experiences and opinions as he repurposed the material to be relevant to his everyday life.

To acknowledge this more orthodox reading of Marlowe’s drama (and altered dynamic with Shakespeare) adds a brush stroke to our portrait of what Tony Bennett has called a reading formation: “a set of discursive and intertextual determinations that organize and animate the practice of reading, connecting texts and readers in specific relations to one another by constituting . . . texts as objects-to-be-read in particular ways.”<sup>40</sup> And aside from our greater understanding of the way the seventeenth century read Marlowe, the intertextual implications are multiple. If we acknowledge, for example, that *Faustus* influenced *The Tempest*, we might then view Dryden and Davenant’s changes to their adaptation of the latter as holding a particular charge. Our understanding of the relationship between Shakespeare and Marlowe in their own time might also be usefully complicated; if Shakespeare read Marlowe as more conservative, then Pistol’s quotations of Tamburlaine, for example, can become cruel foreshadowings of the tavern characters’ fates, possessing significance beyond the comic.

Acknowledging the Restoration’s more conservative Marlowe also provides a qualification to our own critical practices. Irving Ribner’s “Marlowe and the Critics” captures a moment in which three readings of Marlowe seemed equally possible: orthodox, radical, and ambiguous. Since then, however, with the publication of studies such as Stephen Greenblatt’s “Marlowe, Marx, and Anti-Semitism” (1978); Lawrence Danson’s “Christopher Marlowe: The

39. Whitney, *Early Responses*, 176, 37–69, and 169–85.

40. Tony Bennett, “Texts in History: The Determinations of Readings and Their Texts,” in *Reception Study: From Literary Theory to Cultural Studies*, ed. James L. Machor and Philip Goldstein (New York: Routledge, 2001), 61–74, 66.

Questioner" (1982); Jonathan Dollimore's *Radical Tragedy* (1984); Emily Bartels' *Spectacles of Strangeness* (1993); John Parker's "Barabas and Charles I" (2009); and Patrick Cheney's *Marlowe's Counterfeit Profession* (1997) and *Marlowe's Republican Authorship* (2009), the predominant critical reading of Marlowe stresses the subversive (yet contained) qualities of his works, and to a lesser degree his ambiguity.<sup>41</sup> Though this approach has been extremely productive, providing us with significant insights into the Marlowe canon, the predominance of the view of the author as subversive has made it difficult to imagine the possibility that sixteenth and seventeenth-century audiences could have viewed him as orthodox, either politically or culturally. This is not to imply that Marlowe viewed his own texts as orthodox, or that Elizabethan audiences did not interpret *Faustus* as radical when it was first staged, but to suggest instead that Restoration readers and theatergoers were not like their Elizabethan predecessors. And the Restoration's conservative Marlowe is not without textual support. Marlowe's is drama that fundamentally trusts in existing power structures and emphasizes the squelching of its own radical possibilities, focusing on the inevitability and sometimes the deservedness of the containment as much as the eloquence of the subversion. Thus I suggest we supplement the radical view of Marlowe with a second, complementary view of his drama as conservative and didactic. Enthralled as we are by the Elizabethan rebel with a cause, our reading of his works often takes its cue from what we think we know of his life.<sup>42</sup> But if we had inherited a

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41. Stephen J. Greenblatt, "Marlowe, Marx, and Anti-Semitism," *Critical Inquiry* 5.2 (1978): 291–307; Lawrence Danson, "Christopher Marlowe: The Questioner," *English Literary Renaissance* 12.1 (1982): 3–29; Jonathan Dollimore, *Radical Tragedy: Religion, Ideology, and Power in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries* (Sussex: Harvester, 1984); Emily C. Bartels, *Spectacles of Strangeness: Imperialism, Alienation, and Marlowe* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1993); John Parker, "Barabas and Charles I," in *Placing the Plays of Christopher Marlowe: New Cultural Contexts*, ed. Sara Munson Deats and Robert A. Logan (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 167–81; Patrick Cheney, *Marlowe's Counterfeit Profession: Ovid, Spenser, Counter-Nationhood* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1997); and Patrick Cheney, *Marlowe's Republican Authorship: Lucan, Liberty, and the Sublime* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009). Richard Wilson offers an account of Marlowe's recent critical heritage in his "'Writ in Blood': Marlowe and the New Historicists," in *Constructing Christopher Marlowe*, ed. J. A. Downie and J. T. Parnell (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000), 116–32.

42. On this critical tendency, see Kuriyama, "Marlowe Lost and Found," in *A Renaissance Life*, 163–72; Lesser, *Renaissance Drama and the Politics of Publication*, 83–86; and Lukas Erne, "Biography, Mythology, and Criticism: The Life and Works of Christopher Marlowe," *Modern Philology* 103.1 (2005): 28–50. Dabbs's study argues that we inherited the biographically radical Marlowe from the Romantics and Victorians. See also the work

conservative Marlowe, would we conceive of, say, *The Massacre at Paris* in the same way we do now? Richard Jones, the first publisher of *Tamburlaine*, did not read Marlowe as we might have expected. His edition's prefatory material, Kirk Melnikoff has suggested, frames the protagonist as a "model of chivalric virtue" and markets the play to an elite audience, participating in a literary "re-feudalization" of society, one presumably undergirded by a conservative impulse.<sup>43</sup> Jones apparently did not believe an elite clientele would construe *Tamburlaine* as a threat or subversive presence. Restoration audiences might well have read *The Massacre at Paris* as conservative—probably saw *Tamburlaine* as conservative, when they read it at all—and we foreclose our own critical possibilities by prematurely rejecting this possibility. We might, in fact, read subversively when we do so.

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of Downie, who has attempted to dispel some of the most persistent myths about Marlowe's biography, most recently in "Reviewing What We Think We Know about Christopher Marlowe, Again," in *Christopher Marlowe the Craftsman: Lives, Stage, and Page*, ed. Sarah K. Scott and M. L. Stapleton (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 33–46.

43. Kirk Melnikoff, "Jones's Pen and Marlowe's Socks: Richard Jones, Print Culture, and the Beginnings of English Dramatic Literature," *Studies in Philology* 102.2 (2005): 184–209, 207; see also 202–9.

BARBARA L. PARKER

“Cursèd Necromancy”: Marlowe’s *Faustus*  
as Anti-Catholic Satire

While the corpus of religious criticism on Christopher Marlowe’s *Doctor Faustus* is among the most contradictory and most rabidly contentious in Elizabethan drama, it has focused overwhelmingly on one question: whether the play endorses or subverts religious orthodoxy. Earlier criticism tended to emphasize the work’s Christian implications. Nicholas Brooke, for instance, reads the play as an inverted morality that glorifies the values of hell, Faustus’s greatness mandating his rejection of a stifling God. James Smith, conversely, views it as an orthodox Christian allegory, and Leo Kirschbaum contends that its Christian premises are endorsed throughout. Later criticism has focused more extensively on the play’s theology, often in relation to predestination and free will. Critics alleging predestination stress the Calvinist thrust of Reformation theology. Thus Paul Sellin suggests that Faustus embodies the plight of the reprobate, while Susan Snyder sees salvation hinging on repentance and the solicitation of mercy; Faustus, therefore, is not damned until he dies.<sup>1</sup>

Compared to the critical emphasis on Christian and Protestant exegesis, attention to the play’s Catholic dimension has been small. Such attention has generally been limited to a consideration of the play’s anti-Mass elements, such as the black mass tenor of

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1. Nicholas Brooke, “The Moral Tragedy of Doctor Faustus,” *Cambridge Journal* 5 (1951–52): 662–87; James Smith, “Marlowe’s *Dr. Faustus*,” *Scrutiny* 8 (1939), 36–55; Leo Kirschbaum, “Marlowe’s *Faustus*: A Reconsideration,” *Review of English Studies* 19.75 (1943): 225–41; Paul R. Sellin, “The Hidden God: Reformation Awe in Renaissance English Literature,” in *The Darker Vision of the Renaissance: Beyond the Fields of Reason*, ed. Robert S. Kinsman (Berkeley: U of California P, 1974), 147–96, 177–84; Susan Snyder, “Marlowe’s *Doctor Faustus* as an Inverted Saint’s Life,” *Studies in Philology* 63.4 (1966): 565–77, 566.

Faustus's conjuration.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, the papal banquet, conventionally seen as a concession to English anti-Catholic sentiment, fits this description.<sup>3</sup> In addition, several studies have read the play as a saint's life. For Snyder, for instance, *Faustus* constitutes a parodic hagiography. For Jerzy Grotowski, in contrast, sainthood mandates rebellion against a conniving and hellish God, so that Faustus's fatal revolt renders him not only a saint but a martyr.<sup>4</sup> Going beyond these perceptions of the Catholic dimension of *Faustus*, I shall argue that anti-Catholic satire is the play's governing concept, Faustus's demonic new religion being a parody of Roman Catholicism and virtually the entire play consisting of variations of the Mass. I shall further contend that *Faustus* repudiates both Catholicism and Protestantism.

Faustus's study of divinity at Wittenberg firmly identifies him with Martin Luther and Reformation theology.<sup>5</sup> Both connections are invoked in the opening scene, which suggests a parody of Luther's conversion experience, especially his tortured quest for salvation. Luther records how he believed himself doomed to

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2. See, for example, Charles G. Masinton, "A Devilish Exercise: Faustus and the Failure of Renaissance Man," in *Christopher Marlowe's Tragic Vision: A Study in Damnation* (Athens: Ohio UP, 1972), 113–42, 121. Those studies most pertinent to the present one are Marjorie Garber, "Writing and Unwriting in *Doctor Faustus*," in "*Doctor Faustus*," ed. David Scott Kastan (New York: Norton, 2005), 361–72; C. L. Barber, "'The Form of Faustus' Fortunes Good or Bad," *Tulane Drama Review* 8 (1964): 92–119; and Snyder, "'Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* as an Inverted Saint's Life."

3. See David Bevington, "Staging the A- and B-Texts of *Doctor Faustus*," in *Marlowe's Empery: Expanding His Critical Contexts*, ed. Sara Munson Deats and Robert A. Logan (Newark: U of Delaware P, 2002), 43–60, 50. I refer here specifically to the A-text, which I consider more coherent and more authentically Marlowe than the B-text.

4. Snyder, "Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* as an Inverted Saint's Life," 565–77; Eugenio Barba, "Doctor Faustus: Textual Montage," in *The Grotowski Sourcebook*, ed. Richard Schechner and Lisa Wolford (London: Routledge, 1997), 56–63. Critics have also remarked the antisaint character of the German Faust Book itself, as the *Historia von D. Johann Fausten* (1587) is often called. See Marguerite De Huszar Allen, *The Faust Legend: Popular Formula and Modern Novel* (New York: Peter Lang, 1985), 13–41. The English translation of the *Historia*, *The History of the Damnable Life and Deserved Death of Doctor John Faustus* (often referred to as the English Faust Book), was Marlowe's principal source.

5. I concur in the view of W. W. Greg that "Wertenberg," often favored by scholars, is an error for "Wittenberg." That Wittenberg was the home of Luther and of the Protestant Reformation he spawned imbues it with a theological resonance and import Wertenberg lacks. Seemingly buttressing this conviction are the A-text's pervasive Lutheran overtones, some of which are discussed herein. Also, Wittenberg is Faustus's abode and place of study in the *Damnable Life*, and, as Greg points out, the city is Wittenberg in both the German *Historia* and the B-text. Christopher Marlowe, *Marlowe's "Doctor Faustus" 1604–1616: Parallel Texts*, ed. W. W. Greg (Oxford: Clarendon, 1950), 39.

damnation by an implacable God, whom he “secretly, if not blasphemously” hated—a God who through the gospel threatens us “with his righteousness and wrath.” One day, pondering the Bible in his study, Luther suddenly encountered the key he had been seeking: “He who through faith is righteous shall live” (Rom 1:17). Now he realized that God’s justice was based not on vengeance but on mercy and that faith was God’s gift by which the righteous were saved. “Here,” writes Luther, “I felt that I was . . . born again. . . . Thus that place in Paul was for me truly the gate to paradise.”<sup>6</sup> The epiphany became the foundation of his theology as he converted from apostasy to spiritual regeneration and from a Catholic orientation to a Protestant one.

Faustus’s conversion is the reverse parallel of Luther’s. Also a renowned theologian residing in Wittenberg, Faustus similarly ponders the Bible in his study and his epiphany likewise springs from a passage in Romans concerning God’s justice: “The reward of sin is death” (1.1.41).<sup>7</sup> However, he ignores the remainder of the verse (Rom 6:23), which describes God’s gift of eternal life through Christ, and the rest of another passage from 1 John 1:9 promising forgiveness of sin—the very concepts prompting Luther’s conversion—and forthwith abjures God for a diabolical religion of magic. In a sequence the precise inversion of Luther’s, Faustus thus moves from belief to apostasy and from a Protestant orientation to a Catholic one, his rebirth and conversion leading him not to the gate of paradise but the gate of hell. The scene is entirely Marlowe’s invention.<sup>8</sup>

The identification of Faustus’s new religion with Roman Catholicism is variously implied. The Protestant identification of

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6. Martin Luther, *Luther’s Works*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan, Hilton C. Oswald, and Helmut T. Lehmann (Philadelphia: Fortress; St. Louis: Concordia, 1958–86), 34:336–37.

7. Christopher Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus: A- and B-Texts (1604, 1616)*, ed. David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1993). Unless otherwise stated, all references to the play are from the A-text and cited parenthetically by act, scene, and line number.

8. The play’s Lutheran overtones, its pronounced concern with issues of Reformed theology, and the heated doctrinal debates at Cambridge University to which Marlowe the student would almost certainly have been exposed suggest that he had knowledge of these matters. As Park Honan notes, “It is a mistake . . . to assume that Luther’s and Calvin’s views were not openly and vigorously debated during Marlowe’s years at Corpus Christi.” *Christopher Marlowe: Poet and Spy* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005), 206. See also Lynne Robertson, “Marlowe and Luther,” *ANQ* 12.4 (1999): 3–6. Robertson traces the line of criticism associating *Faustus* with Lutheran doctrine and argues that the play reflects Luther’s censure of the historical Faustus.



the Roman Catholic Church with diabolism derived from a long-established association, in effect going back to Luther, of the pope (and the papacy) with the Antichrist, the agent and seed of the devil. To quote Nathan Johnstone, "Protestant reformers became convinced that Catholicism embodied a complete inversion of the true religion, substituting an empty and diabolic piety based only on the authority of man for faith in the word of God." Epitomized by "the satanic corruption of the papacy," the Roman Catholic Church was thus the synagogue of Satan, with the diabolical pope at its helm.<sup>9</sup> The concept becomes explicit in the B-text, when Bruno terms the pope "Proud Lucifer" (3.1.92).

Central to the identification of Catholicism with diabolism was the element of magic. Blurred by the medieval church, the distinction between necromancy and religion was revitalized by the propagandists of the Protestant Reformation, who, as Keith Thomas explains, "fastened upon the magical implications which they saw to be inherent in some fundamental aspects of the Church's ritual." As early as 1395, the Lollards had denounced Church exorcisms, hallowing, and conjurations as "the very practice of necromancy," contending that they smacked of the rituals of magicians and that the miracles they allegedly wrought were illusory. These charges escalated during the Tudor Reformation, "when the denial of the efficacy of the Catholic rituals of consecration and exorcism became central to the Protestant attack."<sup>10</sup> With its ritual surrounding the putative transformation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, the Mass in particular was censured as "a theatrical performance akin to magic, trickery, or juggling."<sup>11</sup> Similarly denounced were such practices as conjuring, making the sign of the cross, the invocation of saints and veneration of their relics, and the use of holy water. In addition, the Church of England sought to expunge the incantatory aspects from prayer by supplanting Latin with the vernacular. In thus razing the whole edifice of Catholic magic, Protestantism "dismissed the miracles of the papists as frauds, delusions or the work of the Devil."<sup>12</sup>

9. Nathan Johnstone, *The Devil and Demonism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006), 28–29.

10. Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (New York: Oxford UP, 1971), 51–52.

11. John N. King, *Milton and Religious Controversy: Satire and Polemic in "Paradise Lost"* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000), 102.

12. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 76, 52–53.

An examination of early modern Catholic prayers shows how thoroughly they were steeped in notions of magic. Eamon Duffy describes how “the names of God and other exotic-sounding names, the manual signs and invocation of the cross, together with other texts possessing ‘vertu’, . . . were regularly used in conjurations of spirits for purposes of divination.”<sup>13</sup> Personal prayers commonly included catenas of the various names of God, repeated incantatory or manual invocations of the cross, the invocation of saints, and the ubiquitous plea for protection from the devil or evil spirits. The sign of the cross was deemed particularly potent in this regard. Also common were sprinklings of Latin and the implementation of mystical signs and symbols. Thus the dividing line between religion and magic dissolves, in prayers that “come . . . closer to spells or charms than anything else.”<sup>14</sup>

These facts provide a context for Faustus’s conjuration. Faustus has preceded his ritual with a sacrifice (1.3.7), a term profoundly identified with the Roman-rite Mass. Condemned as blasphemous in Article 31 of the Church of England’s *Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion* (1563), the Mass was viewed by many Protestants as a blood or propitiatory sacrifice, idolatrous and cannibalistic. Thus Thomas Becon, in a representative polemical epithet, terms Roman Catholics “bloody sacrificers.”<sup>15</sup> Faustus concludes his sacrifice with an invocation “of holy saints,” the use of mystical “figures” and “characters” to elicit the desired spirits, and a prayer, in Latin, that includes a catena of “holy” names (Beelzebub, Demogorgon, Gehenna) whose mention is magically calculated to produce the devil. For good measure, Faustus sprinkles holy water and makes the sign of the cross, the latter, according to Arthur Kinney, intended as a charm to vanquish diabolical resistance.<sup>16</sup> The Mass will later be repeated as Faustus vows to erect to his demon god “an altar and a church” where he will “offer lukewarm blood of new-born babes” (2.1.13–14).

That some of these practices were equally common to witchcraft and the occult<sup>17</sup> is precisely Marlowe’s point. Alike grounded

13. Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400–c. 1580* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1992), 276.

14. Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 269.

15. Thomas Becon, *Prayers and Other Pieces of Thomas Becon*, ed. John Ayre (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1844), 258.

16. Arthur F. Kinney, ed., *Renaissance Drama: An Anthology of Plays and Entertainments* (Maldon, MA: Blackwell, 1999), 167n.

17. See Paul H. Kocher, “The Witchcraft Basis in Marlowe’s *Faustus*,” *Modern Philology*

in the demonic, Roman Catholicism and the black arts are one and the same. The notion was a Protestant commonplace; John Bale, for instance, termed masses “sorcerous witchcrafts,” and James Calphill deemed Catholic priests “the vilest . . . witches of the earth.”<sup>18</sup> Similarly, the name of Faustus’s mentor, Cornelius, suggests the infamous Catholic sorcerer Cornelius Agrippa, whose works were in fact consulted for instructions on conjuring and who—like Faustus—could putatively call up shades of the dead.<sup>19</sup> Nor is the literary connection between necromancy and Roman Catholicism unique to *Faustus*. Marlowe was writing within a tradition. Witness, for instance, Robert Greene’s *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* (1589), which reduces Roman Catholicism “to so much ‘sorcery’ by associating the works of the friars with demonic powers.”<sup>20</sup> Edmund Spenser’s Archimago, who curses heaven and God, plies “his diuelish arts” through “mighty charmes” culled from “Magick bookes,” and—echoing Faustus (1.3.98)—deploys his “Legions of Sprights . . . To aide his friends, or fray his enemies.”<sup>21</sup> Such devices separate the Red Crosse Knight from Una, embodiment of Protestantism and, in a more subtle vein, recall the Friar in *Romeo and Juliet* (1595), whose potion indirectly incurs both lovers’ deaths. *Elizabetha triumphans* (1588), a poem by James Aske, epitomizes the connection: “This Pope doth send Magitians to her land, / To seeke her death, by that their devillish arte.”<sup>22</sup>

“Altar” was itself a theologically charged word. The Church of England, considering this locus of the Roman-rite Mass to be exclusionary and idolatrous, abolished and replaced it with the Communion Table, since Christ, in Becon’s words “the true and

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38.1 (1940): 9–36, 14; Gareth Roberts, “Necromantic Books: Christopher Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* and Agrippa of Nettesheim,” in *Christopher Marlowe and English Renaissance Culture*, ed. Darryll Grantley and Peter Roberts (Aldershot, UK: Scolar, 1996), 148–71; and John S. Mebane, “Vision and Illusion in Marlowe’s *Dr. Faustus*,” in *Renaissance Magic and the Return of the Golden Age: The Occult Tradition and Marlowe, Jonson, and Shakespeare* (Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1989), 113–36.

18. John Bale and James Calphill, qtd. in Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 52, 54.

19. Roberts, “Necromantic Books,” 152.

20. James C. Bryant, *Tudor Drama and Religious Controversy* (Macon: Mercer UP, 1984), 155.

21. Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. Thomas P. Roche Jr. (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), 1.2.9, 1.1.36–38.

22. Qtd. in Kocher, “The Witchcraft Basis in Marlowe’s *Faustus*,” 14n14.

alone acceptable sacrifice for the sins of the world, came not unto an altar, but unto a table, and there ordained and ministered his holy supper; showing hereby that not only all bloody sacrifices, but also all altars, which were built for bloody sacrifices' sake, . . . are utterly abolished." Catholics, conversely, "like heathenish . . . priests, . . . build altars, and upon them . . . offer [their] vile and stinking sacrifice, not unto God, but unto the devil."<sup>23</sup> The term "altar" was accordingly expunged from the Book of Common Prayer in 1552 and changed in the Liturgy to "the Lord's Board."<sup>24</sup>

With its altar, its sorcery, and its blood sacrifice to the devil, Faustus's ritual perfectly images the polemical conception of the Roman-rite Mass. It accordingly serves three purposes: to identify the Mass with diabolism, to establish its ostensible "magic" as a hoax (the devil appears not because Faustus conjured him but because he hopes to obtain Faustus's soul), and to initiate the series of parodic Eucharists that inform the play.

The practice of conjuring was also theologically fraught. To Protestants, conjuration and the traditional Catholic exorcism were nearly indistinguishable, practiced, as both were, by priests who addressed demons and claimed to command the devil. The difference lay in their aims: the purpose of an exorcism was the demon's expulsion from the victim's body; a conjuration commanded the demon to perform some other act. In this period of anti-Catholic hysteria, conjuration was particularly feared given its potentially subversive use by Catholic powers. According to Wallace Notestein, for instance, "Elizabeth had hardly mounted her throne when her councillors began to suspect the use of . . . conjuration against her life. . . . Every Catholic was suspected."<sup>25</sup> Indeed, the connection between conjuration and treason seemed so obvious to the Protestant establishment that a statutory felony adopted in 1563 made the conjuring of spirits punishable by death on the first offense.<sup>26</sup>

Further devices suggest Faustus's new faith as analogous to Catholicism. He commands Mephistopheles to return as a Franciscan friar, since "that holy shape becomes a devil best" (1.3.26–27). The statement, to quote John King in a related context,

23. Becon, *Prayers*, 258.

24. John Hunt, *Religious Thought in England: From the Reformation to the End of Last Century* (London: Strahan, 1870), 1:157, 159.

25. Qtd. in Kocher, "The Witchcraft Basis in Marlowe's *Faustus*," 14n14.

26. Kathleen R. Sands, *Demon Possession in Elizabethan England* (Westport: Praeger, 2004), 44–45.

“invokes the long-standing Protestant gibe that the Fiend may walk the earth in disguise as a member of the mendicant orders or a Jesuit priest.” John Milton’s *In Quintum Novembris* (1625–26), for instance, shows Satan garbed as a Franciscan friar.<sup>27</sup> The attire also identifies him with “monkery” and “popery,” the chief tools of Satan on earth.<sup>28</sup> The canonization this religion will confer further announces it as Roman Catholic, as do the projected miracles that magic will effect (1.1.122, 138). As noted above, Protestantism denounced miracles as popish inventions and, relatedly, as frauds, delusions, or the work of the devil. This notion was rooted in the Protestant doctrine of the Cessation of Miracles, which held (with minor variations) that miracles had ceased with the apostolic age. As William Shakespeare’s Archbishop of Canterbury replies to the Bishop of Ely’s contention that Henry V’s wondrous transformation was naturally induced, “It must be so, for miracles are ceased.”<sup>29</sup> Indeed, miracles were central to Catholic ideology and performing them a requisite for canonization, a concept possibly alluded to in Valdes’s prophecy of the canonization their miracles will confer (1.1.122). There is also the pope’s ceremony in Rome. Prompted by Faustus’s discomfiting of the papal court, the Cardinal proposes a dirge to allay the fury of an apparently disgruntled ghost. The pope takes to crossing himself, and Faustus (the “ghost”) is cursed with “bell, book, and candle” (3.1.84). These words are recited “forward and backward” (3.1.85), echoing “Jehovah’s name / Forward and backward anagrammatised” (1.3.8–9) in Faustus’s ritual. There follows a Latin incantation “magically” calculated to “curse Faustus to hell” (3.1.85), and the rite concludes with an invocation of the saints. The papal ritual, in short, with its crossings, incantations, invocation of saints, and Latin behests, replicates almost exactly Faustus’s conjuration.

Particularly noteworthy is Faustus’s repeated identification with England’s archenemy, Catholic Spain. His servile spirits will obey him “as Indian Moors obey their Spanish lords” (1.1.123), an allusion to Spain’s imperial might. He will appropriate the gold “that yearly stuffs old Philip’s treasury” (1.1.134), referring to the King of Spain and to the vast wealth deriving from his global

27. King, *Milton and Religious Controversy*, 104.

28. Jeffrey Burton Russell, *The Prince of Darkness: Radical Evil and the Power of Good in History* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1988), 178.

29. William Shakespeare, *King Henry V*, ed. T. W. Craik (London: Routledge, 1995), 1.1.67.

empire. Faustus will expel from the land the Prince of Parma “and reign sole king of all our provinces” in his stead (1.1.95–96). Much hated in England as a persecutor of Protestants, Parma was the grandson of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V and the Spanish governor of the Netherlands from 1579 to 1592.<sup>30</sup> Faustus will thus depose Parma and usurp his rule. Faustus, in sum, will rival Spain in treachery, wealth, and imperial authority, and *exceed* it in temporal power. It is surely no coincidence that one of Faustus’s two preceptors is named Valdes.

These facts assist in fleshing out the precise nature of Faustus’s ambition. Luther had long ago declared the pope to be Antichrist because of his quest for world rule, the spurious Donation of Constantine having proved that he sought to despoil and usurp the Roman Empire, overthrow the emperor, and rule in his stead. Indeed, Clement V decreed that “should the imperial throne ever fall vacant, the pope would automatically succeed to the crown.”<sup>31</sup> Some feared that this office, moreover, afforded him unfettered license to depose, usurp, and plunder the wealth of any state he controlled. Gregory VII (1073–85) legitimized the papal claim to temporal sovereignty. In opposition to the concept whereby the emperor claimed world sovereignty by divine right, Gregory formulated the theory in which the pope claimed universal temporal authority deriving from Saint Peter, whom Christ had made ruler over the kingdoms of this world. By divine right, therefore, the pope displaced the emperor as ruler of the world, imbuing him with the attendant power to make and depose emperors and kings.<sup>32</sup> As the reformer Henry Bullinger states: “They say . . . he hath both swords, whereby he may rightly be called an emperor; yea, that he is above the emperor: That he only can depose the emperor, and . . . spare whom he will. . . .’ To be short, they say, ‘he is lord of lords, and hath the right of the king of kings over his subjects; yea, and also hath fullness of power over the temporal things in earth.’”<sup>33</sup>

30. Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus*, Bevington and Rasmussen, eds., 117n95.

31. David M. Whitford, “The Papal Antichrist: Martin Luther and the Underappreciated Influence of Lorenzo Valla,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 61.1 (2008): 26–52, 42; see also, 36, 40. The Donation of Constantine (c. 750–800) was a forged document by which the Emperor Constantine purportedly gave the pope all of Italy and the Western Empire.

32. Oliver J. Thatcher and Edgar Holmes McNeal, *Europe in the Middle Age* (1896; New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1920), 162.

33. Henry Bullinger, *The Decades of Henry Bullinger, Minister of the Church of Zurich*, ed. Thomas Harding, trans. H. I. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1852), 5:119–20.

Let us compare Faustus's statements:

Emperors and kings  
Are but obeyed in their several provinces,  
.....

But his dominion that exceeds in this,  
Stretcheth as far as doth the mind of man. (1.1.59–60, 62–63)

Such sovereignty, which envisages the lordship of Emden (2.1.22), control of the Netherlands (1.1.96), incursions into the New World (1.1.86), the subjection of Africa and Spain (1.3.108), and access to “the secrets of all foreign kings” (1.1.89), culminates in a rhapsodic vision of universal dominion: “By him I’ll be great emperor of the world” (1.3.106), an office that will also permit unlicensed plunder and appropriation of the world’s wealth. His claim that “the Emp’ror shall not live but by my leave, / Nor any potentate of Germany” (1.3.112–13), and his vow to wrest sovereignty from the Prince of Parma and reign sole king in his stead, further invoke the papal doctrine of universal supremacy, with its attendant claim to absolute power, including the power of deposition and of life and death, anathema, of course, to Protestant England, which countered with its antipapal Act of Royal Supremacy. These deific powers are collectively subsumed under Faustus’s blasphemous aspiration to become, by means of the devil, “a deity,” “a mighty god,” an earthly “Jove” (1.1.65, 64, 78). As Thomas Cranmer representatively asserts, echoing Faustus’s phrase “emperors and kings”—a recurrent one in writings on papal jurisdiction—the pope has “advanced himself above all emperors and kings of the world,” whom he can “depose and erect at his . . . pleasure.” He has “displaced and removed [rulers] from their empires and seats royal: and not content herewithal, more insolent than Lucifer, hath occupied not only the highest place in this world, above kings and princes, but hath further presumed to sit in the seat of Almighty God.” Also, “he hath . . . invented a new religion, full of gain and lucre, quite contrary to the doctrine of the holy scripture, only for the maintaining of his kingdom, [thereby] displacing Christ from his glory.”<sup>34</sup> The pope’s arrogating to himself divine honors was central to Protestant depictions of him as Antichrist. Especially in his well known claim to be Christ’s vicar on earth, he “was thought to be blasphemously usurping the offices of Christ himself,” enabling him “to be worshipped as God in the very temple of God. Since he operates his

34. Thomas Cranmer, *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, Martyr, 1556*, ed. John Edmund Cox (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1846), 222.

deception by the power of the devil, popery is not only idolatry but actual devil-worship.”<sup>35</sup> The Faustian parallels are unmistakable: in essaying, through demonic agency, to usurp the office of God; in embracing a religion “full of gain and lucre, quite contrary to the doctrine of the holy scripture, only for the maintaining of his kingdom”; and in aspiring to exceed the dominion of emperors and kings, depose rulers, plunder nations, and be “great emperor of the world,” Faustus is an embodiment of the papal Antichrist.<sup>36</sup>

It is in these contexts that the play’s central event, the infernal pact, will be considered. As critics have often observed, Faustus’s pact is a blasphemous parody of Christ’s sacrifice for man. “Unlike the God who became man,” writes Robert Ornstein, “Faustus is man who would be god . . . and who deliberately seeks the satanic temptations which Christ rejected. . . . Deliberately parodying the Sacrifice, he sells what Christ died to purchase; he signs the Devil’s pact with his own blood and with Christ’s words on his lips” and paraphrases Christ’s last words as he dies.<sup>37</sup> However, as W. W. Greg long ago observed, critics are wont to overlook the precise nature of this transformation, as signaled by the pact’s first article: “that Faustus may be a spirit in form and substance” (2.1.97). Greg interpreted the line to mean that Faustus, through his bargain with hell, becomes a devil while still retaining his human soul.<sup>38</sup> I wish to argue a complementary reading: that the language of the first article invokes the doctrine of transubstantiation, as affirmed by the Council of Trent: “By the consecration of the bread and wine a change is brought about of the whole substance of the bread into the substance of the body of Christ . . . and of the whole substance of the wine into the substance of his blood,” the body thereafter existing “under the form of bread and the blood under the form of wine.”<sup>39</sup> Faustus, that is, through the devil’s agency, undergoes a

35. Richard Bauckham, *Tudor Apocalypse: Sixteenth-Century Apocalypticism, Millenarianism, and the English Reformation from John Bale to John Foxe and Thomas Brightman* (Oxford: Sutton Courtenay, 1978), 104.

36. *Faustus* explicitly links imperialism and diabolism. Its Catholic imperialists—Philip II, Charles V, and the pope—all replicate the arch-imperialist, the devil, “monarch of hell,” who captures souls in order to “enlarge his kingdom” (3.2.28, 2.1.40). See Mebane, “Vision and Illusion,” 131.

37. Robert Ornstein, “Marlowe and God: The Tragic Theology of *Dr. Faustus*,” *PMLA* 83.5 (1968): 1378–85, 1384.

38. W. W. Greg, “The Damnation of Faustus,” *Modern Language Review* 41.2 (1946): 97–107, 103.

39. Mark A. Noll, ed., *Confessions and Catechisms of the Reformation* (Vancouver: Regent College Publishing, 2004), 195, 194. Compare with the English Faust Book: “that he



parodic transubstantiation, becoming in form and substance a demonic imitation of Christ: an Antichrist. It is the second in the series of masses informing the play.

Faustus's primal sin is gluttony, which underlies virtually all of his actions and motivations. The connection is established at the outset: "glutted . . . with learning's golden gifts, / He surfeits upon cursèd necromancy," which begets the "surfeit of deadly sin" that damns him body and soul (prologue.24–25, 5.2.11–12). He is "glutted" with thoughts of the riches magic will bring (1.1.80). A pervasive pattern of eating imagery reinforces this motif, which includes the series of meals that punctuate the play.<sup>40</sup> The spectacle of the Seven Deadly Sins "feeds" his soul (2.3.166). Both his entrance into his new religion and his exit from it are marked by a meal (1.1.165, 5.1.4–6). He steals the pope's food and wine at the papal feast. Even his coitus with Helen is gastronomically construed: "Her lips sucks forth my soul" (5.1.94). His gluttony culminates in a mock Eucharist: In a grotesque parody of the Last Supper, he "banquets" and "swills" with the students on the very eve of his death. Gluttony and demonism are inseparably linked; as Faustus ironically recognizes, addressing himself: "The god thou servest is thine own appetite, / Wherein is fixed the love of Beelzebub" (2.1.11–12).

The nexus between gluttony and the devil, so grandly exemplified in the avarice of the papacy, was central to the Protestant censure of the Church of Rome. Protestants condemned Catholicism as a species of belly worship epitomized by what they deemed the cannibalism of the Roman-rite Mass, whose doctrine of transubstantiation presupposed the carnal consumption of the body and blood of Christ. The doctrine was a staple of anti-Mass satire. Phineas Fletcher, for instance, describes the "Masse-Priests, Priests-Cannibal / Who . . . chew, . . . feede, grow fat / With flesh divine," and Milton decries "the 'belly' worship of idolatrous clerics," and the Mass as "a cannibal feast."<sup>41</sup> More spectacularly, in *The Faerie Queene*, the brood of the monster Error devours their bloody and dismembered mother, their bellies ultimately bursting from engorgement. Augmenting the notion of popish gluttony

might be a spirit in shape and quality." "Doctor Faustus" with "The English Faust Book," ed. David Wootton (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2005), 67–154, 72.

40. Barber, "'The Form of Faustus' Fortunes," 98–113. Barber similarly argues the confluence of the motifs of eating and gluttony, which, he contends, underlie a theology of communion.

41. Qtd. in King, *Milton and Religious Controversy*, 77, 78.

were the withholding of the chalice from the laity and the Mass at which the faithful did not receive communion. In a commonplace polemical epithet, Becon likens mass priests to “hungry hogs” who, “contrary to Christ’s holy institution,” “eat and drink up all alone.” Elsewhere, he terms the priest a “ravener” and a “glutton” who “alone devoureth” all. Such massing is “not of God, but of the devil,” initiated by “antichrist and his shameless shavelings,” who, by “the labour of other men’s hands and of the sweat of other men’s brows, may live an idle and voluptuous life, as epicures and belly-beasts, born only to consume the good fruits of the earth.”<sup>42</sup> Faustus’s wish to “live in all voluptuousness” (1.3.94) seems analogous. The English Faust Book makes the connection between gluttony, Roman Catholicism, and Faustus explicit. At the papal meal, he remarks “those that were like to himself: . . . gluttons, drunkards. . . . Wherefore he said to his spirit: ‘I thought that I had been alone a hog or pork of the devil’s, but he must bear with me yet a little longer, for these hogs of Rome are already fatted and fitted to make his roast meat.’”<sup>43</sup>

In the play, the papal banquet is characterized by both heresies. First, the pope perverts the sacrament by approaching “the meat and wine in an epicurean rather than a sacramental manner.”<sup>44</sup> He deems the “meat” a “dainty dish” and employs the wine to toast the Cardinal of Lorraine. Compounding the gluttony are the ludicrous maledictions heaped on Faustus for depriving the pope of the coveted meat and drink. Second, no worshippers share in this parodic Communion. The intended carnal consumption of the Eucharistic elements renders the Supper a cannibalistic feast (the meal is explicitly called a feast), exemplifying the “*summum bonum*” of the attending communicants: “belly cheer” (3.1.51, 53). This last term is underscored by Faustus’s implied reference to the feasters as hogs (3.1.86).

Closely linked to this parodic Mass is the one manifested in the feast of grapes that Faustus furnishes the Duchess of Vanholt. As Marjorie Garber points out, “The sacramental interchangeability of the two species, bread and wine (or in *Faustus*’ terms ‘meat’ and ‘grapes’), had been firmly asserted by the Council of Trent,” which held that Christ exists whole and entire under the form of each.<sup>45</sup>

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42. Becon, *Prayers*, 280, 365.

43. “*Faustus*,” ed. Wootton, 105.

44. Garber, “Writing and Unwriting,” 368.

45. Garber, “Writing and Unwriting,” 364n2.

"Grapes," moreover, was a synonym for "wine," a sense deriving from the Last Supper, when Jesus terms the wine the "fruit of the vine" (Mt 26:29). The Duchess's epicureanism and subtextual cannibalism firmly ally her with the papal feasters, as does the scene's language: "Great-bellied" (4.2.5) puns on both her pregnancy and the gluttonous "belly cheer" of the papal court, and "dainties" (4.2.6)—the grapes, or "dish" of "meat" (4.2.12)—echoes the "dainty dish" of "meat" the pope carnally covets (3.1.64, 67). In a related parody of the Last Supper, the mock Christ "banquets" and "swills" with his disciples on the eve of his death. Again, various parallels link Faustus's supper and the papal banquet: Both are "feasts" (3.1.53, 5.1.8), both concern the gluttonous cannibalizing of the sacramental species, and both are characterized by the same term—"belly cheer" (3.1.52, 5.1.6). One may note again Becon's censure of the pope and his friars as "belly-beasts," and the clerical belly worship denounced by Milton.

In the Clown scene, the doctrine of transubstantiation and the putative gluttony defining the Mass coalesce. In a comic restaging of Faustus's demonic pact, Wagner (representing the devil) seeks to tempt the Clown (representing the pseudo-Christ) into serving him. When he demurs, Wagner, in a parody of transubstantiation, threatens to turn the Clown's lice into evil spirits who will "tear thee in pieces" (1.4.28), a dual reference to the mass priest's allegedly blasphemous practice of rending Christ's body (the bread) and, in Becon's representative polemical phrase, carnally ripping it "asunder with their teeth."<sup>46</sup> The Clown responds that this is unnecessary, since the lice (the gluttonous and cannibalistic priests) are already "as bold with my flesh as if they had paid for my meat and drink" (1.4.30–31). Stretching the parody to its furthest extreme, he then asks to be changed into a flea so he can partake of the flesh and blood of ladies' plackets.

It is thus profoundly appropriate that Gluttony, in Lucifer's pageant of the Seven Deadly Sins, embodies a Roman-rite Mass consisting in carnally debased versions of the Eucharistic elements. In the "gammon of bacon" and "hogshead" of wine, Gluttony

46. Like the many Protestant polemicists employing the phrase and its variations, Becon echoes the language of Article 29 of the *Thirty-Nine Articles*: "The wicked, and such as be voyde of a liuely faith, . . . doe carnally . . . presse with their teeth . . . the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ." See *Prayers*, 272. John Jewel states that Christ's body is "rent with teeth." *The Works of John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury*, ed. John Ayre (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1845), 1:446.

additionally invokes the commonplace Romanist hogs of Protestant polemic:

My grandfather was a gammon of bacon, my grandmother a hogshead of claret wine. My godfathers were . . . Peter Pickle-herring and Martin Martlemas-beef. O, but my godmother, she was a jolly gentlewoman, and well beloved in every good town and city; her name was Mistress Margery March-beer. Now, Faustus, . . . wilt thou bid me to supper? (2.3.144–50)

The play's other Eucharistic parodies more directly concern the doctrine of transubstantiation. To the scholars' query concerning Faustus's whereabouts, Wagner replies that "God in heaven knows" and then declares the question inane; "For is not he *corpus naturale*? And is not that *mobile*?" (1.2.6, 20–21). The two terms invoke the tenet that the consecrated bread is changed into the natural body (*corpus naturale*) of Christ, thus rendering Christ corporeally "mobile." That is, he is bodily present in multiple places at once: in heaven, where he abides perpetually at God's right hand, and on earth, where he inhabits the consecrated elements. As the Council of Trent declared, "There is no repugnance in this that our Savior sits always at the right hand of the Father in heaven according to the natural mode of existing, and yet is in many other places sacramentally present to us in His own substance."<sup>47</sup> The tenet was anathema to Protestants; thus Becon asserts that "it is directly against the . . . truth of Christ's natural body to be in more places at once than in one, as he must be in an hundred thousand places at once, if your doctrine be true. . . . O proud Lucifers! And ah, poor wretched Christ, which at every filthy massmonger's commandment art compelled to come down from the glorious throne of thy Majesty . . . to be torn asunder with their teeth."<sup>48</sup> Hence Wagner's assertion that "God in Heaven knows" the whereabouts of the mock Christ, who is, appropriately, consuming a mock Lord's Supper<sup>49</sup> with his unholy Trinity cronies, Valdes and Cornelius.

The play's most acerbic commentary on the doctrine of transubstantiation is contained in Faustus's visit to the court of the

47. Noll, ed., *Confessions and Catechisms*, 193.

48. Becon, *Prayers*, 272. For a fuller discussion of the Protestant position, see Nicholas Ridley, "Disputation at Oxford between Dr Smith, with His Other Colleagues and Doctors, and Bishop Ridley," in *The Works of Nicholas Ridley, D.D., Sometime Lord Bishop of London, Martyr, 1555*, ed. Henry Christmas (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1843), 187–252.

49. See Garber, "Writing and Unwriting," 364–65.

emperor Charles V. As noted above, Protestants attacked the Mass in particular as a theatrical performance akin to trickery or juggling, a diabolical sleight-of-hand purporting to transform bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ before a gullibly awed assembly. Charles V, one of the Church of Rome's most exalted figures, and ruler of the largest empire the Christian West had ever known, is another of the play's imperialist exemplars.<sup>50</sup> Unsurprisingly, the Emperor's most pressing concern is that he and his successors will never realize "such riches" and omnipotence, and conquer as many kingdoms, as his illustrious forebears (4.1.22–24). His fondest wish, accordingly, is to behold the paragon who supremely figures these exalted achievements, Alexander the Great, whom he extols in Christ-like terms: 'The conqueror's "glorious acts" whose "shining . . . lightens the world" (4.1.32) echoes Jesus as "the light of the world" (Jn 8:12). When the elicited Christ figure enters, along with his elicited lady-love, the Emperor is predictably awed, convinced, in typical popish fashion, that the forms are "the true substantial bodies" of the deceased (4.1.72–73). The phrase alludes to the doctrine of transubstantiation, which decrees the bread, in Becon's representative words, "the true . . . substantial body of Christ."<sup>51</sup> The Knight, however, referencing the myth of Actaeon to posit the Protestant view, pronounces the performance a hoax, the preposterous equivalent of Diana changing him, the Knight, into a stag, who was then torn to pieces by his dogs—a further jibe at the Mass priest's bestial dismembering, or tearing into pieces, Christ's alleged body. That this grandiose spectacle was wholly contrived by Mephistopheles again reflects the Protestant charges that the Mass was the invention of the devil and a theatrical performance akin to a juggling trick—charges ironically affirmed by Faustus himself, who baldly asserts the impossibility of changing corporeal "dust" into "true substantial bodies" (4.1.48–50).<sup>52</sup> The episode additionally

50. For this account of Charles V, see Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Reformation: A History* (New York: Viking, 2004), 127.

51. Becon, *Prayers*, 274.

52. See Mebane, "Vision and Illusion," 133; and Sara Munson Deats, "Mark this Show: Magic and Theater in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*," in *Placing the Plays of Christopher Marlowe: Fresh Cultural Contexts*, ed. Sara Munson Deats and Robert A. Logan (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008), 13–24. Deats argues that the play equates magic with the theater, situating it within the pro- and antitheatrical debates of the time, the Puritans, for example, employing "the vitriol of the witch trials to link plays and players with . . . witches and wizards" (18).

suggests a parody of Luther's summons by the actual Charles V for the purpose of recanting his opinions. In each case, the Emperor's summons caps a triumphant tour by the apostate accruing to his unorthodox views. Luther came but refused to recant. Faustus's correlative "heresy" consists in exploding the central doctrine of the Mass.

In another scene, the pseudopriests Robin and Rafe use Faustus's conjuring book to conduct a mock Mass replete with mock Latin. Performing a consecration over a stolen wine glass, they elicit a "real presence" in Satanic form. Appalled that the devil has journeyed clear from Constantinople—a possible allusion to the Donation of Constantine—the abashed priests offer the devil sixpence "to pay for *your* supper" (3.2.36–37, emphasis mine), an allusion to the Protestant charge that the Mass was the devil's supper. In a reverse transubstantiation, Mephistopheles then changes the priests into the beasts they symbolically are (bestiality, as we have seen, was a standard polemical attribute of the Catholic clergy). It should be noted that in all of these transubstantiations, the devil (or his figuration) either effects the transformation or materializes as the real presence.

Fittingly, Faustus's life concludes with a mock crucifixion.<sup>53</sup> The devil's threat to tear Faustus to pieces if he thinks on God (5.1.69, 4.2.47), comically replicated in Wagner's threat to dismember the Clown if he declines to serve him, is consummated at the play's end. In an ultimate parody of the sacrifice of the Mass, Faustus's heart is barbarically rent as he calls on Christ (in the B-text's expanded version of the ending, he is explicitly "torn asunder" by the devils, leaving behind his dismembered limbs). As discussed above, all of these terms—dismembering, rending, and tearing asunder—were polemical anti-Catholic commonplaces defining the handling and consumption of the Host. Faustus's attempts to evade damnation through a series of transformations—he successively strives to be changed into air, a brute beast, and water drops—additionally parody the doctrine of transubstantiation. Reinvoking the motif of gluttony, the series climaxes in his wish to

53. The parallels between Faustus's life and Christ's are noteworthy. Both descend from humble parents, exhibit a singularly precocious youth, achieve fame for performing miracles, including raising the dead, and undergo a passion along with a last supper; and Faustus incurs a correlative crucifixion ordained at his "nativity" (5.2.89). These parallels centrally reinforce the play's depiction of Catholicism as a diabolical inversion of Christianity—in other words, a theology of devil worship. On the play's motif of inversion, see Thomas McAlindon, "*Doctor Faustus*": *Divine in Show* (New York: Twayne, 1994), 45–61; and Snyder, "Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* as an Inverted Saint's Life."

enter the “entrails” of an imminently exploding storm cloud whose “smoky mouths” will then “vomit forth” his dismembered corpse (5.2.92–94). This alludes to what, for Protestants, was one of the most loathsome tenets of the doctrine: that the devoured body of Christ can be vomited up again.<sup>54</sup> Lacking demonic agency, all of these attempts prove predictably futile, again demonstrating transubstantiation to be a diabolical hoax. In a breathtaking inversion of the Ascension, made the more harrowing by its conflation with gluttony, Faustus is swallowed by the gaping mouth of hell.

In the play, then, Faustus figuratively converts from Reformed Protestantism to the anti-Christian religion of Roman Catholicism, whose satanic theology of magic was epitomized by the sacrifice of the Mass. Like the papal Antichrist, Faustus seeks divine omnipotence through demonic agency, his usurpation of godhead similarly consisting in absolute power, politically conceived: He will exceed the dominion of emperors and kings, depose rulers, plunder nations, and be emperor of the world. Like Antichrist, accordingly, Faustus becomes an imitation of God, a demonic Christ, his transformation effected by a parodic transubstantiation which, together with his initial conjuration, initiates the series of masses that inform the play.

Yet Protestantism seems equally censured. On the last day of his life, when he is moments from hell, Faustus re-embraces the God he abjured. This God, however, is not one of mercy and forgiveness but a brutal Calvinist God of vengeance and wrath whom Marlowe subtly conflates with the devil, rendering them virtually indistinguishable. He does this through physical description (God’s “ireful brows” and “fierce” aspect [5.2.83, 120] recall the terror-inspiring mien of Lucifer [2.3.86]) and through the use of antecedent and congruence. The ambiguity, for instance, of “Ah, my Christ! / Ah, rend not my heart for naming of my Christ!” (5.2.79–80) suggests the shocking possibility that Christ, not Lucifer, is doing the rending. In the next line, Christ and the devil become one: “Yet will I call on *him*. O, spare me, *Lucifer*” (5.2.81, emphasis mine). Similarly, Faustus’s earlier “Ah, Christ, my Saviour, / Seek to save distressed Faustus’ soul!” (2.3.82–83) is answered by a mock Holy Trinity of three devils; while Christ’s streaming blood in the firmament morphs into the Luciferian face of God. The brutal vindictiveness of this demonic God culminates in his final acts: Belying utterly the scholars’ assurance that “God’s

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54. See Jewel, *Works*, 2:784.

mercies are infinite" (5.2.14), he refuses to allay the agony of the dying sinner and withholds the single drop of blood that will save his soul. Calvinism, the play suggests, is simply the diabolical counterpart of Catholicism.

The present interpretation may gain credence from the allegations of heresy that surrounded Marlowe. Chief among these was atheism, which putatively included his scoffing at religion and his denying the existence of God. Further, according to Thomas Kyd, "It was his custom . . . to jest at the divine scriptures, jibe at prayers, & strive in argument to . . . confute what hath been spoke or writ by prophets & such holy men," and other accounts speak of an actual book Marlowe had written against the Trinity.<sup>55</sup> The informer Richard Baines enlarged on these allegations. Marlowe, he indicates, impugned the divine origin of miracles, ascribing them to conjurers bent on gulling the people. He also accuses him of affirming that "Crist deserved better to dy then Barrabas" and that Holy Communion "would have bin much better being administered in a Tobacco pipe," and he cites Marlowe's derision of both Catholicism and Protestantism. The charges persisted even after Marlowe's death, the Puritan minister Thomas Beard averring that Marlowe, besides blaspheming the Trinity, "denied God and his sonne Christ" and affirmed "our Sauour to be but a deceiuer."<sup>56</sup> It seems entirely logical, therefore, that in the play, Catholicism is reduced to a theology of juggling, Protestantism and Catholicism lead alike to hell, and God is simply an embodiment of the devil.

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55. Charles Nicholl, *The Reckoning: The Murder of Christopher Marlowe* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1992), 38–46. Most of the charges against Marlowe were never proven. Still, they "come from too many different people, complete strangers to one another, to be the outgrowth of either individual malice or criminal collusion," they "cohere together remarkably in matters of detail," and "they are unopposed by any direct evidence to the contrary." Paul H. Kocher, *Christopher Marlowe: A Study of His Thought, Learning, and Character* (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1946), 31.

56. Richard Baines and Thomas Beard, rpt. in *The Life of Marlowe and "The Tragedy of Dido, Queen of Carthage,"* ed. C. F. Tucker Brooke (London: Methuen, 1930), 98–100 and 112–14, respectively.



JAMES BIESTER

A Storm Brewing: Inspirations for *The Tempest* in Marlowe and Jonson

*The Tempest* so effectively invites comparison with William Shakespeare's earlier works that we may underestimate another sense in which it can be seen as retrospective or even nostalgic: in its evocations of the work of other playwrights, and in particular Christopher Marlowe and Ben Jonson.<sup>1</sup> These evocations are admittedly not the direct, verbal echoes—especially of Marlowe—that James Shapiro and others have carefully traced in the plays of Shakespeare's early and middle career, or that Jonson offers in his references to *Doctor Faustus* in *The Alchemist* (1610). For that reason, they need to be approached tentatively, with Shapiro's warning in mind that arguments for literary interchange can be only conjectural "in the absence of extended and unmistakable topical allusion." And yet the same critic argues persuasively that interchange exists even in the absence of such allusion, even making the bold claim that Shakespeare avoided tragedy for several years as a means of avoiding engagement with Marlowe, and the analogues in *The Tempest* to elements of Shakespeare's own earlier works are similarly more situational than verbal.<sup>2</sup> Unsurprisingly, what is often most striking about these evocations is that Shakespeare handles so differently an action, motif, or set-piece that has a demonstrable analogue in Marlowe or Jonson.

The play's evocations of Marlowe are louder and easier to demonstrate than those of Jonson. Simply by choosing to write a

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1. I would like to thank the editors and readers at *Marlowe Studies: An Annual*, the participants in the session on "Marlowe and Shakespeare" at the 2010 Shakespeare Association of America conference, and my students in seminars on early modern magic at Loyola University Chicago for suggestions that have improved this essay.

2. James Shapiro, *Rival Playwrights: Marlowe, Jonson, Shakespeare* (New York: Columbia UP, 1991), 138–39, 96.

play whose protagonist is a magician, Shakespeare entered what his contemporaries would indisputably have recognized as Marlowe's territory, just as Jonson did in the same year in *The Alchemist*.<sup>3</sup> The echoes of the latter are less pervasive, but given the dearth of explicit allusions to him in Shakespeare's works, even modest evidence of a response may prove valuable to our understanding of the two playwrights. To invoke his chief rivals at this stage of his career is no doubt to engage to some degree in the kind of contest over literary reputation that Shapiro traces in his study of the interchange between the mature Jonson and Shakespeare, where the issue is not "mastery over precursors they found difficult to surpass, but the weightier influence that an established dramatist can wield over a rival's place in literary history."<sup>4</sup> Without underestimating this element of contest, I would like to argue (this side of re-invoking a naïve conception of gentle Will) that Shakespeare may also be paying a valedictory tribute to what has happened on the stage over his career, and that by invoking his rivals he is in some sense trying to sum up not only his own progress, but that of English drama generally, in a way that we might associate more quickly with an author who confronts literary history more directly, such as Sir Philip Sidney, Jonson, or John Dryden. Robert A. Logan argues persuasively that Marlowe's effect on Shakespeare was predominantly inspirational, and concludes that *Macbeth* and *The Tempest* (1611) offer a "tacit tribute" to Marlowe.<sup>5</sup> In this sense Shakespeare's evocations of his predecessor and—perhaps less simply—Jonson are inextricable from the retrospective tenor of the entire play and its engagement with distinctive elements of his own corpus. Harry Berger Jr. has drawn valuable parallels between the play and Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516), especially between Prospero's and Hythlodæus's aversion to public life, and that argument could be expanded to suggest that Shakespeare's retrospective view of English poetry takes in more than the London stage, but the echoes and revisions

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3. On the continued success of *Doctor Faustus*, see for example the discussion of the play's stage history in *Doctor Faustus: A- and B-Texts (1604, 1616): Christopher Marlowe and His Collaborator and Revisers*, ed. David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1993), 48–62. All citations of the play are from this edition. Both Jonson and Shakespeare sidestep a headlong confrontation with Marlowe in the field of tragedy, though Shakespeare had come closer, especially in *Macbeth* (1605–6), as Robert A. Logan argues in *Shakespeare's Marlowe* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 197–211.

4. Shapiro, *Rival Playwrights*, 134.

5. Logan, *Shakespeare's Marlowe*, 221.

of Marlowe and Jonson are in the foreground of Shakespeare's backward view.<sup>6</sup>

### Marlowe

Along with Logan, David Young, John Mebane, and David Lucking have provided the most useful examinations to date of the connections between *Faustus* and *The Tempest*, exploring the two plays' connections between magic and art, power and illusion.<sup>7</sup> Lucking in particular makes explicit the various ways in which Shakespeare incorporates specific motifs from Marlowe's work. These parallels include the focus on the magical book, which is to be—or rather not to be—burned in Marlowe, drowned in Shakespeare, the pageantry of the magical illusions of the Seven Deadly Sins and the marriage masque, the interrupted banquets used to deflate and mock the Pope and Sebastian and Antonio, and the conspiracies against the magician by Benvolio and crew and by Stephano, Trinculo, and Caliban.

Since the devil is in the details, comparing the implications of the two plays' comic scenes and conspiracies might yield insights valuable to students of both. One clear difference between their comic scenes is that although Marlowe's representations of the shenanigans of Wagner, Robin, and Rafe or Dick often parody and thus deflate the actions of the tragic protagonist, the actions of Stephano, Trinculo, and Caliban do not generally lessen the stature of Prospero.<sup>8</sup> Robin's service to Wagner parodies Faustus's contract with the devil, and Robin and Rafe's desire to use magic to

6. See Harry Berger Jr., "Miraculous Harp: A Reading of Shakespeare's *Tempest*," *Shakespeare Studies* 5 (1969): 253–83.

7. Logan, *Shakespeare's Marlowe*, 197–222; David Young, "Where the Bee Sucks: A Triangular Study of *Doctor Faustus*, *The Alchemist*, and *The Tempest*," in *Shakespeare's Romances Reconsidered*, ed. Carol McGinnis Kay and Henry E. Jacobs (Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1978), 149–66; John S. Mebane, *Renaissance Magic and the Return of the Golden Age: The Occult Tradition in Marlowe, Jonson and Shakespeare* (Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1989); and David Lucking, "Our Devils Now Are Ended: A Comparative Analysis of *The Tempest* and *Doctor Faustus*," *Dalhousie Review* 80.2 (2000): 149–67. Logan offers a valuable review of scholarly opinion on the influence of *Faustus* on *Macbeth* and *The Tempest* (*Shakespeare's Marlowe*, 198–201).

8. For an excellent recent review of the parodic function of the comic scenes in *Faustus*, see Kirk Melnikoff, "'[I]yggging Vaines' and 'Riming Mother Wits': Marlowe, Clowns and the Early Frameworks of Dramatic Authorship," *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 13.2 (2007): ¶1–37, especially ¶23–¶34, <http://extra.shu.ac.uk/emls/si-16/melnjygg.htm> (accessed April 16, 2011).

satisfy carnal urges (the element that Jonson magnified so brilliantly through Sir Epicure Mammon in *The Alchemist*) shadows the bathos in Faustus's magic, the plummet from grand designs to silly tricks. Paradoxically, the comic scenes in *The Tempest* do not as directly undermine the character at its center, or at least they do not comment as directly on his actions. We could certainly say that the subplot of Stephano, Trinculo, and Caliban undermines the audience's confidence in Prospero's art, most notably of course by prompting the abrupt ending of the wedding masque, but it would be a stretch to argue that they accomplish what the comic scenes in *Faustus* do, which is to underscore what Young describes as Faustus's "basic movement . . . from potency to impotence."<sup>9</sup> I follow Stephen Orgel and nearly all recent critics in finding less grandeur and more complexity in Prospero than Frank Kermode and Frances Yates found a generation or two ago, but the buffoonery in *The Tempest* diminishes him less than that in *Faustus* diminishes its protagonist.

What, then, does the comic subplot involving Stephano, Trinculo, and Caliban mock? Like the minor characters in *Faustus*, Shakespeare's commoners (and Caliban) provide, especially initially, a jaundiced view of how likely it is, on this island or anywhere, that Gonzalo's vision of a new golden age will come to pass. Like Marlowe's clowns, Stephano and Trinculo are at least as interested in the bottle as in the book that Caliban reminds them is crucial. Trinculo's reaction to Caliban under the cloak augments the play's treatment of Caliban as monstrous, but many commentators have also noted the turning point in his statement that in England "would this monster make a man—any strange beast there makes a man. When they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian" (2.2.29–32).<sup>10</sup> Combined with Stephano's subsequent interpretation of Trinculo and Caliban under the cloak as a single four-legged, two-headed monster, Trinculo's appraisal of the cruelty at the heart of European fascination with the wonderfully strange provides the satiric turn that forces the audience to reconsider its easy acceptance of Prospero and Miranda's assumptions of absolute difference from and superiority to Caliban. These twin elements of the

9. Young, "Where the Bee Sucks," 151. Logan captures the quality of Faustus's actions well when describing them as "pranksterish demonstrations of power" (*Shakespeare's Marlowe*, 202).

10. William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, ed. Stephen Orgel (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1987). All references to the play will be to this edition.

scene—despite the play’s continuing treatment of him as belonging to no stable category—lead neatly to Gonzalo’s treatment of the spirits, whom he believes to be “people of the island,” as “of monstrous shape” (3.3.30) and yet as having

manners . . . more gentle-kind than of  
Our human generation you shall find  
Many, nay almost any. (3.3.31, 32–34)

The scene thus prepares for Caliban’s eventual regret at having followed Stephano, and for Prospero’s acceptance of some responsibility for Caliban: “this thing of darkness I / Acknowledge mine” (5.1.275–76). The subplot here is performing something quite different from the scenes with Robin and Rafe in *Faustus*, especially the scene in which they invoke Mephistopheles, in part because it is requiring the audience to examine its assumptions about the minor characters, and also because it is making Caliban more than simply a foil for Prospero. If this is an instance of Shakespeare’s innovation in moving from simple juxtaposition of the major and minor action to integration of a subplot, it is one that in its focus on the concept of service, its emphasis on drink and lust (once Caliban has whetted Stephano’s interest in Miranda), and its indication of a break in the action seems to have been inspired by the comic scenes in *Faustus*. Just as Shakespeare’s analogies so often confuse creatively the tenor and the vehicle, illuminating both, so do his best subplots, such as that of Gloucester in *King Lear* (1606), accentuate and develop both minor and major characters. We might even say that Stephano and Trinculo, who are perhaps as static in their interests as Robin, and Rafe or Dick, help to accentuate the shifting perspectives the play offers on Caliban. One of the first elements of the subplot perhaps accentuates this sense that it illuminates Caliban as much as Prospero. In *Faustus*, Robin’s pact with Wagner parodies Faustus’s bargain with Lucifer, yet Caliban’s sad speed in subjecting himself to Stephano, lacking any kind of parallel to Prospero’s actions, is a more broadly targeted bit of satire.

The conspiracy to kill Prospero offers another way of conceiving of how Shakespeare incorporated elements of *Faustus*, again connected to the issue of what we should see Stephano, Trinculo, and Caliban as mocking. Their plot, of course, mirrors that of Sebastian and Antonio. Or should it be the other way around? Yes, Antonio suggests killing Alonso before Caliban suggests killing Prospero, but if we see Shakespeare as harking back to *Faustus* for inspiration in his own play about a magician,

we might consider the possibility that the plotting of Benvolio and crew to wreak revenge on Faustus was the seed of the plots against both Prospero and Alonso. Lucking comments on the conspiracies against the two magicians, focusing on the similarity of the magicians' punishments of the conspirators: having them dragged through rough terrain by dogs or by spirits.<sup>11</sup> I am arguing for taking this parallel further, that we consider the possibility, admittedly not demonstrable, that the conspiracy in Marlowe's B-text—led by Benvolio with his accomplices Martino, Ferderick, and the soldiers—inspired both murder plots in *The Tempest*. As far as I know there is only one play before this in which a magician faces and prevents a murder plot, and it is the B-text of *Faustus*. Why is this significant, beyond providing at least a possible clue about the genesis of the play? If it is true, then it provides further circumstantial evidence that the B-text, although not printed until 1616, nevertheless reflected what Shakespeare saw performed on the stage, as many editors have surmised. In *The Historie of the Damnable Life, and Deserved Death of Doctor Iohn Faustus* (1592), or the *English Faust Book*, Benvolio's desire for revenge is stressed through his three attempts at revenge, but nowhere is murder his explicit goal, as it clearly is in the B-Text, where he vows, "O may these eyelids never close again / Till with my sword I have that conjuror slain" (4.2.8–9).

It seems appropriate that Benvolio's murder plot—arguably the most serious of the comic elements of *Faustus*—inspires the murder plots in *The Tempest*, which are perhaps the most serious elements of that comedy. When we consider the interrupted banquets in the two plays, however, this kind of logic will not work. In one of those paradoxes that have always been the hallmark of Shakespeare's work, as emphasized recently by Peter Platt, the interrupted banquet is the most humorous scene in Marlowe's tragedy, while the same device in Shakespeare's comedy performs an entirely serious function, initiating Prospero's attempts to punish his enemies and prompt their contrition.<sup>12</sup>

In the context of the discourse on magic, and especially of *Faustus*, the element of Shakespeare's magic play that should be most striking is how little it raises the question of Prospero's damnation. Robert Hunter West and Barbara A. Mowat have made clear that anyone familiar with the doctrine and debates on

11. Lucking, "Our Devils Now Are Ended," 160–61.

12. See Peter G. Platt, *Shakespeare and the Culture of Paradox* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009).

the occult in the sixteenth century, or even anyone who had seen the magic plays of Marlowe or Robert Greene, would immediately assume that the magician he or she was watching on stage was either damned or on the brink.<sup>13</sup> How and why Shakespeare side-steps this problem for Prospero is a mystery worth considering: How does the play hinge on the guilt and possible punishment of those who have wronged the magician rather than the guilt of the magician himself, whose reliance on spirits of any kind would or should have made his own guilt primary? In a curious twist on the argument about when and if Faustus's damnation is certain (at the invocation? the bloody pact? kissing "Helen"? when dragged below?), critics continue to argue about when Prospero ultimately settles on forgiveness: Before the play begins? In response to Miranda's sorrow at the shipwreck? In response to Ariel's pity?<sup>14</sup> In this sense Prospero culminates the line of Shakespeare's characters who must decide how to use their godlike power—Henry V, the Duke of Vienna—but the contrast with Marlowe would likely have been as notable to the audience. Shakespeare deflects some attention from the problem by displacing evil onto Sycorax, but it seems strange that such a ploy should suffice, no matter how often critics invoke the distinction between evil and good magic, goetia and theurgy. Nor does the argument from genre really do much: Yes, *Faustus* is a tragedy whereas *The Tempest* is not, and yes, forgiveness fits better than damnation as an ending for a play in any of the categories into which we might put Shakespeare's (comedy, tragicomedy, or romance), but he is clearly more interested in the quality of mercy extended by Prospero rather than to him.

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13. See Robert Hunter West, *Shakespeare and the Outer Mystery* (Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1968), 80–95. In "Prospero, Agrippa, and Hocus Pocus," *English Literary Renaissance* 11.3 (1981): 281–303, Barbara A. Mowat expands the range of magical traditions to which Prospero's character is indebted, and qualifies West's argument about the sense and instances in which Prospero's magic is damnable, but still acknowledges that "the language with which Prospero abjures his magic reminds us strongly of the Bacons and Faustuses of narrative and drama" (292).

14. Although I came to this conclusion independently, I should acknowledge here Logan's incisive observation that Marlowe's play, unlike Shakespeare's, seems to have the limits of God's forgiveness as its primary *questio* or matter for speculation (*Shakespeare's Marlowe*, 219). Joel B. Altman explores these terms in his elaboration of Wesley Trimp's work on the rhetorical underpinnings of dramatic practice. See *The Tudor Play of Mind: Rhetorical Inquiry and the Development of Elizabethan Drama* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1978), 64–106.

Despite advocating a Christian value, then, the play avoids a Christian conclusion in a way that the analogy with Marlowe helps illuminate. However reluctant he may be to give up magic, Prospero's decision to abjure it is his alone: He seems under no divine pressure to do so, or even any external pressure of any kind. In this sense Prospero may paradoxically be a more radical figure than Faustus. By eliding the question of damnation, Shakespeare elevates the magician to the position of ultimate power, where all must fear him, and he no one. The comparison between Mephistopheles and Ariel, the instruments or efficient causes of Faustus's and Prospero's magic, highlights this shift. After Faustus signs the pact, the chief dramatic tension in the play hinges on the question of whether or not he can free himself from it, and from Mephistopheles: Mephistopheles is "bound" to serve him, but Faustus is bound. Even before the pact, Mephistopheles underscores the orthodox position that the vaunting magician's words have no power over him. Faustus believes that "pliant" Mephistopheles is "Full of obedience and humility" (*DFa*, 1.3.30–31), but Mephistopheles explains that he appeared not in response to Faustus's invocation but because

when we hear one rack the name of God,  
Abjure the Scriptures and his Saviour Christ,  
We fly in hope to get his glorious soul. (1.3.48–50)

Prospero's power over Ariel, by contrast, is nearly complete: Ariel can only beg that Prospero will fulfill his promise to free him.<sup>15</sup>

Although scholars rightly associate the various shows performed by Ariel and Prospero with the masque, Marlowe's spectacles in *Faustus* also deserve consideration as having sparked Shakespeare's decision to include them in the action of *The Tempest*. Comparing the shows in the two plays again helps to underline the central differences between the two magicians: Prospero plays a far larger role in creating the shows than Faustus does, and is much more the stage manager or director of the action. Mephistopheles and Ariel are both instrumental, but Mephistopheles is much more of an instigator, especially in his attempt to divert Faustus from consideration of his soul by providing the pageant of the Seven Deadly Sins. Despite his reliance on Ariel, Prospero is never in the

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15. Like Berger ("Miraculous Harp," 151–56, 168–70), I see Prospero as exaggerating for dramatic or rhetorical effect his anger at Ariel's desire for freedom, but whether or not Prospero himself waivers on the issue of granting Ariel freedom, Shakespeare emphasizes Ariel's uncertainty on the issue, and thus his dependence on Prospero.



position—as Faustus is—of merely being the witness to marvels: He is the begetter not only of Miranda but of nearly all of the play’s wonders. As many critics have noted, perhaps most notably Barbara Traister, the degree of Prospero’s power makes him stand out from Faustus and from all of the other magicians who precede him on the stage, which of course makes his renunciation all the more striking.<sup>16</sup> Both Prospero and Faustus begin in magic as part of their immersion in contemplative study, and whatever active, social benefits they might have imagined as ensuing from their arts, they prove equally ineffective in producing the kind of golden age that theurgists sought. Their responses to their failures differ sharply, however, as it is difficult to imagine Marlowe’s Faustus giving up his magic—he had exactly twice as much time as Prospero to do so.

Prospero’s retirement, which is both like and unlike Shakespeare’s, defies the pattern represented in Renaissance poems of retirement, which usually register the speaker’s immersion in private life and abandonment of the courtly world of public service. Prospero’s earlier history recapitulates the genre’s insistence on the corruption and cost of the active life, but his decision to return does not. Like Shakespeare he is paradoxically retiring from an activity (magic, dramatic poetry) predominantly associated, at least by others, with contemplation; unlike Shakespeare, he is retiring into activity. Stephen Greenblatt emphasizes well that Shakespeare himself was retiring from the professional world of the London stage, but the kinds of dramatic activity that the play underscores in its analogy of drama with magic are associated with arts, the book, enchantment, and illusion.<sup>17</sup> Prospero returns, without magic, to the active world that he had in effect abandoned before his position had been usurped, whereas Shakespeare, whatever his exact intentions had been, and despite his late collaborations, gradually withdraws into literary inaction (a phrase which in his culture might well have been perceived as a tautology).

Prospero’s willingness to “retire” from magic into active, political responsibility seems inextricable from another circumstance that sharply distinguishes him from Faustus, his fatherhood. The protagonist of Faustus may be unmatched, even among

16. Barbara Traister, *Heavenly Necromancers: The Magician in English Renaissance Drama* (Columbia: U of Missouri P, 1984), 126, 138, 146.

17. See Steven Greenblatt, *Will in the World: How Shakespeare Became Shakespeare* (New York: Norton, 2004), 291–94, 356–90.

Marlowe's tragic heroes, in isolation. From the beginning of the action of *The Tempest*—although not from the beginning of its story—Prospero responds to what he perceives to be the responsibilities of his paternal role, in ways that are typical of Shakespeare's problematic fathers. If, as Greenblatt argues, Will Shakespeare anticipated retiring near his favored daughter, Prospero steps away from seclusion with Miranda, despite his all-too-sharp awareness that he is leaving an island on which he perceives one chief threat, Caliban, for a whole world of danger.<sup>18</sup> His willingness to leave the island, however mixed his feelings on the point may be, indicates a final renunciation of seclusion, and of the control he had exercised over Miranda nearly to the end of the play. In abandoning seclusion, Prospero makes his final break from Faustus, and in the process starkly illuminates in retrospect how Faustus, at the end, performs the role of the central character in the morality play, proceeding to judgment, alone.

#### Jonson

In the case of Jonson, I would argue that the issue of inspiration is complicated by the question of how much familiarity on the part of Shakespeare we can assume with *The Alchemist*. The contrasts are sharp: Jonson's play relentlessly corrodes faith both in the existence of magical power and in the human ability to use it well, and its indoor setting, Lovewit's house in London, is as far in spirit from the airy island that prompts Gonzalo's utopian musings as Andrew Marvell's Humber is from the Ganges. As many critics have noted, the plays share a respect for the unity of action, confining their events to a single day in a way that is far more typical of Jonson than of Shakespeare, as the comparison with *The Winter's Tale* (1610) and other late plays makes especially notable. Yet I would echo Mebane and Young in finding that *The Alchemist* has a far more striking parodic relationship than *The Tempest* to *Faustus*. Certainly the interplay between Face and Subtle, despite Face's role as "Lungs" in the alchemical process, differs sharply from the relationships of Prospero to Ariel and Caliban; Face and Subtle begin and end the play in contest, but given their shared goal of duping their clients it would be hard to imagine Face responding to a request for fire with Caliban's "There's wood

18. See Berger, "Miraculous Harp," 157–63 and 184–85 for especially convincing arguments that Prospero views Caliban as more representative than Ariel of human behavior.

enough within" (1.2.314). I would argue that the shadow of Jonson hangs over *The Tempest*, but that its proximity in time and subject matter to *The Alchemist* obscures its true shape. It is the shadow of *Volpone* (1606).

Although Jonson does not list Shakespeare in the King's Men cast list for *Volpone* in the 1616 folio, the likelihood of his close familiarity with the play is unusually high. Of course to see Jonson's first great comedy as inspiring *The Tempest* may also be to glance indirectly at the continuing inspiration of Marlowe. As T. S. Eliot argued boldly in 1919, drawing especially on *Volpone* for evidence, "Jonson is the legitimate heir of Marlowe."<sup>19</sup> For Eliot, as well as Shapiro in his considerable expansion of his predecessor's argument, *Volpone* is an especially Marlovian play both in its language and in its plotting. The title character's feverish worship of his gold (like Mammon's later paeans to luxurious pleasure in *The Alchemist*) recalls the similar thirst of Barabas and Faustus for their objects of desire. Both critics also stress the pattern Marlowe seems to have taught his successor, of building a play around repeated, even repetitious incidents designed to illuminate the central figure. The series of scenes displaying Volpone gulling his three dupes, Shapiro argues, "follows a dramatic pattern Marlowe had employed in representing Tamburlaine's successive and ultimately numbing conquests . . . in Faustus's repeated and eventually demeaning demonstration of his powers . . . and in Barabas's murderous schemes."<sup>20</sup> Neither the language nor the plotting of Jonson's comedy happens to be primary among the ways in which the play inspires *The Tempest*, but another of the similarities that Shapiro stresses is "the central pairing of master and servant" that features so prominently in *The Jew of Malta*, *Volpone*, and *Sejanus His Fall* (1603).<sup>21</sup> Shakespeare's depiction of the nature of Ariel and the spirit's relationship with Prospero draws inspiration from Jonson's portrayal of Mosca and his relationship with Volpone, with the implicit debt to Marlowe. Also significant is the way in which *The Tempest* recollects and reshapes material from *Volpone*, such as Peregrine's humiliation of Sir Politic Would-Be by frightening him into hiding beneath a tortoise shell, which is echoed by the storm scene involving Stephano, Trinculo, and Caliban.

19. T. S. Eliot, "Ben Jonson" in *Selected Essays* (1932; rpt. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1964), 127–39, 133.

20. Shapiro, *Rival Playwrights*, 63–64; see also Eliot, "Ben Jonson," 133–38.

21. Shapiro, *Rival Playwrights*, 50.

Ariel's resemblance to Mosca (and his to Ithamore) should be attributed in part to their shared Roman lineage as parasites or servants, and Mosca and Ithamore of course go much further than Ariel in attempting to turn the tables on their masters. Still, there are odd parallels between Mosca and Ariel. As James Tulip notes, when Mosca describes himself as on the verge of falling "in loue / With my deare selfe, and my most prosp'rous parts," and declares that he "could skip / Out of my skin, now, like a subtile snake" (3.1.1–2, 5–6), he is speaking in "the language of Shakespeare's Ariel and Puck."<sup>22</sup> He identifies himself with a heavenly form of parasite, "dropt from aboue, / Not bred 'mongst clods, and clot-poules, here on earth" (3.1.8–9). He and his kind are not mere flatterers:

But your fine, elegant rascall, that can rise,  
And stoope (almost together) like an arrow;  
Shoot through the aire, as nimbly as a starre;  
Turne short, as doth a swallow; and be here,  
And there, and here, and yonder, all at once;  
Present to any humour, all occasion;  
And change a visor, swifter, than a thought! (3.1.23–29)

The abilities Mosca ascribes to himself here—to defy limits of time and space, and to assume any shape—not only distinguish him from lesser parasites, but are, along with sexual conjunction with human beings, precisely those that occult writers most often asserted as being within the purview of spirits, daemons, and devils, and that Reginald Scot was therefore most eager to prove impossible. Scot especially mocks the idea in chapter 17 of *A Discourse of Devils and Spirits*, the conclusion to *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584): "Some hold opinion, that Spirits and Souls can assume and take unto them bodies at their pleasure, of what shape or substance they list, of which mind all Papists, and some Protestants are, being more gross than another sort, which hold that such bodies are made to their hands."<sup>23</sup> The central problem that Scot finds unsolved in contemporary works on the subject is how a spirit composed of one of the four known elements can transform itself into another element in order to assume a new form.

22. See James Tulip, "The Intertextualities of Ben Jonson's *Volpone*," *Sydney Studies in English* 20 (1994): 20–35, 24. All quotations from *Volpone* are from *Ben Jonson*, ed. C. H. Herford, Percy Simpson, and Evelyn Simpson (Oxford: Clarendon, 1925–52), 5:1–137.

23. Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (London: Printed by Henry Denham for William Brome, 1584), 516.

Mosca's soliloquy, to which Jonson devotes an entire scene, makes explicit in characteristic Jonsonian fashion the link already embedded in his name. Although commentators are sometimes anxious to note that Mosca is more an insect than a mere fly, the senses of "fly" in *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) (s.v., "fly," n.1.5A–C) indicate that Mosca's self-description as a kind of spirit is no accident. A "fly" is both "a familiar demon (from the notion that devils were accustomed to assume the form of flies)" and "a parasite, flatterer (cf. L. *musca*)." Simply by naming his character Mosca, Jonson has already fused the notion of a parasite with what Scot refers to as "a flie, otherwise called a divell or familiar" (*Discoverie*, 3.15.51, qtd. in OED) and what Jonson himself has Face describe as the favor requested of Subtle by Dapper: "A rifling *flye*: none o' your great *familiars*" (*Alchemist*, 1.2. 84; qtd. in OED).

Despite the admitted lack of verbal parallels, Mosca's claims about his shape-shifting and his speed, and their implicit challenge to Scot's beliefs about the impossibility of changing one's elemental composition, invite comparison with Ariel's first two speeches in *The Tempest*. In the first, Ariel presents himself to Prospero as willing and able "To answer thy best pleasure, be't to fly, / To swim, to dive into the fire, to ride / On the curled clouds" (1.2.190–92). (As Orgel notes, Prospero later in the scene adds earth to the list of elements Ariel has claimed the ability to pass through.) Ariel's second speech, recounting his actions on the supposedly wrecked ship, focus more sharply on his miraculous instantaneity:

I boarded the King's ship; now on the beak,  
Now in the waist, the deck, in every cabin,  
I flamed amazement. Sometime I'd divide  
And burn in many places; on the topmast,  
The yards and bowsprit would I flame distinctly,  
Then meet and join. Jove's lightning, the precursors  
O'th'dreadful thunder-claps, more momentary  
And sight-outrunning were not. (1.2.196–203)

Prospero, although impatient with Ariel's desire for immediate freedom, routinely congratulates him on how well he has performed his tasks, just as Volpone enthusiastically praises Mosca's efforts on his behalf. Again, we might attribute this similarity to a shared literary convention in the treatment of masters and servants, but the prevalence of these comments in

both plays is striking.<sup>24</sup> In the final act the two pairs of characters also go through similar recounting of their plots to date, with diametrically opposite conclusions. After praising Ariel yet again at act 5, scene 1, line 95, and reviewing with him the state of their illusions, Prospero famously responds to Ariel's pity for the sufferers with his declaration, with its rationale borrowed from Florio's Montaigne, that he (or rather Ariel) will release them immediately, holding them "not a frown further" (5.1.30). In the parallel scene in *Volpone*, after Mosca has pulled off the miraculous rescue of Volpone in court, Volpone declares that Mosca has convinced him to seek revenge, first on Voltore but soon on all of the legacy-hunters:

'Tis right.  
I cannot answer him, Mosca, as I would,  
Not yet; but for thy sake, at thy intreaty,  
I will beginne, eu'n now, to vex 'hem all:  
This very instant. (5.2.53–57)

Volpone concludes the scene with the ironic instruction to Mosca to "Play the artificer now, torture 'hem, rarely" (5.2.111). Volpone's decision here leads to the play's less than entirely comic ending, whereas Prospero's decision to pursue mercy leads in the opposite direction.<sup>25</sup>

Because of Jonson's swipe at Shakespeare's unnatural monsters in the prologue of *Bartholomew Fair* (1614), the depiction of Caliban has long been a feature of comparisons of the two playwrights' aesthetic values.<sup>26</sup> Curiously, however, Shakespeare may well have been inspired to create much of the initial encounter of Stephano, Trinculo, and Caliban—the element of the play that most explicitly calls into question the audience's easy assumption that monstrosity is a quality of others—from a hint in *Volpone*: Peregrine's reduction of Sir Politic Would-Be to a creeping tortoise. The wonder with

24. See *Volpone*, 1.4.136–39, 1.5.84–93, 1.5.84–93, 3.5.24–25, and 5.2; and *Tempest*, 1.2.206, 215, 237–38; 3.3.83–88; 4.1.35–38, 184; and 5.1.95, 236, 241.

25. Although it is a minor parallel, it may be worth noting that Mosca refers twice to harpies like those that Ariel employs in the interrupted banquet. In act 5, scene 2, as Volpone describes how he will draw the legacy-hunters in to "peck for carrion . . . greedy, and full of expectation," Mosca interrupts by asking "And then to have it rauish'd from their mouths?" (5.2.63–68; see, by way of comparison, Mosca's earlier, more direct allusion to the harpies, 1.2.121–22).

26. For example, Harry Levin's "Two Magian Comedies: *The Tempest* and *The Alchemist*," *Shakespeare Survey* 22 (1969): 47–58 was among the most influential treatments of the theme of Jonson's Horatian stance, his lesser tolerance for the fantastic.

which the Mercatori in *Volpone* attempt to decipher or fix the category of Sir Pol—to understand what he is—finds its echo in the wonder first of Trinculo at Caliban and then, significantly, of Stephano at the combination of Caliban and Trinculo. Mark Thornton Burnett, in the most wide-ranging analysis of Caliban's and the play's place in early modern discourse on monstrosity and wonder, explores how the play alludes to representations, exhibitions, and exploitations of monstrosity that are both local (English and European) and exotic (tempered by colonial experience).<sup>27</sup> Trinculo's initial speech expresses both his wonder at whatever Caliban-under-the-cloak may be, and his sense of his potential value:

What have we here—a man or a fish?—dead or alive? A fish, he smells like a fish; a very ancient and fish-like smell; a kind of the not-of-the-newest poor-John. A strange fish! Were I in England now, as once I was, and had but this fish painted, not a holiday-fool there but would give a piece of silver. There would this monster make a man. When they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian. (2.2.24–32)

Trinculo does not, like Prospero earlier, call Caliban a “tortoise” (1.2.316), but his confusion over his fishiness reflects the play's unrelenting indeterminacy about Caliban's precise nature. We cannot know with certainty what inspired Shakespeare to represent Caliban as tortoise or fish-like, but Burnett's argument about the intersection of the local and the unfamiliar finds a parallel in what may have been two of the primary forms of inspiration: the scene in *Volpone* and a passage on tortoises in William Strachey's letter on the Bermudas and Virginia. “The tortoise,” Strachey notes, “is a reasonable toothsome (some say) wholesome meat. . . . It is such a kind of meat as a man can neither absolutely call fish nor flesh, keeping most what in the water, and feeding upon sea grass like a heifer.”<sup>28</sup> Strachey's reference to the heifer may have combined with the idea of the famous monkcalf to inspire Stephano's and Trinculo's repeated descriptions of Caliban as a “mooncalf” (2.2.102, 108, 129; 3.2.20), but more significantly the description of the tortoise may have triggered Shakespeare's recollection of the scene in *Volpone* and the complex of thoughts that made first

27. Mark Thornton Burnett, *Constructing “Monsters” in Shakespearean Drama and Early Modern Culture* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 125–53.

28. Qtd. in Orgel, *The Tempest*, 215.

Caliban and then Trinculo objects of wondrous speculation. Jonson himself draws attention, years before the publication of Strachey's letter, to the way in which Sir Pol and his tortoise shell might be yoked to the colonial discourse of wonders, wonders like those that Sebastian, Antonio, and Gonzalo refer to in act 3, scene 3 of *The Tempest*. Before they set upon Pol, the Mercatori and Peregrine discuss how their mock seizure might affect him:

MER. 2. If you could ship him away, 'twere excellent.

MER. 3. To *Zant*, or to *Alepo*?

PER. Yes, and ha' his  
Adventures put i'th' *booke of voyages*,  
And his guld story registred, for truth? (*Volpone*, 5.4.3–6)

Peregrine's comments on the fate of Pol's stories once he has become a traveler finds an echo in Antonio's response to the wondrous banquet of act 3, scene 3, when he declares with Sebastian that he will now believe in the unicorn and the phoenix:

I'll believe both;  
And what does else want credit, come to me,  
And I'll be sworn 'tis true. Travellers ne'er did lie,  
Though fools at home condemn 'em. (*Tempest*, 3.3.24–7)<sup>29</sup>

When Peregrine warns Pol that the officials are arriving, Pol reveals that he has "an ingine" to avoid capture, since, like Caliban, he wants to avoid the expected "torture." His premeditated solution (for trouble that he should never expect to be in, which is part of the joke here) is "a tortoise-shell, / Fitted, for these extremities," which he proudly confirms to Peregrine to be "Mine owne device" (*Volpone*, 5.4.59–60). The scene is as farcical as that in *The Tempest*, but more obviously cruel. Caliban's disguise, because spontaneous, is less ridiculous than Pol's. Trinculo's reaction to Caliban is certainly degrading, but because Prospero had already treated Caliban as monstrous, the subsequent treatment of him as a puzzling thing comes as little surprise to the audience, and is less shockingly degrading. In social terms, the knight suffers a greater indignity than the servant, which is of course not to say that he suffers more:

29. At this locus, Herford and Simpson read Peregrine's comment as indicating that the unspecified *booke of voyages* will record the story of Pol's gulling, but that sense seems wrong given the contrast between "guld" and "truth," and the longstanding joke about the lies of travelers and sailors.



MER. 1. Where's he hid?  
 MER. 3. We must,  
 And will, sure, find him.  
 MER. 2. Which is his study?  
 MER. 1. What  
 Are you, sir?  
 PER. I'm a merchant, that came here  
 To looke vpon this tortoise.  
 MER. 3. How?  
 MER. 1. St. Marke!  
 What beast is this?  
 PER. It is a fish.  
 MER. 2. Come out, here.  
 PER. Nay, you may strike him, sir, and tread vpon him:  
 He'll beare a cart.  
 MER. 1. What, to runne ouer him?  
 PER. Yes.  
 MER. 3. Let's iump vpon him.  
 MER. 2. Can he not go?  
 PER. He creeps, sir.  
 MER. 1. Let's see him creepe.  
 PER. No, good sir, you will hurt him.  
 MER. 2. (Heart) I'le see him creepe, or pricke his guts.  
 (*Volpone*, 5.4.61–70)

Once they have uncovered him, the Mercatori register their astonishment: MER. 1. "Twere a rare motion, to be seene in *Fleet-Street!*" / MER. 2. I, i'the terme. MER. 1. Or *Smithfield*, in the faire" (5.4.76–77). Pol as tortoise, say the Mercatori, is as rare and spectacular a wonder as those that Trinculo once saw in England, and is just as likely to draw an audience; just as Trinculo wishes to exhibit Caliban, so Peregrine wishes to stage a play featuring a character such as Sir Politic (2.1.56). When Trinculo is forced to escape the storm, he too "creeps," joining Caliban under the cloak to create yet another wonder—two distincts, division none—that embodies as a physical emblem the verbal conjunction in his speech about the dead Indian, linking monster and man to force the audience to ask which is which.<sup>30</sup>

30. To "creep," as *OED* stresses (s.v., "creep," *n*.1.A), is "to move with the body prone and close to the ground, as a short-legged reptile, an insect, a quadruped moving stealthily, a human being on hands and feet, or in a crouching posture. Formerly said of snakes, worms, and other creatures without limbs, for which crawl is now more usual, though in some cases either may be used." Even in his most abject self-accusation, Hamlet describes himself as "crawling" rather than creeping "between heaven and earth" (*Hamlet*, 3.1.128). William Shakespeare, *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt et

Reduced therefore to creeping, Sir Pol is no longer the plotting, aspiring, would-be politician. Like nearly all of the other characters in the play, he is revealed, shamefully, as beastly. And he knows it. As he says, this shaming will make him

the fable of all feasts;  
The freight of the *gazetti*; ship-boyes tale;  
And, which is worst, euen talke for ordinaries. (5.4.82–84)

Jonson expects his audience to be capable, like Sir Pol himself, of drawing the appropriate moral from his humiliation: that he should henceforth

shunne, this place, and clime for euer;  
Creeping, with house, on backe: and think it well,  
To shrink my poore head, in my politique shell. (5.4.87–89)<sup>31</sup>

And there is the rub, because the similar moment in *The Tempest* is hardly a moment of solid Horatian judgment; what in Jonson is one in a series of brilliant satirical exposures is in Shakespeare an acute moment of indeterminacy and instability. As Platt states, “Caliban—in all of his liminality—forces the audience to reconsider many of the seemingly stable binary relationships in *The Tempest*, especially those between nature and culture, freedom and slavery.”<sup>32</sup> Here, as in the departure from Marlowe by showing little interest in the question of Prospero’s damnation, we see Shakespeare doing with his inspiration what may be most characteristic of him: employing similarity to show difference. In muddling the clear moral purpose of Jonson’s example, however, Shakespeare is still paying a kind of tribute to his rival, acknowledging the comic potential of the scene Jonson has created while reshaping it.

For all of the thinking Shakespeare’s tortoise scene incites, for all the seriousness of its purpose, it remains the single funniest element of the play, as befits a tribute to the playwright who comes closest to matching Shakespeare in comic achievement; it seems more than coincidental that Shakespeare would incorporate

al., 2nd edition (New York: Norton, 2008), 1683–1784.

31. Ian Donaldson and James Creaser have provided excellent glosses on learned and popular uses of the tortoise as an emblem, but I have not discovered useful links between those glosses and Shakespeare’s use of the tortoise in *The Tempest*. See Donaldson, “Jonson’s Tortoise,” *Review of English Studies*, n.s., 19.74 (1968): 162–66; and Creaser, “The Popularity of Jonson’s Tortoise,” *Review of English Studies*, n.s., 27.105 (1976): 38–46.

32. Platt, *Shakespeare and the Culture of Paradox*, 202.

inspiration with tragic potential from Marlowe and inspiration with comic potential from Jonson. In each case, the most telling element of his development of the material is his shaping it in directions that, while inviting recognition of its origins in the works of Marlowe and Jonson, illuminate his own preoccupations, with forgiveness rather than damnation, and with the factors that complicate the process of judgment (and interpretation) rather than making it straightforward. We will never know to what degree our association of Shakespeare the author with Prospero the magician is a product of our imaginations rather than Shakespeare's, but even Orgel, who is especially skeptical about the association, finds that "there is a profoundly retrospective quality to the drama, which is deeply involved in recounting and re-enacting past action, in evoking and educating the memory" (5). Shakespeare, if anyone, was profoundly aware of time's thievish progress to eternity, or at least to retirement and the death it shadows, and in *The Tempest* his backward glance is wide enough to embrace those who accompanied him furthest on his journey.

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SARA MUNSON DEATS

Mars or Gorgon? Tamburlaine and  
Henry V

Let him forever go!—Let him not, Charmian,  
Though he be painted one way like a Gorgon,  
The other way's a Mars.

(*Antony and Cleopatra*, 2.5.117–19)

Early modern audiences were fascinated with dramas that presented multiple views of reality, like the perspective painting that Cleopatra refers to in the opening epigram.<sup>1</sup> Critics offer a number of explanations for the popularity at this particular historical moment of highly ambiguous dramas. Joel Altman situates these problematic dramas within the rhetorical tradition of arguing on both sides of the question. He theorizes that the interrogative plays so popular at this time are constructed from a series of statements and counter statements, both equally valid, thereby imitating the form of a sophistical debate in which thesis evokes antithesis yet without resolving synthesis.<sup>2</sup> Annabel Patterson, proposing a more pragmatic explanation for this pervasive ambiguity, posits “functional ambiguity” as the response of William Shakespeare and his contemporaries to the censorship laws of the 1590s. She suggests that these laws constrained the playwrights to

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1. All quotations from William Shakespeare's works are taken from David Bevington, ed., *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, 4th ed. (New York: HarperCollins, 1997). Hereafter cited parenthetically by title and appropriate locating details.

2. Joel B. Altman, *The Tudor Play of Mind: Rhetorical Inquiry and the Development of Elizabethan Drama* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1978), 71.

obscure the subversive material in their texts beneath the cloak of indirection and to craft plays that they intended to be experienced differently by diverse audiences.<sup>3</sup> More central to my thesis, Ernest B. Gilman links the early modern admiration for multiple perspectives in literature to the period's delight in dual aspect paintings that alter configuration with a shift in position, whereby from one perspective an image might appear as a Gorgon, from the other as a Mars.<sup>4</sup>

However, although the multiplicity of the early modern drama has long been a commonplace, until recently, most of the criticism has focused on Shakespeare's plays, largely ignoring Christopher Marlowe's contribution. The dialectical tension in Shakespeare has been examined with microscopic intensity, associated with everything from Niels Bohr's theory of complementarity to the gestaltist paradigm of the rabbit/duck to Patterson's "functional ambiguity," whereas the salient heteroglossia of Marlowe's plays has been comparatively neglected.<sup>5</sup> Speaking for the traditional view, Kenneth Muir comments, "in one respect, perhaps, Marlowe could not have been a serious rival to Shakespeare, the respect in which Shakespeare was unique—his use of 'conflicting impressions' of his characters to create the illusion of life."<sup>6</sup> There have, of course, been exceptions to this conventional wisdom. Altman includes *Doctor Faustus* as a species of explorative rather than demonstrative drama; Lawrence Danson casts Marlovian drama in an interrogative mode; James Shapiro comments on Marlowe's ambiguous juxtaposition of heterodox behavior and moral closure; and Robert A. Logan identifies Marlowe's ambiguity as aesthetically

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3. Annabel Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England* (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1984), 17–18.

4. Ernest B. Gilman, *The Curious Perspective: Literary and Pictorial Wit in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1978), 35–38.

5. For discussions of Shakespeare's complementarity, see Norman Rabkin, *Shakespeare and the Common Understanding* (New York: Free, 1967), 1–30; for an analysis of the gestalt of Shakespeare's plays, see Rabkin's *Shakespeare and the Problem of Meaning* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1981), 22–27; for an examination of the functional ambiguity in Shakespeare's drama, see Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation*, 18.

6. See Kenneth Muir, "Marlowe and Shakespeare," in *"A Poet and a Filthy Playmaker": New Essays on Christopher Marlowe*, ed. Kenneth Friedenreich, Roma Gill, and Constance B. Kuriyama (New York: AMS, 1988), 1–12, 11.

characteristic of him.<sup>7</sup> However, despite the growing awareness of the contrariety in Marlowe's texts, a much greater emphasis has been placed on the multiplicity of Shakespeare's dramas than on the ambiguity in Marlowe's plays; thus, I judge this an area of Marlowe studies that invites further exploration. In this essay, I shall argue that long before Shakespeare created his famous dual aspect characters, Marlowe anticipated Shakespeare's famed complementarity, etching perspective portraits every bit as multifaceted as those limned by Shakespeare. Although I realize that direct influence is a notoriously difficult nexus to validate, I shall suggest that in the character of Tamburlaine Marlowe depicts a Mars-Gorgon portrait that might have served as a model for Shakespeare's perspective portrait of Henry V, from one view the ideal Christian prince, from the other a scheming Machiavel.<sup>8</sup>

For reasons of symmetry, I shall treat only *1 Tamburlaine*, since the parallelism between Marlowe's and Shakespeare's plays breaks down considerably in *2 Tamburlaine*. However, in addition to creating intriguing perspective portraits, *1 Tamburlaine* and *Henry V* (1599) offer other striking structural and thematic similarities:

(1) Both plays dramatize the military conquests of a martial hero who encounters a series of increasingly challenging political and military hurdles and surmounts them all through a combination of armed force and rhetorical eloquence. The trajectory of each chronicle is thus structured around a type of dramatic *incrementum*, a "form of speech which by degrees ascendeth to the top of something."<sup>9</sup> In *1 Tamburlaine* and *Henry V*, Marlowe and

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7. Altman, *Tudor Play of Mind*, 322–88; Lawrence Danson, "Marlowe the Questioner," *English Literary Renaissance* 12.1 (1982): 3–29; James Shapiro, *Rival Playwrights: Marlowe, Jonson, Shakespeare* (New York: Columbia UP, 1991), 96; Robert A. Logan, "Violence, Terrorism, and War in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* Plays," in *War and Words: Horror and Heroism in the Literature of Warfare*, ed. Sara Munson Deats, Lagretta Tallent Lenker, and Merry G. Perry (New York: Lexington Books, 2004), 65–81.

8. This essay expands material incorporated earlier in my essay, "Marlowe's Interrogative Drama: *Dido*, *Tamburlaine*, *Faustus*, and *Edward II*" in *Marlowe's Empery: Expanding His Critical Contexts*, ed. Sara Munson Deats and Robert A. Logan (Newark: U of Delaware P, 2002), 107–32, especially 117–20. It also draws material from my book *Sex, Gender, and Desire in the Plays of Christopher Marlowe* (Newark: U of Delaware P, 1997), 125–50; and from my essay, "Henry V at War: Christian King or Model Machiavel," in *War and Words*, ed. Deats, Lenker, and Perry, 83–101.

9. Donald Peet discusses the use of rhetoric and the device of *incrementum* in "The

Shakespeare achieve a stunning coherence between language and form by paralleling their hero's rhetorical use of *incrementum* with his martial and amorous ascent, as the warrior king's increasingly hyperbolic victories parallel his increasingly hyperbolic language.

(2) In both plays, despite highly questionable behavior, the hero evokes extravagant praise, often from friend and foe alike, and to a marked degree, his character is developed through choral statements by the other dramatis personae.

(3) Arguably, both plays stress the hiatus between words and deeds, juxtaposing high, astounding rhetoric with problematic actions.

(4) Both plays conclude with a marriage in which the hero wins the hand—and presumably the love—of the daughter of his enemy and makes peace with his opponents.

The two plays were penned at a time of national crisis, and their ambiguity might derive from the conflicting attitudes toward war roiling the political waters in the 1580s and 1590s. Both *Tamburlaine* and *Henry V* focus on war, and as Barnabe Riche proclaims, “neyther hath arte ever sought out a subject more ambiguous.”<sup>10</sup> We are not sure when *Tamburlaine* was written, but scholars speculate that Marlowe probably composed both parts of the play in 1587, while he was at Cambridge; scholars date *Henry V* around 1599.<sup>11</sup> England throughout the late 1580s and 1590s, like post-9/11 America, experienced a national paranoia stimulated by fears of attacks from both internal and external enemies. Rumors of internal plots against the life of Queen Elizabeth continued for over a decade and for most of this time England was on red alert for an attack from Spain, realized in the encroachment of the

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Rhetoric of *Tamburlaine*,” *English Literary History* 26.2 (1959): 137–55, 145–46.

10. Barnabe Riche, *A Souldiers Wishe to Britons Welfare* (1604), qtd. in Nick de Somogyi, *Shakespeare's Theatre of War* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1998), 72. For a discussion of society's ambivalent love-hate relationship to war, in both the past and the present, see the introduction to *War and Words*, ed. Deats, Lenker, and Perry, 1–15.

11. See *Doctor Faustus and Other Plays*, ed. David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1995), xxxv, for the dating of *Tamburlaine*. All quotations from *Tamburlaine* are taken from this edition. For the dating of *Henry V*, see Bevington, *Works of Shakespeare*, 849. See also James Shapiro, *A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare: 1599* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2005), 85–103.

Armada of 1588. Although this dreaded invasion was successfully repulsed through the ingenuity of the small, swift English ships and the seemingly providential stormy weather, there was no assurance that another, more powerful fleet would not be mounted.

Marlowe's two *Tamburlaine* plays exploded onto the English stage during a time of tremendous tension between the militant strategies of the court hawks—the Earl of Leicester, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Sir Francis Drake—and the more cautious policies of Elizabeth and her councilors. In 1587, England embarked on two military interventions: one in the Low Countries to aid their revolt against Spain; the other in France to assist Navarre against the Guise. Some combative Protestants, chafing against the lack of success in these military endeavors, blamed Elizabeth's lukewarm support for both incursions. Indeed, despite her reluctant endorsement of these two forays, she viewed war as a terrible waste of both human life and much-needed money and was futilely negotiating for peace even as the Armada prepared for attack. But war fever was in the air and many bellicose Protestants, rejecting their Queen's pacifism, longed for a strong, martial leader around whom they could rally, and *Tamburlaine* may have offered them just such a vicarious model. Leah Marcus speculates that part of *Tamburlaine*'s appeal to the audiences of the time derived from the ease with which he accomplished what the "war-mongering" English Protestants could not, as *Tamburlaine* moves effortlessly from conquest to conquest. Logan summarizes: "In portraying the glories of conquest by a superhuman figure, the two plays feed the desire of the English in the 1580s and 1590s for a heroic military commander."<sup>12</sup>

War fever did not cease with the defeat of the Armada nor did the national angst. The populace understood that although one enemy had been destroyed, other, more powerful fleets might still be launched, and in the years after the defeat, England

12. Leah S. Marcus, "Epilogue: Marlowe *in tempore belli*," in *War and Words*, ed. Deats, Lenker, and Perry, 295–316, 302; and Logan, "Violence, Terrorism, and War," 78. For a discussion of the national paranoia seizing England in the 1590s and the ideological conflicts of the period, see Marcus, "Marlowe *in tempore belli*"; de Somogyi, *Theatre of War*, 2–3, 118; Alison Weir, *The Life of Elizabeth I* (New York: Ballantine, 1998); and Shapiro, *Year in the Life*.



experienced enormous anxiety that a subsequent Armada might succeed. This overwhelming fear of a second invasion reached its apogee in 1599, the very year that Shakespeare wrote *Henry V*. Moreover, mirroring the conflict of the pre-Armada years, England in the 1590s not only experienced tremendous apprehension over homeland security and terrorism but also a rancorous political conflict between the war party of the Earl of Essex and Raleigh and the peace party of Sir William Cecil, Elizabeth's prime minister. Some citizens, seeking an accommodation through diplomatic negotiations, favored Cecil and his peace faction, while others, desperate for an invincible military leader, found one in the saber-rattling Essex, a controversial figure who, according to some scholars, offered a model for Henry V.<sup>13</sup> I suggest that in this time of political turmoil, Shakespeare, seeking to embody his own ambivalent feelings toward war and conquest, might well have turned to Marlowe's tremendously popular, multifaceted Tamburlaine as a model for his own warrior monarch.

Meander explicitly introduces the perspective puzzle of Tamburlaine, a paradox sparking heated debate for over four hundred years: "Some power divine, or else infernal, mixed / Their angry seeds at his conception" (*1Tam*, 2.6.9–10). The prologue offers a clue to this enigma while simultaneously announcing Marlowe's new dramatic credo: He will eschew the doggerel and comic antics cluttering the stage at this time and reject the strident and reductive didacticism that often turned plays into sermons, the stage into a pulpit. This play, instead of holding up a homiletic mirror to magistrates, will project a speaking picture in a tragic glass that audience members can judge for themselves. Thus, one is explicitly invited to view Marlowe's titanic hero as either a Mars or a Gorgon, depending upon one's critical perspective at any given moment.

According to Nick de Somogyi, the dual aspect of Tamburlaine was embedded in the ideological tradition from which Marlowe

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13. Bevington suggests this parallel to Essex in his notes on *Henry V*, in *Works of Shakespeare*, 887n29–34. Shapiro also discusses the analogy between Henry's French campaign and Essex's Irish one in *Year in the Life*, 88–90.

drew in his portrait of the ruthlessly efficient conqueror. On the one hand, the historical figure was not only widely accepted as a paragon of soldiership but he “was glorified by the Italian humanists as a perfect prince of *virtù*, pre-eminent through deeds rather than birth.”<sup>14</sup> Alan Shepard supports this positive interpretation, citing the many favorable references to the historical Tamburlaine in the military manuals of the period.<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, moralists adduced his victories as evidence of “God’s purposive punishment” by a “tyrannical scourge.”<sup>16</sup> I suggest that both of these traditions converge in Marlowe’s Janus-faced portrait.

Critical consensus accepts Tamburlaine’s role as an archetypal overreacher, an emblem of overweening ambition and martial prowess. At issue is the expected audience response to his Herculean strengths and cruelties. He evokes both extravagant praise and censure from friends and foes, and to a large degree, his character is developed through choral comment. This hero’s initial image, sketched from the vantage of his enemies, presents him as a sturdy Scythian thief (1.1.36) and preying fox (1.1.31). However, in the next scene, his erstwhile antagonist Theridamas paints a very different portrait, depicting Tamburlaine not as a rustic bandit but as a godlike conqueror (1.2.155–61; 210–11). Later, Menaphon, Tamburlaine’s temporary ally, employs a mythic palette to portray him as the ideal man, mighty as Atlas, beautiful as Achilles, associated with royalty, majesty, and divinity, the heavenly spheres, and the biblical pearl of great price (2.1.7–26). In a much briefer diatribe, his enemies, Mycetes and Meander, caricature the presumptuous shepherd as a “thievish villain” leading a horde of undisciplined ruffians (2.2.3; 44). Later, Marlowe similarly juxtaposes contradictory views of his mighty hero. Agydas delineates him as a bellicose Mars, flashing fierce looks as he rattles forth his facts of war and blood (3.2.40–46), whereas Zenocrate limns an amorous and eloquent Apollo, as lovely as the sun shining through Nilus’s flowing stream (3.2.47–55). Tamburlaine’s final portrait, drawn in crude and angry strokes by the aggrieved Sultan of Egypt,

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14. de Somogyi, *Theatre of War*, 64.

15. Alan Shepard, *Marlowe’s Soldiers: Rhetorics of Masculinity in the Age of the Armada* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2002), 21–22.

16. de Somogyi, *Theatre of War*, 64.

counterbalances Menaphon's earlier encomium, transforming the princely lion into a savage boar and spoiling wolf, the god into a monstrous Hydra, and the titan into a "sturdy felon," "baseborn thief," and "usurping vagabond" (2.1.7–30; 4.3.1–22). Nevertheless, throughout the play praise far outweighs censure, and ultimately all of Tamburlaine's detractors are either dead or converted.

In view of the wealth of praise lavished on Tamburlaine, as well as his stunning successes and magnificent rhetoric, it is hard to deny that the events of *1 Tamburlaine* support the Scythian's amoral vision of history. In the play, Marlowe's hero encounters a series of increasingly challenging opponents whom he overcomes with remarkable sprezzatura. He first conquers the craven Mycetes, then the deceitful Cosroe, later the formidable Bajazeth, and ultimately, the mighty Sultan of Egypt. Moreover, those seeking to construct Tamburlaine as an indomitable Mars, the embodiment of the heroic masculine ideal, receive considerable support from the military treatises of the day written by men such as George Whetstone and Raymond de Beccarie de Pavie, sieur de Fourquevaux, and also from the contemporaneous conduct books, such as Baldassare Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier* (1528).<sup>17</sup> I shall outline the arguments of these Tamburlaine apologists below.

First, Tamburlaine is not born but becomes a warrior. A consummate showman, Tamburlaine exhausts the properties of the stage to effect his role creation as he strips to reveal the resplendent armor shrouded by his pastoral weeds. Through this action, he exemplifies Whetstone's dictum that the reputation of a soldier "resteth on deeds rather than blood."<sup>18</sup> Moreover, in his debut, Tamburlaine conflates the attributes of the puissant warrior and eloquent orator, as envisioned by Castiglione, as the passionate shepherd turned martial hero persuades Theridamas as well as

17. For a discussion of George Whetstone, see de Somogyi, *Theatre of War*, 65; for Raymond de Beccarie de Pavie, sieur de Fourquevaux, see Nina Taunton, *1590s Drama and Militarism: Portrayals of War in Marlowe, Chapman, and Shakespeare's "Henry V"* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2001), 61–62; see also Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, in *Three Renaissance Classics*, ed. Burton A. Milligan (New York: Scribner, 1953), 242–618.

18. Whetstone, *The Honourable Reputation of a Souldier* (1586), qtd. in de Somogyi, *Theatre of War*, 65.

Zenocrate to live with him. The classical allusions saturating the hyperboles of both Tamburlaine and Theridamas further endow the erstwhile shepherd with the divine attributes of the gods, likening him to Jove (1.2.199), Apollo (1.2.40, 212), Hercules (1.2.160–61), and Hermes (1.2.210), figures traditionally epitomizing power, rationality, strength, and eloquence respectively, cardinal virtues in the rubric of heroic masculinity. Commentators have remarked on the homoerotic overtones permeating Tamburlaine's passionate address to Theridamas (1.2.166–209), noting that although Tamburlaine woos Zenocrate with admitted flattery (1.2.107–8), he reserves his most persuasive rhetoric for Theridamas. However, as other critics remind us, at this time male bonding was an integral aspect of masculine *virtù*.<sup>19</sup> Thus, in embracing male bonding and objectifying women, Tamburlaine arguably conforms to the heroic masculine ideal.

Pro-Tamburlaine commentators insist that throughout the first three acts of the play, Tamburlaine continues to perform the heroic masculine ideal and to maintain the allegiance of the audience as he overcomes, one after the other, the inferior rivals who seek to impede his meteoric rise to power. Tamburlaine discovers the first of these rivals—Mycetes, the jejune King of Persia—on the battlefield. Since the pusillanimous ruler offers no match for the redoubtable Scythian, in the best Anglo-Saxon tradition of fair play, Tamburlaine refuses to take advantage of such a craven. After a somewhat comic tussle over the crown, he returns the royal symbol, vowing to seize it again in a more equal fight. Tamburlaine undoubtedly keeps his oath, because the next time we see him, he has procured the contested crown. However, the play declines to show the lowborn hero besting the royal milksop, as this would surely diminish his heroic statue. Moreover, according to Nina Taunton, Mycetes's cowardice violates all military mandates for the ideal leader; thus, he is “justifiably mocked, humiliated and divested of his kingdom.”<sup>20</sup>

19. See Bruce R. Smith, *Homosexual Desire in Shakespeare's England: A Cultural Poetics* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1991), 171; Phyllis Rackin, “Historical Difference/Sexual Difference,” in *Privileging Gender in Early Modern England*, ed. Jean R. Brink, *Sixteenth-Century Essays and Studies* 23 (Kirkville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal, 1993), 37–64, especially 40–41.

20. Taunton, *1590s Drama and Militarism*, 59.

The first five scenes of act 2 develop the plots and counterplots whereby Tamburlaine seizes the crown of Persia: The Scythian chieftain allies himself first with Cosroe in the overthrow of Mycetes and then double crosses his erstwhile partner to grab the crown for himself. Although this treacherous behavior might arouse uncertainty—after all, according to Fourquevaux in his *Instructions for the Warres* (1589), treachery deserves the most stringent punishment—Cosroe's betrayal of his own brother invites a reciprocal betrayal, making his punishment fit his crime.<sup>21</sup> Tamburlaine's failure to pledge fealty to Cosroe further mitigates his deception, although Techelles does falsely swear allegiance (2.3.33–34). Furthermore, Tamburlaine's warning to his former ally, granting Cosroe time to marshal additional warriors (2.5.99–103), conforms to conventional standards of martial fair play and further extenuates the double-cross. In addition, Cosroe, the first onstage casualty of Tamburlaine's escalating ascent, dies from wounds honorably suffered in battle; and although these are probably inflicted by Tamburlaine, in part 1 of the play we never see the Scythian warrior kill anyone on stage. Cosroe's death further inspires one of Tamburlaine's most memorable speeches, his famous apologia to conquest (2.7.12–29). Thus, by the end of act 2, according to Tamburlaine's apologists, the conqueror's heroic image remains virtually untarnished.

In act 3, scene 2, Tamburlaine overhears Agydas's violent protest against Zenocrate's love for her conqueror and, furious at his captive's temerity, sends the Median lord a naked dagger and a terse command. The terrified Agydas then stabs himself to prevent the humiliation and torture that he fears (probably correctly) as a punishment for his candor. However, Tamburlaine's cruelty to him—although certainly indefensible to a modern audience—might have appeared less reprehensible when viewed through the prism of current military conduct books. Fourquevaux, for example, placed the highest value on obedience as a means of maintaining order and instructs commanders to practice extreme severity to disobedient subordinates.<sup>22</sup> Thus, arguably, Tamburlaine's callous removal of all opposition might be applauded as sound military policy.

21. Qtd. in Taunton, *1590s Drama and Militarism*, 59.

22. Taunton, *1590s Drama and Militarism*, 59–60.

The brutal treatment of Bajazeth and Zabina introduces a more serious challenge to Tamburlaine's heroic image. However, according to Tamburlaine's defenders, even in act 4, the play carefully avoids alienating audience identification, palliating the viciousness of its hero through the debasement of his victims. Significantly, the play alters its sources to degrade the historically heroic Turkish ruler into a bombastic bully—first a ranting Herod, later a *miles gloriosus*, who blusters and swaggers but flees from battle (3.3). The play further stresses Bajazeth's role as persecutor of Christians (3.3.44–60), and an early modern audience schooled in hatred of the Turks might judge the caging and “dieting” of Bajazeth poetic justice for his chaining and starving of the Christians.<sup>23</sup> As Marcus observes, some of the chronicles stress Tamburlaine's violence against Christians, but Marlowe's drama displaces this aggression onto the despised Turk.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, as Muriel C. Bradbrook remarks, the stage tableau of Tamburlaine mounting the throne on the back of the kneeling Bajazeth “recalls Foxe's picture of Henry VIII throned and making a footstool of the Pope.”<sup>25</sup> This, I suggest, visually links the Scythian conqueror with the Protestant reformers. Also, the term “Turk” had become at this period a byword for cruelty, often associated not only with Islam but also with the Catholic enemies of Protestant England, particularly Spain. Tamburlaine apologists thus assert that these associations would connect the conquest of the Turk to the vanquishing of England's Catholic enemies, thereby mitigating Tamburlaine's sadism and maintaining audience admiration for the Scythian chieftain.

Most critics agree that the impaling of the innocent virgins presents the greatest threat to audience allegiance. However, the slaughter mercifully takes place offstage, and the play shifts the

23. Leslie Spence argues that Tamburlaine's cruelty to Bajazeth would be inexcusable had Marlowe's Bajazeth been the valiant leader portrayed by history. She argues that Marlowe exculpates Tamburlaine by debasing his enemy. “Tamburlaine and Marlowe,” *PMLA* 42.3 (1927): 604–22, 612–14.

24. Marcus, “Marlowe *in tempore belli*,” 300.

25. Muriel C. Bradbrook, “The Inheritance of Christopher Marlowe,” *Theology* 67 (1964): 298–305, 302. For a fuller treatment of the issue, see William J. Brown, “Marlowe's Debasement of Bajazet: Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* and *Tamburlaine, Part I*,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 24.1 (1971): 38–48.

blame for this atrocity from Tamburlaine to the obstinate governor (5.1.24–33; 92–3), thereby tempering audience revulsion. Moreover, Tamburlaine's pity, expressed fleetingly in poignant poetry (5.1.64–73), and his pragmatic rationale for his brutality—the populace of Damascus must be made a graphic example to others who would resist the conqueror (4.4.76–87)—arguably vindicate his ruthlessness. Indeed, Marcus contends that this act “is required by Tamburlaine's own apocalyptic semiotics of war, in which the black tents and costumes of the third day of siege invariably presage death.”<sup>26</sup> Taunton concurs, maintaining that Tamburlaine's destruction of Damascus conforms to the directives of early modern military treatises, which require the “ideal general” to adhere to his vows even if he sometimes appears cruel. She concludes that, since Tamburlaine has given the citizens three chances to surrender, he has no alternative but to raze the resisting town.<sup>27</sup> Lisa Hopkins adduces an additional topical relevance, speculating that the slaughter of the virgins debunks the cult of the virgin Queen Elizabeth.<sup>28</sup> These multiple associations identifying Tamburlaine with Henry VIII, the Protestant armies, and the war party defying Queen Elizabeth might converge to establish the Scythian warrior as victor over the two *bêtes noires* of Elizabethan society: the Muslim Turks and the Catholic Spaniards. Tamburlaine might thus present to the frustrated militants in the Elizabethan audience the image not of a savage Mogul warlord but of a valiant, aggressive Protestant leader, offering a stark contrast to the vacillating Elizabeth and her cautious councilors. Finally, Tamburlaine's elevation in this scene of “masculine” resolution over “feminine” mercy, and indeed the repeated rejection of effeminacy throughout the play, might be intended to feed Elizabethan “war fever” and symbolically undermine the authority of Elizabeth herself.<sup>29</sup>

26. Marcus, “Marlowe *in tempore belli*,” 307.

27. Taunton, *1590s Drama and Militarism*, 60.

28. Lisa Hopkins, *Christopher Marlowe: A Literary Life* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), 109.

29. For the portrait of Tamburlaine as the Protestant hero, see Marcus, “Marlowe *in tempore belli*,” 298–307. For the play as undermining the authority of Elizabeth, see Hopkins, *Literary Life*, 108–110.

Tamburlaine's next entrance presents the conqueror magnanimously pardoning the captured Sultan of Egypt as a token of his love for the "divine" Zenocrate, who, he proclaims, has "calmed the fury" of his sword (5.1.436), leading to the conclusion that at the end of the play Venus disarms Mars as love triumphs over strife.<sup>30</sup> Conversely, giving a biblical twist to this scene of reconciliation, John Parker associates Tamburlaine's earlier *psychomachia* at the walls of Damascus with the crisis of conscience experienced on the road to Damascus by Saint Paul. In Parker's reading, although Tamburlaine initially rejects mercy, he later "converts," spares Zenocrate, and the bloody spectacle resolves into a comedy.<sup>31</sup>

Pro-Tamburlaine critics argue that in his final disarming and truce, Tamburlaine achieves a Hegelian synthesis between the play's martial thesis and its pacific antithesis, a triumphant union of opposites celebrated by both a coronation and a wedding. Furthermore, despite the audience uncertainty provoked by Tamburlaine's brutal actions—particularly the slaying of the innocent virgins and the torture of Bajazeth and Zabina—no surviving character censures Tamburlaine at the end of the play; Zenocrate loves him still in spite of his savagery; all of his enemies are either dead or converted; and the multiple *de casibus* warnings come to naught. Therefore, the triumphant Tamburlaine, linked through verbal and visual imagery with Mars and Jove, Henry VIII and the militant Protestants, and even Saint Paul, makes peace with the entire world.

However, other commentators view the text differently. Many scholars who evaluate Tamburlaine in light of contemporaneous military theory tend to find him a problematic figure.<sup>32</sup> Other interpreters identify the verbal and visual ironies that permeate the

30. See Warren D. Smith, "The Substance of Meaning in *Tamburlaine, Part I*," *Studies in Philology* 67.2 (1970): 156–66; and G. I. Duthie, "The Dramatic Structure in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great, Parts I and II*," in *Christopher Marlowe's "Tamburlaine, Part One and Part Two": Text and Major Criticism*, ed. Irving Ribner (Indianapolis: Odyssey, 1974), 209–36, 225.

31. John Parker, *The Aesthetics of Antichrist: From Christian Drama to Christopher Marlowe* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2007), 224.

32. See Shepard, *Marlowe's Soldiers*; and Simon Barker, *War and Nation in the Theatre of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2007).



play, undermining the ostensible celebration of Tamburlaine, while suggesting that Marlowe's irony often encompasses not only his characters but the more unaware members of his audience as well.<sup>33</sup> Much of this irony results from the play's juxtaposition of glorious oratory with savage feats—some performed, others only described. For example, Tamburlaine's stirring defense of masculine aggression (2.7.12–29) is ironically undercut not only by the famous bathos of its final line but also by the stage tableau of the bleeding Cosroe dying at the conqueror's feet. Later, the drama counterpoises Tamburlaine's most heinous crime, the slaughter of the virgins, with his most eloquent and philosophical speech, his disquisition on the nature of beauty and its influence upon the warrior (5.1.135–90). The lacuna between words and deeds becomes even more marked at the conclusion of the play when he pledges peace with the world while dressed in a blood-red robe and standing amid sprawling corpses.<sup>34</sup>

Most commentators agree that throughout the first two acts of the play, Tamburlaine successfully performs the heroic masculine ideal and probably maintains the allegiance of most of his audience. However, many contend that his restless upward climb toward power is accompanied by an increasing callousness as he rejects the feminine in his nature and ossifies into masculine rigidity.<sup>35</sup> His treatment of his enemies provides an index of his increasing brutalization.

Most audiences would applaud Tamburlaine's removal of the timorous Mycetes and the perfidious Cosroe, men clearly unworthy to rule. However, Tamburlaine treats Agydas in a much less defensible manner, especially since the Median lord, loyal to his princess while reckless of his own safety, provides a much more sympathetic opponent. According to Clifford Leech, the forced suicide of Agydas interjects the first note of dubiety

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33. A leading spokesperson for this view is Richard Hardin, "Irony and Privilege in Marlowe," *Centennial Review* 33.3 (1989): 207–27.

34. Simon Shepherd, in *Marlowe and the Politics of Elizabethan Theatre* (New York: St. Martin's, 1986), 23–24, comments on the disparity between verbal and visual imagery in the last scene of the play.

35. For the conflict within Tamburlaine between masculine honor and feminine love, see Deats, *Sex, Gender, and Desire*, 141–46.

concerning Tamburlaine into the play.<sup>36</sup> This is exacerbated by the Scythian's barbaric baiting not only of his captured foe Bajazeth but also of the Turk's wife Zabina. Manly resolution here blurs into sadism. Although the torture of Bajazeth might be partially exonerated by the degradation of the Turkish leader and his historical persecution of Christians, the savage tormenting of Zabina with its overtones of cannibalism should be repellent to any audience of any period.

The slaughter of the innocent virgins increases audience disenchantment with Tamburlaine. Unlike Mycetes, Cosroe, and Bajazeth, these helpless females pose no threat to Tamburlaine's progress of pomp. Unlike Agydas, they never oppose the conqueror, and their lachrymose, flattering pleas should arouse sympathy in even the most detached spectator. Moreover, although Taunton insists that contemporaneous military manuals would condone Tamburlaine's tough-mindedness as a necessary attribute of the great leader, Shepard counters that in ordering this atrocity, Tamburlaine violates the acceptable treatment of prisoners as delineated in contemporary military treatises.<sup>37</sup> Roma Gill further observes that even if the virgins' sacrifice can be absolved as a military necessity, "Tamburlaine's enjoyment of it cannot," and the warrior's gratuitous gloating over the butchery (5.1.110–20), momentarily at least, reduces the conquering hero to a bloody killer.<sup>38</sup> Having estranged his audience through his inhumanity, he seeks to recapture this lost allegiance through his rhapsodic paean to beauty. However, the play's counterpoising of mellifluous lyrics with brutal carnage—not only the impaling of the virgins but also the massacre of the obdurate governor and the entire population of the city—should arouse in the audience a tension between admiration for Tamburlaine's language and repulsion at his deeds, as well as an ambivalence toward the code of masculine *virtù* that prompts his actions. Many critics share

36. Clifford Leech, "The Structure of *Tamburlaine*," *Tulane Drama Review* 8.4 (1964): 32–46, 35.

37. See Taunton, *1590s Drama and Militarism*, 60–61; and Shepard, *Marlowe's Soldiers*, 35.

38. Roma Gill, ed., *The Plays of Christopher Marlowe* (London: Oxford UP, 1971), xiv.

Shepard's view that the play's violence overwhelms its poetry, "eviscerating the nobility of Tamburlaine's heroic code."<sup>39</sup>

In his *psychomachia* before the gates of Damascus, Tamburlaine experiences a struggle between feminine love and his masculine honor. In this conflict, he regards the momentary pity incited by Zenocrate's pleas for her father and her compatriots as a threat to his masculine persona, and his soul-battle results in his total rejection of compassion as vitiating his heroic image. Ironical commentators insist that in his effort to fashion himself in the heroic mode, he exaggerates his masculinity while rejecting all leavening femininity, arguably becoming a caricature of hyper-masculinity. Simon Barker supports this view, contending that "Marlowe presents Tamburlaine as grotesque and exaggerated—taunting his caged prisoners, slaughtering the virgins sent to plead for mercy."<sup>40</sup> The hero punctuates his resolve to eliminate all feminine aspects from his persona with a reiterated commitment to cruelty, concluding his agon with the lines, "Hath Bajazeth been fed today?" (5.1.192) and "Bring him forth, and let us know if the town be ransacked" (5.1.194–95).

Commentators who search for contrasting voices offering viable moral alternatives to Tamburlaine's creed of hypermasculinity focus on the gentle Zenocrate. According to this argument, she serves a number of crucial functions: She not only provides an essential moral alternative to Tamburlaine's ruthless credo of conquest, but she also operates, like Kent in *Edward II* and Enobarbus in *Antony and Cleopatra* (1606–7), to guide the audience's ambivalent reaction to the hero. During the third and fourth acts, Zenocrate cements audience alignment with Tamburlaine through her unquestioning support of her lover's cause, an allegiance stressed not only in the slanging match with Zabina (3.3) but also in her disturbing encouragement of Tamburlaine's vicious tormenting of the captured Bajazeth and Zabina (4.2). However, her later plaintive threnody over the brained corpses of the two Turkish rulers introduces a very different Zenocrate and constitutes the most significant ethical challenge to Tamburlaine's cult of power. In her poignant lament for the sacrifice of the "sun bright

39. Shepard, *Marlowe's Soldiers*, 28.

40. Barker, *War and Nation*, 158.

troop / Of heavenly virgins" (5.1.323–24) and the barbarous deaths of the Turk and his great empress, she boldly questions her lover's code, a creed to which she had given implicit adherence earlier in the play. The only character in the play to achieve even a rudimentary enlightenment, she also acknowledges Tamburlaine's cruelty and pride while repenting her own former inhumanity (5.1.318–42; 346–69). Therefore, so the argument goes, Zenocrate guides the audience to question and even to condemn Tamburlaine's ruthlessness.

Interpreters stressing the ironic undercutting of Tamburlaine further insist that a moral uncertainty blurs the victorious resolution of *1 Tamburlaine*. Although its events appear to uphold Tamburlaine's imperialistic ambitions, the audience regards the truce, marriage, and coronation against the backdrop of Zenocrate's still reverberating lamentations for the impaled virgins, the Turkish suicides, and her slain betrothed. Moreover, Tamburlaine delivers his exultant victory speech on a stage strewn with human corpses, the *mise-en-scène* stressing the tension between "the visual image of man's descent into brutality and the auditory image of man's quest for divinity."<sup>41</sup> Costume further underscores visual irony: As Simon Shepherd observes, at the end of the play when Tamburlaine and his retainers remove their armor and don scarlet robes (5.1.523), their red garments blend with the bleeding corpses on the stage. Thus, "Tamburlaine's promise of truce to the world is made against a blood-red stage, the image saying what the words suppress."<sup>42</sup> According to this ironic interpretation, therefore, although his final triumph seems to vindicate Tamburlaine and the ethos that he represents, Zenocrate's choice of love and mercy over honor and violence complements the pervasive disparity between glorious words and barbarous deeds, between soaring rhetoric and grisly stage tableau, to render the character of Tamburlaine and the play's ethical system highly problematic.

41. Katherine Lever, "The Image of Man in *Tamburlaine, Part I*," *Philological Quarterly* 35.4 (1956): 421–27, 422.

42. Shepherd, *Marlowe and the Politics of Elizabethan Theatre*, 23–24.

For some, the play presents the story of an ideal monarch and glorifies his achievements; for them, the tone approaches that of an epic lauding the military virtues. For others, the protagonist is a Machiavellian militarist who professes Christianity but whose deeds reveal both hypocrisy and ruthlessness; for them, the tone is primarily one of mordant satire.<sup>43</sup>

In the above quotation, Karl P. Wentersdorf crystallizes the controversy seething around *Henry V*: Does it celebrate or satirize its hero? Norman Rabkin answers yes to both sides of the question, identifying the play as a perspective puzzle: "Shakespeare created a work whose ultimate power is precisely the fact that it points in two opposite directions, virtually daring us to choose one of the two opposed interpretations it requires of us."<sup>44</sup> My essay supports Rabkin's interpretation and asserts that following the pattern established in *1 Tamburlaine*, *Henry V* can be read as either the celebration of an eloquent, ebullient conqueror and his astounding victories or as a probing deflation of both rhetoric and war, depending on the perspective from which the text is viewed at any given moment.

As with *Tamburlaine*, the fulsome praise awarded to Henry by both friends and enemies, his astonishing successes, and his bravura oratory make it hard to deny that the events of *Henry V* affirm its hero's French campaign and his moral stance toward war. This celebratory reading is so familiar as to need only a brief summary. This interpretation focuses on the surface elements of the drama, noting in particular the panegyrics honoring the warrior king delivered by the chorus, whom many critics see as a mouthpiece for the playwright, and the praise lavished on Henry by the archbishop, his fellow soldiers, and even his enemies, the king and constable of France. As in Marlowe's play, to a marked degree the hero's character is developed through choral comment. Only *Tamburlaine*'s most hardened foes and victims censure the Scythian conqueror, and at the play's conclusion, all of these detractors have either died or embraced his cause. Similarly, no

43. Karl P. Wentersdorf, "The Conspiracy of Silence in *Henry V*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 27.3 (1976): 264–87, 264.

44. Rabkin, *Shakespeare and the Problem of Meaning*, 34; see also 33–62. My essay is deeply indebted to Rabkin's incisive reading of Shakespeare's play.

one in *Henry V* criticizes the warrior king except the haughty French knights, and they will learn at Agincourt that Henry is the scion of a mighty stock who deserves admiration and respect.

The exploits of Tamburlaine, like its laudatory language, seem to elevate the Scythian hero as he almost effortlessly conquers a series of increasingly formidable antagonists through a combination of armed force and rhetorical eloquence, overcoming first Mycetes, then Cosroe, then Bajazeth, and finally the Sultan of Egypt. Similarly, the action of *Henry V*, like its hyperbolic language, seems to exalt Henry as he moves from one triumph to another, overcoming all opposition by wit as well as will, rhetoric as well as arms. First, with political savvy Henry wins support from the church for his foreign war. Second, he shrewdly discovers the betrayal of his treasonous followers and tricks them into pronouncing their own doom. Having displayed his political acumen, he reveals his eloquence, conquering the city of Harfleur, not with arms but with thunderous words alone. Next, his Saint Crispin Day's oration—one of the great set speeches in Shakespeare—forges his “ruined band” into a “band of brothers,” inspiring his battlefield fraternity to extravagant feats of courage and the magnificent victory at Agincourt. Finally, with remarkable élan, Henry woos and wins the French princess as his bride. Successful in all his enterprises, Henry emerges as the authentic Renaissance prince—statesman, orator, soldier, lover. Moreover, as in *1 Tamburlaine*, the play concludes with the promise of a marriage and coronation, no surviving character condemns the conquering hero, the warrior king appears to have won the love of his fairytale Princess, and all of his enemies are either dead or converted.

However, ironic interpreters would insist that the above reading skews the evidence and ignores the dark moments shadowing Henry's incandescent victories. This reading, like the ironic interpretation of *Tamburlaine*, would focus on the play's implicit rather than explicit aspects, the “not said” of the text, contending that these subversive elements, particularly the verbal and visual ironies that pervade the play, interrogate the drama's ostensible affirmation of conquest. As with *Tamburlaine*, ironic expositors also

cite mandates from the military conduct books of the period that problematize Henry's actions.<sup>45</sup>

First, an ironic reader would argue that the chorus in *Henry V* functions as another character in the play, one who represents the traditional values of a community rather than the mouthpiece for the playwright, much as in Greek tragedy. In defending this reading, ironic commentators would highlight the disparity between the descriptions of Henry as presented by the chorus and the king's actions as experienced by the audience, echoing the hiatus between words and deeds so characteristic of *Tamburlaine*. The chorus's "a little touch of Harry in the night" paean offers a salient example of this discrepancy. In this address, the chorus approvingly describes the actions of the stalwart king on the eve of the battle of Agincourt as he walks from tent to tent encouraging his men, his cheerful countenance thawing cold and banishing dread, whereby "every wretch, pining and pale before, / Beholding him, plucks comfort from his looks" (prologue.4.41–42). However, this is not what the audience sees in the following scene. Instead of the succoring leader, readers and spectators discover a muffled and troubled figure who instigates a totally unnecessary altercation with Michael Williams, an honest soldier whose only fault is to speak his mind candidly to a stranger. In addition, as Taunton observes, Henry's nocturnal ramble appears motivated not so much by desire to rally his troops as "to appease his insecurity and vanity, to justify to himself a costly and difficult campaign, to assure himself of his rightful claim and above all to test out claims that God is on his side."<sup>46</sup> She further maintains that by his disregard for the proper security measures strongly advocated in the military textbooks, Henry not only endangers himself but puts his men at risk. Rather than seeing the overconfident French as negative foils to the nurturing Henry, Taunton asserts that according to the military manuals of the period, it is the French leaders, not Henry, who are performing their proper duties. Taunton sums up her critique by suggesting

45. These commentators include Taunton, *1590s Drama and Militarism*; Barker, *War and Nation*; and Paola Pugliatti, *Shakespeare and the Just War Tradition* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2010).

46. Taunton, *1590s Drama and Militarism*, 177.

that if the idealized figure of Henry serves as a displacement for the real life Essex (as many scholars claim), then the king's disregard for martial protocols, in this scene as well as in others, might serve as a stage critique of Essex and his unorthodox generalship.<sup>47</sup> Expanding Taunton's reading, I suggest that the adoring chorus might also offer a sardonic portrait of the London populace in its unabashed idolization of the dashing Essex, particularly upon his departure for the wars in Ireland in 1599, the year in which *Henry V* was probably composed.

After deconstructing the chorus, the ironic interpreter might adduce the multiple episodes that implicitly undercut Henry's veracity and humanity, especially those that, again recalling *Tamburlaine*, accentuate the disparity between high, astounding rhetoric and problematic actions. The very first scene offers such an episode. Had Shakespeare so desired, he could have opened the play with Henry's righteous indignation at the insults of the Dauphin or with the King delivering a patriotic stem-winder defending his right to the French throne. Instead, he begins his drama with a scene of scheming between two duplicitous prelates, which clearly reveals the church's moral and financial support of the war with France as a bribe designed to encourage Henry's opposition to a parliamentary bill stripping the church of much of its wealth. Thus, the opening scene calls into question the legitimacy of Henry's claim and the justness of his cause, showing the enthusiastic ecclesiastical endorsement to be tainted by a self-interest that Henry, always the superb political tactician, adroitly exploits for his own advantage.

Ironic exegetes would further insist that in the "tennis ball" episode Shakespeare reveals the quintessential Henry. Although Henry has already publicly announced his intention to invade France *before* receiving the Dauphin's derisive gift, he deftly uses this taunt as a justification for his decision, thereby displacing the responsibility for the bloodshed from himself to the scornful Dauphin, whose mock, he declares, has "turned his balls to gunstones" (1.2.281–82) and whose soul (not Henry's) shall bear the guilt for the bloodbath to ensue.

The scene dramatizing the exposure of the three traitors develops the portrait of Henry as a cunning and calculating

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47. For the summarized material, see Taunton, *1590s Drama and Militarism*, 176–83.



politician. In this scene, although Shakespeare emphasizes Henry's strong provocation, showing the conspiracy to be a betrayal of personal friendship as well as a political crime, he also stresses Henry's devious entrapment of the traitors, whereby the King tricks them into condemning and passing judgment upon themselves. Moreover, Cambridge's unctuous line, "Never was monarch better feared and loved / Than is your Majesty" (2.2.25–26), implicitly links Henry with Nicolò Machiavelli's Prince, whom many commentators argue that he resembles.<sup>48</sup>

Henry's harangue before the gates of Harfleur poses another disquieting crux. From one perspective, Henry emerges in this scene as the virtuoso rhetorician whose words prove more puissant than swords as he topples a great city through the power of his oratory, thus preventing many deaths on both sides. Yet Henry's plangent phrases are undermined by the voracious violence of his ringing words which promise Harfleur the same kind of slaughter that Tamburlaine inflicts on the city of Damascus, with one significant difference: Tamburlaine makes no mention of rape. In his vitriolic speech, Henry warns of deflowering virgins and slaughtering elderly men and naked infants—savage deeds all too familiar to early modern audiences—and although Harfleur surrenders rather than call Henry's bloody bluff, the audience is left with the queasy feeling that had the city remained intransigent, Shakespeare's "mirror of all Christian princes" might have been forced to fulfill his less-than-heroic boast. Henry's obvious relief at the town's surrender and his command to Warwick to treat the citizens with clemency partially exonerate his rant; however, questions still remain.

The military manuals of the time again prove useful in deciphering the response of an early modern audience to Henry's diatribe. Significantly, Henry's tirade before the gates of Harfleur, like Tamburlaine's brutal obliteration of the city of Damascus, both conforms to and violates the dictums of these military treatises. On the one hand, despite the long and inglorious

48. In *The Prince* (1532), Nicolò Machiavelli considers the question of whether it is better to be loved or feared, concluding that although a leader might wish to be both, "it is much safer to be feared [sic], than be lov'd." *The Prince*, in *Three Renaissance Classics*, 62. Renaissance dramatists, who frequently quoted Machiavelli out of context, seized on the phrase "feared more than loved" as a motto for the Machiavellian creed.

tradition associating rape with military conquest, according to Taunton, the manuals absolutely forbid rape by conquering armies as a breach of military discipline.<sup>49</sup> Other commentators argue that the actions visualized in Henry's warnings flout all military doctrines prohibiting violence against noncombatants. Barker speaks for these theorists when he comments that "Henry's threats amount to a catalogue of images and allusions that come close to contravening a majority of both the seven deadly sins and the Ten Commandments," adding that these threats find no basis in Holinshed or other chronicles and appear to be Shakespeare's own lurid invention.<sup>50</sup> On the other hand, however, many military textbooks insist that towns that waste an army's time and resources by daring to defend an indefensible site should be treated harshly as an admonitory example to other besieged towns, while also counseling that cities surrendering without a struggle should be treated mercifully.<sup>51</sup> Here, as so often in the military conduct books of the day as in the performances of both Tamburlaine and Henry, pragmatic advantage clashes with morality.

Agincourt offers Henry both his greatest victory and his most profound moral crisis. His magnificent Saint Crispin's Day speech is followed by one of the most disturbing cruxes of the play, his decision, whether for tactical reasons or revenge, to cut the throats of all the French prisoners. Paola Pugliatti insists that "the most blatant infringement of the laws of war is obviously the order given to the soldiers to slay their French prisoners," and few scholars of military theory disagree.<sup>52</sup> The play implies that practical necessity, especially the lack of sufficient soldiers both to guard the prisoners and fight the French, dictates this decision. However, following the tactics that he had employed earlier in the "tennis ball" episode, Henry strategically exploits the killing of the luggage boys

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49. According to Fourquevaux, there should be no outrages to conquered peoples, such as "forcing their Wives and daughters." Qtd. in Taunton, *1590s Drama and Militarism*, 56–57.

50. Barker, *War and Nation*, 137.

51. Taunton, *1590s Drama and Militarism*, 56.

52. Pugliatti, *The Just War Tradition*, 223. Although he accepts the irreducible ambivalence of the text, Pugliatti ultimately concludes that Henry's French campaign violates most of the conventional early modern rubrics of the "just war" (197–225).

by the French as a justification for executing the French prisoners, although he has communicated to the audience his plan to perpetrate his atrocity against the prisoners before he becomes aware of the French massacre of the luggage boys. Therefore, here as elsewhere, Henry cloaks realpolitik in the garment of self-righteous indignation. Most damaging of all, his slaughter of the captives at least partially explains the uneven body count of the battle and thus diminishes the glory of Henry's victory. Again we are reminded of *Tamburlaine*: In both plays, the warrior monarchs rationalize the slaughter of helpless individuals—Tamburlaine, the citizens of Damascus; Henry, the captured French soldiers—as collateral casualties of war, and in both cases, at least some of the contemporaneous military manuals interrogate these decisions.

Shakespeare's comedies uniformly end in marriage, and *Henry V* follows this format. However, although both *1 Tamburlaine* and *Henry V* close with a marriage in which the hero wins the hand of the enemy's daughter and makes peace with his opponents, salient ironies undercut both of these "comic" conclusions. As noted earlier, Tamburlaine takes Zenocrate's hand and makes peace with the entire world on a stage cluttered with corpses, his blood-red robe merging with the bloody bodies to stress the gap between words and reality. Although no gory cadavers litter the final scene of *Henry V*, the visual violence of *1 Tamburlaine* has been translated into verbal images, as the Duke of Burgundy poignantly recounts the desolation wrought by war.

Tamburlaine undoubtedly loves Zenocrate, at least as much as this egocentric male could love any woman. However, even Henry's disarming wooing of Katharine can be seen as a charade. Again, we become aware of the disparity between rhetoric and realpolitik as we hear Henry, who has suborned churchmen, commanded statesmen, conquered cities, and rallied armies with his invincible oratory, posing as a plain, blunt soldier lacking the eloquence to woo a lady properly. Of course, role playing underlies Henry's banter; whether he loves Katharine or she loves him is of little consequence, since they are both engaged in state business that grants scant recognition to love, a point candidly expressed in Katharine's broken English, "Dat is as it shall please de *roi mon père*" (5.2.248).

An ironic reading of the play would also stress its recurrent reminders of the carnage accompanying conquest, another characteristic that *Henry V* shares with *Tamburlaine*, though Shakespeare generally limits himself to description, in contrast to Marlowe, who depicts the violence more openly. Shakespeare brackets his play with two passages containing such reminders: the “tennis ball” episode in act 1, scene 2, in which Henry attempts to transfer to the Dauphin the responsibility for all the grieving wives and weeping widows that war inevitably produces, and the final scene of the play, noted above, in which the Duke of Burgundy mournfully describes the devastation resulting from war. However, the most memorable challenge to Henry’s campaign is offered not by his enemies but by a common soldier, Michael Williams, whose last name recalls his playwright creator. During the problematic scene in which the hooded King encounters a group of soldiers around a campfire and debates with them the responsibility of the monarch in war, Williams reminds Henry, and the audience, that “if the cause be not good, the King himself hath a heavy reckoning to make, when all those legs and arms and heads chopped off in battle, shall join together in the Latter Day and cry all, ‘We died at such a place’” (4.1.134–38). Here, Williams offers the most probing interrogation in the play of the legitimacy of Henry’s foreign war, paralleling Zenocrate in *Tamburlaine* as she questions the justness of her lover’s martial creed.

As in *Tamburlaine*, *Henry V*, of course, ends in a triumphant victory for its hero, whereby Henry not only preserves his own throne and acquires many French lands but also gains the French diadem for his heirs. However, even Henry’s fairytale marriage to the French princess is undermined as the chorus reminds the audience that all of Henry’s military gains will be lost by his son (epilogue, 5–12), and we realize that all the dismembered legs, arms, and heads described by Michael Williams will be sacrificed for nothing. Significantly, 2 *Tamburlaine* implies that all the conquests of the Scythian warrior will also be lost by his ill-prepared sons, but that is another play, another story, and perhaps another essay.

Thus, the conclusion of *Henry V*, like that of 1 *Tamburlaine*, presents a victorious hero whose martial triumphs and romantic marriage appear to justify the hero himself and his military ethos.

Yet, according to the ironic reading, Williams's penetrating interrogation of Henry's foreign war and the chorus's ominous predictions of future failure complement the play's pervasive disparity between glorious words and inglorious deeds to undermine both Henry and his creed of conquest.

Ultimately, as I hope that this essay has persuasively demonstrated, both the celebratory and ironic readings of *1 Tamburlaine* and *Henry V* have validity because in the figures of their eponymous heroes, Marlowe and Shakespeare have depicted multifaceted portraits. Viewed from a moral perspective, these dual aspect characters may reflect Marlowe's and Shakespeare's ethical ambivalence toward war and violence. However, regarded from the aesthetic perspective of the practicing playwright, ambiguity of this type provides a surefire technique for keeping an audience engaged. Perhaps both moral and aesthetic factors coalesced to produce these fascinating perspective portraits.<sup>53</sup>

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53. For the importance of aesthetic considerations in the creation of the perspective portraits of both *Tamburlaine* and *Henry V*, I am indebted to Robert A. Logan, *Shakespeare's Marlowe: The Influence of Christopher Marlowe on Shakespeare's Artistry* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007), 143–65, 151.

LISA HOPKINS

## Playing with Matches: Christopher Marlowe's Incendiary Imagination

In the subtitle of her novel *Frankenstein, or The Modern Prometheus* (1818), Mary Shelley imaginatively associates an obvious Faust-figure, in the shape of Frankenstein himself, with the myth of Prometheus. More recently, Park Honan, in his biography of Christopher Marlowe, recounts how it was the installation of a new gas fire which led to the discovery of the putative portrait of Marlowe owned by Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, one whose legend *Quod me nutrit me destruit* relates to the idea of fire and the fuel that feeds it.<sup>1</sup> In this essay, I want to argue that both of these things are curiously appropriate, for Marlowe had a fundamentally pyromaniac imagination, albeit one that works in different ways in different plays. He is fascinated by fire on every level: by its brightness; by its quality of extremeness both in its own inherent heat and as an opposite to ice; by its effects on both things and bodies; by the power it confers on its wielder; and by the fear and pain it inflicts on those whom it is wielded against. I do not, however, concur with previous critics who have read Marlowe's interest in fire as primarily psychosexual in nature. I aim to show that the characters most attracted to fire use it successfully as a tool to gain power—indeed for Marlowe fire is life—yet are also attracted to ice. It is ice rather than fire that they associate with what they most deeply desire and love, though its traditional association with chastity and frigidity complicates Marlowe's idea of the erotic. The ideal animates his characters as much as the physical element of sexuality. I shall take *Tamburlaine the Great* as my prime example but shall also draw on other plays to make my points.

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1. Park Honan, *Christopher Marlowe: Poet and Spy* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005), 113.

To some extent, Marlowe's interest in fire can be seen as a cultural rather than a personal one. He lived in an age when fire was visible and significant in a number of ways. Fireships were, for instance, a prominent weapon in the fight against the Spanish Armada, for which the Canterbury trained bands, including Marlowe's father John, were mustered.<sup>2</sup> Not for nothing was a major film about the Armada named *Fire over England* (1937), directed by William K. Howard. Burning was also the weapon of choice against religious dissidence of any sort, as we are reminded in *The Massacre at Paris*:

ONE. Now, sirrah, what shall we do with the admiral?

TWO. Why, let us burn him for a heretic. (11.1–2)<sup>3</sup>

Anyone brought up, as Marlowe was, in Canterbury, would also have been aware of the dismantling of the shrine of Saint Thomas à Becket at Canterbury and the burning of the saint's bones, and Marlowe might also have heard about the burning for heresy of Francis Kett, formerly fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, at Norwich Castle in 1589.<sup>4</sup> Burning could also be used against things as well as people. In October 1592 the Catholic propagandist Richard Verstegan reported that Sir Robert Sidney had burned almost all his books and feared damnation.<sup>5</sup> After his death, Marlowe's own *All Ovid's Elegies* was burnt at Stationers' Hall by order of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Marlowe in his lifetime imagined such a scene of book-burning in *2 Tamburlaine*. Moreover, Richard Wilson notes that Peter Butterworth speaks of a general "Theatre of Fire" on the Tudor stage, but that Lawrence Manley has drawn attention to the unusual reliance, in works staged by Marlowe's actors, Lord Strange's Men, on "playing with fire."<sup>6</sup>

2. William Urry, *Christopher Marlowe and Canterbury* (London: Faber and Faber, 1988), 30–31.

3. Christopher Marlowe, *The Complete Plays*, ed. Mark Thornton Burnett (London: Everyman, 1999). All quotations from Marlowe's plays are from this edition.

4. Adrian Morey, *The Catholic Subjects of Elizabeth I* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1978), 210. For comment on the religious resonances of burning, see also Richard Wilson, "While Rome Burns: Marlowe and the Art of Arson," in *Le Poète dans la cité: de Platon à Shakespeare*, ed. Dominique Goy-Blanquet (Paris: Editions le Cri, 2003), 164–83.

5. Charles Nicholl, *The Reckoning: The Murder of Christopher Marlowe* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1992), 381.

6. Wilson, "While Rome Burns," 170.

I am by no means the first critic to focus on Marlowe's interest in fire. Wilson calls Marlowe "the poet of panic and pyrotechnics" and argues that "the physical act of kindling flames and the poetics of fire are at the core of his dramaturgy, from the start of what may have been his first work: when the shipwrecked Aeneas commands his men to 'reach the tinder box.'" <sup>7</sup> Rick Bowers also comments on the red-hot spit, though he reads it primarily as a pointed instrument, and Harry Levin has observed Marlowe's fondness for fire, while Matthew Proser called his book on Marlowe *The Gift of Fire*. <sup>8</sup> However, I want to argue against previous critical trends in two respects. Firstly, I do not think that Marlowe's personal voice is as insistent as Wilson and Levin imply. Levin tends to see Marlowe's characters as projections of Marlowe himself, while Wilson treats examples from all the plays and from Marlowe's poetry as if they formed a seamless discursive web. Yet there are degrees of pyromania within the characters, who can, crudely, be divided into those who use fire (and succeed, at least for a time and on some terms) and those who have it used against them (and fail, in all or many respects). The second point is that there is also another side of the coin, less insistently stated but no less important, and related in complicated ways to the first. For Wilson, Levin, and Proser, fire is about sex. Proser, following Sigmund Freud, declares that "imagery of water, on the one hand, and fire, on the other, often contain urethral associations" and argues that "the smoking, burning Hell-mouth combines the oral and anal dimensions with the female genital in a vivid stage image of devouring, rape, pain and rage which reduces Faustus' quailing soul to everything he despises." <sup>9</sup> Wilson refers to "the sado-masochistic sexuality of these pyrotechnics," and Levin notes that "fire is so standard a trope for love that Racine's lovers speak casually of *nos feux*. Doubtless its primitive symbolism was phallic." <sup>10</sup> However, it is not fire but ice which provides the language of erotic discourse, at least for Marlowe's most successful user of fire, Tamburlaine, and to a lesser extent for other

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7. Wilson, "While Rome Burns," 170.

8. See Rick Bowers, "Marlowe's Knifework: Threat, Caution, and Reaction in the Theatre," *Shakespeare Bulletin* 27.1 (2009): 19–26, especially 24–25; Harry Levin, *The Overreacher: A Study of Christopher Marlowe* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1952), 180–81; and Matthew N. Proser, *The Gift of Fire: Aggression and the Plays of Christopher Marlowe* (New York: Peter Lang, 1995).

9. Proser, *The Gift of Fire*, 157, 160.

10. Wilson "While Rome Burns," 171; and Levin, *The Overreacher*, 181.



characters, yet by its nature it contradicts many established elements and expectations of that discourse.

I turn first to the distinction between those who use fire and those who have it used against them. It is true that Marlowe's fascination with fire is manifested to varying degrees in all his plays. In *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, events are framed by a tinderbox and a pyre onto which three characters, one of them ironically sometimes named Phoenissa (4.3.6), like the bird which perishes on a pyre and is then reborn, throw themselves but from which they all singularly fail to emerge resurrected. Aeneas, who is simultaneously one of the least competent of Marlowe's heroes and yet also the one most unequivocally destined by supernatural powers to succeed, is interestingly poised between the two categories of those who wield fire and those who are on the receiving end of it. When he lands in Africa, virtually the first thing he attempts to do is master fire:

Alas, sweet boy, thou must be still a while,  
Till we have fire to dress the meat we killed.  
Gentle Achates, reach the tinder-box,  
That we may make a fire to warm us with,  
And roast our new-found victuals on this shore. (1.1.164–68)

As his mother Venus comments, "See what strange arts necessity finds out!" (1.1.169), explicitly drawing our attention to his status as a novice user of fire. Aeneas instructs his men:

Hold, take this candle and go light a fire;  
You shall have leaves and windfall boughs enow  
Near to these woods, to roast your meat withal (1.1.171–73)

The image of Aeneas with his tinder-box and his candle is a profoundly resonant one. Looking to us like a cross between a boy scout and an evocation of a stage in the development of early hominids, with perhaps a suggestion of a Claude Lévi-Strauss moment as the raw becomes the cooked, he would to Marlowe's original audience more obviously suggest Prometheus. Perhaps there would have been an additional layering of the cheer and comfort which can be brought to human tasks and interactions by the heat and brightness of fire. This aspect of the play was strongly captured in the 2009 National Theatre in London production, in which Dido's banquet for the Trojans glowed with light and warmth.

So far, so good then for Aeneas, and Dido certainly figures him as one who can wield and control fire when she refers to him as

The man that I do eye where'er I am,  
 Whose amorous face, like Paean, sparkles fire,  
 Whenas he butts his beams on Flora's bed.  
 Prometheus hath put on Cupid's shape,  
 And I must perish in his burning arms.  
 Aeneas, O Aeneas, quench these flames! (3.4.17–22)

For Dido, Aeneas is in his own person an incendiary force, who not only burns himself but has set her alight. Dido, though, is looking through the eyes of a woman in love. Not only is Aeneas comically slow to understand what she is driving at, but the reflex response of the Trojans is to fear fire, as we see when Ilioneus says, "Save, save, O save our ships from cruel fire" (1.2.7). This is hardly surprising given what we learn of their past history, as when Aeneas says of Pyrrhus, "after him his band of Myrmidons, / With balls of wildfire in their murdering paws, / Which made the funeral flame that burnt fair Troy" (2.1.216–18).

As Marlowe himself would remind us in his most celebrated line, the towers of Ilion were destroyed by burning, and the Trojans whom Aeneas leads have had scarred into them the fear of the fire which the Greeks brought against them. Just as the play catches them poised at a moment of cusp between a possible future in Carthage and a possible future in which they journey on to Italy, so it catches them poised at a liminal moment of another sort, as they teeter on the edge between those who have fire used against them and those who use or attempt to use it themselves.

Soon, though, the balance begins to swing definitively against them. First the past returns to haunt them again as Aeneas says of Pyrrhus: "So, leaning on his sword, he stood stone still, / Viewing the fire wherewith rich Ilion burnt" (2.1.263–64). They are also drawn into a contrast not only with their Greek enemies but with their Carthaginian hosts, because for all her willingness to read Aeneas as a fire-user, Dido herself is also able to wield it, and rather more effectively. She exclaims:

Shall vulgar peasants storm at what I do?  
 The ground is mine that gives them sustenance,  
 The air wherein they breathe, the water, fire,  
 All that they have, their lands, their goods, their lives. (4.4.73–76)

Dido casually imagines herself as not only using fire but effectively owning it. Soon she is turning her attention from this metaphorical invocation of fire to a literal one as she orders Iarbas (and perhaps some attendants, not mentioned in the text but postulated by editors), "Lay to thy hands, and help me make a fire / That shall

consume all that this stranger left" (5.1.284–85). Although her use of fire here channels all its aggression against herself alone, it nevertheless casts her as a native of the kingdom of flame into which Aeneas is so tentative an invader: To her the use of fire is not a "strange art" but an inherent attribute of her own alternative identity of Phoenissa, a name whose suggestion of the phoenix is underlined by the importance of this mythical creature in the imagery preferred by Elizabeth I, to whom Dido is so insistently and obviously paralleled in ways which were likely to ensure that no one could miss the point of the near-homonym.<sup>11</sup>

If Aeneas has some success with flame, Faustus is unequivocally an aspiring rather than a successful user of fire, musing wistfully on how "stranger engines for the brunt of war / Than was the fiery keel at Antwerp's bridge, / I'll make my servile spirits to invent" (*DFa*, 1.1.97–99). It will take the spirits to do this work; there is no suggestion that he would have been able to achieve it himself, just as it is Mephistopheles who has to show him how to apply fire to his arm to enable him to complete the signing of the diabolic pact (2.1.70). It is notable that Faustus also attributes power over fire to that which he values most, asking first, "Was this the face that launched a thousand ships, / And burnt the topless towers of Ilium?" (5.1.89–90) and then telling Helen that "Brighter art thou than flaming Jupiter, / When he appeared to hapless Semele" (5.1.104–5). The use of fire remains something he admires rather than something that he actually attains to.

Barabas is also a hero who cannot use fire. In *The Jew of Malta*, which closes with "*a cauldron discovered*" (5.5.62 s.d.), the prologue remembers the story of Phalaris, who "bellowed in a brazen bull" (25) as fire was used to destroy him. Barabas may have possession of "fiery opals" (1.1.26), but when it comes to real flames, he invokes supernatural ones rather than setting fires of his own:

I ban their souls to everlasting pains  
And extreme tortures of the fiery deep,  
That thus have dealt with me in my distress. (1.2.169–71)

Like William Shakespeare's Richard II praying that angels will fight for him, Barabas can only hope that a supernatural force will burn on his behalf what he cannot burn himself. In similar vein, he

11. See, for instance, Diane Purkiss, "The Queen on Stage: Marlowe's *Dido*, *Queen of Carthage* and the Representations of Elizabeth I," in *A Woman Scorn'd: Responses to the Dido Myth*, ed. Michael Burden (London: Faber and Faber, 1998), 151–67; and Deanne Williams, "Dido, Queen of England," *English Literary History* 73.1 (2006): 31–59.

appeals to “thou, that with a fiery pillar led’st / The sons of Israel through the dismal shades” (2.1.12–13), and hopes that

In few, the blood of Hydra, Lerna’s bane,  
The juice of hebon, and Cocytus’ breath,  
And all the poisons of the Stygian pool  
Break from the fiery kingdom; and in this  
Vomit your venom, and envenom her  
That like a fiend hath left her father thus. (3.4.102–7)

Again he evokes supernatural aid (this time from entities belonging to a belief system to which he does not even subscribe) rather than attempting to deploy flame. His mirthless joke in response to Lodowick’s directive, “glance not at our holy nuns,” also anchors fire-use firmly at the level of the metaphorical rather than the literal: “No, but I do it through a burning zeal; / (*Aside*) Hoping ere long to set the house afire” (2.3.87–89). Only once, however, does he show any real sign of actually using fire himself, and then in a strictly limited and domesticated way, when he orders Ithamore, “go fetch me in the pot of rice / That for our supper stands upon the fire” (3.4.49–50). His other threat to “fire the churches” (5.1.65) is an idle one, and though he succeeds in blowing up the monastery, it is only to find himself bested by a Ferneze who can confidently order, “Make fires, heat irons, let the rack be fetched” (5.1.24) and, ultimately, cook Barabas himself.

Of all Marlowe’s heroes, Edward offers the clearest example of one who finds fire used against him rather than being able to use it against others himself. He initially tries to burn

Proud Rome, that hatchest such imperial grooms,  
With these thy superstitious taperlights,  
Wherewith thy anti-Christian churches blaze,  
I’ll fire thy crazed buildings and enforce  
The papal towers to kiss the lowly ground. (E2, 1.4.97–101)

But these lines are also found in *The Massacre at Paris* and are in any case easily identifiable as generic antipapal rhetoric, of a kind that floats free in a culture rather than being the identifying discourse of any one speaker.<sup>12</sup> It is certainly hard to feel any substance behind Edward’s glib use of them, any more than one can when he grandiloquently but entirely unconvincingly imagines himself as like the sun:

12. See *MP*, 24.60–63.

Courageous Lancaster, embrace thy King,  
 And, as gross vapours perish by the sun,  
 Even so let hatred with thy sovereign's smile. (E2, 1.4.339–41)

But the very Lancaster whom he here hopes to impress is soon informing him that

The northern borderers, seeing their houses burnt,  
 Their wives and children slain, run up and down,  
 Cursing the name of thee and Gaveston. (2.2.178–80)

The brightness of Edward's supposed sun pales into insignificance beside the casual, lawless fire-raising of the Border Reivers, whose endemic feuding had by the 1590s reached a pitch of violence which had made them notorious even to Marlowe's London-based audience.<sup>13</sup> Spencer Junior has to exhort him:

Let them not unrevenge'd murder your friends.  
 Advance your standard, Edward, in the field,  
 And march to fire them from their starting-holes. (3.1.125–27)

But though Edward blusters that "Edward with fire and sword follows at thy heels" (3.1.180), we never hear any more of any actual use of fire by him, and Spencer Junior is forced to lament, "Rend, sphere of heaven, and fire, forsake thy orb, / Earth, melt to air; gone is my sovereign" (4.7.102–3), while Edward, like Barabas, can do nothing but wish that some supernatural power will do him a favour by wielding fire more effectively than he himself can: "But if proud Mortimer do wear this crown, / Heavens turn it to a blaze of quenchless fire" (5.1.43–44). He fears the superior fieriness of his own wife, "whose eyes, being turned to steel, / Will sooner sparkle fire than shed a tear" (5.1.104–5), and who is indeed an accessory in the fiery torture he ultimately undergoes when Lightborn (whose name, as a translation of Lucifer, remembers fire) orders, "See that in the next room I have a fire, / And give me a spit, and let it be red hot" (5.5.29–30).

The most fire-obsessed of all Marlowe's plays are the two parts of *Tamburlaine*, and Tamburlaine himself is little short of a spirit of fire: If "Nature . . . framed us of four elements" (1*Tam*, 2.7.18), there can be no doubt which predominates in Tamburlaine. As the first play opens, Cosroe is lamenting the lack of fieriness of his brother Mycetes:

13. See George MacDonald Fraser, *The Steel Bonnets: The Story of the Anglo-Scottish Border Reivers* (London: HarperCollins, 1995).

At whose birthday Cynthia with Saturn joined.  
 And Jove, the Sun, and Mercury denied  
 To shed their influence in his fickle brain! (1.1.13–15)

Mycetes is thus made up entirely of chilly humours and elements, in a stark contrast to the inner burning of Tamburlaine, and it is to this that Cosroe attributes his lack of military success. Menaphon's description of Tamburlaine himself assures us that the Scythian shepherd is not similarly lacking, since it refers to "his piercing instruments of sight, / Whose fiery circles bear encompassèd / A heaven of heavenly bodies in their spheres" (2.1.14–16). Tamburlaine's eyes shoot fire as Dido imagines Aeneas' to do, but this is specifically celestial fire rather than flames of love, and indeed Tamburlaine's use of fire is often associated with an upward trajectory, as in a speech which combines the idea of fire use with that of a war on heaven:

Our quivering lances shaking in the air  
 And bullets like Jove's dreadful thunderbolts  
 Enrolled in flames and fiery smouldering mists  
 Shall threat the gods more than Cyclopien wars. (2.3.18–21)

Marlowe may perhaps have been remembering here a rare occurrence of the Northern Lights being visible over Canterbury on two successive nights when he was ten years old.<sup>14</sup> Like Dido, Tamburlaine imagines himself as an effortless wielder of elemental forces, and he is certain that

The chiefest God, first mover of that sphere  
 Enchased with thousands ever-shining lamps,  
 Will sooner burn the glorious frame of heaven  
 Than it should so conspire my overthrow. (4.2.8–11)

Although it is Jove who is here figured as using fire rather than Tamburlaine himself, Tamburlaine is still confident that fire can be used only against that which opposes him rather than against himself. Later he imagines himself filling both earth and air with fire:

For I, the chiefest lamp of all the earth,  
 First rising in the east with mild aspect  
 But fixèd now in the meridian line,  
 Will send up fire to your turning spheres  
 And cause the sun to borrow light of you.

14. Lisa Hopkins, *A Christopher Marlowe Chronology* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 40.

My sword struck fire from his coat of steel  
 Even in Bithynia, when I took this Turk,  
 As when a fiery exhalation  
 Wrapped in the bowels of a freezing cloud,  
 Fighting for passage, makes the welkin crack,  
 And casts a flash of lightning to the earth.  
 But ere I march to wealthy Persia  
 Or leave Damascus and th'Egyptian fields,  
 As was the fame of Clymen's brain-sick son  
 That almost brent the axletree of heaven,  
 So shall our swords, our lances and our shot  
 Fill all the air with fiery meteors. (4.2.36–52)

In the early part of this passage, fire both comes from his sword, in a logical physical process which we can easily understand, and emanates more indefinitely from him up to the sky in a way which we cannot explain by normal means and which seems to posit him as an independent agent of spontaneous combustion. Next, even the relatively normal process of sparks striking from the sword is mythologised as a celestial event, and finally Tamburlaine imagines himself, Phaeton-like, filling the whole sky with flame.

Tamburlaine thinks of fire as his natural element, seeing himself as having control even over the gods who have come "Even from the fiery spangled veil of heaven, / To feel the lovely warmth of shepherds' flames" (5.1.185–86). In these lines, though, he suggests that fire may fall into two distinct categories. The fire of heaven, it seems, is bright but not necessarily warmth-giving, since the gods have descended for the cosier warmth of human cheer. Here we catch the briefest possible glimpse of the lifestyle from which we are told that Tamburlaine has come, and it is one in which fire serves not as agent of shock and awe but of social bonding, as groups of individuals press close to the warmth of the hearth. Tamburlaine has, however, turned his back on that to seek out instead a grander, more terrifying use of fire, almost as if he and the gods have changed places, and he has done so because of what his son Celebinus defines in 2 *Tamburlaine* as his essentially fiery nature. Celebinus warns his brother Amyras to

Call forth our lazy brother from the tent,  
 For if my father miss him in the field,  
 Wrath, kindled in the furnace of his breast,  
 Will send a deadly lightning to his heart. (2*Tam*, 4.1.7–10)

Tamburlaine himself registers a similar understanding of his own nature when he hails his native city as "O Samarcanda, where I

breathèd first / And joyed the fire of this martial flesh" (4.1.107–8) and declares that "earth and all this airy region / Cannot contain the state of Tamburlaine" (4.1.121–22).

By contrast, when Tamburlaine's enemies contemplate using fire against him they are unable to carry out their threats, as when Cosroe storms ineffectually:

But as he thrust them underneath the hills  
And pressed out fire from their burning jaws,  
So will I send this monstrous slave to hell  
Where flames shall ever feed upon his soul. (*1Tam*, 2.6.5–8)

Unable to deploy flames himself, Cosroe, like Barabas and Edward, can only hope that a supernatural agency will do so on his behalf. Cosroe continues to threaten the use of fire when he exhorts:

Let's cheer our soldiers to encounter him,  
That grievous image of ingratitude,  
That fiery thirster after sovereignty,  
And burn him in the fury of that flame  
That none can quench but blood and empery. (2.6.29–33)

The fire that would have to be deployed here is however essentially Tamburlaine's own and that is firmly within the control of Tamburlaine himself. Soon Cosroe is reduced to lamenting that "My bloodless body waxeth chill and cold" (2.7.42), since

The heat and moisture, which did feed each other,  
For want of nourishment to feed them both  
Is dry and cold, and now doth ghastly Death  
With greedy talons gripe my bleeding heart  
And like a harpy tires on my life. (2.7.46–50)

Cosroe is thus frozen out of existence, while Tamburlaine, the spirit of fire, lives on.

David Bevington has noted that "with each new incident in the life of his hero Marlowe suppresses one group of supporting roles in order to introduce another."<sup>15</sup> The enemy who succeeds Cosroe is Bajazeth, and he too tries and fails to use fire against Tamburlaine and also against his other enemies:

Now will the Christian miscreants be glad,  
Ringing with joy their superstitious bells

15. David Bevington, *From "Mankind" to Marlowe: Growth of Structure in the Popular Drama of Tudor England* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1962), 203.



And making bonfires for my overthrow.  
 But ere I die, those foul idolaters  
 Shall make me bonfires from their filthy bones.  
 (*Tam*, 3.3.236–40)

First imagining others celebrating his own fall with fire, he then threatens to turn the tables and have fire used to exalt his position rather than to debase it. Soon, though, he, like Cosroe, is reduced to praying that some supernatural power should use fire on his behalf, since he has been forced to give up hope of deploying it himself:

Furies from the black Cocytus lake  
 Break up the earth, and with their firebrands  
 Enforce thee run upon the baneful pikes! (5.1.218–20)

When even this fails, he, again like Cosroe, finds himself frozen into ultimate powerlessness:

Then let the stony dart of senseless cold  
 Pierce through the centre of my withered heart  
 And make a passage for my loathed life. (5.1.302–4)

Fire is accessible to the defeated only in the fantasies of the mad Zabina, who issues the useless order: “Bring milk and fire, and my blood I bring him again, tear me in pieces, give me the sword with a ball of wild-fire upon it” (5.1.310–12). Otherwise they are completely cut off from it.

By part 2, Tamburlaine's enemies have learned better than to think they can use the firedrake's own weapons against him: Gazellus resignedly accepts that Tamburlaine

now in Asia,  
 Near Guyron's head, doth set his conquering feet  
 And means to fire Turkey as he goes. (1.1.16–18)

All they can do is fall back on the familiar tactic of appealing for supernatural aid, as when Orcanes rather half-heartedly hopes “The devils there in chains of quenchless flame / Shall lead his soul through Orcus' burning gulf” (2.3.24–25). But Tamburlaine's faithful lieutenant Techelles is confident that the supernatural powers are on the side of Tamburlaine, whose forces march

as if infernal Jove,  
 Meaning to aid thee in these Turkish arms,  
 Should pierce the black circumference of hell  
 With ugly Furies bearing fiery flags. (1.3.143–46)

By part 2, however, Tamburlaine has internal as well as external enemies. Firstly, he is worried that his sons lack his own spirit of fire and are governed instead by “water and air” (1.3.23). Next, the illness of Zenocrate threatens to dout all fire:

Black is the beauty of the brightest day!  
The golden ball of heaven’s eternal fire,  
That danced with glory on the silver waves,  
Now wants the fuel that inflamed his beams,

.....  
Zenocrate, that gave him light and life,  
Whose eyes shot fire from their ivory bowers  
And tempered every soul with lively heat,

.....  
Draws in the comfort of her latest breath  
All dazzled with the hellish mists of death.  
(2.4.1–4, 8–10, 13–14)

Tamburlaine here runs the full gamut of fire imagery. First fire is the defining quality of heaven; then Tamburlaine shifts his ground slightly to figure it not as an inherent property of the celestial sphere but as one produced by and contingent on Zenocrate, rather as Dido attributes enkindling properties to the eye of Aeneas; and finally he focuses on the heat of fire to image it more viscerally as life, in the sense of an absolute opposite to the cold of death.

Once Zenocrate is actually dead, Tamburlaine resumes the use of fire, but now it is for wholly destructive purposes rather than to achieve any military goal or for any celebratory or philosophical end:

This cursèd town will I consume with fire  
Because this place bereft me of my love:  
The houses, burnt, will look as if they mourned. (2.4.136–38)

There is a similar pointlessness to his threat to Almeda that

I’ll torture thee,  
Searing thy hateful flesh with burning irons  
And drops of scalding lead. (3.5.122–24)

In the first place, torturing Almeda would achieve nothing at all, and in the second, Tamburlaine here for the first time imitates his enemies in threatening the use of fire but not following through.

Tamburlaine begins to recover his zest in flame. He has already been able to invest the burning of Larissa with at least some symbolic freight:

So burn the turrets of this cursèd town,  
 Flame to the highest region of the air  
 And kindle heaps of exhalations  
 That, being fiery meteors, may presage  
 Death and destruction to th'inhabitants. (3.2.1–5)

The flames send a message, one that is clear and within his control, and he is also confident that the image of Zenocrate will increase his incendiary potential:

And when I meet an army in the field  
 Those looks will shed such influence in my camp  
 As if Bellona, goddess of the war,  
 Threw naked swords and sulphur balls of fire  
 Upon the heads of all our enemies. (3.2.38–42)

Continuing to figure Zenocrate's eyes as enkindling, he now imagines her posthumously elevated to the status of a divinity, and his portrait of her turned to an icon of war with quasi-miraculous powers. He can certainly still fulminate that he will "with the flames that beat against the clouds / Incense the heavens and make the stars to melt" (4.1.197–98), and he is presumably thinking of combustible explosives when he talks of how "to undermine a town / And make whole cities caper in the air" (3.2.60–61), while he imagines himself as virtually a god of fire when he plans how to "ride through Samarcanda streets" (4.3.130). Finally, contemplating a pile of religious books, he casually decrees that "they shall be burnt" and follows this up with the order "let there be a fire presently" (5.1.175–76).

Yet fire is beginning to close in on Tamburlaine. His enemies are becoming more confident in their ability to use it, as Trebizond declares that he can put in the field men

Whose courages are kindled with the flames  
 The cursèd Scythian sets on all their towns,  
 And vow to burn the villain's cruel heart. (3.1.55–7)

Orcanes imagines that waiting for Tamburlaine there are "legions of devils . . . All brandishing their brands of quenchless fire" (3.5.25–27), while Jerusalem is sure

That shortly heaven, filled with the meteors  
 Of blood and fire thy tyrannies have made,  
 Will pour down blood and fire on thy head (4.1.143–45)

Most notably, Soria prays,

May never spirit, vein, or artier feed

The cursèd substance of that cruel heart,  
 But, wanting moisture and remorseful blood,  
 Dry up with anger and consume with heat! (4.1.180–83)

His prayer is not that others will be able to deploy fire against Tamburlaine but that his own innate fieriness will fail him, and it appears to have come true when his physician warns him, “Your veins are full of accidental heat, / Whereby the moisture of your blood is dried” (5.3.84–85). No aid from any celestial fire can help him now, as Theridamas laments that “all the shining lamps of heaven” can do no more than “cast their bootless fires to the earth” (5.3.3–4). Tamburlaine himself accepts that

this subject, not of force enough  
 To hold the fiery spirit it contains,  
 Must part, (5.3.169–71)

and the fire he has so successfully wielded against others is imagined as feeding now on him when Amyras speaks of “his burning agony!” (5.3.210). All Tamburlaine can do now is give Amyras a warning that the audience almost certainly knows will be unavailing:

As precious is the charge thou undertak’st  
 As that which Clymen’s brain-sick son did guide  
 When wandering Phoebe’s ivory cheeks were scorched  
 And all the earth, like Etna, breathing fire. (5.3.231–34)

Tamburlaine hopes that Amyras, unlike Phaeton, will be able to pick his way safely through the realm of fire, but he is also concerned that he will fail “if thy body thrive not full of thoughts / As pure and fiery as Phyteus’ beams” (5.3.237–38). He is right to worry: It was only Tamburlaine himself who could ever approximate such fieriness, something to which Amyras pays tribute when his final term for his father (and almost the last words of the play) is heaven’s “choicest living fire” (5.3.252). The audience probably knows that the son will never achieve the fame of his uniquely fiery father.

Although some of Tamburlaine’s references to fire do, as we have seen, center on Zenocrate, it is, as I suggested earlier, not an erotic journey that I see them as charting, but one that is fundamentally about Tamburlaine himself and his concept of his own identity and whose primary focus is power. In their hero’s changing relationship with fire, the *Tamburlaine* plays to a certain extent follow the up-and-down trajectory of the *De casibus*/*Mirror for Magistrates* tradition which in other respects they so consciously

eschew. This is partly a function of the tension within Tamburlaine's own personality, for he is not only Marlowe's most ruthless killer but also his most sensitive reflector on

immortal flowers of poesy,  
Wherein as in a mirror we perceive  
The highest reaches of a human wit (*1Tam*, 5.1.166–68)

and the man who virtually in the midst of the battlefield pauses to ask, "What is beauty, saith my sufferings, then?" (5.1.160). In one sense, Tamburlaine's answer to his own question is clear: Whereas Faustus imaginatively connects what he most desires with fire, Tamburlaine reverses the process. He promises Zenocrate,

With milk-white harts upon an ivory sled  
Thou shalt be drawn amidst the frozen pools  
And scale the icy mountains' lofty tops. (1.2.98–100)

When he thinks of heaven, it too is icy, having a "frozen plage" (4.4.131), and his own intention is toward a land which we now know to be cold, although that may not perhaps have been his own understanding: "We mean to travel to th'Antarctic Pole" (4.4.145).

Tamburlaine may carry fire to his enemies, but in his own interior world he has always cherished the beauty and purity of ice, and Gaveston in *Edward II* makes much the same association when, musing on how happy he is to be back in London with Edward, his thoughts turn naturally to the cold climes of the north: "What need the arctic people love starlight, / To whom the sun shines both by day and night?" (*E2*, 1.1.16–17). Conversely, although Marlowe consistently associates the competent use of fire with political and military success, he also suggests that those who are burned—Dido, Edward, and the son and husband of Olympia in the second part of *Tamburlaine*—find in fire a way of conserving identities whose continued existence is imperilled or impossible in the politicised world in which they live. Fire is something that certainly fascinated Marlowe, and the ability to use it is represented as fundamentally necessary for success, but I think it represents for him the power of the world rather than the power of the heart. There are those who can use it, and they will win; there are those who cannot, and they, in worldly terms at least, will lose.

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## Christopher Marlowe and the Verse/Prose Bilingual System<sup>1</sup>

We think of Christopher Marlowe as a poet and a rebel. Each of these identities is self-evident, yet when taken together they tend to obscure one of his lasting accomplishments. If he was a masterful writer of verse and a radical in many ways, Marlowe helped establish one of literature's most successful conventions by enhancing the function of prose dialogue in drama. From *Tamburlaine* through *Edward II*, Marlowe refined the verse/prose bilingual system that would come to dominate dramatic representation in early modern England. This scheme naturalized social, psychological, and emotional differences through linguistic artifice. So widely was it adopted by contemporary playwrights that we take it for granted that prose is the language of the lower orders and verse of the better sort, that prose is what aristocratic characters "descend" to in their madness, and that it, rather than verse, is the medium for drunken, indecorous, or uneducated speech. If these things seem natural to us, and seemed so to playgoers and readers in England from the 1590s on, before Marlowe this bilingualism had never been tendered as a sufficient model for the theatrical representation of reality.

Because we like to picture Marlowe struggling with and defying convention, this system is largely passed over when his achievements as a writer are discussed.<sup>2</sup> Yet Marlowe's contribution to

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1. Research for this essay was originally presented at the "Constructing Marlowe" panel organized by the Marlowe Society of America at the 2005 Modern Language Association conference. I am grateful for comments and suggestions I received there. I would also like to thank Lars Hinrichs (University of Texas at Austin) and Eric Rasmussen (University of Nevada, Reno) for their assistance with my research.

2. A few examples may confirm the low profile of Marlowe's prose in recent scholarship. In *The World of Christopher Marlowe* (London: Faber, 2004), David Riggs discusses prose

literary representation lies as much with building systems—and in particular the verse/prose bilingual system in drama—as resisting them. This essay begins, therefore, by examining the emergence, in *Tamburlaine*, of an early stage of the verse/prose system that would characterize English drama until the closing of the theaters. After establishing some of the basic facts about prose in Marlowe's dramatic works, it scrutinizes the playworld situations for which he wrote prose. In the six years that followed *Tamburlaine*, Marlowe's prose went from being the sound that aristocrats make in response to extraordinary physical duress to constituting the ordinary tongue of foreigners and of those lower on the social ladder. Yet prose remained available to all his characters. As we will see, Marlowe uses prose largely for resentment, reckoning, and ritual. Throughout his plays, prose would remain the language with which Marlowe acknowledged the body's weakness for, and as, flesh.

#### Marlowe's Bilingual Innovation

So familiar is the Elizabethan theater's world-picturing system that it is sometimes hard for us to imagine playwrights employing anything other than alternating iambic pentameter and prose for their dialogue. Prior to the 1580s, however, such was not only possible but the norm. The verse/prose bilingual system we know came into existence through a four-stage process during the early modern era, with the 1580s fostering the fourth stage. Beginning early in the sixteenth century, playgoers and readers of published dramatic texts encountered, in successive order, plays (1) written entirely in verse; (2) written in verse or in prose; (3) sporadically mingling prose and verse; and finally, (4) alternating prose and verse—particularly blank verse—in a significant and predictable way. Marlowe began writing plays during the third stage of this process, when, during the later 1570s and 1580s, such playwrights as George Whetstone and Robert Wilson had begun inserting small amounts of prose into predominantly verse plays. But something important occurred with *The Rare Triumphs of Love and*

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in Marlowe's grammar school education (41, 51–52); the presence of prose alongside rhyme in the plays of the Queen's Men (197); and the prose output of Miguel de Cervantes (3), Robert Greene (101), John Lyly (112), and Thomas Nashe (115)—but not Marlowe's own prose. Similarly, editors Sarah K. Scott and M. L. Stapleton's recent and otherwise excellent essay collection, *Christopher Marlowe the Craftsman: Lives, Stage, and Page*, features only three references to prose: two to the prose *Faust Book* (185, 193) and one (by Stephen Booth) to a prosaic line in *Hero and Leander* (133) (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010).

*Fortune*, an anonymously authored drama that was almost certainly performed by the Earl of Derby's Men at Court in 1582.<sup>3</sup> Blending mythological morality and romance, *The Rare Triumphs* points the way for later drama by interweaving an overplot (a contest of the pagan gods), a romantic main plot, and an underplot of clownish actions. Even more noteworthy, however, is the play's decorous coordination of various discursive forms. The play has fourteen speaking characters and 1,778 lines of dialogue. Remarkably, it features eleven distinct modes of expression: blank verse, heroic couplets, rhyme royal, *ababcc* stanzas, unrhymed and rhymed hexameter, poulter's measure, fourteeners, *abab* stanzas, and doggerel, in addition to prose. Because *The Rare Triumphs* links different linguistic forms to characters from specific levels of society, these modes helped index their playworld. To speak in a particular form is to evidence one's status; to have certain status means speaking mainly in one form.

If *Rare Triumphs* achieved something unprecedented in its virtual catalogue of languages, its eleven discursive forms would be too unwieldy for adoption in London's commercial theaters. Marlowe would in effect look at its great feast of languages and select two items from the menu: iambic pentameter and prose. Best remembered for its thundering blank verse, *Tamburlaine* is also remarkable for streamlining the many forms in *Rare Triumphs* and thereby inaugurating the functional alternation of verse and prose in drama. This system has its beginnings when Tamburlaine, ending a sumptuous speech in blank verse, turns to a caged Bajazeth and taunts his captive: "And now, Bajazeth, hast thou any stomach?" (*1Tam*, 4.4.10).<sup>4</sup> To which the captive replies in prose: "Ay, such a stomach, cruel Tamburlaine, as I could willingly feed upon thy blood-raw heart" (4.4.11–12). Like every other character in *Tamburlaine*, Bajazeth, the Emperor of Turkey, has spoken in blank verse to this point. Admittedly, some of his first lines in the play lack the metrical regularity of Tamburlaine's own discourse:

3. The best introduction to this play is still the 1952 thesis by John Isaac Owen, reprinted as *An Edition of "The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune"* (New York: Garland, 1979).

4. All quotations from Christopher Marlowe's plays draw on Christopher Marlowe, *The Complete Plays*, ed. Frank Romany and Robert Lindsey (London: Penguin, 2003). Dates have normally been taken from Sylvia Stoler Wagonheim's revision of Alfred Harbage and S. Schoenbaum, *Annals of English Drama 975–1700*, 3rd ed. (London: Routledge, 1989).



Great kings of Barbary, and my portly bassoes,  
 We hear the Tartars and the eastern thieves,  
 Under the conduct of one Tamburlaine,  
 Presume a bickering with your Emperor,  
 And thinks to rouse us from our dreadful siege  
 Of the famous Grecian Constantinople. (3.1.1–6)

The irregular first and last lines hint at what is to come, when Marlowe will push Bajazeth's words past the bounds of verse rhythm, rendering him the first prose speaker in the play and, therefore, in the playwright's dramatic canon.

If Marlowe early on "hears" Bajazeth's verse as having a potentially prosaic dimension, the Turkish Emperor's first prose sentence reveals a similar ambiguity with its metrical rhythm. Here is his sentence again: "Ay, such a stomach, cruel Tamburlaine, as I could willingly feed upon thy blood-raw heart." Save for a single word, "willingly," this prose sentence might be verse. With this word removed, Bajazeth's retort runs as follows: "Ay, such a stomach, cruel Tamburlaine, / As I could feed upon thy blood-raw heart." This is not only acceptable verse; it is indistinguishable from the iambic pentameter Marlowe writes throughout *Tamburlaine*. Marlowe produces his first dramatic prose dialogue not by rendering it as a completely separate language, but rather by adding an impediment, a disfiguration of sorts, to the language he is used to writing. The word "willingly" must have been irresistible, and it rings a signature theme (that of the will) for Marlowe: By this point in *Tamburlaine* he has already used the word four times in various verse lines.

Tamburlaine then responds: "Nay, thine own is easier to come by, pluck out that, and 'twill serve thee and thy wife. Well, Zenocrate, Techelles, and the rest, fall to your victuals" (4.4.13–15). This sardonic response jibes with Bajazeth's invective, yet its syntax is clearly that of prose rather than (altered) verse. Just as prose begins to be established as a language for this dramatic environment, however, Marlowe pulls back. Perhaps sensing that this tennis-like volley ("Ay . . . thy" / "Nay, thine") no less than its vocabulary ("stomach," "blood-raw," "victuals") could diminish the elevated style of a central character, Marlowe writes Bajazeth's response in blank verse:

Fall to, and never may your meat digest!  
 Ye Furies, that can mask invisible,  
 Dive to the bottom of Avernus' pool (4.4.16–18)

Taking us from blank verse to prose increasingly identifiable *as* prose back to blank verse, this sequence from the first part of *Tamburlaine* constitutes a key moment in the history of English drama. When Marlowe has this caged, humiliated king speak differently owing to his visible humiliation, and in a medium itself characterized as “low” over and against the golden-throated blank verse that dominates the larger drama, he hits upon a simpler version of the complex hierarchy of forms offered in *Rare Triumphs*. This system would be widely adopted in the early modern playhouse. Representing social, psychological, and emotional differences through bilingualism, its genius lay in its efficiency and flexibility.

As we will see, Marlowe extended his prose dialogue in *The Jew of Malta* (1589) and *Doctor Faustus* (1592), where the lead characters as well as figures from the underplots and lower registers of society speak prose. He would be joined in this, of course, by the small but influential group of playwrights we know as the “University Wits.” In Thomas Kyd’s *The Spanish Tragedy* (c. 1587), in Robert Greene’s *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* (c. 1589), *James IV* (c. 1590), and *George a Greene, the Pinner of Wakefield* (c. 1593), Greene and Thomas Lodge’s *A Looking Glass for London and England* (c. 1590), and in George Peele’s *Edward I* (c. 1591), prose and verse were united in a representational economy that not only employed prose for “low,” comic scenes and verse for “higher,” more aristocratic elements of the plot, but that offered some flexibility for various characters to use either medium depending upon context and situation. As J. F. Macdonald observed, the fifth scene of Greene’s *Friar Bacon* features a group of disguised young noblemen who speak in prose until confronted by Bacon (who is aware of their deception), whereupon they revert to blank verse, leaving the “real” clowns, Rafe and Miles, to continue in prose by themselves.<sup>5</sup> If early modern literature is notable for “the flexibility of the self,” those who followed Marlowe and Greene in the drama often expressed that flexibility through such variations in their discursive media.<sup>6</sup>

We can sense the influence of this system by glancing at how it affected two playwrights who wrote both before and after its

5. J. F. Macdonald, “The Use of Prose in English Drama before Shakespeare,” *University of Toronto Quarterly* 2.4 (1933): 465–81, 476.

6. Thomas Greene, “The Flexibility of the Self in Renaissance Literature,” in *The Disciplines of Criticism: Essays in Literary Theory, Interpretation, and History*, ed. Peter Demetz, Thomas Greene, and Lowry Nelson, Jr. (New Haven: Yale UP, 1968), 241–64.

instantiation. Where Robert Wilson had employed heptameter in *The Three Ladies of London* in 1581, only a year after *Tamburlaine* he would write *The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London* (1590) in iambic pentameter lines, with some of his blank verse alternating with prose. Similarly John Lyly, who had written such courtly prose comedies as *Sappho and Phao* and *Campaspe* in the 1580s, and who had published the prose plays *Endymion* and *Gallathea* in 1591 and 1592, respectively, by 1593 would pen *The Woman in the Moon* largely in blank verse, with the roguish servant Gunophilus frequently delivering sardonic prose. Something had happened to dramatic representation in London during the later 1580s. The pivotal moment had come in 1587, with Marlowe's caged king shifting between verse and prose in response to situational cues.

#### Marlowe's Prose in Context

We began by noting that Marlowe's poetry has overshadowed his literary production—rendering his prose, if not invisible, then at least difficult to see clearly. It is therefore desirable to put his dramatic prose in its context, measuring it alongside his dramatic verse. How much dramatic prose did Marlowe write? This question may seem simple, but it is actually quite difficult to answer with any precision. Several things complicate this, including chronology, authorship, and form itself. To address the question of form first: while verse and prose are often visually distinct on the page, editors can and do disagree as to what is verse and prose in early modern plays. Early compositors, for their part, frequently set verse as prose and prose as verse—sometimes, apparently, by misrecognizing it, and sometimes for strategic reasons that could include space saving, stretching, and the fashions of the literary marketplace.

Prose can be hard to distinguish from verse. Those who listen to spoken lines from early modern plays, for instance, can have a surprisingly difficult time telling the two apart. This difficulty is compounded by the varieties of verse and prose themselves. As we have seen, Marlowe (like other writers of his time) could produce verse that bordered on prose, and prose that bordered on verse. This was true throughout his career, as the following passage from the A-text of *Faustus* illustrates: “That sight will be as pleasing unto me as paradise was to Adam, the first day of his creation” (7.103–4). Coming in the midst of dialogue with Lucifer just prior to the show of the seven deadly sins, and after Lucifer has begun speaking prose, Faustus's passage seems absolutely plausible as

prose, yet clearly has verse rhythm in it: “That *sight* will *be* as *pleasing unto me* as *paradise* was to Adam, the first *day* of *his* creation.” Because it is preceded and followed by prose, however, and because its middle section seems deliberately prosaic—Marlowe could have written, for instance, “as *Eden was* to *Adam*”—it has been taken as prose here. Another passage from *Faustus* reveals a slightly different problem: verse stretched so long it offers up short phrases reminiscent of prose. This is Faustus responding to a comment in prose by Mephistopheles:

How? Bell, book, and candle, candle, book, and bell,  
Forward and backward, to curse Faustus to hell.  
Anon you shall hear a hog grunt, a calf bleat, and an ass bray,  
Because it is Saint Peter’s holy day. (8.84–87)

If we encountered the third line of this passage standing alone, or in a prose sequence, its fifteen syllables would almost certainly strike us as prose. Yet its context—the verse couplet preceding it, and its rhyme with the verse line following—makes it impossible to think of as such. A last example from this scene—the Friars’ English and Latin song which actually serves to close the episode—confirms an insufficiency of even “verse” and “prose” as categories. This chant is of course neither prose nor the kind of verse we encounter elsewhere in the plays; its repeated “Cursèd be he that X” phrases and its “*Maledicat Dominus*” refrain, however, are clearly rhythmical enough for us to identify it as verse.

The question of form is also complicated by paratextual features such as prefatory materials, prologues, epilogues, and even stage directions. When one is defining a play in order to measure its prose, how many of these features should be counted? All the words in a printed text or only the words that might have been heard by its early audience members? (That defining the latter can involve speculation only makes things more complicated.) The intertwined questions of authority and chronology are problematic as well. What should we do with the seven hundred lines’ worth of difference between the A- and B-texts of *Faustus*, especially given the latter’s popularity in the seventeenth century? Or the fact that, like the B-text (which certainly includes material not by Marlowe), the A-text itself may have had a collaborator? That none of these difficulties is solved very easily confirms that tabulating Marlowe’s verse and prose—like the verse and prose in any playwright’s works of this era—is a highly inexact process.

That said, such imprecision may be worth enduring if it gives us a perspective on prose’s role in his plays. The following figures—

offered with all due caution in relation to the issues set out above—are based on a count, in Marlowe’s plays, of the total prose and verse words presumably spoken in performance.<sup>7</sup> This number includes all the plays’ prologues and epilogues save for the seventeenth-century prologues and epilogues to *The Jew of Malta*. As was mentioned, scholars not infrequently disagree as to what is prose and what is verse in the texts they edit; accordingly, the numbers here reflect occasional departures from the texts used for tabulation.

**Table 1.** Marlowe’s prose by the numbers.

Title	Written	Printed	Words (total)	# in prose	% in prose
<i>Dido</i>	1585–86	1594	13563	0	0.0
<i>1Tam</i>	1587	1590	17100	630	3.7
<i>2Tam</i>	1588	1590	17454	605	3.5
<i>JM</i>	1590	1633	17955	2269	12.6
<i>DFa</i>	1591–92	1604	11354	5207	45.9
<i>E2</i>	1592	1594	20741	197	0.95
<i>MP</i>	1592	1596	9603	765	7.9
<i>DFb</i>	1600?	1616	15452	5265	34.1

With all its uncertainties of chronology (including not only estimated dates of composition but also, with *The Massacre at Paris*, of printing), table 1 offers a picture of Marlowe’s prose that may usefully complicate the questions we ask of his works. Excepting

7. Electronic versions of Marlowe’s plays were accessed via Project Gutenberg (PG) in August 2010. *Tamburlaine the Great, Part 1* (Dyce, [1876?]; PG, 2008), <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/1094/1094-h/1094-h.htm>; *Tamburlaine the Great, Part 2* (Dyce, [1876?]; PG, 2008), <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/1589/1589-h/1589-h.htm>; *The Jew of Malta* (Dyce, [1876?]; PG, 2008), <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/901/901-h/901-h.htm>; *Doctor Faustus, A-text* (1604) (Dyce, [1876?]; PG, 2009), <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/779/779-h/779-h.htm>; *Doctor Faustus, B-text* (1616) (Dyce, 1876?; PG, 2008), <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/811/811-h/811-h.htm>; *Edvard the Second* (1909; PG, 2007), <http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/20288/pg20288.html>; *The Tragedy of Dido Queen of Carthage* (1914; PG, 2005), <http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/16169/pg16169.html>; and *The Massacre at Paris* (n.d.; PG, 2008), <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/1496/1496-h/1496-h.htm>. While these electronic versions were used for Marlowe’s words (the stage directions and speech prefixes being removed for purposes of tabulation), this essay’s identifications of prose and verse sometimes differ from those of the electronic files’ source texts. Formal determinations were made with the assistance of editions such as Romany and Lindsey, eds., *The Complete Plays*; and David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen, eds., *“Doctor Faustus” and Other Plays* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1995).

the B-text of *Faustus*, Marlowe's surviving dramatic texts feature 9,673 words in prose, or approximately 9% of the total 107,770 spoken words. Both the total prose words and prose words as percentage of the whole indicate the variability of prose in Marlowe's plays. This ranges from a low of 0% prose words in *Dido, Queen of Carthage* to almost 46% in the A-text of *Faustus*.

We could be tempted to say that this varied according to genre, with comedic texts like *The Jew of Malta* featuring more prose than his tragedies or histories. But identifying prose generically like this risks a circular argument and would leave us saying that *Faustus*—Marlowe's play with the most prose—is not a pure tragedy *because of its prose*. What *is* clear from the figures above is that no easy narrative of progression applies: A text like *Edward* has very few prose words, even though it was apparently composed right after the play with the most words in prose, the A-text *Faustus*. Not surprisingly, then, Marlowe had the ability consistently to choose whether to deploy this second language in his plays—and, if he did, how much of it to use. These figures also allow us to compare the percentage of prose in each text with its date of publication. Arranging Marlowe's plays in the order they were first printed hints at a negative correlation between their prose content and their initial attractiveness to publishers.

**Table 2.** Marlowe's prose in print

Title	Year printed	% in prose
<i>1Tam</i>	1590	3.7
<i>2Tam</i>	1590	3.5
<i>Dido</i>	1594	0.0
<i>E2</i>	1594	0.95
<i>MP</i>	1596	7.9
<i>DFa</i>	1604	45.9
<i>DFb</i>	1616	34.1
<i>JM</i>	1633	12.6

The relevant caveats apply: Markets are seldom perfect or knowable, and not everything is for sale at all times. Playbooks may have been offered to and withheld from the press for a variety of reasons and by a variety of persons. To take only one example, Andrew Gurr's argument about Edward Alleyn's personal control of playbooks confirms the many factors involved in such works reaching the public via print.<sup>8</sup> But even given these reasons for

8. See Andrew Gurr, "Did Shakespeare Own His Own Playbooks?," *Review of*

caution, we can note an intriguing pattern in these figures: The four Marlowe plays with the least prose—both in total words and as a percentage of their whole—were published before the four Marlowe plays with the most prose. We can also observe that a gap of perhaps a decade (here taking *Massacre* as having been printed as late as 1596)<sup>9</sup> separated these two groups. This implies that, early on, Marlowe's reputation as a poet may have affected the perceived attractiveness of his plays as commodities for the press. Such does not mean, of course, that prose was less desirable at all times. In fact, it is arguable from these same figures that prose was so attractive to repertories that they withheld plays with lively prose from the press. In any case, with nine quartos published from 1604 to 1631, *Faustus* would be Marlowe's bestselling playbook, and one of the bestselling playbooks of the era. In sheer quantity, its prose would actually be augmented in the B-text (though its prose would constitute a lower percentage of total words). The most prose laden of Marlowe's plays, then, eventually sold better than anything he wrote.

If by 1604 a Marlowe play with significant prose was not only tolerable but even desirable, things may have been quite different during the early 1590s, when London's literary marketplace was strongly defined by golden language, both in prose and verse. We might call this the age of (William) Ponsonby, for this publisher had brought out both Sir Philip Sidney's *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* and Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene* in 1590, a pair of books that shaped literary taste in their elite wake. "The Passionate Shepherd to His Love" and *Hero and Leander* remind us that Marlowe was not only capable of such golden words, but also famous for them. Yet we have already seen (and will explore further) how his prose contained sounds and images far from the elegant cadences and imagery of the *Arcadia* (to name only this influential text). Euphuism, too, was something largely alien to Marlowe: Although, like most Elizabethan prose, Marlowe's was influenced by the Ciceronian model, the balanced periods and intriguing analogies of Lyly's euphuistic style appear to have held less attraction for him than for some of his contemporaries in the drama.

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*English Studies* 60.244 (2009): 206–29.

9. For the 1596 date for the printing of *Massacre*, I am indebted to the essay elsewhere in this inaugural issue of *Marlowe Studies* by R. Carter Hailey, "The Publication Date of Marlowe's *Massacre at Paris*, with a Note on the Collier Leaf." I am grateful to him for sharing his findings with me prior to their publication here.

## Marlowe's Prose: Resentment, Reckoning, Ritual

Within a decade of its introduction, English playwrights had adopted *Tamburlaine's* bilingual system, alternating verse and prose to convey social, psychological, and emotional differences among dramatic speakers. By the later 1590s, this system had established verse as the default medium for characters from the higher orders of society, and prose for those from the lower orders (though aristocratic characters freely shift from verse to prose and back).<sup>10</sup> In addition to being influenced by the social status of their characters, playwrights often keyed these media to specific environments and moods. Verse would be employed in formal and serious situations; traditionally, the elevation of such moments has meant that verse is associated with tension, with bodily tightening. Because prose would be used for the playful and informal it has been connected, by critics, with relaxation—although the heightened tension of wit and wordplay generally asks us to qualify such a division.<sup>11</sup> Verse is for ceremony, prose for commerce; verse for sentiment, prose for the critical and satirical. In addition to the English spoken by those without formal education, nonstandard English gravitates toward prose, while proper English usually appears in verse. Verse is the medium for decorum, sobriety, and sanity; prose typically serves for obscenity, drunkenness, and insanity. Such “rules” were nowhere codified as such, of course. Yet they convey assumptions about linguistic decorum shared by playwrights, actors, playgoers, and readers throughout the early modern period.

The system of representation that playwrights based on these assumptions was by no means static even during its first decade of employment. As we noted, Marlowe used varying amounts of

10. On verse/prose bilingualism in Shakespeare, see Douglas Bruster, “The Politics of Shakespeare’s Prose,” in *Rematerializing Shakespeare: Authority and Representation on the Early Modern English Stage*, ed. Bryan Reynolds and William N. West (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 95–114. For a foundational overview of Shakespeare’s use of prose, see Brian Vickers, *The Artistry of Shakespeare’s Prose* (London: Methuen, 1968).

11. On prose’s relation to dramatic and characterological *stimmung*, or “mood,” see the classic study by Vincent Franz Janssen, *Die Prosa in Shakespeares Dramen* (Strassburg: Trübner, 1897). Janssen’s reading of the verse/prose system held that the selection of medium depended on the mood or atmosphere of the particular scene: “Blankvers = leidenschaftliche Bewegung, Prosa = nüchternes Abwarten” (blank verse = passionate movement, prose = sober waiting) (9). By 1917 Morris Palmer Tilley would assert, simply, that “poetry is the diction of tension, prose of relaxation.” *The First Part of Henry the Fourth*, ed. Frederic W. Moorman and Morris Palmer Tilley (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1917), 199.



prose in his plays from 1587 to 1593. The situations and characters for which he wrote prose dialogue changed as well. At the beginning of his career, prose was the language for foreign and disempowered characters: Bajazeth (when in his cage), Zabina, Ithamore, or Barabas. The image of a caged man gives us a metaphor for prose as the language of the politically disenfranchised, yet the special frisson comes from the fact that it is a king in a cage, one whose prose speech demonstrates his abject status. In the middle of *The Jew of Malta*, however, we see Marlowe moving toward a different linguistic decorum when, in act 3, scene 1, he has Pilia-Borza, a pimp, and Ithamore, a slave, speak prose in back-to-back passages (though not in dialogue with each other). When act 4, scene 2 opens with Bellamira, Pilia-Borza, and Ithamore, prose is the dominant medium for their speech and seems to have become the *de facto* tongue of the lower orders. While in *Tamburlaine* in 1587, prose is the language for a caged king, by this point in *The Jew of Malta* prose has begun to look like a class language, something characters speak not because of a temporarily demeaning environment, but because of their perdurable social status. Prose has changed from purely situational to a reflection of one's enduring situation in a society. After this scene, prose in Marlowe—and also in the plays of his contemporaries—would be increasingly identified as the natural language of the lower orders.

What Marlowe's prose signified, as well as the situations for which it was used, therefore varied over the course of his career. It also differed from the prose of contemporaries like Greene and Shakespeare. We can highlight these differences by looking at some of the functions and shapes of prose in the first part of *Tamburlaine*, and by tracing their elaboration in Marlowe's subsequent plays. If prose began as the language for demeaned aristocrats and only gradually, almost accidentally, became the language for commoners and servants, as with every playwright of the era, there was little that could not be said in verse and prose alike. Overall, however, prose tends to be the language for three things in Marlowe's plays. From his first sole-authored play to his last dramatic work, Marlowe uses prose largely for *resentment*, *reckoning*, and *ritual*. Let us look at these in order.

#### *Prose as the Language of Resentment*

Marlowe's prose is often soaked in resentment. It is the medium for invective from below and through which those above enjoy the suffering of others, often taunting them in the process. Marlowe's

prose typically includes abusive language such as insulting epithets and condescending imperatives. The sound of such prose can be noticeably harsh, often though repeated “k” and “t” plosives. Finally, we might observe that these resentful prose speeches sometimes feature images of torn flesh and the consumption thereof, as though Marlowe’s psychology was deeply influenced not only by the *sparagmos* of classical mythology and the sacrament and ritual of communion, but also by the tables, kitchens, and butcher stalls of early modern England.<sup>12</sup> The features of such resentful speech can be illustrated with selected quotations from his plays.

*Invective from Below*

Marlowe’s prose, as we have seen, starts with bitter speech from a caged man. Such bitterness would be widely replicated in his subsequent plays, as with the resentful speeches of Gluttony and Envy in *Faustus* in the second and third excerpts here.

Ay, such a stomach, cruel Tamburlaine, as I could willingly feed  
upon thy blood-raw heart.

Bajazeth to Tamburlaine (*ITam*, 4.4.11–12)

Then the devil choke thee!

Gluttony to Faustus (*DFa*, 7.51)

But must thou sit and I stand? Come down, with a vengeance!

Envy to audience (*DFa*, 7.135–36)

*Exaltation and Taunting from Above*

Much of Marlowe’s prose is dedicated to sardonic, sometimes vicious exhilaration from a position of superiority. Tamburlaine’s mockery of Bajazeth (in the first excerpt here) offers a good example of this tendency.

Nay, thine own is easier to come by, pluck out that, and ’twill  
serve thee and thy wife.

Tamburlaine to Bajazeth (*ITam*, 4.4.13–14)

The slave looks like a hog’s cheek new singed.

Barabas on Lodowick (*JM*, 2.3.42–43)

*Enter the Knight with a pair of horns on his head.*

12. On gluttony and communion in *Faustus*, see C. L. Barber, “‘The Form of Faustus’ Fortunes Good or Bad,” *Tulane Drama Review* 8.4 (1964): 92–119; and Barbara Parker’s essay in this issue of *Marlowe Studies*, “‘Cursèd Necromancy’: Marlowe’s *Faustus* as Anti-Catholic Satire.”

How now, sir knight? Why, I had thought thou hadst been a bachelor, but now I see thou hast a wife, that not only gives thee horns, but makes thee wear them.

Faustus to Knight (*DFa*, 10.74 s.d. 77)

All three of these taunts involve some kind of insult to the body, from the ripping out of one's heart and likening a face to singed pork to the public shame of the knight bearing a cuckold's horns.

### *Insulting Vocatives and Epithets*

Marlowe's abusive prose is usually punctuated by angry personal address, words such as "sirrah" and "villain" being common modes of disparagement.

Sirrah, why fall you not to? . . . Villain, knowest to whom thou speakest?

Tamburlaine and Usumcasane to Bajazeth (*1Tam*, 4.4.36, 39)

"Sirrah Jew, as you love your life, send me five hundred crowns"

Ithamore, writing to Barabas (*JM*, 4.2.122–23)

I a goblet? I scorn you, and you are but a etc. I a goblet?

Robin to the Vintner (*DFa*, 9.10–11)

The "etc." in the *Faustus* excerpt may stand in for an improvised or unprintable insult. This ambiguity testifies to the realm of violent freedom that Marlowe's prose often enjoys.

### *Harsh Sounding Language, Often with "K" and "T" Plosives*

Marlowe's abusive prose often *sounds* harsh. To achieve this effect he sometimes chains "k" and "t" sounds:

Ay, such a stomach, cruel Tamburlaine, as I could willingly feed upon thy blood-raw heart.

Bajazeth to Tamburlaine (*1Tam*, 4.4.11–12)

Play, fiddler, or I'll cut your cat's guts into chitterlings.

Ithamore, to the disguised Barabas (*JM*, 4.4.48–49)

Now sir, to you that dares make a duke a Cuckold and uses a counterfeit key to his privy chamber.

Soldier (*MP*, 19, Folger MS. leaf)

We could notice "*stomach*," "*cruel*," "*Tamburlaine*," "*could*," and "*heart*" in the first excerpt, "*cut your cat's guts into chitterlings*" in the second (where the "g" of "guts" also adds to the dissonant effect), and "*make a duke a Cuckold*" and "*counterfeit key*" in the

third. In each instance, the cacophonous sounds relay the speaker's scorn.

*Images of Torn Flesh, Often Waiting to Be Consumed*

The first two excerpts in the previous section—Bajazeth's retort and Ithamore's threat—reveal Marlowe's peculiar fascination with abusive and grisly images of flesh ripped or cut for consumption. Barabas's previously referenced caustic comparison of Lodowick's face to a "hog's cheek new-singed" fits in this cluster as well. Marlowe's prose imagination tends toward the carnivorous. In addition to the preceding quotations, the following passages—the first from *Tamburlaine*, the next two from *Faustus*—help illustrate this tendency.

tear me in pieces . . . Fling the meat in his face.  
Zabina in her mad speech (*1Tam*, 5.1.310–11, 315)

The villain is bare and out of service, and so hungry that I know  
he would give his soul to the devil for a shoulder of mutton,  
though it were blood raw.

Wagner to Robin (*DFa*, 4.7–9)

I am one that loves an inch of raw mutton better than an ell of  
fried stockfish.

Lechery (*DFa*, 159–60)

We could see Robin's remarks about being "dismembered" and about winding the conveniently named "Nan Spit" for one's use (6.10–11, 26–28), as well as the episode of the Horse-courser and Faustus's detachable leg (scene 11), as further examples of this pattern in *Faustus*. When Ithamore delights in the appearance of Friar Barnardine's corpse as it is propped up on his staff, he remarks "Excellent! He stands as if he were begging of bacon" (*JM*, 4.1.159). The weakness of the human body is thus risible both in its essence and in its hunger for meat like itself.

*Prose as the Language of Reckoning*

Prose is the medium in which Marlowe's characters count, add, estimate, analyze, and frame conditions and contracts. The term "reckoning" here is thus deliberately broad. It is meant to cover a variety of processes joined by mathematics, geometry, physics, or logic. Sentences and speeches involving conditionals—"If X, then Y"—and relations based on quantity or degree—"So X that Y"—often take prose as their medium. Because this is a complicated

aspect of Marlowe's prose, and quite prevalent in it, a number of examples are called for.

*Calculating the Dimensions and Limitations of Flesh*

We have observed that Marlowe is attracted to images of raw flesh: Bajazeth saying that his hunger is so great that he could eat Tamburlaine's own heart; Lechery confessing she loves "an inch of raw mutton better than an ell of fried stockfish." If Marlowe uses prose to describe the meat we eat, he also deploys this medium to measure human flesh and chart its limitations.

TAMBURLAINE. Soft, sir, you must be dieted; too much eating will make you surfeit.

THERIDAMAS. So it would, my lord, specially having so small a walk, and so little exercise.

(*1Tam*, 4.4.107–10)

Sirrah Callapine, I'll hang a clog about your neck for running away again: you shall not trouble me thus to come and fetch you.

Tamburlaine (*2Tam*, 3.5.100–102)

I must have one that's sickly, and't be but for sparing victuals: 'tis not a stone of beef a day will maintain you in these chops. Let me see one that's somewhat leaner.

Barabas to First Officer (*JM*, 2.3.125–28)

In each of these passages, the speakers use prose to weigh flesh or anticipate its weaknesses. Tamburlaine imagines hanging a heavy weight around a man's neck to burden his flesh. The human body is thus represented with a bluntness usually reserved for livestock or domestic animals. Barabas plays on such brutality when calculating how much beef it would take to maintain a slave at his current weight.

*Describing the Physical World*

Marlowe's interest in reckoning the full dimensions of systems sometimes proved too much for verse. The following extract from the A-text of *Faustus* shows the playwright's ambition forcing him to shift media. Faustus begins an astronomy lecture in verse, only to find pentameter too unwieldy for the information he wants to convey.

Tush, these slender trifles Wagner can decide.  
Hath Mephistopheles no greater skill?

Who knows not the double motion of the planets?  
 The first is finished in a natural day,  
 The second thus, as Saturn in thirty years,  
 Jupiter in twelve, Mars in four, the sun, Venus and Mercury in a  
 year, the moon in twenty-eight days. Tush, these are freshmen's  
 suppositions. But tell me, hath every sphere a dominion or  
*intelligentia*? (*DFa*, 7.49–57)

What commences as regular blank verse changes after the fifth line (2.3.53) when Faustus begins listing information about planetary movements. The word “Saturn,” which begins his list, marks the turn from verse to prose; hereafter, the rest of Faustus’s impatient conversation with Mephistopheles—including Faustus’s demand, “Tell me, who made the world” (2.3.66)—is in prose.

Later, Faustus uses prose for a similar geography lesson with the Duke and Duchess as the latter tastes the grapes which Mephistopheles has procured.

If it like your grace, the year is divided into two circles over the  
 whole world, that when it is here winter with us, in the contrary  
 circle it is summer with them, as in India, Saba, and farther  
 countries in the east; and by means of a swift spirit that I have, I  
 had them brought hither, as ye see. How do you like them,  
 madam, be they good? (12.21–26)

In each of these passages, the pedagogical nature of the situation no less than the information conveyed seems to set the medium for the dialogue. An abundance of facts calls for prose.

#### *Dealing with Numbers, Distance, and Time*

Marlowe’s fondness for size, scale, and the hyperbolic is hardly limited to his prose, yet he often uses it when he has characters and figures assert numbers, distances, or time. Here are some examples of this tendency from across the canon:

First, legions of devils shall tear thee in pieces.  
 Bajazeth to Tamburlaine (*1Tam*, 4.4.38)

Go to, sirrah, take your crown, and make up the half dozen.  
 Tamburlaine to Almeda (*2Tam*, 3.5.136–37)

O, that ten thousand nights were put in one, that we might sleep  
 seven years together afore we wake!  
 Ithamore to Bellamira (*JM*, 4.2.136–37)

I’ll seek out my doctor and have my forty dollars again, or I’ll  
 make it the dearest horse!  
 Horse-courser (*DFa*, 11.45–46)

Quantity attracts Marlowe to prose in part for the same reason geographical description does. Numerical relationships often involve ideas and items that challenge his metrical form. Just as place names or political titles crowd his pentameter (as we saw with Bajazeth's first blank verse speech in *Tamburlaine*), so do situations with numbers like "half dozen" and "forty dollars" exceed easy versification.

### *Logical Problems and Conclusions*

We have seen that Marlowe is attracted to prose for dramatizing scenes of pedagogy. He also uses prose when logical problems are posed or conclusions are drawn. Bajazeth's retort, for instance, conveys an implicit calculation; *so* great is his hunger that he could eat his captor's heart raw: "Ay, *such* a stomach, cruel Tamburlaine, as I could willingly feed upon thy blood-raw heart" (emphasis mine). We encounter this as well in Tamburlaine's own reply, "Are you *so* daintily brought up you cannot eat your own flesh?" (*1 Tam*, 4.4.36–37; emphasis mine), Usumcasane's grisly estimation, "Nay, 'twere better he killed his wife, and then she shall be sure not to be starved, and he be provided for a month's victual beforehand" (4.4.46–48), and in an exchange in which Tamburlaine's taunt of Bajazeth, "Soft, sir, you must be dieted; too much eating will make you surfeit," is wittily trumped by Theridamas's measurement: "So it would, my lord, specially having *so small* a walk, and *so little* exercise" (4.4.107–8, 109–10, emphasis mine). All of these prose sentences feature measurement of some kind—significantly, measurement of flesh—but also involve (morbid) conclusions derived via logic: A dead person will not starve; a caged man gains weight easily.

Other instances of prose serving as the medium for and trigger of logic occur in the later plays.

If 'twere above ground I could, and would have it; but he hides  
and buries it up as partridges do their eggs, under the earth.

Ithamore to Pilia-Borza (*JM*, 4.2.58–60)

But I have no horses. What art thou?

Gaveston to the Poor Men (*E2*, 1.1.28)

O, 'twill corrupt the water, and the water the fish, and by the  
fish ourselves when we eat them.

Second Soldier (*MP*, 11.8–9)

Each of these passages relies on a buried syllogism. Ithamore asks us to understand that, because he can locate only things above the

earth, the fact that Barabas has buried his money means that he (Ithamore) cannot find it. Gaveston has just learned that the First Poor Man is a rider; because riders need horses and Gaveston has no horses, Gaveston will not employ him. In the last passage this kind of logical chain is spelled out in full by the Second Soldier, who resolves to hang the Admiral's body rather than pollute the water supply and, hence, those who depend on it.

*Prose as the Language of Ritual*

Ritualistic experiences and phenomena tend to draw prose from Marlowe. By "ritualistic" here we could understand kinds of experience that frame, slow down, or otherwise differentiate themselves from drama's dialogue-based teleology. Such ritualistic moments in Marlowe include imperatives as virtual stage directions, redundant stage directions, documentary, process-based speech, quoted speech, foreign language, uneducated and accented English, and—in one instance—mad speech that creates a special place within the action. All of these have in common a sense of being words "in quotation," floating above the dialogue by presenting themselves as inadequate, strange, artificial, or otherwise apart from the play's communicative matrix.

*Imperatives as Stage Directions*

Like other playwrights, Marlowe composes his actual stage directions in prose. But he also uses prose for implicit stage directions in dialogue, moments when characters prescribe or describe the actions of others. In one of the first instances of such in Marlowe's works, Tamburlaine tauntingly directs Bajazeth to practice cannibalism: "pluck out that, and 'twill serve thee and thy wife. Well, Zenocrate, Techelles, and the rest, fall to your victuals. . . . Here, eat, sir. Take it from my sword's point, or I'll thrust it to thy heart" (*1Tam*, 4.4.13–14, 40–41). Here is Tamburlaine to Almeda in the second part, in an imperative that not only prescribes an action onstage but features a condescending vocative and an act of calculation: "Go to, sirrah, take your crown, and make up the half dozen."

In *Massacre*, Mugeroun's brutal action is first described in a stage direction at scene 14, line 30—"He cuts off the CUTPURSE's ear, for cutting of the gold buttons off his cloak"—and then in prose dialogue where an imperative reverses the order of items in the stage direction:



Come, sir, give me my buttons, and here's your ear.  
Mugeroun to Cutpurse (*MP*, 14.33)

Here, as elsewhere, prose imperative functions as a stage direction in its own right.

### *Redundant Stage Directions*

In addition to writing prose imperatives that mandate action onstage, Marlowe uses prose for what we could call retrospective stage directions—speeches that describe action after the fact. An early instance of this comes after Bajazeth is taunted by being offered something to eat from the end of Tamburlaine's sword. Marlowe repeats himself in a way that confirms the proximity of his prose dialogue and the paratextual stage direction.

*He takes it and stamps upon it.*  
THERIDAMAS. He stamps it under his feet, my lord.  
(*1Tam*, 4.4.41 s.d.; 4.4.42)

Following a parenthetical stage direction, “(*Snatch it*),” in the A-text *Faustus*, the Pope redundantly describes for us what has happened: “How now, who's that which snatched the meat from me?” (8.66 s.d.; 3.1.67). In *The Jew of Malta*, a stage direction imagines that Friar Jacomo has seized Friar Barnardine's staff and instructs “*strike him; falls.*” Jacomo then answers a query about what he has done by repeating what the stage direction has told us: “Why, striken him that would have struck at me” (*JM*, 4.1.177 s.d.; 4.1.179). Marlowe's prose dialogue, then, not only speaks the same language as his stage directions, it sometimes uses the same words.

### *Documentary Language*

Some of the first prose in English drama represented the language of written documents. Marlowe's own prose follows this precedent, as is evident from excerpts that include the first lines of recited documents and other highly formal utterances from the plays.

First, the tribute money of the Turks shall be levied amongst the  
Jews, and each of them to pay one half of his estate.  
Officer reading a decree (*JM*, 1.2.68–70)  
“Master Barabas—” . . . “Sirrah Barabas, send me a hundred  
crowns.”  
Ithamore, composing a letter (*JM*, 4.2.72–73)

*Sint mihi dei Acherontis propitii! Valeat numen triplex: Jehovae!*

Faustus conjuring (*DFa*, 3.16)

On these conditions following: First, that Faustus may be a spirit in form and substance.

Faustus, reciting his deed (*DFa*, 5.96)

My duty to your honour promised, *et cetera*, I have, according to instructions in that behalf.

Spencer reading Levune's letter (*E2*, 16.28)

Each of these excerpts reveals a kind of ritualistic language based in documents. Some explicitly invoke a rhetoric of legal contract; all adduce a new "voice." In *The Jew of Malta* we have the Officer's voicing of authority and Ithamore's parodic, epistolary "warrant"; next are Faustus's Latin invocation and his formal deed, which blends several voices and agencies within its articles and conditions; and, finally, Spencer ventriloquizing Levune's voice in *Edward*. Marlowe, again, could have written all of these in verse. That epistles, for example, do not have to be written in prose is apparent earlier in *Edward* when the king's Niece reads from Gaveston's letter and his words fall into blank verse (5.62, 64).

### *Quoted Speech*

Marlowe typically employs prose for an additional kind of "voicing" in his plays—when characters quote other characters. Sometimes this occurs immediately following the quoted utterance, as is common with the discourse of clowning. Here is Ithamore in two asides when Bellamira and Pilia-Borza have begun flattering him with formal address: "'Gentleman!' He flouts me. What gentry can be in a poor Turk of tenpence? . . . Again, 'sweet youth!'" (*JM*, 4.2.38–39, 41). Marlowe does much the same when Robin smarts at being addressed by Wagner as "boy": "How, 'boy'? 'Swounds, 'boy!' I hope you have seen many boys with such pickedeants as I have. 'Boy,' quotha?" (*DFa*, 4.2–3). Similarly, when the Horse-courser re-enters all wet and crying, he calls Faustus's title in question by quoting it with scepticism: "Alas, alas! 'Doctor Fustian', quotha! Mass, Doctor Lopus was never such a doctor" (11.35–36). At other moments, the context is more ironic than broadly comedic, as when the Guise responds to the Third Murderer's proleptic request to "pardon me" by asking: "Why, what hast thou done?" (*MP*, 21.59). By cuing a double take from the Guise actor, the penitent, would-be murder's reply, "O my lord, I am one of them that is set to murder you," makes the

exchange function similarly to clowns' sardonic quotation in Marlowe.

*Eccentric English*

As would many of his contemporaries, Marlowe uses prose for eccentric language, including speech other than English and English set off-kilter by imperfect speakers. We have already seen that Rice ap Howell in *Edward* is given prose, along with the Mower. Although Marlowe does not caricature ap Howell with Welsh pronunciation, such caricature and prose itself would become standard when representing the Welsh in plays. As Henry Sharpe noticed, in Peele's *Edward I* both the English King and nobles and the Scottish nobles speak verse, yet "the Welsh nobles and gentlemen," like the French nobles in Shakespeare's *Henry V* (1599), "prefer prose."<sup>13</sup> Marlowe does use a foreign accent for comedic effect when Barabas enters disguised as a musician in *The Jew of Malta*. Barabas speaks in English with a comic French accent, in French itself, and sometimes in a mixture of the two languages: "Must tuna my lute for sound, twang twang first"; "*A vôtre commandement, madame*"; "*Pardonnez-moi*, be no in tune yet" (JM, 4.4.33, 40, 48). We have already heard the Horse-courser in *Faustus* call the title character Doctor "Fustian"—a joke anticipated earlier in the play when Robin deadpans, concerning Wagner's Latin, "God forgive me, he speaks Dutch fustian" (4.74). Such comic, uneducated misprision typically draws prose from Marlowe, as in the following exchange.

WAGNER. Well, wilt thou serve me, and I'll make thee go  
like *Qui mihi discipulus?*

ROBIN. How, in verse?

WAGNER. No, sirrah, in beaten silk and stavesacre.

ROBIN. How, how, knave's acre? [*Aside*] Aye, I thought  
that was all the land his father left him. [*To Wagner.*]

Do ye hear? I would be sorry to rob you of your living.

WAGNER. Sirrah, I say in stavesacre.

ROBIN. Oho, oho, "stavesacre"! Why then, belike, if I were  
your man, I should be full of vermin. (4.14–23)

Robin, who walks the line between ignorant foolishness and deliberate misunderstanding, offers up a potentially metatheatrical

13. Henry Sharpe, "The Prose in Shakspeare's Plays, the Rules for its Use, and the Assistance That It Gives in Understanding the Plays," *Transactions of the New Shakspeare Society* 24 (1885): 523–62, 543.

witticism when, in prose and as a representative of the prose world, he misapprehends Wagner's Latin as "verse." The eccentric bias of such prose testifies to its usefulness in asserting a center. As other forms of English—including uneducated English—are to the standard of his plays, so is prose to verse in Marlowe: the language of the *platea* that helps define iambic pentameter as the linguistic *locus*.<sup>14</sup>

### *Madness*

Marlowe also uses prose to represent the psychological eccentricity of madness. In the first part of *Tamburlaine*, Marlowe lets us hear and see Zabina's descent into madness as she encounters Bajazeth's, her husband's, dead body. The passage is worth quoting in full for the way it moves from blank verse to prose speech and then to a stage direction in prose.

What do mine eyes behold? My husband dead!  
 His skull all riven in twain, his brains dashed out!  
 The brains of Bajazeth, my lord and sovereign!  
 O Bajazeth, my husband and my lord,  
 O Bajazeth, O Turk, O emperor—give him his liquor? Not I.  
 Bring milk and fire, and my blood I bring him again; tear me in  
 pieces, give me the sword with a ball of wildfire upon it. Down  
 with him, down with him! Go to my child. Away, away, away!  
 Ah, save that infant, save him, save him! I, even I, speak to her.  
 The sun was down. Streamers white, red, black, here, here, here.  
 Fling the meat in his face. Tamburlaine, Tamburlaine, Tambur-  
 laine! Let the soldiers be buried. Hell, death, Tamburlaine, hell!  
 Make ready my coach, my chair, my jewels. I come, I come, I  
 come!

*She runs against the cage and brains herself. (1Tam, 5.1.307–18 s.d.)*

Zabina's mad speech "freezes" time onstage, establishing a kind of annex in the action that replicates—psychologically for her character, and experientially for the audience—the cage in which she sees Bajazeth's corpse. Like other prose passages in Marlowe, hers coordinates objects, deploys imperatives, and features two references to torn flesh (including that from her own body).

14. On *locus* and *platea* in relation to early modern theater spaces, see Robert Weimann, *Author's Pen and Actor's Voice: Playing and Writing in Shakespeare's Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000), 180–245; and Erika T. Lin, "Performance Practice and Theatrical Privilege: Rethinking Weimann's Concepts of *Locus* and *Platea*," *New Theatre Quarterly* 22.3 (2006): 283–98.

## Conclusion

Following the first part of *Tamburlaine*, alternating blank verse and prose became the default system for dramatic representation in early modern England. If these two languages can seem natural for the expression of particular subjects, we need to acknowledge not only the contingency of this system, but the fact that other forms (such as rhymed- and nonpentameter verse) played a role in establishing the discursive worlds of these plays. We need, too, to recognize that during the early modern era, talented playwrights could and did say nearly anything they wished in both verse and prose. What these writers chose to say in each, however, is significant. No less than the textures of their language, the media they selected for particular situations and topics can tell us a great deal about the playworlds they produced and the assumptions behind their literary production. Marlowe's prose differs from that of Lyly, Greene, and Shakespeare—to name only these contemporaries. During the seven years in which he wrote both verse and prose for his audiences and for playbook readers, Marlowe used prose largely for experiences of resentment, reckoning, and ritual. Less interested than some of his fellow playwrights in employing prose for delight or characterization, Marlowe selected it for the sardonic, sometimes brutal expression of power. Bajazeth's opening salvo contained in miniature some of the psychological and political orientations that would typify Marlowe's prose for the rest of his career. Marlowe's penchant, as we have seen, is for calculation and domination. If the lack of festive and supernatural associations in Marlowe's prose distinguishes it from that of his contemporaries, what comes instead of these things reveals his attraction to and reliance upon instrumentality. Flesh severed and weighed, and not always in this order, is a basic metaphor for his social imagination.

For over five decades, the verse/prose system that Marlowe helped inaugurate dominated the boards of London's playhouses. This representational system did for early modern England what the grammar and language of film has done for our own time. Thus if we are used to thinking about Marlowe as a rebel, someone who defied convention, it is time to reconsider this portrait, at least in relation to literary form. We often praise Sidney for writing the most important work of literary criticism, the most important sonnet sequence, and the most important prose fiction of his era. We can similarly describe Marlowe, a habitual systems builder, by recognizing him as the author, in "Passionate Shepherd," of

arguably the best known secular lyric of his day (a lyrical *boule à neige* that itself presents the world as a perfect system); the exemplar, through his “mighty line,” of blank verse’s potential as a medium for the commercial stage; and, in his inauguration of the verse/prose bilingual system in *Tamburlaine*, the originator of one of the most successful representational conventions in English literary history. If Marlowe was a rule breaker in his personal life, in his professional career he was a rule maker, a writer who built a system that others would live to adopt, refine, and exploit.

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## Alleyn Resurrected<sup>1</sup>

This essay makes four closely related claims, not one of which is in itself particularly surprising, but which together might constitute a useful intervention into scholarly imaginings and theorizations of early modern acting. First, Edward Alleyn was a very good actor with a distinctive style, though there is little evidence for what this technique entailed. Second, there is no evidence that Alleyn's method was ever thought of as "old-fashioned" in the sense of "ridiculous" or even "passé." Quite the contrary, the memory of his acting, and an idea of it as a standard of value, continued to haunt and challenge his theatrical descendants. Third, modern assessments have rightly theorized that Alleyn's acting was characterized by some form of archaism, but have wrongly imagined it in pejorative terms. Both conceptions have their origin in Alleyn's close association with Christopher Marlowe and in the characteristic rhetoric of Marlowe's plays. Fourth, the traditional opposition between Alleyn and Richard Burbage substantiates an ahistorical fantasy of specifically "Shakespearean" theatricality. By thinking around this opposition, we might rediscover some important similarities between the two actors and the playwrights generally associated with them and gain some insight into the way some of the most potent effects of acting depend upon the invocation of theatrical ghosts.

We know that John Sincler was thin, William Rowley was fat, and Richard Tarlton could make spectators roar with laughter simply by poking his head out from behind the stage. It is only a

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1. I am grateful to Roslyn Knutson for inviting me to present an early version of this essay at the 2009 Modern Language Association conference. This final version owes much to careful readings by Paul Menzer, M. L. Stapleton, and the anonymous readers at *Marlowe Studies*.

slight exaggeration to say that our knowledge of the physical character of early modern acting ends there. What Mary Edmond's Oxford *Dictionary of National Biography* entry for Burbage refers to as the "only seventeenth-century description of Burbage the actor," Richard Flecknoe's account, hardly seems descriptive: "a delightful Proteus, so wholly transforming himself into his Part, and putting off himself with his Cloathes, as he never (not so much as in the Tying-house) assum'd himself again until the Play was ended."<sup>2</sup> Burbage "himself," briefly, tantalizingly, naked, disappears into—or merges with—the characters embodied in successive generations of theatrical imagination and memory.

Edmond, perhaps following the hint provided by Flecknoe's remark about Burbage putting off his clothes, proceeds to record the travails scholars have faced in dealing with Gertrude's description of Hamlet as "fat":

All the plays have been fruitlessly scoured for a comparable usage, but the *Treatise* by Nicholas Hilliard (written at about the same time, c. 1600) provides an example. Hilliard explains to aspiring miniaturists that a colour may not "take" because "some sweatye hand or *fatty* finger" has touched the parchment . . . (Gertrude clearly proffers a napkin to Hamlet to wipe his forehead and stop the sweat running into his eyes.) Audiences loved a good fight, and William Shakespeare provided a carefully plotted and exciting one: a portly prince lumbering about the small stage would have provoked derision.<sup>3</sup>

The portrait in the Dulwich Picture Gallery is not much help. Head and shoulders only, it gives no hint whether a mountain belly might lie beyond the edge of the frame, and the identity of the subject as the actor remains uncertain. The nearly comical and somewhat touching effort to defend Burbage from charges of obesity on empirical grounds is symptomatic of an understandable frustration. How infuriating it is, especially in our age of ubiquitous photographic reproduction, to be unable to confirm what the sixteenth century's most famous actor looked like or how he moved as he trod the boards in what has become his most famous role.

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2. Mary Edmond, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (ODNB), s.v. "Burbage, Richard (1568–1619)," <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3951> (accessed September 30, 2010). Edmond quotes an excerpt from E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1923), 4:370, that first appeared in Richard Flecknoe, *A Short Discourse of the English Stage* (1664).

3. Edmond, ODNB, s.v. "Burbage."



It is no wonder, then, that scholars have so latched onto Alleyn as the representative of an early modern acting style, a man for whom we not only have a reliable portrait but also a specific verb, “stalk,” used repeatedly and in a variety of contexts, that characterizes the way he moved while performing. Everard Guilpin’s *Skialetheia* (1598) satirizes the “Bragart” Clodius, who is said to affect “*Allens Cutlacks gate . . . Stalking and roaring like Iobs great deuill*.”<sup>4</sup> As Antony Telford Moore has efficiently summarized, Joseph Hall, Thomas Middleton, Thomas Dekker, and John Ford all used this word explicitly about Tamburlaine and implicitly about Alleyn.<sup>5</sup> It undoubtedly tells us something that playwrights and audiences remembered “stalking Tamburlaine” into the 1630s, but I do not think it tells us, as Andrew Gurr suggested in 1963 and as David Mateer reiterated in 2009, that Alleyn’s acting style was “exaggerated” while Burbage’s was more “restrained,” or that it was out of fashion with actors and audiences after the turn of the seventeenth century.<sup>6</sup>

The single reference to “stalking” that occurs in connection with Alleyn’s own name is Guilpin’s and even in that instance he attaches it to a personated role: Cutlack. In Middleton, Dekker, and Ford, the point of reference is the character of Tamburlaine, not the actor Alleyn. Even Ben Jonson’s condemnation (in *Timber* [1640]) of the “Tamerlanes and Tamer-chams of the late age, which had nothing in them but the scenical strutting and furious vociferation to warrant them to the ignorant gapers” takes aim not at the actor but at the character and *mise-en-scène* the playwright has created.<sup>7</sup> (Jonson wrote an epigram in praise of Alleyn’s acting.) If we can learn anything about Alleyn’s acting style from the persistence of Tamburlaine references in the seventeenth century, it is that he excelled in this role, one that clearly demands some stalking and roaring. It would be quite another matter if the actor under

4. Everard Guilpin, “Of Clodius. 43,” in *Skialetheia. Or, A Shadowe of Truth, in Certaine Epigrams and Satyres* (London: Printed by J. R. for Nicholas Ling, 1598), B2.

5. See Antony Telford Moore, “Ford’s Parody of Edward Alleyn,” *Notes and Queries* 43.2 (1996): 190–91.

6. Andrew Gurr provides the adjectives in “Who Strutted and Bellowed?” *Shakespeare Survey* 16 (1963): 95–102. This essay is the *locus classicus* for arguments that make distinctions between the styles of the two actors. For David Mateer, see “Edward Alleyn, Richard Perkins and the Rivalry between the Swan and the Rose Playhouses,” *Review of English Studies* 60.243 (2009): 61–77, 70.

7. In context, Ben Jonson seems to be talking about the theater in only the most abstract sense, not actors. *Timber, or Discoveries Made Upon Men and Matter*, ed. Felix E. Schelling (Boston: Ginn, 1892), 27.

discussion were one who was repeatedly recalled for his portrayal of “stalking Philostrate.” Alleyn did what actors are supposed to do—he made the role memorable by suiting the action to the word.

In Ford’s *Love’s Sacrifice* (c. 1626–33), the foolish courtier Mauruccio says that he will approach his beloved Fiormonda while “stalking in courtly gait” (2.1.22), and that his success in his love-suit will allow him to “ride in triumph through Persepolis” (2.1.119).<sup>8</sup> Yet the humor does not come from “gestural and verbal allusions either to Alleyn’s stately and vigorous style, or to an old-fashioned mode of acting influenced by the great actor,” as Moore argues.<sup>9</sup> Rather, the amusement arises because the mincing Mauruccio is obviously no Tamburlaine and because there is no question that he might conquer Fiormonda. Nor, for that matter, is he an Alleyn who would be capable of imitating a Tamburlaine. The joke is not that Tamburlaine is as ridiculous as Mauruccio or that Ford’s character is as good an actor as Alleyn. Rather, the joke is that Mauruccio, in this play within the play, pretends to elide the differences between himself and his theatrical heroes while the unseen audience and courtiers watch and laugh at him. To conclude this part of the argument with an analogy: no one would argue that Bartholomew Cokes’s question to Leatherhead about which puppet is his “Burbage” in *Bartholomew Fair* (1614) suggests that early modern audiences thought of the lead actor of the Chamberlain’s Men as a mere marionette.<sup>10</sup>

Perhaps the best and certainly the most specific evidence we have for what early modern audiences thought about Alleyn is Thomas Heywood’s prologue for the 1633 revival of Marlowe’s *The Jew of Malta* at the Cockpit. He imagines the revival’s lead, Richard Perkins, as haunted by the ghost of the old actor:

We know not how our play may pass this stage,  
But by the best of poets in that age  
The Malta Jew had being, and was made;  
And he then by the best of actors played.  
In *Hero and Leander* one did gain  
A lasting memory; in *Tamburlaine*,  
This Jew, with others many, th’ other won

8. John Ford, *Love’s Sacrifice*, ed. Antony Telford Moore (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2002).

9. Moore, “Ford’s Parody,” 91.

10. See Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, ed. Suzanne Gossett (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2000), 5.3.84–87.

The attribute of peerless, being a man  
 Whom we may rank with (doing no wrong)  
 Proteus for shapes and Roscius for a tongue,  
 So could he speak, so vary. Nor is't hate  
 To merit in him who doth personate  
 Our Jew this day, nor is it his ambition  
 To exceed, or equal, being of condition  
 More modest; this is all that he intends  
 (And that too at the urgency of some friends):  
 To prove his best, and if none here gainsay it,  
 The part he hath studied, and intends to play it.<sup>11</sup>

By the time Perkins played Barabas, he was an experienced actor, having begun his career as an apprentice to Alleyn at the Rose in 1596 and performed with numerous companies before joining Queen Henrietta's in 1625. In 1612, John Webster singled him out for praise in a note at the end of *The White Devil*, probably for his portrayal of Flamineo. But the Perkins constructed in Heywood's prologue is not a virtuosic actor who intends to put his personal stamp on a famous part. Indeed, the role, made "by the best of poets in that age" and played by "the best of actors" ranked with "Proteus for shapes and Roscius for a tongue" is overawing and can only be approximated. He seeks only to "prove his best not to exceed, or even to equal Alleyn's memorable performance, says Heywood. The prologue makes a distinction between the "Malta Jew" who "had being" in the age of Marlowe and "Our Jew" whom the actor "doth personate . . . this day." The former is a figure so storied as to have taken on an existence almost independent of fiction and coextensive with the quasi-mythical identity of a dead actor. The latter is temporal and temporary, the product of present-day circumstances—Perkins takes on the role "at the urgency of some friends"—and bound to the predictable gestures and familiar limitations of an actor the audience sees every day: "The part he hath studied, and intends to play it" It is the acting of Perkins that is conceived as artificial or exaggerated here. He can only be perceived by this audience as acting. Alleyn's performance, not described because so well remembered, is imagined to have rendered acting invisible.

Prologues conventionally manage audience expectations by expressing false modesty, and there is no reason to think that either Heywood or Perkins was actually worried about the ability

11. Christopher Marlowe, *The Jew of Malta*, ed. N. W. Bawcutt (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1978), prologue.1–18. All references to the play follow the lineation of this edition.

to perform the role of Barabas credibly. What is notable about this prologue is that its pose of humility takes the form of an apology for the actor rather than for the play and, therefore, registers an awareness of changes in theatrical fashion and the potentially alienated, and alienating, character of current acting. Such an awareness might be particularly important to a company interested in cultivating a highly contemporary repertory and in marketing, in counterpoint, a brand of theatrical nostalgia. This seems to have been the case with Queen Henrietta's Men, whose repertory in their first ten years at the Cockpit (1625–35) consisted of new plays by up-and-comers James Shirley, Philip Massinger, and Ford, as well as revivals of much older works by Henry Chettle, Dekker, Heywood, Marlowe, and Webster. The worry expressed in Heywood's prologue is that in resurrecting a classic role of the Elizabethan theater, Perkins's renowned acting will prove to be merely citational—a set of empty gestures that reveals theatrical performance to be opportunistic rather than a quasi-mystical embodiment of persons who have been called forth into being by the words of great playwrights.

If Perkins is to succeed, he will do so by making Marlowe's play—and early modern theatrical enterprise itself—seem timeless. He will make this audience forget about the difference between his gestures and Alleyn's, just as earlier audiences were encouraged to forget about the difference between Alleyn's movements and Barabas's. He will prove that acting is a form of re-creation as well as replication. There is no reason to assume that the 1633 audience did not get to experience this kind of forgetting. But it is similarly reasonable to assume that a residual anxiety might have continued to haunt both Heywood, who had been working in the London theater long enough to feel the force of Alleyn's enduring memory, and Perkins, who began his theatrical career as his apprentice. Heywood's epilogue for the 1633 revival may reveal a symptom of this anxiety when it conflates actor and playwright in the analogies of Pygmalion and Apelles and once more insists that Perkins “only aimed to go, but not out go” (4). I conclude this part of the argument with another analogy. The May 12, 1947, issue of *Time*, citing favorable reviews in *The Daily Herald* and *The Daily Telegraph*, hailed Alec Guinness's performance of the title role in *Richard II* as proof that he was “the most versatile new actor to appear on the British stage since the war.”<sup>12</sup> Many years later, however,

12. “The Theater: Alex's Way,” *Time*, May, 12, 1947, <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,855670-2,00.html> (accessed April 18, 2011).

Guinness would only remember how he had labored in the shadow of the great actor who had played the role nearly two decades earlier, describing his own performance as “pale, ersatz Gielgudry . . . a partly plagiarised, third-rate imitation.”<sup>13</sup>

If a concern with pale imitation replaces, in Heywood’s introductory lines, an uneasiness with out-of-date acting that theater-historical work on Alleyn might lead us to expect, the prologue to the 1633 court performance may more explicitly express an anxiety about theatrical fashion, shifting the focus of this anxiety from the living lead actor to the famous dead playwright.

Gracious and great, that we so boldly dare  
 (?Mongst other plays that now in fashion are)  
 To present this, writ many years ago,  
 And in that age thought second unto none,  
 We humbly crave your pardon. We pursue  
 The story of a rich and famous Jew  
 Who lived in Malta: you shall find him still,  
 In all his projects, a sound Machevill,  
 And that’s his character. He that hath passed  
 So may censures, is now come at last  
 To have your princely ears; grace you him; then  
 You crown the action and renown the pen. (prologue.1–12)

But while the conventionalized, falsely modest terms of this prologue undoubtedly gesture toward a “progressive” way of thinking about theatrical experience (today’s plays are fresh, yesterday’s are stale), Heywood almost simultaneously points in another direction. After humbly craving the pardon of his ultramodern spectators, Heywood does not go on to explain how the old play will transcend its temporal identity (“writ many years ago”), but rather insists that it will be exactly as it has always been. Barabas is “still” the kind of character he was in the aftermath of the assassination of the Duke of Guise, in the days when “Machevill” was a theatrical watchword. He has “come at last” to this stage, as though the character has been silently biding his time in the shadows of theatrical progress, waiting to appear again before a fit audience (“to have your princely ears”). The anxiety with which the prologue begins is a misdirection. The only reason to perform

13. Qtd. in Jonathan Croall, *Gielgud: A Theatrical Life, 1904–2000* (London: Continuum, 2000), 245.

this play is because it is a classic, and the mark of its classical status is that it is resistant to the ravages of time, to the stylistic and thematic erosions one might expect to be effected by changes in fashion, personnel, venue, and historical perspective. Contemporary Shakespeare scholars who patronize the theater are familiar with this idea—that the modern theater, and modern acting, cannot access, or cannot do justice to, what is most valuable in theatrical experience.

The value of Marlowe's play, then, is the access it seems to give contemporary audiences to an experience whose antiquity proves its authenticity. A syntactic elision in the ninth line of the prologue allows Heywood to associate both himself and Richard Perkins with this authentic antiquity. "He that hath passed / So many censures" most immediately refers to the "rich and famous Jew," but may also refer to Perkins (an actor of some repute) or to Heywood (whose steady work as actor, playwright, and author since the late sixteenth century give him the judgment and the authority to present this revival). The elision also conflates Marlowe and Barabas (and Perkins), as is evident from the prologue's final lines in which the King is asked to "crown" both the play's acting and its writing. The gesture of the Court prologue is, then, quite similar to that of the Cockpit prologue. It suggests that the measure of the production's success will be its ability to raise a theatrical ghost, to transport the audience into a time and a form of spectatorship that has weight and endurance precisely because it is out of time, out of fashion.

Self-consciously styling a theatrical event as antique in mode and manner allows a playwright to present his play as part of a tradition whose value is attested by its endurance. It also allows him to aggrandize the play's contemporary moment by imagining it from a future perspective as an artifact that might jar with, but will not be superseded by, theatrical fashion. This is what John Lyly does in the prologue to *Gallathea* (1591), what Shakespeare does in the prologue to *Henry V* (1598–99), and what Jonson and Marlowe do in virtually all of their paratexts. Marlowe's plays always begin as though they are revivals, not of previous plays, but of the past itself. Each of his three plays in which we know Alleyn played the lead begins in the same way. A prologue cites a theatrical tradition or idea with which the audience is presumed to be familiar: the jiggling vein of rhyming mother wits (*Tamburlaine*), marching in the fields of Trasimene or sporting in the dalliance of love (*Doctor Faustus*), and the maxims of Machiavelli (*The Jew of Malta*). That tradition or idea is not presented as outdated, but

rather as the kind of thing spectators might have come to the contemporary theater to see. It is then displaced by something else, a pretheatrical idea, a playable reality that might otherwise (in a play not by Marlowe) be obscured by theatrical fashion. That reality will in Marlowe's play be embodied in a single figure:

We'll lead you to the stately tent of war  
Where you shall hear the Scythian Tamburlaine  
Threatening the world (*1Tam*, prologue.3–5)

or “we must perform / The form of Faustus' fortunes” (*DFa*, prologue.7–8); or “I come not I, to read a lecture here in Britany, / But to present the tragedy of a Jew” (*JM*, prologue.29–30).<sup>14</sup> The dramaturgical method is to suggest that the subject of the play, spirit-like, has been there, just waiting for a body to inhabit. That body is Alleyn's, and in both *Faustus* and *The Jew of Malta*, that body is, immediately after the prologue, revealed in a quasi-mythical tableau. He has been sitting there all along.

*Tamburlaine* begins not with the protagonist, but his opposite. The first characters to appear after the prologue are Cosroe and his brother Mycetes, who speaks the play's first words:

Brother Cosroe, I find myself aggrieved  
Yet insufficient to express the same,  
For it requires a great and thundering speech. (1.1.1–3)

Just possibly some in the early modern audience knew that the historical Timur the Lame did not have a brother named Cosroe, and quite possibly most in the early modern audience assumed that the actor playing Mycetes, since he was not Alleyn, was not meant to represent the play's title character. However, the last lines of the prologue (“View but his picture in this tragic glass, / And then applaud his fortunes as you please” [prologue, 7–8]) certainly prepare the audience to see Tamburlaine, and we do not learn Mycetes's name until he says it himself in the scene's twenty-seventh line. Listening to Cosroe and Mycetes lament the king's lack of wit, or language with which to express it, and the bygone “former age” when Persia was “the seat of mighty conquerors” (1.1.6–7), perhaps wondering briefly if the tragedy alluded to by the prologue refers to Tamburlaine's downfall at the hands of an

14. Christopher Marlowe, *Tamburlaine the Great*, ed. J. S. Cunningham (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1981); and Christopher Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus: A- and B-texts (1604, 1616)*, ed. David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1993). All references to these plays follow the lineation of these editions.

antagonist personated by Alleyn, and ultimately coming to the realization that the Mycetes-actor is *not* Tamburlaine, the spectator realizes that when Alleyn appears, he will supply what has been lost, the glory of a former age and a language commensurate to it. The acting of Mycetes and Cosroe, while obviously stylized, is also a kind of naturalism: The world is in disarray and no one can figure out how to say what he means. The restoration Alleyn's Tamburlaine brings is theatrical. Or, perhaps, it is a theatrical resurrection—the bodily resurrection of the ghostly figure that flickered briefly into view and then disappeared between the last line of the prologue and the first line of the play. When Alleyn's Tamburlaine first appears, we remember him even though we have never seen him before. We remember an image that we conjured of a lost past.

We owe much of our image of the early modern theater to Alleyn himself, thanks to his preservation of his own and Henslowe's professional documents at Dulwich College. In creating a picture of Alleyn that seems stuck, in spite of advances in theatrical fashion, in a particular stylistic and historical moment, criticism has followed the actor's own lead, since his legacy to Dulwich indicates that he wished to preserve for posterity some image of his importance as a pillar of the early modern theater. As I have been trying to suggest, criticism has also done Alleyn something of a disservice. The institutional desire for a timeless Shakespeare—who not only anticipated but outpaced all changes in theatrical fashion—has found a productive foil or fiction in an idea of Alleyn and the Admiral's Men bound fast in the iron chains of history. Indeed, the very prevalence of specific documentary information about his career has only seemed to prove that he was emphatically of an age rather than for all time. Conversely, not even from the elegies produced upon Burbage's death have we inherited a verb as vivid as “stalk” in order to help us locate that actor's acting, and responses to it, in time and space. Consequently, we can think of Burbage's acting simply as “Shakespearean.”

Of course Burbage's acting, and responses to it, did occur in time and space, but it is significant that history has left us no language to define that acting's contingencies; to put it another way, we do not have to give too much weight to the vague term “stalking” in order to see that its persistence means something. It might mean that Burbage and Alleyn, probably by a combination of intentional and unintentional means, elicited different appraisals—conscious and unconscious—of the technical dimension of their



acting. We might think of this difference (to use one more analogy) as resembling the divergent styles of Edward G. Robinson and Humphrey Bogart. While each is physically distinctive in a similar way, equally capable of looking like a rough customer or a sophisticate, the former always seems to disappear into the roles he plays and is remembered as having a greater range, while the latter brings to each successive role the same distinctive physical gestures and vocal mannerisms and is remembered for playing the same kinds of roles. Both actors may seem somewhat old-fashioned to a spectator today, but their celluloid ghosts are still capable of arousing powerful responses. Moreover, in the context of their films, each tends to play characters presented as though they belong, however slightly, to another time; each seems, that is, to ground his theatrical identity in an archaic idiom.

The similarity between a role played by Robinson and a role played by Bogart might be likened to the similarity between Alleyn playing Barabas and Burbage playing Othello. Describing himself to his new slave, Ithamore, Barabas is a shadow of death: "As for myself, I walk abroad o' nights / And kill sick people groaning under walls" (2.3.176–77). Othello, describing what Desdemona found so attractive, is a swashbuckling traveler who has seen everything:

I spoke of most disastrous chances,  
Of moving accidents by flood and field;  
Of hairbreadth scapes i' th' imminent deadly breach.  
(1.3.134–36)<sup>15</sup>

There is something pretheatrical about the magnetism demanded of the actors in the long speeches that follow from these lines: they are storytellers. Their speeches ask the spectator to take pleasure in the actor's command of a set of hyperbolic gestures that come to seem, through the actor's command, grounded in reality, not the spectator's or the actor's, but a reality derived from and recorded in a past contained in other texts and other performances. It is possible to think of everything Barabas and Othello say as true because these characters are monstrous and exotic; because the things they say allude to things that have been written about such exotic figures; and because we have seen figures like them before, the epitome of greed and his piles of money in the morality play, the Moor boasting of his

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15. All quotations of Shakespeare's works are from *The Complete Pelican Shakespeare*, ed. Stephen Orgel and A. R. Braunmuller (New York: Penguin, 2002).

extravagant, violent accomplishments in plays like Shakespeare's own *Titus Andronicus* (1590). It is also possible to think of everything Barabas and Othello say as false, or a performance, because both Jew and Moor are, like the actors who play them, seductive liars. In either case, everything the actor says is true. Both characters require the actor to perform an implausible, even ludicrous (and certainly destructive) fixed identity. In the case of Othello, Burbage's relatively shadowy identity as an actor has for the most part allowed both character and actor to maintain a degree of dignity in critical assessments; in the case of Barabas, documentary traces of Alleyn have allowed criticism to transfer the embarrassments of the character onto the actor. We see Alleyn as Iago saw Othello: unwittingly rude and bombastic amidst a refined society that needs him just enough to tolerate his excesses.

As recently as 2009, Mateer sketched just such a picture of Alleyn, when he discovered some documents showing that the seventeen-year-old Perkins, apprenticed to Alleyn at the Rose, tried in 1596 to defect to Francis Langley's Swan with a couple of Henslowe's adult actors. Alleyn got Perkins back. Emphasizing an apparent increase in defections from the Admiral's Men in the late 1590s, Mateer concludes his article with a speculative question tying Perkins's attempted departure to Alleyn's temporary retirement from acting in 1597: "Did the breakdown in that professional relationship finally bring the older man to the realisation that his stentorial acting style no longer appealed to the younger generation of players and the public they served, and that it was time to stand aside?"<sup>16</sup> This is a picture of Alleyn as the dying Tamburlaine, self-conceited to the last but overwhelmed by forces beyond his control: "my soul doth weep to see / Your sweet desires deprived my company" (*2Tam*, 5.3.246–47). That Mateer can speculate in this way in spite of the arguments of S. P. Cerasano and Roslyn L. Knutson and in spite of the fact that in 1600 Alleyn was back on the stage (if rather briefly) opening the new Fortune with revivals of some of his most famous roles, suggests that, in the matter of theorizing the affective quality of early modern acting, documentary evidence is of little practical

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16. Mateer, "Edward Alleyn," 70. He works against the grain of Roslyn L. Knutson's arguments in *Playing Companies and Commerce in Shakespeare's Time* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001), 21–48, as well as S. P. Cerasano's findings on the activities of Alleyn and Henslowe in the late 1590s, and on Alleyn's enduring reputation as an actor. "Edward Alleyn, the New Model Actor, and the Rise of the Celebrity in the 1590s," *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 18 (2005): 47–58.

use.<sup>17</sup> Indeed, to be fair to Mateer, while Cerasano's arguments about Alleyn's career are quite convincing, and salutary in the way they force us to reassess the Alleyn-Burbage dichotomy, her conclusion that Alleyn became in the late 1590s a "new model actor," a type to which other players could aspire," is only inferential.<sup>18</sup> The ledgers and lawsuits of theater history provide the busy background, the momentarily perfect combination of light and shadow, against which the specter of Alleyn is briefly visible. We can see that his mouth is open, but whether he is roaring at the incapable groundlings or laughing at us is impossible to tell.

Alleyn's moment did, at some point, pass—as did Burbage's. Acting styles and fashion inevitably, inexorably, change, though they rarely change rapidly or definitively. Twentieth-century film acting mimicked and drew heavily upon the conventions of the nineteenth-century melodramatic theater for a considerable time beyond even the end of the silent era. Laurence Olivier's blackface *Othello* (1965) is universally considered a relic, but every actor undertaking the role in a major production is all but forced to acknowledge the importance of that actor's technical achievement—and that conventional acknowledgment, no matter how compulsory, constitutes the ongoing influence of Olivier's style.<sup>19</sup> My goals in this essay have been to demonstrate that there is no reason to assume that Alleyn's acting style was rendered obsolete by a sudden change in theatrical fashion, and to suggest some ways in which the actor's and the scholar's quest to shape a vanished past is intertwined with the problems of similitude and differentiation that face any actor in a commercial repertory theater system. Because successful acting depends upon making a spectator believe that the actor is doing something recognizable—even if it is something the spectator has never seen before—successful acting, perhaps most especially in

17. For further discussion of Alleyn at the Fortune in 1600–1, see Paul Menzer's essay in this inaugural issue of *Marlowe Studies: An Annual*, "Shades of Marlowe."

18. Cerasano, "Edward Alleyn," 56.

19. Often the acknowledgment is not forced. In 2009, there were two major productions of *Othello* in England: one at the Royal Shakespeare Company (RSC) starring Patrice Naiambana and the other at the West Yorkshire Playhouse in Leeds starring Lenny Henry (both actors are black). Both productions were reviewed in *The Independent* on February 19, 2009. Lynne Walker's review of the Leeds production, in "First Night: Othello, Quarry Theatre, West Yorkshire Playhouse, Leeds," noted that "Henry apparently watched the 1965 [sic] film version with Olivier as Othello for the National more than 40 times." Michael Coveney's review of the RSC production, in "The Taming of the Shrew, Novello Theatre, London Othello, Hackney Empire, London," said that Naiambana's "epileptic fit is the best I've seen since Olivier."

an overcrowded theatrical culture such as the early modern period, depends on the personation of characters and the personation of other actors and other forms of acting. Changes in theatrical fashion do not depend so much on actors learning new character types and audiences assimilating them, as on an actor's and an audience's forgetting some actors and remembering others.

In the scene from *The Jew of Malta* that I discussed above, Barabas is speaking about his monstrous identity to his new slave as well as to the audience. Ithamore is impressed and expresses his admiration as a desire to emulate his master:

One time *I* was an ostler in an inn,  
And in the night-time secretly would *I* steal  
To travellers' chambers, and there cut their throats  
(2.3.207–9, emphasis mine).

Barabas's response, "Why, this is something!" is indulgent but, I think, unimpressed. Within a few lines, he shifts the focus back to one of his plots in progress: "But stand aside! Here comes Don Lodowick" (2.3.215–19). Later, he disguises himself as a street musician—he shifts to a theatrical idiom that predates the commercial theater—and kills the grasping Ithamore with a poisoned flower. A kind of Oedipal story in reverse, this sequence of actions might also be a fable to explain Alleyn's theatrical career: the new dogs were no match for his old tricks. (It is plausible to speculate that Perkins played Ithamore in the 1601 revival of the play.) It might be said that, in the long run, the slave would enjoy a kind of victory insofar as the comedy of his own yearning, inferior performance would generate, by reflection, a sense of bombast in the master's, one that the commercial theater would ultimately transmute into figures like Ford's Mauruccio. But such a triumph was hardly complete, since *Love's Sacrifice* and the revival of *The Jew of Malta* were performed in the same theater, perhaps in the same year. The coincidence may be evidence of that theater's attempt to balance a turn toward the avant-garde with an acknowledgment of its origins (and Ford's play abounds with allusions to earlier works), or of a desire to satisfy the collective will of an audience eager for the nostalgia a repertory theater can readily supply. Both, probably. In 1633 Alleyn had been dead seven years, but his ghost still stalked the stage—and kept a close eye on his former wayward apprentice.

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## Shades of Marlowe

Christopher Marlowe's body was barely cold before the English began to tell ghost stories about him. Derided by his enemies as a filthy playmaker, he was apotheosized as a translunary poet by George Peele, George Chapman, Thomas Nashe, Michael Drayton, and others who ushered him into the celestial company of antique authors shortly after his death in 1593. By 1600, Marlowe was for Thomas Thorpe purely a figment of print, to whom he referred as a "ghost or genius" in his dedicatory epistle to *Lucan's First Book*, one who could be seen to "walk the Churchyard in (at the least) three or four sheets."<sup>1</sup> He becomes a textual specter, wrapped in manuscript, resurrected through the medium of print. Perhaps the churchyard Thorpe had in mind was Paul's—where Walter Burre vended this translation of the *Pharsalia* at the Sign of the Flower de Luce. By the turn of the century, Marlowe is imagined as a disembodied ghostwriter, his literary afterlife quite separate from his unquiet corporeal term. But this reading is too neat by half. As a playwright, he continued to throw his shade across the stages of London, particularly at the new Fortune Theater, where his plays were undergoing another revival at the beginning of the seventeenth century, his various theatrical creations re-embodied by his shadow, Edward Alleyn.

This essay is a story about the way dead plays and playwrights haunted the Fortune in the late autumn of 1600, spun from the theatrical records that survive for the Admiral's company at this time. It is, therefore, like all ghost stories, not true, although the peculiar quality of such stories is that they scarcely rely or presume on credibility yet are committed to their own brand of seriousness.

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1. Qtd. in *The Collected Poems of Christopher Marlowe*, ed. Patrick Cheney and Brian J. Striar (New York: Oxford UP, 2006), 169.

As trivial as tall tales, ghost stories provide a form of popular eschatology and are therefore “good to think with.” They manage memory, organize anxiety about mortality into a narrative form, and enable the quick and the present to negotiate with the past and the dead. They combine nostalgia with the uncanny, but one argument here is that the Elizabethan word for “nostalgia” was “ghost.”

My argument is that one thing the Admiral’s company was up to upon their move into the Fortune was the telling of ghost stories. This argument would seem to contravene a central critical practice—maybe even a responsibility—to demystify the practices of the theatrical past. Yet I contend that the company were themselves (unwittingly) fabricating a mythical history, uncanny and nostalgic, by reviving the plays of Marlowe and other dead playwrights. This latter trend has not escaped scholars such as Andrew Gurr, who characterizes the Admiral’s repertory as “traditional” or even “outdated,” part of a general plump for the Fortune as a “citizens’ playhouse” to distinguish it from the presumably more outré offerings of the Blackfriars or Globe.<sup>2</sup> I do not entirely disagree, but such commentators arguably respond to the Admiral’s aggressive marketing campaign to construct just such a narrative for itself, to write itself into theater history, forging (in both senses) a corporate history that privileged continuity over change, nostalgia over novelty, and revivalism over innovation. This dynamic relied upon the resurrection and simultaneous creation of “classic” plays of the recent past, an effort that threw living playwrights into collaboration with their dead predecessors, a model of writing that muddies any attempt to characterize the period’s writing culture as purely “singular” or “plural.” My tack here will be to analyze the effects of repertorial nostalgia on our notions of emergent paradigms of authorship. The Admiral’s servants, circa 1600, were not laying the ghosts of the theatrical past but rather stirring them, developing a repertorial ethos anchored by several charismatic members of the dead poet’s society, with Marlowe at its center.

This story shadows a more immediately available novelty narrative about the opening of the Fortune. The stories depend on one another, however, since the present tense of theatrical effect is in part constituted by a complementary past. Scholars committed to the novelty narrative have plenty upon which to build. S. P. Cerasano writes: “the Admiral’s Men seem to have been purchasing

2. Andrew Gurr, *Shakespeare’s Opposites: The Admiral’s Company 1594–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009), 162–200.

many plays throughout 1599 . . . in preparation for their impending move to the Fortune.” Furthermore, around this time “Alleyn returned to the stage, temporarily, in order to launch the new enterprise.”<sup>3</sup> We can also see that in these years the Admiral’s servants also shed some playbooks. Between 1600–1601, they sell at least four plays from their repertory to London stationers—both *The Downfall* (1598) and *The Death of Robert Earl of Huntington* (1598), *Look About You* (1599) and *The Shoemaker’s Holiday* (1599)—years that saw a general uptick in play-publication. We might easily render this information into a story about a company selling old plays and adding new ones, turning the repertory over while it readied itself to leave the faded Rose to wither in the Bankside mud while seeking its new Fortune in Golding Lane. New plays for a new stage for a company soon to be newly christened Prince Henry’s Men by a new monarch at the advent of a new century.

This is a good story, perhaps even more plausible than that on offer here, but a Marlovian specter shadows it. Indeed, archival materials must haunt any account that favors innovation for the Admiral’s company at the turn of the sixteenth century. Perhaps its members were anxious about the novelty of their enterprise, for we find a surprising spate of revivals of what we might consider old plays by dead playwrights in “outmoded” genres that appeared at the Fortune in its first years of activity.<sup>4</sup> Consider the following run of investments and initiatives undertaken by the Admiral’s servants as they transitioned into new quarters. The following payments, excerpted from a thicket of other expenditures, detail a programmatic commitment to the past. Initial dates are of Philip Henslowe’s entries; bracketed dates represent best available estimates of the provenance for the property in question:

May 1601: Henslowe records the purchase of “divers thinges for the Jewe of Malta” [*The Jew of Malta*, 1589]

September 25, 1601: “lent unto mr alleyn . . . to lend unto Bengemen Johnson upon hn writtinge of his adicians in geronymo” [*The Spanish Tragedy*, 1587]

November 3–26, 1601: Henslowe spends £7 14s. 6d. on props and costumes for *The Guise* [*The Massacre at Paris*, 1593]

3. S. P. Cerasano, “Philip Henslowe, Simon Forman, and the Theatrical Community of the 1590s,” *Shakespeare Quarterly* 44.2 (1993): 145–58, 157.

4. See Roslyn L. Knutson, “The Commercial Significance of the Payments for Playtexts in Henslowe’s Diary, 1597–1603,” *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 5 (1991): 117–63.

January 18, 1601/2: Henslowe pays Alleyn £6 for “three books which were played” including “the massaker of france & the nutte” [*The Massacre at Paris*, 1593; *Crack Me This Nut*, 1595]

June 22, 1602: “lent unto bengemy Johnsonsone . . . in earneste of A Boocke called Richard crockbacke & for new adicyons for Jeronymo” [*Spanish Tragedy*, 1587]

August 8, 1602: Henslowe pays Alleyn £4 for two books including “Longshankes” [*Edward Longshankes*, 1592]

October 2, 1602: Henslowe pays Alleyn for his “Boocke of Tambercam” [*Tamar Cham*, 1592]

November 2, 1602: Henslowe pays Thomas Dekker 40s. for “mending” the play of *Tasso* [*Tasso*, 1594]

November 22, 1602: Henslowe pays William Bird and Samuel Rowley £4 “for ther additions in doctor Faustus” [*Faustus*, 1588]

December 14, 1602: Henslowe pays 5s. “unto mr mydelton for a prologe & A epeloge for the playe of bacon for the corte” [*Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, 1589]<sup>5</sup>

As these excerpts indicate, many of the plays revived by the Admiral’s servants—*The Jew of Malta*, *Faustus*, and *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*—were distinctively moldy ones, and in what follows, the essay asks what this phenomenon reflects before turning to investigate what theatrical revivalism produced upon the Fortune’s stage in the opening years of the seventeenth century.

First, what did this spate of revivalism reflect? There are many factors that we could credit for this return to the plays of the late 1580s and early 1590s, but we have to start with the un-retirement of Alleyn. As the list above indicates, this actor, whose consistent business practice was to position himself both upstream and downstream of the profits, brought with him a cache of playbooks. On his return to the company a number of older plays were revived, and not just Marlowe’s. We can readily imagine Alleyn less than eager to master a batch of new parts. Many of the dramatic warhorses unstabled on his return featured him at the reins. I have suggested elsewhere that if indeed the B-text of *Faustus* includes Bird and Rowley’s additions, one part of the play that they left largely unaltered were Alleyn’s lines and his cues.<sup>6</sup>

5. Philip Henslowe, *Henslowe’s Diary*, 2nd ed., ed. R. A. Foakes (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002), 168–207.

6. See Paul Menzer, “Fractional *Faustus*: Edward Alleyn’s Part in the Printing of the A-Text,” in *Christopher Marlowe the Craftsman: Lives, Stage, and Page*, ed. Sarah K. Scott and



While Alleyn's return must feature in any explanation of the Admiral's servants' revivalist ways, history, we are told, is "overplotted," and there may be more causes than one for their turn-of-the-century programming choices.<sup>7</sup> The revivalism may also reflect a certain hidebound nostalgia of a generation of players and impresarios. A cohort of important theatrical players entered their thirties around the turn of the century. Alleyn and his supposed rival Richard Burbage were both approximately thirty-three in 1600, when they found themselves in transition from familiar haunts to new ones: Burbage from the Theatre (built by his father) via the Curtain to the Globe and Alleyn from the Rose to the Fortune. Cuthbert Burbage, a stakeholder rather than a player, was only a few months older than they were. Alleyn was then around thirty-three or thirty-four when he and Henslowe built the Fortune, roughly the same age the latter had been when he built the Rose. William Shakespeare, thirty-five when he staked a financial claim in the building of the first Globe, was their contemporary. Marlowe would have been also. While it is unwise to project the modern notion that intimations of mortality descend like a wraith upon the advent of a man's thirties, it is safer to observe that a squad of important players, writers, and investors had, by 1600, spent a decade in the theater and had inherited the mantle of artistic and financial leadership. It may be mere fancy, but it is tempting to read into the aggressive revivalism of the Admiral's servants' reckoning with their recent theatrical history a nostalgic recollection of a seemingly headier time.

Perhaps the Admiral's company, on departing the Rose, felt nostalgic for the old house and told the theater's own version of ghost stories in its revival of old plays. At the same time, one must ask if it is possible to infer a company gestalt at a historical remove from thin evidence, whether there was something as cohesive as the name "Admiral's Men" implies. Leeds Barroll observes that the term "men" is an unhistorical invention. These players were the Admiral's "servants," and the distinction serves to remind us that their loyalty and identity may have been more vertically than horizontally aligned.<sup>8</sup> Perhaps the idea of a "company" is a romantic historical fiction. Playing companies were aggregates of

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M. L. Stapleton (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 215–24.

7. Nancy F. Partner, "Making Up Lost Time: Writing on the Writing of History," *Speculum* 61.1 (1986): 90–117, 105.

8. Leeds Barroll, *Politics, Plague, and Shakespeare's Theater: The Stuart Years* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1991).

individuals, bound only by economic interests, no more closely aligned in their emotional loyalties than members of an academic department at a university. This projection of a company-wide nostalgia would then be anachronistic, displacing scholarly analysis.

With this caution in place, we may ask: if the Admiral's servants were nostalgic, what cause had they to be so? They may have yearned for a time before Marlowe was knifed in a bar, Thomas Kyd was racked to death, and Robert Greene died of a herring overdose—or when Queen Elizabeth I had teeth. After all, historians have noted a *fin de siècle* “Armada nostalgia” that pervaded her final years, during which she took an unconscionably long time to die.<sup>9</sup> What fascinating complex of motives led to the playing of *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* (1594) “for the corte” in 1602,<sup>10</sup> surely one of the last of her reign in that location? And how might this vision of merry old England and its battling friars have struck the aging queen, if she was in attendance? Perhaps the Admiral's servants were nostalgic for writers, even authors, if the word is permitted. Could there have been a company-wide nostalgia for a time when it took fewer than three men to produce Dekker, Henry Chettle, and William Haughton's *Patient Grissil* (1600)? (A play with its own Marlovian haunting, as Tom Rutter has recently pointed out.<sup>11</sup>) Greene, Marlowe, Kyd, Peele: there were giants back then.

The notion of a company-wide nostalgia for singular writers is provocative, not least because it is so contrarian. Jeffrey Masten, for example, explains that a “plural” or collaborative form of writing was “displaced . . . by the mode of singular authorship” that “attached to playtexts over the course of the seventeenth century.”<sup>12</sup> But Henslowe's accounts at this transitional moment in the career of the Admiral's company fit awkwardly into such an argument. The plays he documented were relentlessly if unrepresentatively collaborative.<sup>13</sup> It was the intense revival of plays by

9. See Christopher Lee, *1603: The Death of Queen Elizabeth I, the Return of the Black Plague, the Rise of Shakespeare, Piracy, Witchcraft, and the Birth of the Stuart Era* (London: Headline, 2003).

10. Henslowe, *Henslowe's Diary*, 207.

11. Tom Rutter, “Marlovian Echoes in the Admiral's Men Repertory: *Alcazar, Stukeley, Patient Grissil*,” *Shakespeare Bulletin* 27.1 (2009): 27–38.

12. Jeffrey Masten, *Textual Intercourse: Collaboration, Authorship, and Sexualities in Renaissance Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997), 4.

13. Carol Rutter estimates that of the eighty-nine plays for which full payment is

Marlowe, Kyd, Greene, and others that looked back to a mode of singular authorship. The Admiral's servants seemed interested in promulgating the canonization of writers in their own repertory and promoting their plays as "classics," rewriting English theater history to portray themselves as the conservators of English dramatic heritage. In these terms, the company created the first anthology of non-Shakespearean drama, analogous to Francis Meres's attempts to create a canon of authors in *Palladis Tamia* (1598).

Jeffrey Knapp presents a similar argument when he identifies a "crucial error in the historiography that most scholars now take for granted."<sup>14</sup> To him, the primary model of early modern playwriting was single authorship, not collaboration. However, theatrical revivals and the revisions that frequently accompanied them complicate his thesis as well as Knapp's. Whether we favor the plural or the singular paradigm, we tend to think of collaboration as latitudinal—Dekker, Chettle, and Haughton writing *Patient Grisail*. This collaborative notion relies on the concept of single authorship, one terminated act of composition with discernable moments of beginning and end. Theatrical revivals and revision introduce the idea of the longitudinal, which makes mischief of the singular/plural binary. Neither Masten's or Knapp's model precisely accounts for what Ben Jonson did to *The Spanish Tragedy*, or Bird and Rowley to *Faustus*. It is easiest to take Henslowe's word for it and imagine Bird and Rowley inserting "additions" in the inert text of a dead author, since this concept estranges them from the company of writers, alienating them as mere "revivers." Nevertheless, such revisions obscure questions of authorship, since these writers were engaged in a kind of ghostwriting, or in creating palimpsests by overwriting: Jonson and Kyd or Marlowe, Bird, and Rowley as cowriters. Perhaps the Admiral's company invested in a paradigm of authorship that relied upon a lively collaboration of writers both quick and dead. Marlowe, in these terms, was the Admiral's servants' in-house ever-writer.

If this repertorial biopsy seems too narrow, we can widen the aperture and look at what Marlowe's opposites were doing on the other side of town in their new playhouse as their resident playwright memorially reconstructed an old play he had acted in, one by Marlowe's one-time roommate. "Remember me" says the

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recorded by Henslowe only thirty-four are by single writers. *Documents of the Rose Playhouse* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1999), 128.

14. Jeffrey Knapp, "What Is a Co-Author?" *Representations* 89 (2005): 1–29, 1.

Ghost (*Hamlet*, 1.5.91). Shakespeare does the character one better, not just recalling but rewriting him. The Ghost of Old *Hamlet*, who had been haunting the repertories for over a decade, then returns to prompt a player to remember the play. The son swears to cleanse his memory of anything else and instantly turns to an act of reinscription, putting a fresh coat of prose on his father's sententious versification on fraternal ingratitude. Therefore, Shakespeare uses his own *Hamlet* to obscure his exemplar by overwriting the lines of his collaborator Kyd. Elsewhere in the play, as we know, Marlowe's shade hovers over the First Player's jawbreaking speech on Priam's slaughter (2.2). Shakespeare himself manages the past—his indebtedness to the shades of recent theatrical history and the circling specters of antiquity—by channeling the voice of Marlowe.

This style of longitudinal collaboration between the living and the dead represents a surprisingly active campaign by the Admiral's servants to convey classic status upon certain plays by reviving and updating them well after receipts might justify such a move. For whatever generated this revivalism, Alleyn's return, nostalgia, or both, this retrograde programming produced a certain dramatic profile on the Fortune's stage. Some theater historians have read this construct as conservative, old fashioned, or even one aimed at a particular "citizens" demographic. However, nostalgia is also a subgenre of historiography, a deliberate attempt to romance the past. It may be a reflection of late Elizabethan theatrical taste that many of the revivals mentioned here feature various kinds of ghosts or spirits. Dramatic revenants function as the theatrical version of the graphic drop-shadow, the illustrator's technique of shading an object to create the illusion of depth on a two-dimensional surface. Onstage ghosts provide a similar effect, generating the illusion of a past against which the play's presentness stands in stark relief, a faint memory of events that—since plays begin as late in the action as possible—we can never arrive early enough to catch. In a similar way, the haunted repertory of the Admiral's company helped to dilate a certain feeling about theater history, an in-built history that drop-shadowed its current work at the Fortune in the opening years of the seventeenth century.

Theatrical revivals are by definition haunted, the afterlives of earlier, live instantiations, presumably left for dead. They may offer the most overt challenge to the dialectic inherent in performance: the eternizing desire for the spectacle to outlast itself versus the inevitable mortality of the live event, the terrible ephemerality that makes playgoing an inherently melancholy enterprise. Even if we

think about performances as “self-consuming artifacts,” revivals countercheck this dynamic. They are, in these terms, ghost stories that bring something dead back to life. To return to cases, we can consider a post-1602 audience of *Faustus*, which might have witnessed an odd phenomenon. It may have seen a familiar actor, in a familiar part with a living connection to the dead playwright, who stalked the stage and spoke the lines that he had mouthed for over a decade while a revised version of the play coalesced around him with new lines and scenes, perhaps some new players and costumes, but certainly at a new playhouse. This scenario exemplifies the Admiral’s company’s approach in these years, its repertory morphing around embedded dramatic stalwarts as it consistently revived the era’s greatest hits of the Elizabethan era. It therefore repeatedly reminded its audience, first at the Rose and then at the Fortune, of its own history and lineage. To read these gestures as “outmoded” or “conservative” in respect to the more avant efforts of the Chamberlain’s players seems ironic coming from the perspective of theater historians. The repertory of the Admiral’s servants was conservative in the root sense, perhaps nearly archival in effect, and if keeping alive the memory of theatrical practice is “outmoded,” then so is the practice of theater history itself.

Finally, we should consider the function of Marlowe’s shade in this nostalgic program. In an impressive statistical analysis, Holger Syme has recently challenged the notion of Marlowe’s financial centrality to the Admiral’s repertory. The plays, based on receipts alone, were not that successful, and his point is well taken.<sup>15</sup> Such analysis might therefore prompt us to search for less monetarily determined explanations for that company’s relentless revivalism. Theater historians frequently have to contend with the economically counterintuitive behavior of early modern playing companies. How, for instance, do we interpret the unchanging price of entry to Shakespeare’s Globe and other open-air playhouses, which remained flat at one penny from the 1570s until the prohibition against playing in 1642? Why did the companies not raise prices to increase profits? Why, for that matter, did the King’s servants rebuild the Globe after it burned to the ground in 1613? They had a perfectly splendid playhouse for all seasons in Blackfriars, and yet the King’s company sank a massive amount of capital into the rebuilding of the old theater. One fundamental thesis of theater

15. Holger Schott Syme, “The Meaning of Success: Stories of 1594 and Its Aftermath,” *Shakespeare Quarterly* 61.4 (2010): 490–525.

history seems to be that companies in the period were led by hardheaded profit-driven businessmen who, we are told, “really knew what they were doing.” This thesis is, to some degree, driven by a phony labor fetish, but it may also over-credit the business acumen of early modern playing companies. Perhaps motives other than the pecuniary influenced some of their decisions: sentiment, envy, status anxiety, and nostalgia.<sup>16</sup> We might well conclude that, by reviving a batch of old plays at their new venue, the Admiral’s servants chose continuity over change and produced the kind of repertory that said: “Remember theatre history; remember *our* history; remember *us*.”

Yet we would have to acknowledge that a repertory conceptually shaped around Marlowe produces a revisionist history by and about the Admiral’s servants. For if nostalgia is a subgenre of historiography, it is a wistful one, memory bettered by desire. After all, Marlowe was not a company man. He did not write his plays for the Admiral’s company in the sense that Shakespeare wrote for the Lord Chamberlain’s/King’s servants. To return to Barroll’s point, unlike Shakespeare, Marlowe was no man’s servant and owed no liveried loyalty to any one particular company. Two of the less scandalous mysteries of his life are how he became connected to the world of playmaking and how his dramatic manuscripts moved among the various theatrical companies. Recently, Gurr has claimed that Edmund Tilney chose Marlowe’s plays for the “Alleyn Company.” This claim would help solve those two mysteries, with its emphasis upon a top-down redistribution of manuscripts rather than an intramural reshuffling in “the industry.”<sup>17</sup> It seems more likely that Alleyn played an active role in bringing Marlowe’s plays to the Admiral’s repertory. However they were acquired, they created a kind of instant history for the company, which may have had some personal history with the dead playwright but certainly did not have a corporate one.<sup>18</sup>

16. On this subject, see Andrew Gurr, “Money or Audiences: The Choice of Shakespeare’s Globe,” *Theatre Notebook* 42 (1988): 3–14; Tom Rutter, “Adult Playing Companies, 1603–1613,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre*, ed. Richard Dutton (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009), 72–87; Theodore B. Leinwand, *Theatre, Finance and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999), 140–43; and Douglas Bruster, “On a Certain Tendency in Economic Criticism of Shakespeare,” in *Money and the Age of Shakespeare: Essays in New Economic Criticism*, ed. Linda Woodbridge (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 67–79.

17. See Gurr, *Shakespeare’s Opposites*, 4.

18. In making this claim I follow C. F. Tucker Brooke’s articulation of the matter: “The part of Faustus appears to have been created by Edward Alleyn, and the play—like

Marlowe's assets may have been meager, but his literary estate was a hot commodity in the community of letters he left behind. His shade provided a useful medium for thinking about providential punishment and the canonization of English authors and for reconsidering the evergreen topic of England's relations with classical antiquity. His memory haunted the stages of London and also served a similarly salutary but more immediately practical purpose for the Admiral's servants. For his death proved providential for the making of theater history, which requires signal figures but also requires their demise. By summoning the shades of Marlowe, the company appropriated, even forged, a history for itself. A measure of this story's success is the extent to which the Admiral's servants have become "Marlowe's men" in the traditionalist accounts of theater historians who wish to pit Shakespeare against Marlowe and "their" respective companies as opposites. Syme's illuminating numbers about Marlowe's financial marginality are up against a luminous tale, which though not exactly true nevertheless offers up some powerful nostalgia of its own. To an impressive extent, the Admiral's repertorial strategy—perhaps unintentionally—worked. The company wrote a corporate history for itself and generally succeeded in entering the "Marlowe version" into the official record. There may be, as Noël Coward once proposed, "no future in the past,"<sup>19</sup> but there were returns, and the Admiral's servants' careful cultivation of their own theater history has earned them "runner up" status among early modern playing companies, though at the cost of seeming "old fashioned" compared with their racier crosstown rivals.<sup>20</sup>

Anyone who searches for Marlowe in the revised edition of the *Short-Title Catalogue (STC)* will find a curious entry between his translations of Ovid's *Amores*, the *Elegies*, and the first part of *Tamburlaine*. Next to *STC* 17424, within square brackets, is the simple entry, "a ghost."<sup>21</sup> This parallel highlights the way that

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*The Jew of Malta* which was performed by five different companies between 1592 and 1596—probably followed the individual fortunes of Alleyn rather than those of any particular company." See "The Marlowe Canon," *PMLA* 37.3 (1922): 367–417, 383–84.

19. Graham Payn and Sheridan Morley, ed., *The Noël Coward Diaries* (New York: Da Capo, 2000), 247.

20. See Jeremy Lopez's essay, "Alleyn Resurrected," in this inaugural volume of *Marlowe Studies* on the similar fate of the Admiral's company's premier player.

21. A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland*, 3 vols., 2nd ed., rev. (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976–91), 2:139.

Marlowe's print heritage haunts the literary archive. He also haunted the stages of London and its suburbs in the decade following his death, shadowing in particular the repertory of the Admiral's servants with the spirit of Elizabethan theatrical vitality. Perhaps, however, this analysis—though nostalgic and romantic to a degree—is still too rational. Perhaps the Admiral's servants, upon their move from Bankside to Golding Lane, felt some anxiety about abandoning their long-time haunts. Perhaps these revivals were a means to appease the specters of the theatrical past, inoculating the Admiral's servants against novelty. After all, theater folk can be a superstitious and credulous lot.<sup>22</sup> We know, or think we do, what closed the Admiral's run at the Rose on October 16, 1600, the play of *Sir John Oldcastle* (1599). I am sentimental and credulous enough to imagine just what play opened the Fortune. On the cusp of a new year, a new decade, and they must have hoped, new fortunes, perhaps in 1601 the Admiral's servants raised a glass to a new century and a new playhouse, and poured some out for a dead shepherd.

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22. Cerasano has pointed out the overlap between Simon Forman, *Doctor Faustus*, and Philip Henslowe ("Philip Henslowe," 145–58).



*Marlowe Studies: An Annual* 1 (2011)

BRUCE E. BRANDT

Christopher Marlowe Studies:  
Bibliography, 2000–2009

This bibliography covers the ten years from 2000 through 2009 and lists 456 books and articles that focus in some direct way on Christopher Marlowe's life and works. With two exceptions, student-oriented materials and texts for classroom use have been excluded, as have play and book reviews, although publications listed as review articles in the *MLA International Bibliography* are included. Abstracts in *Dissertation Abstracts International* and articles in languages other than English are listed but not annotated. The bibliography has been divided into eight sections: the first for biographical and critical studies covering more than one play; then, in alphabetical order, a section for each of the plays; and finally, a section grouping studies of the translations and poems.

Several years ago I authored a similar bibliography, *Christopher Marlowe in the Eighties: An Annotated Bibliography of Marlowe Criticism from 1978 through 1989* (1992). It covers the twelve-year span from 1978 through 1989 and also includes a small number of earlier studies. Comparing this decade's work with that from twenty years ago suggests that Marlowe studies continue at a remarkably even pace.

**Table 1.** Marlowe Studies Bibliographic Comparison

	1978–89	%*	2000–9	%
	total		total	
Biographical/general	151	28.9	146	32.0
<i>Dido</i>	12	2.3	17	3.7
<i>Doctor Faustus</i>	165	31.6	96	21.1
<i>Edward II</i>	42	8.0	45	9.9
<i>Jew of Malta</i>	47	9.0	39	8.5
<i>Massacre at Paris</i>	7	1.3	10	2.2
<i>Tamburlaine</i>	62	11.9	58	12.7
Translations/poetry	36	6.9	45	9.9

\*Due to rounding, column total equals 99.9%

*Christopher Marlowe in the Eighties* contained 542 studies, 522 of which correspond to the categories surveyed here. That publication rate of 43.5 studies per year is just slightly less than the present 45.6 studies per year. With the exception of *Doctor Faustus*, the distribution and percentages are nearly the same.

One difference between the two decades is that anthologies of original essays have played a larger role in Marlowe criticism of the last ten years. The 1980s saw “*A Poet and a Filthy Play-maker*”: *New Essays on Christopher Marlowe*, edited by Kenneth Friedenreich, Roma Gill, and Constance B. Kuriyama (1988). The present list includes five such collections: *The Cambridge Companion to Christopher Marlowe*, edited by Patrick Cheney; *Marlowe’s Empery* and *Placing the Plays of Christopher Marlowe*, both edited by Sara Deats and Robert A. Logan; *Constructing Christopher Marlowe*, edited by A. J. Downie and J. T. Parnell; and the special Marlowe edition of *Shakespeare Bulletin*, edited by Roslyn L. Knutson and Pierre Hecker. Since I have long been active in the Marlowe Society of America, it is pleasing to me to observe that many of these essays first saw light as papers at conferences it sponsored as well as sessions at meetings of the Modern Language Association of America. For those interested, I presented a quantification of the impact of the Society on Marlowe studies in “Scholarship and the MSA.”<sup>1</sup>

A number of significant trends and works are discernible in Marlowe scholarship of the last ten years. Biography became an area of notable productivity and contention. Jeffrey Meyers’s 2003

1. Bruce E. Brandt, “Scholarship and the MSA,” *Marlowe Society of America Newsletter* 28.1 (2008): 5–6, <http://users.ipfw.edu/stapletm/msa/NLArch.html> (accessed April 26, 2011).

survey of Marlowe's biographers from 1904 to 1993 concluded that Charles Nicholl finally got it right in the 1992 edition of *The Reckoning* (though the 2003 revised edition of this text provides a different conclusion about who was responsible for Marlowe's murder). The three most influential new biographies in the period are Kuriyama's *Christopher Marlowe: A Renaissance Life*, David Riggs's *The World of Christopher Marlowe*, and Park Honan's *Christopher Marlowe: Poet and Spy*. Riggs and Honan study how Marlowe's life and government service manifest themselves in his art, while Kuriyama maintains that scholars have extrapolated ideas about the author's personality, transgressiveness, and life far beyond what the documentary evidence shows. Many scholars have concurred with her. Downie's "Marlowe, May 1593, and the 'Must-Have' Theory of Biography" and "Marlowe: Facts and Fictions" both complain strongly that scholars often extrapolate wildly from limited data and that we actually know little about his life. The other essays in *Constructing Christopher Marlowe* also share the perspective that our "Marlowe" is a modern construct. Simon Shepherd's "A Bit of Ruff: Criticism, Fantasy, Marlowe" critiques late twentieth-century studies that privilege a view of Marlowe as one who reveals his subversiveness through his characters and who defines himself by sex and violence. Stephen Orgel's "Tobacco and Boys: How Queer Was Marlowe?" argues "that the transgressive Marlowe is largely a posthumous phenomenon" (555). Lukas Erne's "Biography, Mythography, and Criticism" criticizes the "vicious hermeneutic circle" of studies that use the plays to inform biography and then read this biography into the plays. Clare Harraway's *Re-citing Marlowe: Approaches to the Drama* attacks a tendency in twentieth-century Marlowe scholarship to concern itself unduly with the figure of the author. The prolific Lisa Hopkins contributed three quite different biographical studies: *Christopher Marlowe: A Literary Life* examines individual plays in the context of his overall literary career; *Christopher Marlowe: Renaissance Dramatist* provides a more elementary introduction to the works; and *A Christopher Marlowe Chronology* lists significant dates relating to his family and his output. Four of the essays in Takashi Kozuka and J. R. Mulryne's *Shakespeare, Marlowe, Jonson: New Directions in Biography* explore aspects of Marlowe's life. Other important contributions to this field include Roy Kendall's *Christopher Marlowe and Richard Baines: Journeys through the Elizabethan Underground*, the first full-scale biography of Richard Baines. Kuriyama's "Second Selves: Marlowe's Cambridge and London Friendships" argues that Marlowe maintained normal social relationships and friendships.

David Mateer's "New Sightings of Christopher Marlowe in London" identifies two lawsuits giving new insight into his life in the capital.

As noted, *Doctor Faustus* remains the most studied of the works. However, the debate over the A- and B-texts, still prominent twenty years ago, seems to be winding down. Michael Keefer, in "The A and B Texts of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* Revisited" presents new textual arguments concerning the relationship between the two, regarding the possibility of using the B-text to correct a particular part of the A-text. Also, Robert A. H. Smith's "Marlowe and Peele: A Further Note on the Final Scholar Scene in the *Doctor Faustus* B Text" contends that its concluding scene with the scholars was part of Marlowe's original conception. A number of studies focus on the two as entirely separate works. David Bevington argues in "Staging the A- and B-Texts of *Doctor Faustus*" that their differences provide insight into changes in theatrical practices and audience tastes, and in "One Hell of an Ending: Staging Last Judgment in the Towneley Plays and in *Doctor Faustus* A and B," he finds that A emphasizes the spiritual torments of damnation while B focuses on the physical. Leah Marcus, in "Texts That Won't Stand Still," discusses the benefits to students in teaching both versions. Andrew Duxfield, in "Modern Problems of Editing: The Two Texts of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*," summarizes its twentieth-century editorial traditions and concludes that poststructuralist editing concerns itself with what each text means. Deborah Willis, in "*Doctor Faustus* and the Early Modern Language of Addiction," asserts that the B-text provides insight into the early modern understanding of this condition. David Wootton, in the introduction to his edition of the play, stresses the theological differences between the two versions. Michael Pincombe, in "His Master's Voice: The Conjuring of Emperors in *Doctor Faustus* and Its Sources in the German Tradition," compares the treatment of conjuring spirits in the A- and B-texts.

Religious skepticism remains a much discussed topic in studies of the play. Kristen Poole's "*Dr. Faustus* and Reformation Theology" maintains that the debate over whether the tragedy reflects or questions orthodox Christianity arises from viewing the English Reformation as being far more unified than it was. Both in *The Devil and the Sacred in English Drama, 1350–1642* and in "'To Obtain His Soul': Demonic Desire for the Soul in Marlowe and Others," John Cox views Marlowe as conforming to traditional depictions of the occult while creating a skeptical and deconstructive context that subverts it. Benjamin Bertram's *The Time Is Out of Joint*:

*Skepticism in Shakespeare's England* assumes from the Baines note that Marlowe was indeed a religious skeptic. Therefore, *Faustus* questions the possibility of finding spiritual truth and *The Jew of Malta* shows the corrosive impact of emerging capitalism and religious change. In a related study, William Hamlin, in *Tragedy and Scepticism in Shakespeare's England*, demonstrates that *Faustus* adheres closely to what the Renaissance perceived as a major skeptical paradigm, although we now perceive it as a misconstruction of Pyrrhonian thought.

Critics also find religious skepticism in *Tamburlaine*. Roger Moore, in "The Spirit and the Letter: Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* and Elizabethan Religious Radicalism," argues that the protagonist's spiritual fanaticism reflects Marlowe's criticism of the radical religious viewpoints then emerging in England. Daniel Vitkus's *Turning Turk: English Theater and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570–1630* explores theatrical depictions of English interactions with Mediterranean cultures and the ensuing impact on English culture. He shows that *Tamburlaine* displaces the religious struggles of the Reformation onto the Mediterranean world and questions a providentialist view of history. The same book also examines *The Jew of Malta* as it relates to English foreign trade in the Mediterranean. Matthew Dimmock's *New Turkes: Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England*, a study of how the Ottoman threat affected English culture, argues that Marlowe's identification of *Tamburlaine* with the Persians ran counter to contemporary English foreign policy. Javid Ghatta, in "Early Modern English Drama and the Islamic World," posits that *Tamburlaine* shows an awareness of a distinct Persian Islamic identity. Justin Kolb, in "Early Modern English Drama and the Islamic World," perceives that Edmund Spenser and Marlowe displaced the challenge of Islam onto the romance. Howard Miller, in "Tamburlaine: The Migration and Translation of Marlowe's Arabic Sources," concludes that Marlowe's portrayal of his hero reflects his knowledge of Arabic accounts of Timur. Notions of class and gender also remain important in the study of the play. John Gillies's "*Tamburlaine* and Renaissance Geography" finds that its early modern popularity stems partially from its celebration of Elizabethan imperialism, but more importantly from its social subversiveness. Lisa Hopkins shows, in "Marlowe's Asia and the Feminization of Conquest," that the confused image of this continent available to Marlowe stimulated his questioning of human identity, gender roles, and religious authority. Mark Thornton Burnett, looking at language, class, identity, and sexuality in "*Tamburlaine the Great*,

Parts One and Two,” describes the second part as pushing the ideas of the first to their thematic extremes.

The depiction of war in the play has been another frequently analyzed aspect. Nina Taunton’s *1590s Drama and Militarism: Portrayals of War in Marlowe, Chapman, and Shakespeare’s “Henry V”* shows that Tamburlaine largely adheres to standard manuals on the subject. Both here and in her “Unlawful Presences: The Politics of Military Space and the Problem of Women in *Tamburlaine*,” she looks at the lack of official provision for women in early modern military camps. Patricia Cahill’s *Unto the Breach: Martial Formations, Historical Trauma, and the Early Modern Stage* includes a chapter on Marlowe’s knowledge of military thinking that replaced individual heroics with arithmetical calculations and battle formations. In “Violence, Terrorism, and War in Marlowe’s *Tamburlaine* Plays,” Robert A. Logan reads the play’s military themes transhistorically in relation to both Elizabethan and current politics. Leah Marcus’s “Marlowe in tempore belli” similarly connects our current experience of war to the Elizabethan context of *Tamburlaine*. Bruce Brandt’s “The Art of War: Shakespeare and Marlowe” suggests that Shakespeare is more radical than Marlowe in his depiction of the reasons that lead kings to engage in large-scale conflict, while Alan Shepard, in *Marlowe’s Soldiers: Rhetorics of Masculinity in the Age of the Armada*, discerns throughout all of Marlowe’s plays a concern over martial law and the dangers of militarism.

Gender has been an important topic in Marlowe scholarship in the last ten years, and many of these studies have focused on or included *Tamburlaine*. Doris Feldman’s “The Constructions and Deconstructions of Gendered Bodies in Selected Plays of Christopher Marlowe” asserts that *Edward II* and *Tamburlaine* depict masculinity and femininity as constructed rather than fixed. Joanna Gibbs, in “Marlowe’s Politic Women,” takes issue with the idea that Marlowe allows his men to occupy public and political spheres while restricting his women to the private and emotional, since Isabella, Dido, and Olympia clearly occupy both realms. Sarah Emsley, in “‘I Cannot Love, to Be an Emperess’: Women and Honour in *Tamburlaine*,” proposes that Zenocrate, Zabina, and Olympia are not feminine contrasts to Tamburlaine but embody the same Machiavellian principles that the men do. In “Zenocrate: Not Just Another ‘Fair Face,’” Corinne Abate describes Tamburlaine as learning restraint, political savvy, and diplomacy from his consort, and concludes that her success therefore comes from more than beauty and that she never suffers a loss of agency. Pam Whitfield provides an opposing opinion in “‘Divine Zenocrate,’

‘Wretched Zenocrate’: Female Speech and Disempowerment in *Tamburlaine I*,” which perceives that her husband’s emotional manipulation systematically disempowers her, leading the audience to condemn his ambition and lack of humanity. In “Tamburlaine’s Domestic Threat,” Mary Stripling suggests that he is more threatened by maternity than by anything else he faces. Judith Haber’s *Desire and Dramatic Form in Early Modern England* includes analysis of the construction of sodomy in Marlowe’s works and its disruption of “societal structures of masculinity and meaning” (6). Merry Perry’s “Masculinity, Performance, and Identity: Father/Son Dyads in Christopher Marlowe’s Plays” theorizes that all his works pointedly critique traditional notions of these categories, but that *Tamburlaine* is “Marlowe’s strongest critique of masculinity” (91). More generally, Kate Chedgzoy’s “Marlowe’s Men and Women: Gender and Sexuality” shows that his representation of these categories encompasses both orderly unions and disorderly desires and that he reflects and challenges the values of his society.

Like *Tamburlaine*, *The Jew of Malta* has occasioned much discussion of the impact of Mediterranean trade and Islam on Renaissance drama. Julia Reinhard Lupton’s “*The Jew of Malta*” and *Citizen-Saints: Shakespeare and Political Theology* explore Marlowe’s depiction of the Jewish community in Malta, the links perceived between Islam and Judaism, and stage representations of Jews in the early 1590s. In “Another Country: Marlowe and the Go-Between,” Richard Wilson places the play in the context of international finance and intrigue, including English ambition for trade with the East, as does Daniel Vitkus in “Turks and Jews in *The Jew of Malta*,” in which he discusses English trading in the Mediterranean, Jewish-Muslim relations, the Ottoman attack on Malta, and the Maltese slave trade. Vitkus asserts that the play’s indictment of greed and hypocrisy is meant to apply to Protestant England. The performance and publication history of the play has also engendered interest. Lucy Munro’s “Marlowe on the Caroline Stage” describes *The Jew of Malta*, *Faustus*, and *Tamburlaine* as part of a pre-Revolution theatrical canon of “classics,” plays with a continuous performance tradition, but which would have contrasted with early seventeenth-century style. Why, though, was *The Jew of Malta* first published forty years after Marlowe’s death? John Parker, in “Barabas and Charles I,” proposes that its revival and printing constituted a safe way to protest the Catholic sympathies of Charles I, while Zachary Lesser, in *Renaissance Drama and the Politics of Publication*, argues that Nicholas Vavasour, the publisher, would have seen it as addressing current theological controversies in line

with his pro-Laudian sympathies. Richard Hillman treats both *The Jew of Malta* and *The Massacre at Paris* in *Shakespeare, Marlowe and the Politics of France*, in which he argues that contemporaries would have seen a parallel between the Edward II-Gaveston and Henry III-Epernour relationships. He maintains that *Massacre* is closer to Shakespearian political drama than any of Marlowe's other tragedies, including *Edward*. Paul Voss's *Elizabethan News Pamphlets: Shakespeare, Spenser, Marlowe and the Birth of Journalism* discusses the news pamphlets that reported Henry of Navarre's battles with the Catholic League and suggests that Marlowe's willingness to depict the political and religious turmoil in France so openly was politically daring. His fourth chapter analyzes three fictional treatments of Navarre, including *Massacre*.

Same-sex love continues to be a major topic of discussion in the criticism of *Edward*. David Stymeist, in "Status, Sodomy, and the Theater in Marlowe's *Edward II*," concludes that the play simultaneously demonstrates sexual subversion yet also enforces the culture's dominant ideology that strove to contain it. Alan Steward considers the play's earlier reception and its treatment in recent productions in "*Edward II* and Male Same-Sex Desire" and argues that Marlowe forces his audience to confront its own preconceptions. However, Peter Sillitoe, in "'Where Is the Court But Here?' Undetermined Elite Space and Marlowe's *Edward II*," maintains that its fundamental issue is a debate over the nature of the English court that the issue of homoeroticism complicates. This emphasis on politics appears in a number of other studies. Curtis Perry, in "The Politics of Access and Representations of the Sodomite King in Early Modern England," interprets the play as alluding to the court of the French King Henry III and the question of access to him. Ronald Knowles, in "The Political Contexts of Deposition and Election in *Edward II*," finds that Marlowe's contemporaries would have seen the play as addressing such seditious issues. Siobhan Keenan's "Reading Christopher Marlowe's *Edward II*: The Example of John Newdigate in 1601" identifies an early modern reader who perceived that the tragedy contained topical lessons about government.

Concluding this introduction are examinations of three dimensions of Marlowe's impact on his contemporaries. First is Ruth Lunney's analysis of his effect on the theater of his own time: *Marlowe and the Popular Tradition*. She shows that his transformation of contemporary "dramatic rhetoric" helped audiences to experience new ways of seeing, a much more pervasive influence on theatrical development than his "mighty line," transgressive ideas,



or heroic characters. Next, Patrick Cheney's *Marlowe's Republican Authorship* makes the case that the plays and poems exhibit a pioneering vision of English republicanism and liberty, one that affected Marlowe's own concept of authorship and helped him develop a poetics of the sublime. Finally, several works comment on Shakespeare's debts to Marlowe. Most important is Robert A. Logan's *Shakespeare's Marlowe*, which demonstrates Shakespeare's response to his predecessor's verbal dexterity, transformations of genre, and use of ambiguity in his career-long engagement with Marlowe's works. Logan's "'Glutted with conceit': Imprints of *Doctor Faustus* on *The Tempest*" looks specifically at the impact of *Faustus* on *The Tempest*, finding many similarities and suggesting that Marlowe's general influence appears to have increased rather than diminished over the years. David Lucking also identifies numerous parallels between these plays in his "Our Devils Now Are Ended: A Comparative Analysis of *The Tempest* and *Doctor Faustus*." In "Christopher Marlowe: The Late Years," David Bevington argues that Marlowe and Shakespeare, working independently and competitively, created the new genre of the English history play and that, had he lived, Marlowe's writing would have continued in the vein of *Edward*. Lunney's "Rewriting the Narrative of Dramatic Character; or, Not 'Shakespearean' but 'Debatable'" portrays Marlowe's greatest contribution as his innovative approach to the presentation of character, "with Faustus in particular showing the way to Hamlet" (67).

All studies mentioned in this introductory overview are included with full bibliographical details in the following annotated list. In assembling this document, I am indebted to the listings in the *MLA International Bibliography*, *The Year's Work in English Studies*, and the Modern Humanities Research Association's *Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature*, as well as to the notes and lists of works cited in many of these studies. Those interested in annotated guides to earlier criticism should consult my *Christopher Marlowe in the Eighties*; Kenneth Friedenreich's *Christopher Marlowe: An Annotated Bibliography of Criticism Since 1950* (1979); and the series of articles in *English Literary Renaissance*.<sup>2</sup> My chapter "The Critical Backstory" in *Doctor Faustus: A Critical Guide*,<sup>3</sup> covers

2. Patrick Cheney, "Recent Studies in Marlowe (1987–1998)," *English Literary Renaissance* 31.2 (2001): 288–328; Richard Levao, "Recent Studies in Marlowe (1977–1986)," *English Literary Renaissance* 18.2 (1988): 329–42; and Jonathon F. S. Post, "Recent Studies in Marlowe (1968–1976)," *English Literary Renaissance* 7.3 (1977): 382–99.

3. Bruce Brandt, "The Critical Backstory," in *Doctor Faustus: A Critical Guide*, ed.

criticism of the play through the twentieth century. In the same volume, Robert A. Logan's "The State of the Art: Current Critical Research" surveys more recent *Faustus* criticism (72–95), and he provides a broader survey in "Marlowe Scholarship and Criticism: The Current Scene," in *Christopher Marlowe the Craftsman*.<sup>4</sup> Finally, for a survey of gender studies, we have Sara Munson Deats's "Gender Studies in Christopher Marlowe's Plays: The Last Forty Years."<sup>5</sup>

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Sara Munson Deats (London: Continuum, 2010), 17–40.

4. Robert A. Logan, "Marlowe Scholarship and Criticism: The Current Scene," in *Christopher Marlowe the Craftsman*, ed. Sarah K. Scott and M. L. Stapleton (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 15–22.

5. Sara Munson Deats, "Gender Studies in Christopher Marlowe's Plays: The Last Forty Years," *Marlowe Society of America Newsletter* 28.2/29.1 (2009): 4–7, <http://users.ipfw.edu/stapletm/msa/NLArch.html> (accessed April 26, 2011).

## General Critical and Biographical Studies

- Ardolino, Frank. "Faustian Bargains: Marlowe versus Shakespeare in *A Murder of Crows*." *Marlowe Society of America Newsletter* 24.1 (2004): 8–10. Accessed April 26, 2011. <http://users.ipfw.edu/stapletm/msa/NLArch.html>. Discusses the film *A Murder of Crows* (dir. Rowdy Herrington, 1999), identifying in it "a complex version of the anxiety of influence between Marlowe and Shakespeare in which both of the authors are 'invented' figures" (8).
- . "'Kinde Kit Marlowe' in *Old Acquaintance* (1943)." *Marlowe Society of America Newsletter* 22.2 (2002): 4–6. Accessed April 26, 2011. <http://users.ipfw.edu/stapletm/msa/NLArch.html>. Identifies a Marlovian subtext in the film *Old Acquaintance* (dir. Vincent Sherman) that reflects the artistic rivalry with William Shakespeare.
- . "Three Marlowe References in *The Animal Kingdom*, *Piccadilly Jim*, and *One Touch of Venus*." *Marlowe Society of America Newsletter* 21.1 (2001): 2–4. Accessed April 26, 2011. <http://users.ipfw.edu/stapletm/msa/NLArch.html>. Identifies allusions to Marlowe in three films from the 1930s and 40s.
- Barber, Rosalind. "Shakespeare Authorship Doubts in 1593." *Critical Survey* 21.2 (2009): 83–110. Reads an allusion by Gabriel Harvey as indicating that he could unmask the true author of *Venus and Adonis* (1592). Barber believes Marlowe was Shakespeare.
- Bartels, Emily C. "Christopher Marlowe." In *A Companion to Renaissance Drama*, edited by Arthur F. Kinney, 446–63. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2002. Overview of Marlowe's plays finds that they "draw the spectators into a world where transgression is not merely the source of crisis but also the motivating force behind identity, ideology, and the institution of meaning" (446). Emphasizes Marlowe's "almost obsessive preoccupation with the central figure" (448), urging that his "protagonists write themselves and write their worlds" (454), perform their destinies for onstage spectators (which complicates the judgment of the audience), and stand out as "endlessly refashioning subjects" (458).
- Bednarz, James P. "Marlowe and the English Literary Scene." In Cheney, *Cambridge Companion*, 90–105. Illustrates Marlowe's

transformation of Elizabethan literature through an analysis of his relationships with Thomas Watson, Thomas Harriot, and Shakespeare.

Belschner, Marlo Marie. "Thereby Hangs a Tale: The Culture of Hanging in Shakespeare and Marlowe." *Dissertation Abstracts International, Section A: The Humanities and Social Sciences* 63.7 (2003): 2549.

Berry, Ralph. "Shakespeare, Marlowe and Blair." *Contemporary Review* 289.1685 (2007): 161–66. Discusses Tony Blair by comparing Marlowe to Shakespeare.

Bertram, Benjamin. *The Time Is Out of Joint: Skepticism in Shakespeare's England*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004. Examines Reginald Scot, Thomas Harriot, Marlowe, and *King Lear* (1605) and *Timon of Athens* (1607). The chapter "'Religion Hides Many Things from Suspicion': Christopher Marlowe's Skepticism" assumes Marlowe's religious skepticism on biographical grounds, based on the Baines note (95–132). *Faustus* questions the possibility of finding spiritual truth, and *The Jew of Malta* shows the corrosive impact of emerging capitalism and religious change.

Bevington, David. "Christopher Marlowe: The Late Years." In Deats and Logan, *Placing the Plays*, 209–22. Argues that Marlowe and Shakespeare, working independently and competitively, altered the way history was dramatized, creating the new genre of the English history play. It allowed great freedom in choosing and rearranging events and remained episodic, but through their focus on historic interpretation, they create "the dramatic unity of theme" that lies "at the heart of what constitutes the new English history play" (221). Proposes that *Edward II* is indicative of the direction Marlowe's writing would have taken had he not been killed.

Blumenfeld, Samuel L. *The Marlowe–Shakespeare Connection: A New Study of the Authorship Question*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2008. Marlowe wrote Shakespeare.

Booth, Michael Raymond. "The Figure of Naught in Elizabethan Thought: Shakespeare, Harriot, Marlowe." *Dissertation Abstracts International, Section A: The Humanities and Social Sciences* 63.12 (2003): 4319.

- Botelho, Keith M. "Rumor, Gender, and Authority in English Renaissance Drama." *Dissertation Abstracts International, Section A: The Humanities and Social Sciences* 67.5 (2006): 1738–39.
- Bowers, Rick. "Marlowe's Knifework: Threat, Caution, and Reaction in the Theatre." *Shakespeare Bulletin* 27.1 (2009): 19–26. Knifework demonstrates that the visual and kinetic violence of Marlowe's dramaturgy has a visceral effect on the audience, creating "moments of audience distress that precede moral judgments and form powerful meanings in themselves" (25). Argues strongly for the use of the spit in *Edward*.
- Bowsher, Julian M. C. "Marlowe and the Rose." In Downie and Parnell, *Constructing Christopher Marlowe*, 30–40. Summarizes evidence for Marlowe's association with the Rose Theater and what has been learned from its excavation.
- Brandt, Bruce. "The Art of War: Shakespeare and Marlowe." In *Proceedings of the 11th Annual Northern Plains Conference on Early British Literature*, edited by Michelle Sauer, 65–70. Minot, ND: Minot State University, 2003. Suggests that Shakespeare is more radical than Marlowe in his depiction of the reasons that lead kings to go to war, though both exploit martial imagery for dramatic purposes.
- Brayton, Daniel G. "Christopher Marlowe (1564–1593)." In *British Writers: Retrospective Supplement I*, edited by Jay Parini, 199–213. New York: Scribner's, 2002. Encyclopedia article covers Marlowe's life, his "mighty line," the transvestite theater, his influence, and each of his works.
- Chedgzoy, Kate. "Marlowe's Men and Women: Gender and Sexuality." In Cheney, *Cambridge Companion*, 245–61. Marlowe's representation of gender and sexuality encompasses both orderly unions and disorderly desires, and he "navigated the boundaries of acceptable and transgressive behaviour in ways that both reflected and challenged the values of his society" (246).
- Cheney, Patrick. "Biographical Representations: Marlowe's Life of the Author." In Kozuka and Mulryne, *Shakespeare, Marlowe, Jonson*, 183–204. Marlowe's works reflect an understanding of Ovid as an author that informs his own literary career. Discussion extends to the image of Ovid-as-author in Jonson and Shakespeare.

- . *Shakespeare, National Poet–Playwright*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. Identifies Shakespeare as rehearsing a professional dialogue between Spenser’s Virgilian and Marlowe’s Ovidian aesthetic.
- , ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Christopher Marlowe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. Seventeen original essays, listed individually by author in this bibliography.
- . “Introduction: Marlowe in the Twenty-First Century.” In Cheney, *Cambridge Companion*, 1–23. Marlowe was “fascinated by the idea of firstness” (17), striking for “his signature yoking of literature with violence” (18), an author who “enters the twenty-first century as an enigmatic genius of canonical dissidence” (18).
- Clare, Janet. “Marlowe’s ‘Theatre of Cruelty.’” In Downie and Parnell, *Constructing Christopher Marlowe*, 74–87. Argues that Marlowe criticism too readily assumes that his plays reflect his alleged unorthodoxy. Instead, Marlowe’s violence is performative rather than ideological, and his “dramaturgy works through an assault on the audience’s sensory perceptions and the release of extreme conflicts, ambitions, and passions” (87). Antonin Artaud’s “theater of cruelty” is key to understanding Marlowe’s dramatic aesthetic.
- Cunningham, Karen. “‘Forsake Thy King and Do but Join with Me’: Marlowe and Treason.” In Deats and Logan, *Marlowe’s Empery*, 133–49. Discusses how the treason trials of Anthony Babington and his friends provoked politically charged contention over the issues of country, friendship, good service, and travel. Marlowe’s plays both reflect and interrogate these issues.
- Dean, Paul. “Was This the Face?” *English Studies* 87.5 (2006): 539–43. Review of Park Honan’s *Christopher Marlowe: Poet and Spy* and Patrick Cheney and Brian Striar’s *The Collected Poems of Christopher Marlowe* (2006).
- Deats, Sara Munson. “*Dido, Queen of Carthage* and *The Massacre at Paris*.” In Cheney, *Cambridge Companion*, 193–206. Argues that *Dido* “zestfully and playfully destabilizes conventional categories not only of gender and sexuality, but also of genre and tone” (204) and that *Massacre* possesses “a trenchantly ironic tone and an intriguingly interrogative mode” (201). Each invokes multiple perspectives, drawing upon the rhetorical practice of arguing on both sides of the question.

- . “Marlowe’s Interrogative Drama: *Dido*, *Tamburlaine*, *Faustus*, and *Edward II*.” In Deats and Logan, *Marlowe’s Empery*, 107–30. Marlowe plays a pivotal role in the development of early modern interrogative drama, which argues *in utramque partem quaestionis*, a corrective to the theory that “much greater emphasis has been placed on the multiplicity of Shakespeare’s dramas than on the ambiguity present within Marlowe’s plays” (107).
- Deats, Sara Munson, and Robert A. Logan, eds. *Marlowe’s Empery: Expanding His Critical Contexts*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2002. Introduction by Logan, with nine original essays, listed individually by author in this bibliography.
- , eds. *Placing the Plays of Christopher Marlowe: Fresh Cultural Contexts*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008. A collection of fourteen original essays, listed individually by author in this bibliography.
- Dietz, Lauri Susanne. “Shattering the Epic Nation: Marlowe’s Masochistic Ovidian Poetics.” *Dissertation Abstracts International, Section A: The Humanities and Social Sciences* 65.7 (2005): 2612. [*Dido*, *Tamburlaine*, *Hero and Leander*]
- Doody, Margaret Anne. “Nuttall and Gnosticism.” *Raritan* 20.2 (2000): 106–13. Review of A. D. Nuttall’s *The Alternative Trinity: Gnostic Heresy in Marlowe, Milton, and Blake* (2007).
- Downie, J. A. “Marlowe, May 1593, and the ‘Must-Have’ Theory of Biography.” *Review of English Studies* 58.235 (2007): 245–67. Reflects the underlying premise of his argument in *Constructing Christopher Marlowe* that biographers tend to extrapolate wildly from limited data on Marlowe in order to assert things about him.
- . “Marlowe: Facts and Fictions.” In Downie and Parnell, *Constructing Christopher Marlowe*, 13–29. Complains that “writers and critics seem particularly predisposed to pontificate about Marlowe’s life, his character, and his artistic intentions” and reminds readers how little we truly know about him (13).
- Downie, J. A. and J. T. Parnell, eds. *Constructing Christopher Marlowe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. Introduction by Parnell, with twelve original essays, listed individually by author in this bibliography.

- Duncan-Jones, Katherine. "Who Was Marlowe's 'Brocher of Atheisme'?" *Notes and Queries* 53.4 (2006): 449–52. Reference denotes Thomas Watson, not Niccolò Machiavelli.
- Duxfield, Andrew. "Modern Problems of Editing: The Two Texts of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*." *Literature Compass* 2.1 (2005): 1–14. Summarizes the play's textual problems and attempted editorial solutions in the twentieth century. Concludes that poststructuralist theory of editing displaced the prescriptive value judgment argument about the superiority of the A-text over B-text in favor of a model that challenges scholars to allow both versions their own textuality.
- Edgecombe, Rodney S. "Skeptical Moments in *As You Like It* and Their Possible Connection with Marlowe." *Shakespeare Bulletin* 20.4 (2002): 45–46. Interprets Jaques's parody of "Under the Greenwood" in *As You Like It*, with its "ducdame" refrain, as alluding to Marlowe's skepticism, as it was evidenced by the Baines libel.
- . "Problems Arising from the 'Great Reckoning in a Little Room': *As You Like It* III.iii." *Classical and Modern Literature* 20.4 (2000): 91–97. Touchstone's "great reckoning in a little room" describes the poet/artist who fears that his work will not be understood. The reference to Ovid figures Marlowe, and the "little room" alludes to a passage in Petronius's *Satyricon* that fits with Marlowe's death.
- Engle, Lars. "Oedipal Marlowe, Mimetic Middleton." *Modern Philology* 105.3 (2008): 417–36. Discusses four plays by each author and concludes that "Marlowe is centrally interested in Oedipal desire and that Middleton is centrally interested in mimetic desire" (420).
- Erne, Lukas. "Biography, Mythography, and Criticism: The Life and Works of Christopher Marlowe." *Modern Philology* 103.1 (2005): 28–50. Criticizes the "vicious hermeneutic circle" of critics using Marlowe's plays to inform his biography and then reading this biography into the plays (28).
- Eubanks, Charles David, Jr. "'Know Ye Not Yet the Argument of Arms?': The Evolution of Warrior Ethos in Elizabethan Military Theory and Drama." *Dissertation Abstracts International, Section A: The Humanities and Social Sciences* 64.7 (2004): 2499.



- Feldmann, Doris. "The Constructions and Deconstructions of Gendered Bodies in Selected Plays of Christopher Marlowe." In *The Body in Late Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, edited by Darryl Grantley and Nina Taunton, 23–32. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2000. Looking especially at *Edward* and *Tamburlaine*, Feldman asserts that Marlowe depicts masculinity and femininity as constructed rather than fixed.
- Forker, Charles R. "Regime Change at Shakespeare's Globe." *Shakespeare Newsletter* 53.3 (2003): 71, 82. Discusses the Globe Theatre's 2003 season, which included an all-male *Edward II* cast.
- Francisco, Timothy. "'No Soft and Glutinous Bodies': Militarism and Masculinity in Marlowe and Jonson." *Dissertation Abstracts International, Section A: The Humanities and Social Sciences* 63.1 (2002): 193.
- Gibbs, Joanna. "Marlowe's Politic Women." In Downie and Parnell, *Constructing Christopher Marlowe*, 164–76. Gibbs challenges the notion that Marlowe's characters occupy binary spheres in which men are public and political while women are private and emotional. She asserts that Marlowe's women do not all fit into one stereotypic pattern, since Isabella, Dido, and Olympia are as much political as emotional. However, she finds that unlike Marlowe's men, his women more often seek power not for the sake of controlling others, but to control their own destinies.
- Godwin, Laura Grace. "Memorial Reconstructions: Christopher Marlowe, Cultural Memory, and the Royal Shakespeare Company." *Dissertation Abstracts International, Section A: The Humanities and Social Sciences* 66.7 (2006): 2443.
- Greenblatt, Stephen. "Who Killed Christopher Marlowe?" *New York Review of Books*, April 6, 2006, 42–46. Prefaces a review of Honan's *Christopher Marlowe: Poet and Spy* and David Riggs's *The World of Christopher Marlowe* with a summary of Marlowe's spying and an anecdote about Greenblatt's own encounter with a modern scholar and Stasi spy. Focuses on these biographers' desires to find links between Marlowe's writing and spying. He doubts that Elizabeth and her advisors would have been spooked by their own fantasies, as Riggs argues, but can see the Queen reacting against the destructive energy unleashed by Marlowe's plays.

- Greenfield, Matthew. "Christopher Marlowe's Wound Knowledge." *PMLA* 119.2 (2004): 233–46. Marlowe's wounded characters display "an uncanny knowledge of what is happening inside their bodies, including the precise anatomy of their injuries and the physiology of the onset of death" (233). These descriptions challenge general assumptions about the body, pain, and interiority.
- Haber, Judith. *Desire and Dramatic Form in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. Concurs with recent reactions against New Historicism's association of formalism with the status quo and foregrounds formal and textual questions in examining how disruptive desires can challenge social structures. Her first three chapters explore the construction of sodomy in "Passionate Shepherd," *Tamburlaine, Edward*, and *Hero*, and "their attempts to disrupt and denaturalize societal structures of masculinity and meaning" (6).
- Hammill, Graham L. *Sexuality and Form: Caravaggio, Marlowe, and Bacon*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000. Explores the art and writing of the three artists to formulate a new poetics of sexuality. The Marlowe chapter maintains that *Faustus* transforms literary reception and language into a hermeneutics of sodomy.
- . "Time for Marlowe." *English Literary History* 75.2 (2008): 291–314. Provides a good synopsis of Renaissance political justifications for the sovereign using extralegal force. Marlowe interrogates such ideas, particularly in his depictions of massacres (fifteen references in various plays). Marlowe's death could have resulted from his intellectual opposition to court power.
- Harraway, Clare. *Re-citing Marlowe: Approaches to the Drama*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2002. Undertakes a deconstructive analysis that strongly criticizes most twentieth-century Marlowe scholarship for its concern with the figure of the author and endorses recent efforts to decenter it. Sees "Marlowe" as simply a group of seven plays. Attempts to destabilize existing criticism of each play by looking for "textual moments which are marked by either criticism's excessive concern or its unaccountable neglect" (18) and using them as a lens for her investigations of the text.
- Hecker, Pierre, and Roslyn L. Knutson. "Introduction: Marlowe the Play-maker." *Shakespeare Bulletin* 27.1 (2009): 1–4.

Introduction to a special Marlowe edition focuses on him as a man of the theater.

Healy, Thomas. "Shakespeare and Marlowe." In *The Oxford Handbook of English Literature and Theology*, edited by Andrew Hass, David Jasper, and Elisabeth Jay, 382–97. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. Argues that the drama of Shakespeare and Marlowe does not didactically "offer a fixed view that insists we witness the world of God or of man in a precise way" (396).

Hedrick, Donald. "Male Surplus Value." *Renaissance Drama* 31 (2002): 85–124. Uses the Marxist concept of surplus value to analyze an evolving performance of masculinity in the early modern theater with *Tamburlaine* and several plays by Shakespeare as evidence.

Hillman, Richard. *Shakespeare, Marlowe and the Politics of France*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave, 2002. Intertextual study of early modern French-English literary relations includes Thomas Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveller* (1593), Shakespeare's *King John* (1595) and the two tetralogies, and Marlowe's *Massacre and Edward*: "The comparison between Edward II and Henri III, Épernon and Gaveston, was in the very discursive air breathed by Marlowe and his audiences" (73); "in its infusion of the purging mechanism of classical tragedy into high affairs of state, the *Massacre* approaches closer to Shakespearian political drama than do the other tragedies of Marlowe—arguably including *Edward II*" (82).

Honan, Park. *Christopher Marlowe: Poet and Spy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. Discusses the nature of life and education in Canterbury, the Cambridge curriculum, Marlowe's relationships to the theater and other playwrights, and his recruitment into espionage, as well as all of his literary works. Though Marlowe's life experiences inform his literature, his characters are not autobiographical. Suggests that Ingram Frizer provoked the fight in which Marlowe died because his reputation for atheism may have been a danger to Thomas Walsingham and hence to Frizer's own financial interests.

Hope, Warren, and Kim Holston. *The Shakespeare Controversy: An Analysis of the Authorship Theories*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2009. One chapter examines the claims for Marlowe's

authorship of Shakespeare's plays, but the book concludes that it was Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford.

Hopkins, Lisa. "Christopher Marlowe and the Succession to the English Crown." *Yearbook of English Studies* 38.1/2 (2008): 183–98. Marlowe's plays reveal his interest in the question of the succession to the English throne, including *Edward II*, *Jew of Malta*, and *1 Tamburlaine*.

———. *A Christopher Marlowe Chronology*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. Includes the significant dates not just for Marlowe's life and the lives of his family, but for events mentioned in his works, his sources, people he knew or may have known, play performances, other literary landmarks, holidays, and other information that may help to place his life in context.

———. *Christopher Marlowe: A Literary Life*. New York: Palgrave, 2000. Examines Marlowe's individual plays in the context of his overall literary career. Discerning a particular concern with Elizabethan colonialism and skepticism about familial and social structures in Marlowe's oeuvre, she argues that his works fall into three major groups: (1) *Dido* and *Tamburlaine* depict encounters with ethnically different individuals; (2) *The Jew of Malta* and *Faustus* focus on religion and faith; and (3) *Edward*, *Massacre*, and *Hero* explore sexuality.

———. *Christopher Marlowe: Renaissance Dramatist*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008. Student-oriented introduction to Marlowe discusses his life, canon, theatrical history, learning, boundary breaking, and issues in criticism.

———. "Marlowe's Reception and Influence." In Cheney, *Cambridge Companion*, 282–96. Surveys the early allusions to Marlowe's death and works, describes the revival of interest in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, points out Marlowe-related items such as the discovery of his alleged portrait and the Marlowe rose, and concludes with a survey of modern works of literature featuring him as a character.

———. "New Light on Marlowe's Murderer." *Notes and Queries* 51.3 (2004): 251–54. Hopkins has discovered that Ingram Frizer had a relative named Francis, which could explain the mistaken identification of the killer in the Deptford parish register (assuming that the vicar knew that there was a Francis Frizer).

- . “Was Marlowe Going to Scotland When He Died, and Does It Matter?” In Kozuka and Mulryne, *Shakespeare, Marlowe, Jonson*, 167–82. Traces allusions to Queen of Scots in *Dido*, sees parallels between the English and Scottish court in *Edward, Massacre*, and *Hero*, and concludes that Marlowe was more interested in contemporary events and politics than has been appreciated.
- Houser, Preston Louis. “Finding Beauty: The Articulation of Revolt in the Plays of Christopher Marlowe.” *Dissertation Abstracts International, Section A: The Humanities and Social Sciences* 63.4 (2002): 1355.
- Hussain, Azar. “The Reckoning and the Three Deaths of Christopher Marlowe.” *Notes and Queries* 56.4 (2009): 547–48. Identifies uses of “reckoning” in *Cymbeline* (1609) and *1 Henry IV* (1596) that may allude to Marlowe’s death, along with the well-known passage in *As You Like It* (1599).
- Ide, Arata. “Christopher Marlowe, William Austen, and the Community of Corpus Christi College.” *Studies in Philology* 104.1 (2007): 56–81. Discusses Marlowe’s possible friendship with William Austen, a poor scholarship student at Corpus Christi. Suggests that there may have been hostility to scholarship holders who did not pursue holy orders as expected and that this community may have believed defamatory rumors about Marlowe going to Rheims.
- James, Heather. “The Poet’s Toys: Christopher Marlowe and the Liberties of Erotic Elegy.” *Modern Language Quarterly* 67.1 (2006): 103–27. Discusses the political implications of Ovid’s use of elegiac meter and pervasive presence in Marlowe’s poetry, as well as the Renaissance understanding of this politics of genre.
- Kang, Seok-Ju. [“Christopher Marlowe and the Politics of Transgression”]. *Journal of English Language and Literature/Yongo Yonmunhak* 48.3 (2002): 639–64. [*Tamburlaine, Jew of Malta, Faustus*]
- Karpay, Joyce. “A Study in Ambivalence: Mothers and Their Sons in Christopher Marlowe.” In Deats and Logan, *Placing the Plays*, 75–91. Marlowe offers a more diverse and complex portrayal of mother-son relationships than Shakespeare does. Olympia, Isabella, and Catherine “reflect the cultural anxieties regarding motherhood as well as the fear of threatening or murderous

mothers,” while Dido and Zenocrate are “examples of the ‘good’ mother, a figure from whom we still must separate” (79).

Kendall, Roy. *Christopher Marlowe and Richard Baines: Journeys through the Elizabethan Underground*. Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2003. The first full-scale biography of Baines, detailing numerous connections and parallels between his life and Marlowe’s.

Kendrick, Christopher. *Utopia, Carnival, and Commonwealth in Renaissance England*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004. Marxist reading of Utopian thought includes a short section on Marlowe, whose works he defines as “fabular traged[ies]” because of “their archetypal character, their proximity to fantasy, their ‘underplottedness’ . . . their Aesopian quality, [and] their vexing irreducibility to morality.” “To argue this,” he asserts, “does not require analysing any one play in detail” (220).

Khoury, Joseph. “Machiavellian Providential Politics in Marlowe and Shakespeare: A Comparative Perspective.” *Dissertation Abstracts International, Section A: The Humanities and Social Sciences* 63.4 (2002): 1327.

Knutson, Roslyn L. “Marlowe Reruns: Repertorial Commerce and Marlowe’s Plays in Revival.” In Deats and Logan, *Marlowe’s Empery*, 25–42. Revivals of Marlowe’s works tended to be accompanied by productions of similar plays, both by the Admiral’s Men and by other companies, suggesting an industry-wide marketing strategy.

Kolosov, Jacqueline. “Two Renaissance Portraits.” *Lifewriting Annual: Biographical and Autobiographical Studies* 1 (2006): 217–27. Reviews Sarah Gristwood’s *Arbella: England’s Lost Queen* (2003) and David Riggs’s *The World of Christopher Marlowe*.

Kozuka, Takashi, and J. R. Mulryne, eds. *Shakespeare, Marlowe, Jonson: New Directions in Biography*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006. Introductory essay by Mulryne, “Where We Are Now: New Directions and Biographical Methods” (1–19). The four essays on Marlowe are listed by author in this bibliography.

Kuriyama, Constance Brown. “Second Selves: Marlowe’s Cambridge and London Friendships.” *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 14 (2001): 86–104. Despite Marlowe’s reputation for violence, he was “perfectly capable of normal sociability and friendship” (87); “he seems to have appreciated

far more keenly than Shakespeare the importance of shared ideas and values as a basis for association, alliance, and friendship" (102).

———. *Christopher Marlowe: A Renaissance Life*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002. Reconsideration of existing documentary evidence relating to Marlowe's life, including unpublished material uncovered by the late William Urry (*Christopher Marlowe and Canterbury* [1988]) and new discoveries. Conclusions disprove many of the assumptions that have been made about Marlowe's transgressive lifestyle, portraying him as more human and more complicated than has been thought. Includes an appendix that for the first time collects in one place virtually all of the primary documents (freshly transcribed and translated) relating to Marlowe's life.

Lafont, Agnès. "Le Corps nu de Diane ou les égarements du coeur et de l'esprit dans *Doctor Faustus* et *Edward II*." *Anglophonia: French Journal of English Studies* 13 (2003): 69–82.

Laroque, François. "The Fashioning of Self and Desire: The Metamorphosis of Actaeon in Marlowe and Shakespeare." In *Self-Fashioning and Metamorphosis in Early Modern English Literature*, edited by Olav Lausund and Stein Haugom Olsen, 135–49. Oslo, Norway: Novus, 2003. Compares Marlowe's and Shakespeare's use of the Actaeon myth, finding that in both it generally serves "a proleptic function, being used as an antimasque or as an anamorphosis of the main plot" (149). An earlier version of this essay appeared as "Ovidian V(o)ices in Marlowe and Shakespeare: The Actaeon Variations," in *Shakespeare's Ovid: The "Metamorphoses" in the Plays and Poems*, edited by A. B. Taylor (2000).

Lenker, Lagretta Tallent. "Looking for Christopher Marlowe." *College Literature* 34.1 (2007): 213–22. Reviews Riggs' *World of Christopher Marlowe*, Cheney's *Cambridge Companion*, and Honan's *Poet and Spy*.

Lewis, Alan D. "Shakespearean Seductions; or, What's with Harold Bloom as Falstaff?" *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 49.2 (2007): 125–54. Critiques "Bloom's theory of literary influence for its masculinist gender ideology, a theory in which the poet's being is modeled on an agonistic and homophobic masculinity" (125) in Bloom's *Shakespeare: The*

*Invention of the Human* (1998), which argues that Marlowe had little influence on Shakespeare.

- Logan, Robert A. *Shakespeare's Marlowe: The Influence of Christopher Marlowe on Shakespeare's Artistry*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007. Marlowe's "verbal dexterity, his flexibility in reconfiguring standard notions of genre, and his use of ambivalence and ambiguity" (231) were more influential on Shakespeare than his ideas and values were. Shakespeare saw him not as a rival, but as a successful playwright from whom he was willing to learn, which he demonstrates throughout his career.
- Lunney, Ruth. *Marlowe and the Popular Tradition: Innovation in the English Drama before 1595*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002. The "dramatic rhetoric" of the plays with which Marlowe was familiar "was enmeshed in particular ways of viewing the world and making sense of experience. Marlowe's new rhetoric made it possible for spectators to change their habits of perception—and perhaps to attempt, or even to arrive at, new ways of seeing" (186). This radically changed the drama, rather than Marlowe's "mighty line," subversive ideas, or heroic (overreaching) characters.
- Lupton, Julia Reinhard. "Shakespace on Marloan." In *Shakespeare without Class: Misappropriations of Cultural Capital*, edited by Donald Hedrick and Bryan Reynolds, 277–85. New York: Palgrave, 2000. Shakespeare has "always been appropriated for putatively civic goals," but Marlowe "is notoriously less assimilable to such educational instrumentalization—his plays are too much in love with tyranny, whether political, erotic, or cerebral, to lend support to the national programs of the modern state" (281).
- Maguire, Laurie E. "Marlovian Texts and Authorship." In Cheney, *Cambridge Companion*, 41–54. Describes contemporary theories about the nature of Marlowe's texts, concluding with the reattributions suggested by Thomas Merriam's stylometric tests (Marlowe as a collaborator with Shakespeare; Thomas Kyd's hand in *The Jew of Malta*).
- Manley, Lawrence. "Playing with Fire: Immolation in the Repertory of Strange's Men." *Early Theatre* 4.1 (2001): 115–29. Manley notes that the plays performed by Strange's Men at the Rose contained an exceptional amount of pyrotechnics used in topically relevant depictions of cruelty and punishment. This



“company style” would have fit well with *The Jew of Malta*, *Massacre*, and *1 Henry VI*.

Marowitz, Charles. “Marlowe’s Murderer Revealed!” *Shakespeare Bulletin* 20.4 (2002): 31–32. Marowitz discusses the writing of his blank verse play *Murdering Marlowe* (2005).

Mateer, David. “New Sightings of Christopher Marlowe in London.” *Early Theatre* 11.2 (2008): 13–38. The evidence consists of two law cases: (1) Marlowe was sued for debt by Edward Elvyn, and therefore must have been living in London by April 1588 (eighteen months before the fight with Bradley); and (2) about eight months earlier one “Marlo” was sued for the value of a gelding and tackle by James Wheatley. “Marlo” did not appear and forfeited the case. Mateer speculates that Marlowe rented a horse to display his status, but he could not afford its upkeep—hence the borrowed ten pounds in the first case. His inclusion of the Horse-courser scene in *Faustus* could reflect his feelings about Wheatley, and if the event were on his mind, it suggests dating the play in late 1588 or early 1589.

Matei-Chesnoiu, Monica. *Early Modern Drama and the Eastern European Elsewhere: Representations of Liminal Locality in Shakespeare and His Contemporaries*. Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2009. Study of Eastern Europe as depicted in early modern “English literary, historical, geographic, and travel accounts” (11) includes a number of brief considerations of *Tamburlaine* and *The Jew of Malta*.

McDonald, Russ. “Marlowe and Style.” In Cheney, *Cambridge Companion*, 55–69. Describes some characteristic traits of Marlowe’s poetics, including his humanism and immersion in classical literature, his adoption of repetition, and blank verse.

McJannet, Linda. *The Sultan Speaks: Dialogue in English Plays and Histories about the Ottoman Turks*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006. Discusses the representation of the Ottoman Turks through dialogue in early modern English plays and in the histories on which they drew. She finds that translations of eastern histories “played an important and hitherto unappreciated role” in western historical writing (ix). Chapter 3 focuses on Marlowe’s depictions of Turks.

Merriam, Thomas. “Anomalous Verse in *Henry IV* and *Henry V*.” *Notes and Queries* 52.2 (2005): 200–202. Stylometric tests indicate a non-Shakespearian element in *Henry IV* (1596–97) and

*Henry V* (1599), and Marlowe seems a likely candidate as the collaborator.

———. “*King John* Divided.” *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 19.2 (2004): 181–95. Stylometric tests suggest that *King John* was coauthored, and that the collaborator could be Marlowe.

———. “Marlowe versus Kyd as Author of *Edward III* I.i, III, and V.” *Notes and Queries* 56.4 (2009): 549–51. Marlowe is a more likely author of these scenes than Kyd.

Meyers, Jeffrey. “Marlowe’s Lives.” *Michigan Quarterly Review* 42.3 (2003): 468–95. A readable survey of biographical studies of Marlowe from 1904 through 1993.

Muinzer, Louis. “The 2003 Season at Shakespeare’s Globe.” *Western European Stages* 15.3 (2003): 65–70. Overview of the Globe’s 2003 season includes *Edward*, but not *Dido*.

Munro, Lucy. “Marlowe on the Caroline Stage.” *Shakespeare Bulletin* 27.1 (2009): 39–50. Examines *The Jew of Malta*, *Faustus*, and *Tamburlaine* as part of a Caroline performance canon of “classics” with a continuous stage tradition but stylistically different from early seventeenth-century plays.

Nicholl, Charles. “‘By My Onely Meanes Sett Downe’: The Texts of Marlowe’s Atheism.” In Kozuka and Mulryne, *Shakespeare, Marlowe, Jonson*, 153–66. Emphasizes the doubtful reliability of the Baines note and Richard Cholmeley’s “Remembrances” (1592), the primary documentary evidence for Marlowe’s heretical or atheistic religious views, and presents a brief biography of Thomas Drury, whom Nicholl sees as the orchestrator of the allegations.

———. *The Reckoning: The Murder of Christopher Marlowe*. Rev. ed. London: Vintage, 2002. This engaging biography focuses only on Marlowe’s life, not his works. Maintains that Marlowe was murdered, but the revised edition abandons the theory posited in the 1992 edition (published by Jonathan Cape) that Essex was behind Marlowe’s death. New argument: the meeting in Deptford was to convince Marlowe to cooperate in a plot against Raleigh and that when it became clear that he would not, another covert operative decided that Marlowe’s death was politically necessary and would please those he served.

———. “Scribblers and Assassins: Charles Nicholl Reopens the File on Thomas Drury and the Prosecution of Christopher

Marlowe.” *London Review of Books*, October 31, 2002, 30–33. The new material presented here now appears in the revised edition of Nicholl’s *The Reckoning*.

Nuttall, A. D. “Christopher Marlowe: Iron and Gold.” *Comparative Criticism* 24 (2002): 37–51. This meditation on the power of reductive thinking (that is, “What does it all come down to?”) sees Marlowe as the prime example in literature, while Shakespeare is the opposite. The title refers to Bacon’s asking which is more fundamental—iron or gold—military power or economic power. Nuttall sees *Tamburlaine* as iron and *The Jew of Malta* as gold.

Orgel, Stephen. “Tobacco and Boys: How Queer Was Marlowe?” *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 6.4 (2000): 555–76. Argues “that the transgressive Marlowe is largely a posthumous phenomenon” (555).

Oz, Avraham, ed. *Marlowe*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004. An anthology of late twentieth-century criticism, including works by Emily Bartels, Michael Hattaway, Oz, Stephen Greenblatt, Sara Munson Deats and Lisa Stark, David Thurn, Jonathan Dollimore, Catherine Belsey, Alan Sinfield, Dymphna Callaghan, and Thomas Cartelli.

Park, Doohyun. “The Aporias of Human Agency: Contingency, Self-Creation, and Social Interdependence in the Plays of Christopher Marlowe, William Shakespeare, and Thomas Middleton.” *Dissertation Abstracts International, Section A: The Humanities and Social Sciences* 62.3 (2001): 1034–35.

Parkinson, Michelle. “Elizabeth Tudor, John Lyly and Christopher Marlowe: Power, Sexuality and the Abject Early Modern Body.” *Dissertation Abstracts International, Section A: The Humanities and Social Sciences* 66.10 (2006): 3661–62.

Pasquarella, Vincenzo. *Christopher Marlowe’s Representation of Love: A Challenge to the English Renaissance Amorous Discourse*. Rome: Aracne, 2008. Discusses the attitudes toward love specific to *Hero* and *Edward*.

Pendergraft, Stacy. “Marlowe Mee: Constructing the Marlowe Project.” *Shakespeare Bulletin* 27.1 (2009): 51–62. Describes and theorizes about the Charles Mee-influenced performance, weaving together thematically related moments from several of Marlowe’s plays which Pendergraft created for the Sixth

International Marlowe Conference, sponsored by the Marlowe Society of America at Canterbury in 2008.

Perry, Merry G. "Masculinity, Performance, and Identity: Father/Son Dyads in Christopher Marlowe's Plays." In Deats and Logan, *Placing the Plays*, 93–110. Surveys the dramatic works and finds that each pointedly critiques traditional notions of masculinity, patriarchy, and instilling masculinity in sons, and that *Tamburlaine* is "Marlowe's strongest critique of masculinity" (93).

Pettitt, Thomas. "Marlowe's Texts and Oral Transmission: Towards the Zielform." *Comparative Drama* 39.2 (2005): 213–42. Marlowe's plays "can legitimately and rewardingly be appreciated deploying methodologies and insights developed in the study of traditional culture" (213), which can be applied to the textual problems of *Massacre* and *Faustus*.

Potter, Lois. "Marlowe in Theatre and Film." In Cheney, *Cambridge Companion*, 262–81. Provides a performance history of the plays from the beginning to the present, including radio, film, and ballet adaptations.

———. "Marlowe Onstage: The Deaths of the Author." In Downie and Parnell, *Constructing Christopher Marlowe*, 88–101. Offers a historical overview of Marlowe productions beginning with a planned but unrealized revival of *The Jew of Malta* in 1889 to a series of stagings at the Swan in the early 1990s. Concludes with an analysis of Peter Whelan's *The School of Night* (1992), a play based on Marlowe's life and death.

———. "What Happened to the Mighty Line? Recent Marlowe Productions." *Shakespeare Bulletin* 27.1 (2009): 63–68. Observes that in modern productions Marlowe's mighty line has "gone missing" in the quest for contemporaneity. Directors feel free to interpolate lines from other Marlowe plays, and even by other playwrights.

Power, Andrew J. "Marlowe's Chamber Fellow and a Dramatic Disturbance at Cambridge in 1582." *Notes and Queries* 56.1 (2009): 39–40. Account of Robert Thexton, a roommate of Marlowe's at Corpus Christi College, who was injured in a fracas at a stage production at Pembroke Hall.

Proudfoot, Richard. "Marlowe and the Editors." In Downie and Parnell, *Constructing Christopher Marlowe*, 41–54. Overview of how

Marlowe has fared at the hands of his editors. Treats William Mountfort's *The Life and Death of Doctor Faustus Made into a Farce* (1697) as the last "edition" before Marlowe became canonical in the nineteenth century, and suggests that it is effective as farce.

Riggs, David. "Marlowe's Life." In Cheney, *Cambridge Companion*, 24–40. Brief overview of Marlowe's life emphasizes his transgressiveness and his probable engagement in covert activities, and concludes that his murder was authorized by Elizabeth. Claims that Marlowe's achievement was to make "creeds that his society defined as alien and subversive" (38) commercially viable in the public theater.

———. "The Killing of Christopher Marlowe." *Stanford Humanities Review* 8.1 (2000): 239–51. Claims Marlowe's murder was authorized by the Queen "at a time when Queen Elizabeth and her Privy Council were cracking down on disobedient subjects" (239). The conclusion suggests references to him in *As You Like It* be interpreted with additional nuance.

———. "The Poet in the Play: Life and Art in *Tamburlaine* and *The Jew of Malta*." In Kozuka and Mulryne, *Shakespeare, Marlowe, Jonson*, 205–24. Explores the biographical factors that influenced Marlowe's writing. Relates his education to the image of "the humanistic ethos of the poet-priest" (205) in *Tamburlaine*, and his experience in espionage to the transition to the ironic perspective of *The Jew of Malta*.

———. *The World of Christopher Marlowe*. New York: Holt, 2004. Study of the life, works, and world, with an account of the formative institutions: "city, church, grammar school, university, secret service, and public playhouse" (8). Details on these cultural influences are copious, but inferences as to their exact influence on Marlowe, while plausible, are often speculative. Riggs sees Marlowe as a transgressive writer whose death Elizabeth authorized to suppress atheistic and libertine thinking.

Rosenberg, Mary. "Marlowe and Mercutio." *Shakespeare Newsletter* 58.2 (2008): 55. Speculates that Shakespeare modeled Mercutio on Marlowe.

Rutter, Tom. "Marlovian Echoes in the Admiral's Men Repertory: Alcazar, Stuckeley, Patient Grissil." *Shakespeare Bulletin* 27.1 (2009): 27–38. Distinguishes the different ways of imitating

Marlowe in plays performed by the Admiral's Men in the 1590s, from emulation to parody.

Sawyer, Robert. "Shakespeare and Marlowe: Re-Writing the Relationship." *Critical Survey* 21.3 (2009): 41–58. Relates the film *Shakespeare in Love* (dir. John Madden, 1998) to Anthony Burgess's *A Dead Man in Deptford* (1993) and the ideas of Irving Ribner.

Shepard, Alan. *Marlowe's Soldiers: Rhetorics of Masculinity in the Age of the Armada*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2002. Marlowe's "plays are preoccupied with the dangers of militarism" (3), argue against the practice of martial law (frequently invoked by the government and defended in a variety of writings), and defend the theater against those who felt that portraying soldiers on the stage would weaken the country's military resolve. A chapter is devoted to each play.

Shepherd, Simon. "A Bit of Ruff: Criticism, Fantasy, Marlowe." In Downie and Parnell, *Constructing Christopher Marlowe*, 102–15. A scathing critique of Marlowe criticism of the 1980s and 1990s, interrogating its focus on transgression, its tendency to portray him "as personally inhabiting his fictions" (108), and its construction of a playwright defined by sex and violence.

Shimizu, Tetsuro. "Marou to Sheikusupia higeki no fukei." *Eigo Seinen/Rising Generation* 145.10 (2000): 622–66. [Edward, Tamburlaine]

Simkin, Stevie. *Marlowe: The Plays*. Analysing Texts. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave, 2001. Provides close readings of selected passages, relating them to the overall texts of the plays and grouping them around specific aspects of Marlowe's dramaturgy: prologues and first scenes, heroes, religion, politics, gender, humor, and endings. Part of a series for students commencing literary study.

Sivefors, Per. "Underplayed Rivalry: Patronage and the Marlovian Subtext of *Summer's Last Will and Testament*." *NJES: Nordic Journal of English Studies* 4.2 (2005): 65–87. Unlike the combative pattern of imitation seen in Nashe's other works, his *Summer's Last Will and Testament* (1600) displays "a pattern of underplayed, covert referencing that reproduces the conditions of patronage in terms of succession and servitude rather than open competitiveness" (67). His allusions to Marlowe, mostly in

speeches by Sol and Back-winter, draw primarily on *Edward* and *Tamburlaine*, plays about succession.

Smith, D. K. *The Cartographic Imagination in Early Modern England: Re-writing the World in Marlowe, Spenser, Raleigh and Marvell*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008. Technological advances in surveying and mapping in early modern England resulted in a new spatial consciousness that affected the ways that people thought and wrote. The fourth chapter discusses *Tamburlaine*'s cartographical consciousness and Faustus's geographical imagination, comparing them to Sir Walter Raleigh's new world explorations and mapmaking.

Sullivan, Garrett A., Jr. "Geography and Identity in Marlowe." In Cheney, *Cambridge Companion*, 231–44. Examines the interplay between the new geography (precise and scientific) and the old (religious or mythopoetic) in *Tamburlaine*, *The Jew of Malta*, and *Faustus*, emphasizing both "the importance of the relationship between geography and identity to the representation of Marlowe's central characters" and how this differs from play to play (231).

Thomson, Leslie. "Marlowe's Staging of Meaning." *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 18 (2005): 19–36. The visual elements of Marlowe's plays demonstrate that they "should be studied not as literary creations by a poet who happened to be writing for the stage, but as theatrical scripts by a playwright who capitalized on the possibilities of a medium that was and is certainly verbal but especially visual" (33). Discusses Marlowe's adaptation of properties, costumes, entrances and exits, and the use of the performance space to the differing thematic demands of each of his plays.

Titlestad, Michael, and Mike Kissack. "The Secularization of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Mike Nicol's *The Ibis Tapestry*." *Research in African Literatures* 37.4 (2006): 48–67. Discusses and defends Mike Nicol's postmodern interrogation of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission in *The Ibis Tapestry* (1998), an intertextual novel based on Marlowe's life.

Tribble, Evelyn B. "Marlowe's Boy Actors." *Shakespeare Bulletin* 27.1 (2009): 5–17. Examines the female and youth parts that Marlowe wrote that were intended to facilitate the "enskillment" of boy actors.

Trow, M. J., and Taliesin Trow. *Who Killed Kit Marlowe? A Contract to Murder in Elizabethan England*. Stroud, UK: Sutton, 2001. Without presenting new evidence, the Trows deduce that Marlowe had learned of the “heretical and blasphemous views” held by William Cecil, Lord Burghley; Sir Robert Cecil; Lord Howard of Effingham; and Henry Carey, Baron Hunsdon (233) and had attacked them through his political allegories in *Edward and Massacre*. To protect the secret of their atheism, these powerful members of the Privy Council hired Robert Poley to murder Marlowe.

Tsuruta, Manabu. “The Murder of Christopher Marlowe.” *Eigo Seinen/Rising Generation* 152.7 (2006): 414.

Umunç, Himmet. “On Her Majesty’s Secret Service: Marlowe and Turkey.” *Belleten* 70.259 (2006): 903–18. Suggests that Marlowe’s undercover activities took him to Turkey and that the experience is reflected in *Tamburlaine* and *The Jew of Malta*.

Vitkus, Daniel J. *Turning Turk: English Theater and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570–1630*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. Explores theatrical depictions of English interactions with other cultures in the Mediterranean that “helped to influence the ideological development of English culture” (197) and embodied both fears of conversion and loss of national identity and incipient dreams of empire. References to Marlowe are frequent. Chapter 3, “Marlowe’s Mahomet: Islam, Turks, and Religious Controversy in *Tamburlaine, Parts I and II*,” demonstrates how Marlowe displaces onto the Mediterranean world the religious struggles of the Reformation, foregrounding and laying open to question “the same providentialist approach to history that was invoked by Reformation and Counter-Reformation polemicists in western Europe” (46). Chapter 6, “Machiavellian Merchants: Italians, Jews, and Turks,” looks at *The Jew of Malta* and other plays “in the context of English foreign trade and contact with Jews in the multicultural milieu of the early modern Mediterranean” (177).

Viviani, Valerio. “Sidney, Marlowe e il destino di Policleto.” In *Studi sul canone*, edited by Mirella Billi, 13–25. Viterbo: Sette Città, 2007.

Wells, Stanley W. *Shakespeare and Co.: Christopher Marlowe, Thomas Dekker, Ben Jonson, Thomas Middleton, John Fletcher and the Other Players in His Story*. London: Pantheon, 2006. Discusses



Shakespeare in the context of his theatrical world, providing brief biographical studies of many of the actors and writers with whom he lived and worked, including a chapter on Marlowe.

White, Paul Whitfield. "Marlowe and the Politics of Religion." In Cheney, *Cambridge Companion*, 70–89. Marlowe's plays reflect the "complex intersections of religion and politics" of Elizabethan England, "questioning many of the verities his audience took for granted" (70). The topics covered include his questioning of providence, his depictions of Catholics, Jews, and Turks, the exploitation of religion by political leaders, and sectarian violence. Since state censorship was less rigorous than we often assume, "playwrights like Marlowe actually had considerable latitude in what they could represent in their plays" (83).

Whitney, Charles. *Early Responses to Renaissance Drama*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Asserts that the study of dramatic reception must include not only performance, but the responses of those who allude specifically to plays that they know of, but have neither seen nor read. The *Tamburlaine* chapter emphasizes that audiences accepted the invitation to applaud Tamburlaine's fortunes "as you please" and that their diversity of response "marked a decisive turning point in freeing the theatre to represent and to experience both deeper feeling and more complex meaning" and "helped validate processes of response that were not limited to the time and place of performance" (20). Whitney also uses the theatrical experiences of Richard Norwood to open a window on the early reception of *Faustus*.

Wilson, Richard. "Tragedy, Patronage, and Power." In Cheney, *Cambridge Companion*, 207–30. Marlovian tragedy reflects the playwright steering his creative way "between players, prince, and public" (212).

———. "'Writ in Blood': Marlowe and the New Historicists." In Downie and Parnell, *Constructing Christopher Marlowe*, 116–32. Focuses largely on Marjorie Garber and Greenblatt in discussing New Historicism. Concludes with an overview of the post-modern Marlowe constructed by literary critics in the 1990s.

Yamada, Miyuki. "The Trojan Epic Narrative in Hamlet: Re-Examination of 'Aeneas' Tale to Dido.'" *Kenkyuronshu/Research Journal of Graduate Students of Letters* 6 (2006): 181–93.

Yamada, Yuzo. "Marlowe-goroshi no shinhannin." *Eigo Seinen/Rising Generation* 148.10 (2003): 616.

Yan, Xuejun. "Maluo 'Yu wang' xi ju de lun li wei du." *Wai Guo Wen Xue Yan Jiu / Foreign Literature Studies* 28.117 (2006): 61–66.

*Dido, Queen of Carthage*

Belle, Marie-Alice. "'Unfortunate Travellers': *translatio*, travestissement et menierisme littéraire chez Marlowe et Nashe." *Etudes Epistémè* 9 (2006): 185–200.

Bowers, Rick. "Hysterics, High Camp, and *Dido Queene of Carthage*." In Deats and Logan, *Marlowe's Empery*, 95–106. Discussions of *Dido* tend to focus on its Virgilian elements and miss its theatrical effects. One should view it instead as a "wickedly theatrical . . . play that foregrounds comedy, twists gender, and debunks heroism with a decidedly 'camp' sensibility" (96).

Crowley, Timothy D. "Arms and the Boy: Marlowe's Aeneas and the Parody of Imitation in *Dido, Queen of Carthage*." *English Literary Renaissance* 38.3 (2008): 408–38. *Dido* is skeptical about the *Aeneid*'s depiction of Aeneas and his destiny and thus satirizes current English military campaigns. Complicating the issue of imitation is the self-consciousness of Marlowe's characters concerning their classical sources.

Dawson, Anthony B. "Priamus Is Dead: Memorial Repetition in Marlowe and Shakespeare." In *Shakespeare, Memory and Performance*, edited by Peter Holland, 63–84. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. An exploration of Marlowe's and Shakespeare's recollections of the *Aeneid* and how they "grapple with the links among literary remembrance, performance, loss and grief" (63).

Gamel, Mary-Kay. "The Triumph of Cupid: Marlowe's *Dido Queen of Carthage*." *American Journal of Philology* 126.4 (2005): 613–22. Reviews Neil Bartlett's American Repertory Theater production of *Dido* in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in March 2005.

Kehler, Dorothea. "Shakespeare's Recollections of Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage: Two Notes*." *American Notes and Queries* 14.1 (2001): 5–10. Identifies allusions to *Dido* in *As You Like It* and *Hamlet* (1600).

- Kinney, Clare R. "Epic Transgression and the Framing of Agency in *Dido Queen of Carthage*." *Studies in English Literature* 40.2 (2000): 261–76. Explores Marlowe's appropriation and reframing of Virgil's representation of Dido. The play contains a "Dido script" and a "Ganymede script." The first centers on the presentation of her position as subject, her will, and her desires. The second encloses and revises the first, showing that she is neither the author of her desire nor a re-maker of Aeneas's destiny. Kinney suggests that the play's original performance by the Children of the Chapel Royal at Blackfriars adds additional dimensions to the "Ganymede script."
- Merriam, Thomas. "Marlowe and Nashe in *Dido Queen of Carthage*." *Notes and Queries* 47.4 (2000): 425–28. Logometric analysis reveals that Marlowe wrote the first half of *Dido* and Nashe the second.
- Pincombe, Michael. "Cupid and Eliza: Variations on a Virgilian Icon in Plays by Gager, Lyly, and Marlowe." In *The Iconography of Power: Ideas and Images of Rulership on the English Renaissance Stage*, edited by György E. Szőnyi and Rowland Wymer, 33–52. Szeged, Hungary: Jate, 2000. Lyly's use of the Virgilian image of Dido and Cupid in *Sappho and Phao* (1584) influenced the Dido plays of both William Gager and Marlowe.
- . "'Gloomy Orion': Eliot, Marlowe, Virgil." *Notes and Queries* 50.3 (2003): 329–30. Possible allusions to *Dido* and *The Jew of Malta* in T. S. Eliot's "Sweeney among the Nightingales" (1918).
- Potter, Lucy. "Marlowe's *Dido* and the Staging of Catharsis." *AUMLA: Journal of the Australasian Universities Modern Language Association* 107 (2007): 1–23. *Dido* is "a tragedy that rewrites Virgil's epic by calling upon the theories of catharsis put forward in Aristotle's *Poetics*" (1), which shows that Marlowe participates in the contemporary debate about the term's meaning and invites us to re-examine the play's place in the competing traditions available to him.
- . "Marlowe's *Dido*: Virgilian or Ovidian?" *Notes and Queries* 56.4 (2009): 540–44. Recent arguments privileging Ovid's influence on *Dido* overlook Marlowe's dramatic use of a darker side of Virgil's epic.
- Ray, Sid. "Marlow(e)'s Africa: Postcolonial Queenship in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* and Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage*."

*Conradiana: A Journal of Joseph Conrad Studies* 38.2 (2006): 143–61. The concept of Marlowe's play as source and intertext "suggests that Conrad's response to the colonization of Africa and its impact on women is much more radical than has been thought" (144).

Stump, Donald. "Marlowe's Travesty of Virgil: *Dido* and Elizabethan Dreams of Empire." *Comparative Drama* 34.1 (2000): 79–107. *Dido* is a travesty of the *Aeneid* that comments satirically on empire building and the proposed Elizabeth-Anjou marriage. (His dating reflects the probability that Marlowe's formal study of Virgil's poem occurred in 1579–81, during the actual marriage negotiations. He suggests that with boy actors the deaths of Dido and Iarbus would play like the deaths of Pyramus and Thisbe in *Midsummer Night's Dream* [1595]).

Tucker, Kenneth. "English Shakespeare: Summer 2003." *Shakespeare Newsletter* 43.2 (2003): 43–44, 60. Reviews the Royal Shakespeare Company's productions of John Fletcher's *The Tamer Tamed*; Shakespeare's *Richard III* and *Measure for Measure*; and Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage* at the Globe. Critical of the farcical approach of Tim Carroll's *Dido* (60).

Wiggins, Martin. "When Did Marlowe Write *Dido, Queen of Carthage*?" *Review of English Studies* 59.241 (2008): 521–41. Argues that *Dido* was written after the *Tamburlaine* plays and close to *Faustus* in 1588. Suggests Marlowe and Nashe adapted *Tamburlaine*'s themes of love and imperialism to the capabilities of the boy actors and "the tension between human wishes and divine will which is at the heart of *Doctor Faustus*" (541).

Williams, Deanne. "Dido, Queen of England." *English Literary History* 73.1 (2006): 31–59. Traces the reception of *Dido* from antiquity up to the Renaissance, analyzes the Marlowe-Nashe play as a dramatization of "the symbiotic relationship between Elizabeth's virginity and her political power" (31), and shows that it "informs Shakespeare's revisionist and subversive reworkings of the *Aeneid*'s themes of love and empire" (49).

#### *Doctor Faustus*

Abdel-Al, Nabil M. "Servant/Master Relationship in Lawrence Durrell's *An Irish Faustus* with Reference to Christopher Marlowe's *The Tragical History of Dr. Faustus*." *Gombak Review* 5.1 (2001): 51–63. Contrasts Durrell's *Faustus*, who focuses on

alchemy but not black magic and who does not seek power, with Marlowe's. He analyzes the master-servant relations in these plays, finding that Marlowe's character is only putatively the master of his servant Mephistophilis, while Durrell's renounces mastery over his actual servants Paul and Margaret, opts for freedom from Queen Katherine, and dismisses a broken Mephisto.

Akstens, Thomas. "Contextualizing the Demonic: Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* in the Classroom." In *Approaches to Teaching English Renaissance Drama*, edited by Karen Bamford and Alexander Leggatt, 186–90. New York: Modern Language Association of America, 2002. Teaching the attitudes toward the demonic in Marlowe's time has led Akstens to understand that our own culture's attitudes toward the demonic are more complex than he had anticipated.

Alcázar, Jorge. "La imagen del mago en Marlowe y Calderón." In *400 Años de Calderón: Coloquio*, edited by Aurelio Gonzalez, 189–250. Mexico City, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2001.

Allan, Neil. "An Age in Love with Wonders: The Philosophical Context of Renaissance Literature." *Literature Compass* 2.1 (2005): 1–18. Examines the divergence between the Renaissance and present-day understandings of philosophy, asking if it reveals a profoundly different worldview as Foucault suggests, or a merely apparent difference, as the philosopher Donald Davidson argues. He pursues the analysis by identifying currents of Renaissance philosophy in *Faustus* and Donne's "The First Anniversarie: An Anatomie of the World" (1611).

Axline, Kim. "A 'New Deal' and a New Direction: Welles' and Houseman's Depression-Era Productions of *Macbeth*, *Doctor Faustus*, and *Julius Caesar*." *Theatre Studies* 45 (2001): 16–49. History of the Welles-Houseman productions of *Macbeth* (1606), *Faustus*, and *Julius Caesar* (1599) for the Federal Theatre Project and the Mercury Theatre. *Faustus* had a racially mixed cast.

Balkan, Betül. "Free-Will or Society as the Source of Evil in Drama." *Civilacademy: Journal of Social Sciences/Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 3.3 (2006): 64–68. Compares the treatment of evil in *Faustus* to *Volpone* (1606), *Macbeth*, and *Oedipus Rex*.

- Bevington, David. "One Hell of an Ending: Staging Last Judgment in the Towneley Plays and in *Doctor Faustus* A and B." In "*Bring Furth the Pagants*": *Essays in Early English Drama Presented to Alexandra F. Johnston*, edited by David N. Klausner and Karen Sawyer Marsalek, 292–310. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007. The A-text ending focuses more on the spiritual terror of man facing damnation, and the B-text reintroduces an emphasis on the physical torments of hell. Like the Towneley *Last Judgment* (c. 1422), the B-text seems more open to the efficacy of good works.
- . "Staging the A- and B-Texts of *Doctor Faustus*." In Deats and Logan, *Marlowe's Empery*, 43–60. Those who compare the staging requirements for the A- and B-texts may more easily observe "changes in theater design, staging methods, and audience taste or expectations during the years from 1588–89 down into the 1600s" (45).
- Binda, Hilary J. "Hell and Hypertext Hath No Limits: Electronic Texts and the Crises in Criticism." *Early Modern Literary Studies* 5.3 (2000): ¶1–29. Accessed April 28, 2011. <http://extra.shu.ac.uk/emls/05-3/bindmarl.html>. Explores theoretical issues concerning hypertext with reference to *Faustus*.
- Blanchard, Jane. "Marlowe's and Shakespeare's Late Masterpieces: 'Such Stuff/As Dreams Are Made On.'" *South Atlantic Review* 74.1 (2009): 165–80. *Faustus* and *The Tempest* "both provide an interplay of intention and reception that is essentially rhetorical" (165) and that can be understood in terms of Wolfgang Iser's concept of "fictionalizing."
- Blaschke, Bernd. "Faust als Reisender: Der moderne Entgrenzer, seine Reiseführer, seine Umwege." In *Umwege: Ästhetik und Poetik exzentrischer Reisen*, edited by Bernd Blaschke and Gert Mattenklott, 65–97. Bielefeld, Germany: Aisthesis, 2008.
- Boehrer, Bruce. "Disorder in the House of God: Disrupted Worship in Shakespeare and Others." *Comparative Drama* 38.1 (2004): 83–103. Interprets the papal scene in *Faustus* "as a dramatic manifestation of the impulse to disrupt formal acts of worship" (92) in light of disruptive behavior by Elizabethan churchgoers, Petruchio's antics in *The Taming of the Shrew* (1592), and an incident Ben Jonson relates to William Drummond.

Bohm, Arnd. "Global Dominion: Faust and Alexander the Great." In *International Faust Studies: Adaptation, Reception, Translation*, edited by Lorna Fitzsimmons, 17–35. London: Continuum, 2008. Identifies Alexander the Great as a source for the Faust figure in the Faust books, Marlowe, and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.

———. "Wise Blood: *Aeneid* 3.22–57 and Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*." *Notes and Queries* 54.3 (2007): 248–49. The *homo fuge* injunction may allude to Aeneas's encounter with the spirit of Polydorus.

Bowers, Rick. "Almost Famous, Always Iterable: *Doctor Faustus* as Meme of Academic Performativity." In Deats and Logan, *Placing the Plays*, 113–24. Argues "that Faustus simultaneously parodies an old academic world of faithful belief, an emerging academic world of discovered knowledge and a new academic world of multiple ironies" (113), informed by Richard Dawkins's concept of the meme and Jacques Derrida's and Judith Butler's understanding of performativity.

Brockbank, J. P. "The Damnation of Faustus." In *Rebirth and Renewal*, edited by Harold Bloom, 83–94. New York: Bloom's Literary Criticism, 2009. Reprinted from Brockbank's *Marlowe: "Doctor Faustus"* (1962).

Brown, Eric C. "Shakespeare's Anxious Epistemology: *Love's Labor's Lost* and Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*." *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 45.1 (2003): 20–41. Shakespeare's play mimics and inverts *Faustus* in order to displace Marlowe's vision.

Callens, Johan. "European Textures: Adapting Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*." In *The Cambridge Companion to Sam Shepard*, edited by Matthew Roudané, 189–209. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. Shepard's *Man Fly* (1975) recasts *Faustus*.

Cañadas, Ivan. "*A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*: James Joyce, the Myth of Icarus, and the Influence of Christopher Marlowe." *Estudios Irlandeses* 1 (2006): 16–22. Joyce saw Marlowe as a model "of the idealized subversive artist, a writer whose work and cultural image contributed to the Stephen Dedalus-James Joyce persona as constructed in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*" (16). He identifies several parallels between the novel and *Faustus*.

- Candido, Joseph. "Marking Time in *Doctor Faustus* 5.2." *Early Theatre* 12.1 (2009): 137–40. The clock strikes twenty-four times during Faustus's last speech (11+1+12), which equals Faustus's twenty-four years. Marlowe manipulates the number of lines (thirty for the first half hour, twenty for the second) so that time seems to accelerate.
- Caponi, Paolo. "The Damnation of the Critic. Faustus' Demoniality and Greg's Intentionality." *Annali di Ca' Foscari: Rivista della Facoltà di Lingue e Letterature Straniere dell'Università di Venezia* 40.1/2 (2001): 57–77. Sir Walter Greg's theory of Faustus's damnation and his understanding of the sin of demoniality reflect his use of a conflated *Faustus*, which obscures the independence of the A- and B-texts with their different theological implications.
- Chakravarti, Sudeshna. "Time and Space in the Faust Story: Marlowe, Goethe and Valéry." *Journal of the Department of English* 33.1/2 (2006–7): 26–39. Two of the supernatural powers ascribed to sorcery by the medieval Church, "the ability to levitate and predict the future, were concerned with time and space" (27) and were part of the original Faust legend, and appear in Goethe's *Faust* (1797–32), Paul Valéry's *Mon Faust* (1946), and Marlowe's play.
- Cless, Downing. "Ecologically Conjuring Doctor Faustus." *Journal of Dramatic Theory and Criticism* 20.2 (2006): 145–68. Marlowe provides "ominous forewarnings of the consequences of over-extending, over-consuming, and over-reaching" (145) in Faustus's descent into decadence.
- Coogan, Robert. "The Four and Twenty Years of Marlowe's Faustus." *Notes and Queries* 48.3 (2001): 265–66. Revelations 1:8 informs the twenty-four years of Faustus's contract, which emphasizes his poor theological judgment.
- Cook, Amy, and Bryan Reynolds. "Comedic Law: Projective Transversality, Deceit Conceits, and the Conjuring of Macbeth and Doctor Faustus in Jonson's *The Devil Is an Ass*." In *Transversal Enterprises in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries: Fugitive Explorations*, edited by Bryan Reynolds, 85–111. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006. Jonson's comedy is not antitheatrical, since its use of *Macbeth* and *Faustus* demonstrates his knowledge of his audience's memory of earlier plays.



- Cox, John D. *The Devil and the Sacred in English Drama, 1350–1642*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. Examination of the use and significance of stage devils from the Middle Ages to 1642, which includes chapters on *Faustus* and on plays that reacted to it. Marlowe “is the first playwright who uses devils to exploit the religious secularization of English life that the Reformation had produced” (110), and his deconstructive portrayal of the devils is subversively ambiguous: “it is difficult to find a statement that can be taken at face value” (123).
- . “‘To Obtain His Soul’: Demonic Desire for the Soul in Marlowe and Others.” *Early Theatre* 5.2 (2002): 29–46. Examines stage depictions of the demonic desire for the soul from early English drama to 1642. *Faustus* conforms to the tradition while creating a skeptical and deconstructive context that subverts it.
- Darmstätter, Anne B. “Le Motif du pact avec le diable chez Rutebeuf et Marlowe.” *Colloquium Helveticum* 36 (2005): 49–66.
- De Armas, Frederick A. “The Ghost of Helen in *Doctor Faustus* and *Don Quixote*.” In *Critical Reflections: Essays on Golden Age Spanish Literature in Honor of James A. Parr*, edited by Barbara Simerka, Amy R. Williamsen, and Shannon Polchow, 85–101. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2006. Parallels between *Faustus* and *Quixote*, *Dulcinea* and *Helen*.
- Deats, Sara Munson. “‘Mark This Show’: Magic and Theater in Marlowe’s *Doctor Faustus*.” In Deats and Logan, *Placing the Plays*, 13–24. The ambiguity of *Faustus* is related both to topical disputes over religion and magic and to the period’s antitheatrical controversy. Marlowe’s use of Mephistopheles and Lucifer as director playwrights creates a link between drama and magic exploited in the A- and B-texts, and the play’s contrarities may reflect his ambivalence about magic and drama.
- Dodson, Alicia. “‘Cut Is the Branch That Might Have Grown Full Straight’: The Problem of Unrepentant Sin in Marlowe’s *The Tragedy of Dr. Faustus*.” In *The Redemptive Act: Sin and Atonement in Literature*, edited by Marc Ricciardi and Joe Meyer, 10–22. Patchogue, NY: St. Joseph’s, 2006. *Faustus* is damned not for signing his soul away nor for committing each of the seven deadly sins, but because he fails to seek redemption through God, a belief more Protestant than Catholic.

- Duxfield, Andrew. "‘Resolve Me of All Ambiguities’: *Doctor Faustus* and the Failure to Unify." *Early Modern Literary Studies* 13.2 (2007): ¶1–21. Accessed April 28, 2011. <http://extra.shu.ac.uk/emls/si-16/duxfdrfs.htm>. Although Faustus quickly abandons his political and military goals, he adheres to his desire for a unified understanding of things, a concept related to Hermeticism. The play’s ambiguity reflects a “sceptical awareness of the incompatibility of different ideologies that co-existed in this period” (¶21).
- Fehrenbach, R. J. “A Pre-1592 English Faust Book and the Date of Marlowe’s *Doctor Faustus*.” *Library: The Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* 2.4 (2001): 327–35. Matthew Parkin, an Oxford student, died at age twenty-one in 1589. The inventory of his possessions prepared for probate lists a *Faustus*, which must have been an edition of the English Faust book.
- Fletcher, Angus. “*Doctor Faustus* and the Lutheran Aesthetic.” *English Literary Renaissance* 35.2 (2005): 187–209. Faustus’s concern with death reflects Luther’s skepticism about the afterlife and his theory of the Eucharist. The play’s effect derives from our being “drawn into the same cycle of faith and doubt that grips Faustus” (208).
- Gallagher, Lowell. “Faustus’s Blood and the (Messianic) Question of Ethics.” *English Literary History* 73.1 (2006): 1–29. Faustus’s congealing blood as a locus for discussing the relationship between ethics and materialism in early modern studies.
- Gates, Daniel. “Unpardonable Sins: The Hazards of Performative Language in the Tragic Cases of Francesco Spiera and *Doctor Faustus*.” *Comparative Drama* 38.1 (2004): 59–81. Unlike Spiera’s religious despair, that of Marlowe’s protagonist “actually rejects the concept of performative language that motivates the Protestant tract, and presents instead a profoundly skeptical interpretation of theological speech acts” (77).
- Giglio, Kathryn. “Unlettered Culture: The Idea of Illiteracy in Early Modern Writing.” *Dissertation Abstracts International, Section A: The Humanities and Social Sciences* 68.2 (2007): 581.
- Godwin, Laura Grace. “‘There Is Nothin’ Like a Dame’: Christopher Marlowe’s Helen of Troy at the Royal Shakespeare Company.” *Shakespeare Bulletin* 27.1 (2009): 69–79. Does the audience see the same Helen that Faustus does? If these visions diverge, playing it one way or the other affects interpretation.

The Royal Shakespeare Company's four revivals of *Faustus* vary in their presentation of her in most aspects except the consistent view of her as sexually transgressive.

- Golz, David. "The Four Books of Doctor Faustus." *Notes and Queries* 53.4 (2006): 444–49. Faustus's four book requests match the four medieval estates, as do the first four books that he has rejected, a pattern seen elsewhere in *The Book of the Courtier* (1508–16), *Pantagruel* (1532), and the first four acts of the play.
- Halpern, Richard. "Marlowe's Theater of Night: *Doctor Faustus* and Capital." *English Literary History* 71.2 (2004): 455–95. The play "reflects on the relation between Marlowe's poetic activity and the alienating institutions of theater" (464) and emphasizes the powerlessness of language. "Both the material economies of theater and the logic of its own argument place *Doctor Faustus* in the space of the negative, . . . a theater of night" (476), with reference to Augustine, Agrippa, and Francis Bacon.
- Hamlin, William M. "Casting Doubt in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*." In *Tragedy and Scepticism in Shakespeare's England*, 144–54. Early Modern Literature in History, edited by Cedric C. Brown and Andrew Hadfield. Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. First published in *Studies in English Literature* 41.2 (2001): 257–75. *Faustus* adheres closely to what the Renaissance perceived as a major skeptical paradigm, although this sixteenth-century understanding is in fact a misconstruction of Pyrrhonian thought as represented by Sextus Empiricus.
- Healy, Thomas. "*Doctor Faustus*." In Cheney, *Cambridge Companion*, 174–92. Marlowe and his collaborators and revisers conceived *Faustus* as neither comedy nor tragedy, but as "a series of scenes that might be linked in different ways" and "that reflected on ideas of illusion, role-playing, and theatricality around humanity's imagined identities in relation with the supernatural and natural worlds" (189).
- Hirschfeld, Heather Anne. "'The Verie Paines of Hell': *Doctor Faustus* and the Controversy over Christ's Descent." *Shakespeare Studies* 36 (2008): 166–81. Faustus's interest in the nature of hell reflects debate among English reformers over the historicity and meaning of Christ's descent into hell, a controversy that was revived in the early 1590s.
- Huang, Alexander C. Y. "Authorial In(ter)ventions: Christopher Marlowe and John Donne." In *Class, Boundary and Social*

*Discourse in the Renaissance*, edited by Alexander C. Y. Huang, Ichun Wang, and Mary Theis, 107–19. Kaosiung: Center for Humanities and Social Sciences and College of Liberal Arts, National Sun Yat-sen University, 2007. Since recent literary theory allows us to “profitably merge biographical study, autobiographical writing, and literary interpretation” (107), one may explore the authorial presence in several of Donne’s poems and *Faustus*, where “sorcery is read as a metaphor for espionage” (111).

Keefer, Michael H. “The A and B Texts of Marlowe’s *Doctor Faustus* Revisited.” *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 100 (2006): 227–57. The A-text was set from a heterogeneous manuscript, only part of which may have been authorial, and B preserves some passages that are earlier and more authentic. The arguments presented here are reflected in the second edition of Keefer’s *Doctor Faustus* (2007).

———. “‘Fairer Than the Evening Air’: Marlowe’s Gnostic Helen of Troy and the Tropes of Belatedness of Historical Mediation.” In *Fantasies of Troy: Classical Tales and the Social Imaginary in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, edited by Alan Shepard and Stephen D. Powell, 39–62. Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2004. Marlowe’s Helen is informed by Calvin’s treatment of Helen, the classical tradition that she sat out the Trojan War in Egypt, and her depiction in Gnostic writings.

King, Christa Knellwolf. *Faustus and the Promises of the New Science, c. 1580–1730: From the Chapbooks to Harlequin Faustus*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008. Traces the Faustus legend from its German origins into the eighteenth century, relating its themes to an evolving perception of scientific investigation. Analysis of *Faustus* relies on the B-text, which “presents Faustus as a more serious seeker for metaphysical knowledge” than does “the more secular A-text” (22).

Kirchof, Edgar Roberto. “As Faces do novo mal refletidas pelo Barroco Europeu.” *Letras de Hoje: Estudos e Debates de Lingüística, Literatura, e Língua Portuguesa* 37.2 (2001): 123–30.

Lake, James H. “Ralph Alan Cohen Talks about *Doctor Faustus* 2000.” *Shakespeare Newsletter* 54.2/3 (2004): 67–68. Discusses Cohen’s direction of the Shenandoah Shakespeare’s *Faustus*.

- Last, Suzan. "Marlowe's Literary Double Agency: *Doctor Faustus* as a Subversive Comedy of Error." *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme* 24.1 (2000): 23–44. "In focusing on the comic elements as integral and important to the text overall, I have come to see the play as containing an unabashedly comic sensibility and as essentially parodic rather than primarily tragic or moralistic in tone" (24).
- Levith, Murray J. "Shakespeare's *Merchant* and Marlowe's Other Play." In *The Merchant of Venice: New Critical Essays*, edited by John W. Mahon and Ellen Macleod Mahon, 95–106. London: Routledge, 2002. *Merchant* shows debts to *Faustus*.
- Li, Dingqing. "Xin li shi zhu yi shi yu xia Fushide xing xiang de shi dai zhuan huan yu lun li bian qian." *Foreign Literature Studies/Wai Guo Wen Xue Yan Jiu* 31.6 (2009): 76–83. [*Faustus*]
- Logan, Robert A. "'Glutted with Conceit': Imprints of *Doctor Faustus* on *The Tempest*." In Deats and Logan, *Placing the Plays*, 193–208. Explores the presence of *Faustus* in *The Tempest* (1611), such as the equation of magic with the imagination and the metadramatic connections between magician and playwright. Marlowe's influence "manifested itself with greater profundity, breadth, and complexity" (208) on Shakespeare as his career developed.
- Lucking, David. "Carrying *Tempest* in His Hand and Voice: The Figure of the Magician in Jonson and Shakespeare." *English Studies* 85.4 (2004): 297–310. *The Alchemist* (1610) is Jonson's negative reaction to *The Tempest*.
- . "Our Devils Now Are Ended: A Comparative Analysis of *The Tempest* and *Doctor Faustus*." *Dalhousie Review* 80.2 (2000): 151–67. A rich array of parallels between *Faustus* and *The Tempest* suggest that Shakespeare must have been contemplating Marlowe's play while writing his own.
- Lunney, Ruth. "Rewriting the Narrative of Dramatic Character; or, Not 'Shakespearean' but 'Debatable.'" *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 14 (2001): 66–85. Marlowe's greatest contribution to the development of drama was not his larger-than-life protagonists but "a new, transforming rhetoric of character" onstage, which "should be seen not as marginal but seminal, with *Faustus* in particular showing the way to *Hamlet*" (67).

- Marcus, Leah S. "Texts That Won't Stand Still." In *Approaches to Teaching English Renaissance Drama*, edited by Karen Bamford and Alexander Leggatt, 29–34. New York: Modern Language Association of America, 2002. Discusses the benefits to students who encounter the two texts of *Faustus*.
- Martin, Dieter. "Marlows Faust oder Petrarcas Schatzsucher? Zum Kupfertitel von Grimmelshausens Vogelneest II." *Simpliciana: Schriften der Grimmelshausen-Gesellschaft* 28 (2006): 185–94.
- Martínez López, Miguel. "The Philosophy of Death in Christopher Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus*." In *Spanish Studies in Shakespeare and His Contemporaries*, edited by José Manuel González, 219–33. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2006. Faustus's struggle to understand death prevents him from loving and causes him to sin in despair. His attempt at repentance may have been sufficient to escape damnation. Reprint of 1990 article in this volume intended to showcase Spain's newly flourishing scholarship in Shakespeare and his contemporaries.
- McAlindon, Tom. *Shakespeare Minus "Theory"*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004. A defense of close reading and the appreciation for historical context. The critique of postmodern approaches includes a chapter on *Faustus* that responds to Greenblatt, Simon Shepherd, and Roger Sales, who argue that the play engages with Elizabethan ideology, and counters that it is simply the portrait of a man who attempts "to deny or escape from what he is, both as a human being and as an individual" (166).
- McCollough, Aaron S. "Mixed Motions: Protestant Struggles and the Proper Place of Feeling, 1550–1660." *Dissertation Abstracts International, Section A: The Humanities and Social Sciences* 68.8 (2008): 3404.
- Merriam, Thomas. "Faustian Joan." *Notes and Queries* 49.2 (2002): 218–20. Computer analysis says Marlowe wrote the scene in *1 Henry VI* when Joan de Pucelle addresses her diabolic helpers.
- Mihailescu, Calin-Andrei. "Les grandes figures de la désillusion: Faust, Hamlet, Don Quichotte." In *Crises et essors nouveaux (1560–1610)*, edited by Eva Kushner, Tibor Klaniczay, and Paul Chavy, 597–609. Vol. 4 of *L'Époque de la Renaissance (1400–1600)*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2000.

- Mitchell, Michael. *Hidden Mutualities: Faustian Themes from Gnostic Origins to the Postcolonial*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006. *Faustus* embodies a Gnostic-Hermetic vision revived as part of the magus tradition, whose material-spiritual tension reflects Faustian themes in postcolonial literature by Athol Fugard, David Dabydeen, Derek Walcott, and Wilson Harris.
- Owens, Margaret E. *Stages of Dismemberment: The Fragmented Body in Late Medieval and Early Modern Drama*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005. Chapter 9 incorporates Owen's "Desperate Juggling Knacks: The Rehearsal of the Grotesque in *Doctor Faustus*," *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 8 (1996): 63–93. Depictions of dismemberment, more prevalent in the B-text of the play, resemble theatrical traditions deprecated or suppressed by Reformers: juggling, folk play, and saint's play.
- Palmer, Eustace. "Satanic Impulses: A Comparative Reading of Soyinka's *The Road* and Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*." In *Multiculturalism and Hybridity in African Literatures*, edited by Hal Wylie and Bernth Lindfors, 393–408. Trenton, NJ: Africa World, 2000. Compares Wole Soyinka's Professor and Marlowe's Faustus in their Satanism and the quest for knowledge.
- Park, Chung Yeol. ["The Ambition of Faustus and the Tragic Significance from Subversion"]. *Journal of Classic and English Renaissance Literature* 10.2 (2001): 5–26.
- Parker, John. *The Aesthetics of Antichrist: From Christian Drama to Christopher Marlowe*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007. Traces the development of the Antichrist idea and its role in medieval drama (York, Chester, Croxton *Play of the Sacrament*, *Everyman*, *Second Shepherd's Play*) and concludes with a chapter on Marlowe.
- Pettigrew, Todd H. J. "Faustus . . . For Ever': Marlowe, Bruno, and Infinity." *Comparative Critical Studies* 2.2 (2005): 257–69. Faustus's confusion about the nature of hell reveals "a fundamental refusal to think about infinity itself in a rational way" (263). Marlowe's knowledge of Bruno is probable, since Faustus resembles Burchio in *On the Infinite Universe and Worlds* (1584), who found that the notion of infinity was unbearable. "Faustus embodies the inability to think deeply and broadly about the universe as Bruno demanded, and his narrow-mindedness stays his spiritual growth, just as Bruno warned it could" (267).

Pieters, Jürgen. “‘Be Silent Then, for Danger Is in Words’: The Wonders of Reading and the Duties of Criticism.” *English Studies* 82.2 (2001): 106–14. Uses *Faustus* “to reflect upon the impact which the cultural and historical experience of wonder may have had on our current notions of literary and aesthetic criticism, on the ideas and expectations that we have of its function, its limits, and its purposes” (107).

Pincombe, Michael. “His Master’s Voice: The Conjuring of Emperors in *Doctor Faustus* and Its Sources in the German Tradition.” *Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies* 11.1 (2005): 117–31. Examines four antecedent versions of Faustus’s conjuration of spirits to impersonate Alexander and Helen and compares its treatment in the German Faust Book to that in P. F.’s English translation, then contrasts the versions produced by Marlowe’s original collaborator in the A-text with that by the reviser of the B-text. The reviser strove to increase the stateliness of the scene and to make it sound more Marlovian.

Policy, Carole A. “‘Rather Than Abide an Ordinary Life’: The Orchid Thief—A Faustian Saga.” In *Florida Studies: Proceedings of the 2007 Annual Meeting of the Florida College English Association*, edited by Claudia Slate and Keith Huneycutt, 183–89. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2008. Compares John Laroche to Faustus.

Poole, Kristen. “*Dr. Faustus* and Reformation Theology.” In *Early Modern English Drama: A Critical Companion*, edited by Garrett A. Sullivan Jr., Patrick Cheney, and Andrew Hadfield, 96–107. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. The debate over whether *Faustus* reflects or questions orthodox Christianity arises from viewing the English Reformation as being far more unified than it was: “Many in the audience” would have related to the play’s conflicted depiction of “free will, predestination, and, ultimately, God” (106).

———. “The Devil’s in the Archive: *Doctor Faustus* and Ovidian Physics.” *Renaissance Drama* 35 (2006): 191–219. Metamorphosis “was commonly perceived as an integral part of the reality of Marlowe’s world” and *Faustus* “presents a model of inhabiting a metamorphic environment” (210), an understanding of which helps modern readers “acknowledge an environmental, material consciousness and comprehension that differed radically from our own” (211).



Popelard, Mickael. "Spectacular Science: A Comparison of Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* and Bacon's *New Atlantis*." In *The Spectacular in and around Shakespeare*, edited by Pascale Drouet, 17–40. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2009. Renaissance scientists favored both spectacular effects and useful results, which can be seen by contrasting the pageants and spectacular illusions of Prospero and Faustus with Bacon's *New Atlantis* (1626), where the point of science is to produce beneficial and useful results.

Quintana Tejera, Luis. "El paraíso en la otra esquina: Mario Vargas Llosa; Concepción del Paraíso y el recurso axiológico de la temeridad." *Espéculo: Revista de Estudios Literarios* 39 (2008): 1139. Vargas Llosa is influenced by the portrayal of hell and heaven in *Faustus*.

Robert, Gareth. "Marlowe and the Metaphysics of Magicians." In Downie and Parnell, *Constructing Christopher Marlowe*, 55–73. The textual instability of *Faustus* suggests that it depicts no unified discourse of magic but contains "a heteroglossic plurality of magical belief and opinion" (73).

Roux, Daniel. "Aphanisis of/as the Subject: From Christopher Marlowe to Ruth First." *Shakespeare in Southern Africa: Journal of the Shakespeare Society of Southern Africa* 17 (2005): 27–33. Begins with descriptions by two modern women, Ruth First and Jean Middleton, of losing their sense of an inner self while in solitary confinement. The usual historicist explanation of this loss of subjectivity is inadequate: "There is something more complex at play in the experience of subjectivity—that the split is not, ultimately, between an illusory subject and the material world, but is intrinsic to the subject, and is in fact essential to its dynamics," as with Faustus, who, "like First and Middleton, . . . is called to explore his potential as individual self and to render an account of his inner potential" (28).

Salari, Tiziano. "Un Dio versatile, dalla mente sottile." *Anterem: Rivista di Ricerca Letteraria* 32.75 (2007): 70–72.

Shepherd-Barr, Kirsten. *Science on Stage: From "Doctor Faustus" to "Copenhagen"*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006. *Faustus* as the "ur-science play" that "set the stage for the science play by establishing literary roots and a theatrical model for the integration of science and theater" (17).

- Shimman, Lauren L. "The Morality Play in *Doctor Faustus*: Faustus as Reprobate Man." *Discoveries: South-Central Renaissance Conference News and Notes* 17.3 (2000): 5–6. The appearance of the Seven Deadly Sins is a morality play in which Faustus plays a part rather than a simple pageant.
- Smith, Robert A. H. "Marlowe and Peele: A Further Note on the Final Scholar Scene in the *Doctor Faustus* B Text." *Notes and Queries* 47.1 (2000): 40–42. Lines in George Peele's *The Battle of Alcazar* (1597) provide additional evidence that the B-text's concluding scene with the scholars was part of Marlowe's original conception.
- Sofer, Andrew. "How to Do Things with Demons: Conjuring Performatives in *Doctor Faustus*." *Theatre Journal* 61.1 (2009): 1–21. In plays such as *Faustus*, "conjuring models a performative speech act that threatens to blur the distinction between theatre and magic," which fascinated the Elizabethan audience (2).
- Steggle, Matthew. "*Doctor Faustus* and the Devils of Empedocles." *Notes and Queries* 56.4 (2009): 544–47. Identifies an allusion to Empedocles in the failed transformations referred to in Faustus's final speech.
- Streete, Adrian. "Calvinist Conceptions of Hell in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*." *Notes and Queries* 47.4 (2000): 430–32. Descriptions of hell in the play are indebted to John Calvin.
- . "'Consummatum est': Calvinist Exegesis, Mimesis and *Doctor Faustus*." *Literature & Theology* 15.2 (2001): 140–58. *Faustus* comments on a tenet of Calvinism: "Subjective privation and masochistic identification with Christ are not necessarily opposing Christological positions in the English Protestant tradition and many early modern thinkers, including Marlowe, battled with the ramifications of this subjective dialectic" (153).
- Sugar, Gabrielle. "'Falling to a Diuelish Exercise': The Copernican Universe in Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*." *Early Theatre* 12.1 (2009): 141–49. Copernican thought in the play adds to Faustus's transgressiveness.
- Sullivan, Garrett A., Jr. *Memory and Forgetting in English Renaissance Drama: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Webster*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. John Donne's assertion in a sermon preached in 1618 at Lincoln's Inn that "the art of *salvation*, is but the art of *memory*" (66) is a key to interpreting *Faustus*. The

hero forgets the conclusion to his quotation from Romans 6:23, which “reveals to the audience at the very outset of the play that his memory has been clouded by sin and worldly ambition” (73).

Tirado, Jose. “The Matrix o la literatura errática.” *Enfocarte.com: Revista de Arte y Cultura* 3.20 (2003): ¶1-15. Accessed May 7, 2011. <http://www.enfocarte.com/3.20/cine2.html>. Source for Cyfra in *The Matrix* (1999) is Marlowe’s Faustus.

Wall-Randell, Sarah. “*Doctor Faustus* and the Printer’s Devil.” *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 48.2 (2008): 259–81. A fascinating look at the depiction of books in the play in relation to Renaissance print culture, which examines the conflation of John Faustus the printer and John Faustus the conjuror, relates the literary aphorisms of Faustus’s opening soliloquy to the assembling of a commonplace book, and places the book that Mephistopheles gives him in the context of sixteenth-century encyclopedic compilations.

Warrick, John Azel. “The Medieval Theatrical Hell-Mouth: Ritual/Colonial Formations and Protestant Transformations in Anglo-Saxon and Early Modern England.” *Dissertation Abstracts International, Section A: The Humanities and Social Sciences* 67.6 (2006): 1982.

Webb, David. “The Interrogation of the Heavens in *King Lear* and Marlowe’s *Dr Faustus*.” *Cahiers Elisabethains* 61 (2002): 13–29. The plays are “real tragedies” that force their audiences to ask uncomfortable questions about God and do not allow unscrutinized or simple answers.

Wessman, Christopher. “‘I’ll Play Diana’: Christopher Marlowe’s *Doctor Faustus* and the ‘Actaeon Complex.’” *English Studies* 82.5 (2001): 401–19. The myth is central to the play: “Marlowe connects Diana’s divine power (and Actaeon’s transgression) to necromantic and theatrical prowess, interrogating and ultimately problematizing divinity, magic, and theater” (401).

Willis, Deborah. “*Doctor Faustus* and the Early Modern Language of Addiction.” In Deats and Logan, *Placing the Plays*, 135–48. The B-text Faustus is “a free agent manipulated into the repetition of acts that, over time, produce a changed inner nature and a diminishment of agency” and notes “that the repetition of such acts may be symptomatic . . . of despair” (148), which reflects the early modern understanding of addiction.

Wilson, Luke. *Theaters of Intention: Drama and the Law in Early Modern England*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000. Chapter 5, “Contracting Damnation,” analyzes *Faustus* in the light of English contract law and witchcraft laws but concludes: “The continental sources Marlowe used for both his demonology and for the story of Faustus were products of a culture governed by civil-law codes and largely independent of developments in English common law” (214).

Wootton, David, ed. *Doctor Faustus, with The English Faust Book*. Indianapolis: Hackett, 2005. Introduction compares the A- and B-texts, discussing whether or not their theology is Calvinistic, the treatment of Helen, and the possibility of repentance. Aligns Marlowe’s play with arguments advanced in Reginald Scot’s *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), which denied the existence of witches, and proposes that the Marlowe and his collaborator, working from the first, now lost, edition of the *English Faust Book*, “thought their play was set in Calvinist Wurtemberg; Birde and Rowley thought *Doctor Faustus* was set in Lutheran Wittenburg” (xxxiv). Wootton’s introduction is largely reprinted in *Lives of Faust: The Faust Theme in Literature and Music; A Reader*, rev. ed., ed. Lorna Fitsimmons (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), 145–55.

### *Edward II*

Anderson, Thomas. P. “*Edward II* and the Aesthetics of Survival.” In *Performing Early Modern Trauma from Shakespeare to Milton*, 93–124. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006. Argues that the play literalizes allegory in a way that “radically exposes the cost of inheriting the legacy of a traumatic past which is bequeathed in the act of historical transmission” (94).

Ardolino, Frank. “To Catch a Spy: John le Carré and Sidney Lumet’s Use of Marlowe’s *Edward II* in Performance.” *Journal of Evolutionary Psychology* 22.1/2 (2002): 40–46. John Le Carré’s *Call for the Dead* (1961) and the movie based on the novel, Sidney Lumet’s *The Deadly Affair* (1966), both allude to *Edward*, but the film develops the parallels more fully.

Bianco, Marcie. “To Sodomize a Nation: *Edward II*, Ireland, and the Threat of Penetration.” *Early Modern Literary Studies* 13.2 (2007): ¶1–21. Accessed April 26, 2011. <http://extra.shu.ac.uk/emls/si-16/bianedii.htm>. The danger represented by Ireland is

manifest in Gaveston. From the beginning of the play he is seen as a dangerous character because as Edward's minion he "is immersed in the discourse of sodomy" (§10), but "when Edward makes Gaveston governor of Ireland, . . . the discourse of sodomy is supplemented by the second discourse of the nation-state" (§12).

Bono, Paola. "Santa, puttana, lupa assassina. Le contraddizioni di Isabella in Edoardo II di Marlowe." In *La posa eroica di Ofelia, Saggi sul personaggio femminile nel teatro elisabettiano*, edited by Viola Papetti and Nancy Isenberg, 131–47. Vol. 7 of *Le Forme Del Teatro*. Rome, Italy: Storia e Letteratura, 2003.

Brown, Georgia E. "Tampering with the Records: Engendering the Political Community and Marlowe's Appropriation of the Past in *Edward II*." In Deats and Logan, *Marlowe's Empery*, 164–87. Marlowe's "lyrical narrative gives voice to women and to passionate men, to the marginal elements that had been suppressed" in Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1577), the play's primary source, and therefore interrogates its stoic public values and ethos (166).

Brumble, H. David. "Personal, Paternal, and Kingly Control in Marlowe's *Edward II*." *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 34 (2008): 56–70. The play "functions as a tragic mirror reflecting the personal and social upheavals that accompany a king's inability to govern himself, his house, and his body politic" (67).

Cardullo, Bert. "'Outing' Edward, Outfitting Marlowe: Derek Jarman's Film of *Edward II*." *Literature Film Quarterly* 37.2 (2009): 86–96. Jarman's film avoids "many of the distortions that have characterized previous adaptations or productions of *Edward II*" (87) because it addresses the issue of sexuality in relation to the play's politics.

Cartelli, Thomas. "*Edward II*." In Cheney, *Cambridge Companion*, 158–73. The passions that drive the play's characters are not as manifestations of humoral psychology but "'affective economies' of anger and desire that refuse to accommodate themselves to a moral economy of restraint or control" (159).

Cervo, Nathan A. "Marlowe's *Edward II*." *Explicator* 58.3 (2000): 123–24. Lightborn's name is a multiplex pun, beyond its usual equation with Lucifer.

- Dooley, Mark. "Queer Teaching/Teaching Queer: Renaissance Masculinities and the Seminar." In *Masculinities in Text and Teaching*, edited by Ben Knights, 59–74. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. Reflects on teaching a class in which two male students felt their concepts of masculinity and friendship threatened by the discussion of *Edward II* and Lyly's *Campaspe* (1584).
- Fejérvári, Boldizsár. "Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Meet *Edward II*: A Study in Intertextuality." *AnaChronist* (2003): 173–96. Stoppard's relationship to Elizabethan drama is symbiotic rather than parasitic, which an intertextual reading of *Edward* with *Rosencrantz* demonstrates.
- Forker, Charles R. "Marlowe's *Edward II* and *The Merchant of Venice*." *Shakespeare Newsletter* 57.2 (2007): 65, 70. *Merchant* 2.2.181–88 ("If I do not put on a sober habit") is indebted to *Edward* 2.1.31–41 ("Then, Baldock, you must cast the scholar off").
- Friedman, Michael D. "Horror, Homosexuality, and Homociphilia in McKellen's *Richard III* and Jarman's *Edward II*." *Shakespeare Bulletin* 27.4 (2009): 567–88. The conservative sexual politics of Ian McKellen's film differ significantly from the "aggressively queer, anti-heterosexual" (574) stance of Jarman's.
- Fuller, David. "Love or Politics: The Man or the King? *Edward II* in Modern Performance." *Shakespeare Bulletin* 27.1 (2009): 81–115. Analyzes instability of meaning in the play, showing that an "audience is likely to be alternately drawn to and repelled by each of the main characters," and that these reactions are further "complicated by a political conflict of complex and varying rights and wrongs" (81). Reference to productions by the Prospect Theatre Company (1969–70), the Globe (2003), and David Bintley's ballet *Edward II* (1995).
- Geckle, George L. "Narrativity: *Edward II* and *Richard II*." *Renaissance Papers* (2000): 99–117. Examines the transformation of chronicle history into tragedy and argues that Marlowe achieves a higher degree of narrativity in *Edward* than Shakespeare does in *Richard II* precisely because he more strictly adheres to a Machiavellian than a providential explanation of events.
- Gómez Lara, Manuel J. "Ambiguous Devices: The Use of Dramatic Emblems in Marlowe's *Edward II* (1592)." *SEDERI: Yearbook of the Spanish and Portuguese Society for English Renaissance Studies* 15 (2005): 103–13. Discusses Marlowe's use of emblems

in three passages from the play related to Gaveston: his plan to include Actaeon in the masque he envisions preparing for the king, Edward's promise to reward Isabella with a golden tongue for successfully pleading for his favorite's return, and the emblematic devices prepared by the barons to welcome him.

Gunther, Robin. "Bodies of Evidence: Late Modernity's De-Eroticization of the Early Modern Body." *Dissertation Abstracts International, Section A: The Humanities and Social Sciences* 63.10 (2003): 3561.

Hadfield, Andrew. "Marlowe's Representation of the Death of Edward II." *Notes and Queries* 56.1 (2009): 40–41. Edward was pressed to death, not impaled.

Henry-Offor, Brenda Marina. "The Paradoxes of Intimacy in Early Modern Drama." *Dissertation Abstracts International, Section A: The Humanities and Social Sciences* 68.11 (2008): 4715–16.

Keenan, Siobhan. "Reading Christopher Marlowe's *Edward II*: The Example of John Newdigate in 1601." *Notes and Queries* 53.4 (2006): 452–58. Analyzes John Newdigate's summary of the play in 1601, which shows his interest in it "not simply as literature or entertainment but as a work with topical lessons to teach about government" (455).

Kim, Tai-Won. "Homoerotic Politics and Regicide: The Art of Government in Christopher Marlowe's *Edward II*." *Journal of Classic and English Renaissance Literature* 10.2 (2001): 103–30. Discussion of the play's scrutiny of early modern ideas of governance includes royal favoritism and court politics, friendship and homoeroticism, social mobility, theatricality, resistance, torture, and espionage.

Knowles, Ronald. "The Political Contexts of Deposition and Election in *Edward II*." *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 14 (2001): 105–21. Contemporary audiences would have seen the play as "a direct reflection on the most seditious political issues of the day—deposition and election of the monarch—which conflicted absolutely with Tudor orthodoxy" (105). Surveys medieval and contemporary thought on resistance theory and concludes by seeing Mortimer's fall as *de casibus* tragedy, and Edward's as tragic in the later sense.

Knutson, Roslyn L. "Marlowe, Company Ownership, and the Role of *Edward II*." *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 18

- (2005): 37–46. Marlowe “had Alleyn in mind when he wrote *Edward II*, even though Pembroke’s Men ended up with the play” and Richard Burbage played the part. “Seeing Burbage in the role, Shakespeare might well have gained assurance that the up-and-coming competitor to Alleyn could handle a part on the scale of Richard III” (37).
- Lee, Byung-Eun. “The Aristocracy in *Edward II*.” *Medieval and Early Modern English Studies* 16.2 (2008): 311–27. A summary of the play as one that “deals with many matters bearing on Elizabethan concepts of the aristocracy” (316).
- Lorenzo, Javier. “Modeling the Self: Ontological and Political Uses of Exemplarity in Renaissance Literature.” *Dissertation Abstracts International, Section A: The Humanities and Social Sciences* 61.12 (2001): 4763.
- Lunney, Ruth. “Marlowe’s *Edward II* and the Early Playhouse Audience.” In Deats and Logan, *Placing the Plays*, 25–41. Marlowe, through the use of the exemplum and the cultivation of the hero as a person worth caring about, “makes possible a new kind of tragic understanding in which suffering may become more than just a ‘cautionary tale’” (41), which struck his original audience, whose expectations were molded by the late moral plays, as innovative.
- Martin, Mathew R. “Plays of Passion: Pain, History, and Theater in *Edward II*.” In *The Sacred and Profane in English Renaissance Literature*, edited by Mary A. Papazian, 84–107. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008. The play “illustrates the difficulties early-modern dramatists had making sense of the pain of secular history” (84). Marlowe invokes the Christological imagery of the York *Crucifixion Play* (c. 1463–77) and juxtaposes it with the Diana-Actaeon myth. The first fails and the second becomes pornographic, with Edward’s pain becoming an “erotic spectacle for a community of voyeurs” (85).
- Miller, Nichole Elizabeth. “The Politics of Exception in Renaissance Drama.” *Dissertation Abstracts International, Section A: The Humanities and Social Sciences* 69.6 (2008): 2282.
- Normand, Lawrence. “*Edward II*, Derek Jarman, and the State of England.” In Downie and Parnell, *Constructing Christopher Marlowe*, 177–93. Jarman’s film invites comparisons between early modern and postmodern understandings of homoeroticism.



- O'Pray, Mike. "Damning Desire: Mike O'Pray Talks with Derek Jarman about *Edward II*." In *Film/Literature/Heritage: A Sight and Sound Reader*, edited by Ginette Vincendeau, 115–20. London: British Film Institute, 2001. Reprint of an interview first published in 1991.
- Pencak, William. "*Edward II*: From the Middle Ages to the Renaissance." In *The Films of Derek Jarman*, 55–69. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2002. Argues that both Marlowe and Jarman used their "art to explore philosophical issues linking sexuality and political power" (55).
- Perry, Curtis. "The Politics of Access and Representations of the Sodomite King in Early Modern England." *Renaissance Quarterly* 53.4 (2000): 1054–83. Interprets the image of the sodomitical king in *Edward* and in gossip about James I as reflecting resentments concerning access to the monarch and suggests that Marlowe was influenced by the politics surrounding Henry III.
- Pettitt, Tom. "'Skreaming Like a Pigge Halfe Stickt': Vernacular Topoi in the Carnavalesque Martyrdom of Edward II." *Orbis Litterarum* 60.2 (2005): 79–108. Explores the use of three vernacular topoi in *Edward*: mock shaving, consignment to a cesspit, and impaling on a spit. "The mock shaving does not merely hurt and humiliate, but effectively 'makes a fool' of Edward; the drumming and the besmirching mark him as a social outcast; the cesspit is self-evidently a place where unwanted matter is discarded, predictably a kind of hell, but furthermore the natural habitat of the heterodox. The way he is killed has connotations of hell pains in general, and indeed those inflicted on sodomites in particular, but evokes at broader kaleidoscope of related images including the fool, cooking, carnival, and the pig" (96).
- Pireddu, Silvia. "*Edward II*: L'intraducibilità del sogno," *Il Confronto Letterario: Quaderni del Dipartimento di Lingue e Letterature Straniere Moderne dell'Università di Pavia*, supplement 39 (2003): 25–63.
- Richardson, Niall. "The Queer Performance of Tilda Swinton in Derek Jarman's *Edward II*: Gay Male Misogyny Reconsidered." *Sexualities: Studies in Culture and Society* 6 (2003): 427–42. Jarman's portrayal of Isabella in his *Edward* is not misogynistic, and Tilda Swinton's camp performance of her character is central to the film.

- Rutkoski, Marie. "Breeching the Boy in Marlowe's *Edward II*." *Studies in English Literature* 46.2 (2006): 281–304. "Marlowe deftly draws the prince, perhaps to our surprise, into the homoerotic and sodomitical dynamics of the play" (281) and thus casts the boy as another Edward II who cannot resolve the questions that the play raises.
- Scott, Gray. "Signifying Nothing? A Secondary Analysis of the Claremont Authorship Debates." *Early Modern Literary Studies* 12.2 (2006): ¶1–50. Accessed April 30, 2011. <http://extra.shu.ac.uk/emls/12-2/scotsig2.htm>. Argues for the soundness of Ward Elliott and Robert Valenza's statistical studies confirming that Shakespeare and Marlowe are different authors. However, the tests on *Edward* are anomalous, a result confirmed by other studies, which shows that it is "too un-Shakespearean for Shakespeare and too Shakespearean for Marlowe" (¶50), and might be the product of mixed authorship.
- Scovell, Dawn Michelle. "A Performance History of Christopher Marlowe's *Edward II* on the British Stage and Screen from 1903–1991." *Dissertation Abstracts International, Section A: The Humanities and Social Sciences* 61.11 (2001): 4232.
- Sillitoe, Peter. "'Where Is the Court but Here?' Undetermined Elite Space and Marlowe's *Edward II*." *Literature Compass* 1.1 (2003): 1–15. The play is dominated by the unresolved conflict of two royal models, "one stressing the court as accompanying the king, wherever he may be, the other highlighting the fixed nature of the court, a political world that is merely in need of a figurehead" (4). Marlowe exploits "the undefined nature of the Elizabethan court as a potential site of ideological contestation" (4) in aligning each paradigm with opposing political factions and alternative sexualities among the elite.
- Stewart, Alan. "*Edward II* and Male Same-Sex Desire." In *Early Modern English Drama: A Critical Companion*, edited by Garrett A. Sullivan Jr., Patrick Cheney, and Andrew Hadfield, 82–95. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. "Marlowe cannot be pinned down to a single opinion of his subject matter," since twentieth-century productions of the play moved from effacing Edward's homosexuality to making it central. Therefore, its reception history suggests that every audience must "confront its own preconceived notions about kingship, friendship, and desire" (93).

Stymeist, David. "Status, Sodomy, and the Theater in Marlowe's *Edward II*." *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 44.2 (2004): 233–53. Although critics are divided about whether the play is sexually subversive or depicts sodomy as ultimately contained by the culture's dominant ideology, it "pragmatically combines both of these apparently oppositional ideological positions" (249).

Surgal, Jon. "The Rebel and the Red-Hot Spit: Marlowe's *Edward II* as Anal-Sadistic Prototype." *American Imago* 61.2 (2004): 165–200. Marlowe anticipated Freud "and gave us in his *Edward II* a definitive portrait of anal rebellion" (165).

Takamoto, Yukihiro. "Edowado ni sei: Ankun no shigai bozo." *Daigakuin Kokusai Koho Midia Kenkyuka Gengobunkabu Kijo Hokkaido Daigaku/Bulletin of the Graduate School of International Media & Communication* 46 (2004): 71–86.

Zeiger, Emory James. "Historical Theatre: Memory in Search of Modernity." *Dissertation Abstracts International, Section A: The Humanities and Social Sciences* 62.11 (2002): 3630.

Zhu, Weicheng. "Gui yi de jing xiang: Tou guo Malou de Aidehua er shi lai kan Zhongguo gu dian nan se de 'jun chen lun.'" *Review of English and American Literature* 5 (2001): 123–70.

### *The Jew of Malta*

Beskins, Anna. "From Jew to Nun: Abigail in Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*." *Explicator* 65.3 (2007): 133–36. Marlowe critiques anti-Semitism as bigotry by giving all the characters except Abigail stereotypically Jewish characteristics. Her conversion transforms her into the "good Christian" killed by the "evil Jew."

Bovilsky, Lara. *Barbarous Play: Race on the English Renaissance Stage*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008. Chapter 2 compares Shylock to Barabas and Jessica, and the patriarchal and racial assumptions in the casket test.

Brown, Eric C. "Violence, Ritual, and the Execution of Time in Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*." *Cahiers Elisabethains* 58 (2000): 15–29. The play explores "a developing trend in Renaissance thought: the use and abuse of time as instrument, and the subsequent control of others through time" (15). Barabas achieves temporal control through a "fierce application of will and violence against time" (18).

- Craik, Roger. "The Lion in 'Burbank' and Charles Lamb." *Yeats Eliot Review* 16.4 (2000): 31–32. Study of anti-Semitism in Eliot's "Burbank" includes *The Jew of Malta*.
- Dash, Irene G. "The Theatre for a New Audience's *Merchant of Venice* and *Jew of Malta*." *Shakespeare Newsletter* 56.3 (2006): 103, 118. Reviews praising *The Merchant of Venice* (1596) and criticizing the production of *The Jew of Malta*.
- Eriksen, Roy. "Insula est Melita: Marlowe's Urban Comedy and the Poetics of Predation." In *Urban Preoccupations: Mental and Material Landscapes*, edited by Per Sivefors, 123–42. Pisa: Fabrizio Serra, 2007. Interprets the play as an urban comedy that implicates spectators in a world that they would have found "all too familiar" (142).
- Faini, Paola. "Abigail, Jessica e il 'tradimento' del padre." In *La posa eroica di Ofelia, Saggi sul personaggio femminile nel teatro elisabettiano*, edited by Viola Papetti and Nancy Isenberg, 79–91. Vol. 7 of *Le forme del teatro*. Rome: Storia e Letteratura, 2003.
- Ferguson, Dan. "Neither a Borrower nor a Lender Be': Polonius's Borrowings from Marlowe's Barabas." *Conference of College Teachers of English Studies* 65 (2000): 55–60. The Polonius-Ophelia relationship owes something to that between Barabas and Abigail. In both, the director-fathers fatally advise their actress-daughters.
- Fitzpatrick, Joan. "Early Modern Dietaries and the Jews: *The Merchant of Venice* and *The Jew of Malta*." In *Shakespeare's World/World Shakespeares: The Selected Proceedings of the International Shakespeare Association World Congress*, edited by Richard Fotheringham, Christa Jansohn, and R. S. White, 98–107. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008. Surveys Renaissance books on diet and concludes that "Shylock's behavior, it seems, is less a consequence of his racial and/or religious differences than his diet and, although he correctly avoids pork, he incorrectly avoids moderate consumption" (104).
- Freller, Thomas. "Malta im englischen Drama der Shakespeare-Epoche: Handels- und Reiseverkehr als Ursachen literarischer Phänomene—diskutiert am Beispiel von Christopher Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*." *Anglia: Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie* 122.3 (2004): 404–34.

- Hamlin, William M. "Misbelief, False Profession, and *The Jew of Malta*." In Deats and Logan, *Placing the Plays*, 125–34. Marlowe's use of the word "misbelief" suggests that Barabas manifests "a complex and shifting relation to ideology, to moral norms, and to belief and religious profession" (127). He overrates his ideological detachment and is blind to his "fitful dependence on categories of private and public morality," which reveals Barabas "as humanly vulnerable and thus as the antithesis of the relentlessly consistent Ferneze" (133).
- Hirsch, Brett D. "Counterfeit Professions: Jewish Daughters and the Drama of Failed Conversion in Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* and Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*." *Early Modern Literary Studies*, special issue 19 (2009): ¶1–37. Accessed April 26, 2011. <http://extra.shu.ac.uk/emls/si-19/hirscoun.html>. Since early moderns were dubious about the possibility of Jews assimilating, a contemporary audience may not have accepted Abigail and Jessica's conversions.
- Hiscock, Andrew. *The Uses of this World: Thinking Space in Shakespeare, Marlowe, Cary and Jonson*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004. Cultural space is "socially constructed and constantly in process" (14). Chapter 2, "Enclosing 'Infinite Riches in a Little Room': The Question of Cultural Marginality in Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*," maintains that the play compels its audience to consider the effect of changing economic and labor practices on Tudor ideologies, the value that Barabas attaches to his "little room," the corrosion of social and spatial relationships in an urban environment, and the ways in which racial, gendered, or religious marginals are demonized (15).
- Holmer, Joan Ozark. "Jewish Daughters: The Question of Philo-Semitism in Elizabethan Drama." In *The Merchant of Venice: New Critical Essays*, edited by John W. Mahon and Ellen Macleod Mahon, 107–43. London: Routledge, 2002. Depictions of Abigail and Jessica "are all the more noteworthy because nothing similar precedes them in extant English drama nor follows them in the subsequent century" (109).
- Hopkins, Lisa. "'In a Little Room': Marlowe and *The Allegory of the Tudor Succession*." *Notes and Queries* 53.4 (2006): 442–44. Lucas de Heere's painting *The Allegory of the Tudor Succession* (c. 1572) along with the verse around its frame, which Sir Francis Walsingham gave to Queen Elizabeth, may have influenced

Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*. His use of it is skeptical of the values implied by the painting's iconography.

Hutchings, Mark. "In Thrace; Brought Up in Arabia': *The Jew of Malta*, II.iii.131." *Notes and Queries* 47.4 (2000): 428–30. Barabas chooses Ithamore because he relates to him as a displaced and stateless person like himself.

Ide, Arata. "The Jew of Malta and the Diabolic Power of Theatrics in the 1580s." *Studies in English Literature* 46.2 (2006): 257–79. Marlowe associates Malta with England, and Barabas's powers of impersonation play to popular fears of those concerned over Spanish invaders and covert Jesuit activities. However, the play also "seems to jeer at the 'simplicity' of those who are deluded by government theatrics" (270) and demystifies "politico-religious discourse in terms of fiction making, an attitude which naturally proved troublesome to the authorities" (272).

Inbar, Donny. "Taming of the Jew: Marlowe's Barabas Vis-à-vis Shakespeare's Shylock." *Journal of Religion and Theatre* 4.2 (2005): 160–74. Though Shylock is a tamed-down Barabas and more acceptable to an audience, Marlowe put more of himself into his creation than Shakespeare did.

Kitch, Aaron. "Shylock's 'Sacred Nation': Commerce, Statehood, and the Figure of the Jew in Marlowe's *Jew of Malta* and Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*." In *Political Economy and the States of Literature in Early Modern England*, 105–28. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2009. Discusses the Renaissance concept of a Jewish "nation" based on trade, and then shows how Barabas and Shylock each connect to "historical questions of trade, religion, and political economy" (121). Revised version, first published as "Shylock's Sacred Nation" in *Shakespeare Quarterly* 59.2 (2008): 131–55.

Kuriyama, Constance Brown. "Marlowe, Shakespeare, and the Theoretically Irrelevant Author." In Deats and Logan, *Placing the Plays*, 185–92. Argues against the assertions of Foucault and Barthes concerning the immateriality of the author and simultaneously responds to Harold Bloom and other critics who defend or promote Shakespeare by denigrating Marlowe. Compares *Merchant* with *The Jew of Malta* and shows that neither Shakespeare nor Marlowe could have written the other's play.

- Kwalbrun, Lara. "Playing God's Chosen: Protestants, Jews, and Sixteenth-Century Drama." *Dissertation Abstracts International, Section A: The Humanities and Social Sciences* 64.8 (2004): 2904.
- Lenker, Lagretta Talent. "The Hopeless Daughter of a Hapless Jew: Father and Daughter in Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*." In Deats and Logan, *Placing the Plays*, 63–73. Analyzes the role of the daughter in the early modern family, the relationship between Barabas and Abigail, and Marlowe's use of it in an aesthetic of cruelty: Barabas's reaction to her death is "Marlowe's experiment in writing beyond words" (64).
- Lesser, Zachary. *Renaissance Drama and the Politics of Publication*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. Chapter 3, "Marlowe's *Jew* Goes to Church: Nicholas Vavasour and the Creation of Laudian Drama" (81–114), concludes that Vavasour published the 1633 quarto because it seemed to address current theological controversies in a way that fit with his stable of pro-Laudian publications.
- Lupton, Julia Reinhard. "The *Jew of Malta*." In Cheney, *Cambridge Companion*, 144–57. Describes Marlowe's depiction of the Jewish community in Malta, the links perceived between Islam and Judaism, and connections between the themes of the play and their representation on the Elizabethan stage. The essay became part of Lupton's *Citizen-Saints*.
- . *Citizen-Saints: Shakespeare and Political Theology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005. Exploration of politics and religion in Shakespeare sees *The Jew of Malta* as a "definitive staging of the relation between the Jews and civil society in the early 1590s" (13).
- Martin, Mathew R. "Maltese Psycho: Tragedy and Psychopathology in *The Jew of Malta*." *LIT: Literature Interpretation Theory* 19.4 (2008): 367–87. "The difference between neurosis and psychosis characterizes not only the difference between Shakespeare's and Marlowe's tragic protagonists," but their "modes of tragic mimesis" (367) as well. The Marlovian incarnation "is traumatic: it does not work through and purge but acts out and perpetuates the psychopathology it dramatizes" (368).
- Melnikoff, Kirk. "[I]yggging Vaines' and 'Riming Mother Wits': Marlowe, Clowns and the Early Frameworks of Dramatic Authorship." *Early Modern Literary Studies* 13.2 (2007): ¶1–35. Accessed April 26, 2011. <http://extra.shu.ac.uk/emls/si-16/melnjygg.htm>.

Clowning is “a central component of Marlowe’s artistic practice” (§5). Discusses Ithamore’s clownish routines in *The Jew of Malta* at length, argues that *Faustus* “offers a sustained and coherent engagement with the performance tradition of the clown, one that suggests a unified authorial design” (§23), and suggests that *Tamburlaine*’s reference to “such conceits as clownage keeps in pay” does “not necessarily have to be interpreted as an anti-clowning manifesto” (§35).

Menpes, B. R. “The Bondage of Barabas: Thwarted Desire in *The Jew of Malta*.” *Parergon* 20.1 (2003): 65–84. Menpes asserts that Barabas is bound to revenge once his mercantile identity is taken from him, but his stratagems are flawed.

Moore, Roger E. “‘I’ll Rouse My Senses, and Awake Myself’: Marlowe’s *The Jew of Malta* and the Renaissance Gnostic Tradition.” *Religion and Literature* 37.3 (2005): 37–58. Marlowe’s critiques of Gnosticism in the play, with Barabas’s violence demonstrating “that gnosis may lead to a dangerous feeling of superiority not only to material circumstances but other humans as well” (38).

Moss, Stephanie. “Edmund Kean, Anti-Semitism, and *The Jew of Malta*.” In Deats and Logan, *Placing the Plays*, 43–59. Analyzes the contemporary reception of Edmund Kean’s 1828 revival of the play. Though the acting was praised, Marlowe’s text and Kean’s emendations of it were criticized, and the production closed after eleven performances, perishing in “the repressed conflict between Romantic progressive humanism and a more subtle anti-Semitism that often resulted in an uncomfortable hostility” (59).

Nakayama, Randall. “‘I Know She Is a Courtesan by Her Attire’: Clothing and Identity in *The Jew of Malta*.” In Deats and Logan, *Marlowe’s Empery*, 150–63. Discusses sumptuary laws and the early modern concern with dress as a signifier of one’s class and position, beginning with how a courtesan might reveal her profession by her attire. Focus primarily on *The Jew of Malta* but also *Edward*.

Parker, John. “Barabas and Charles I.” In Deats and Logan, *Placing the Plays*, 167–81. Proposes that *The Jew of Malta* was revived and published in 1633, forty years after Marlowe’s death, as a way of safely protesting the Catholic sympathies of Charles I.



- Rosen, Alan. "Into the Ghetto: Representing Jewish Space in Elizabethan England." *JTD: Journal of Theatre and Drama* 7/8, (2001–2): 95–104. The rise of the ghetto in the early sixteenth century affected the English conception of "a space in which Jews could dwell, mediating symbolically, as Venice's ghetto did politically, between the medieval policy of expulsion and the modern one of integration" (96), though London had no such communities. Compares Kenneth Stow's discussion of London's medieval Jewish quarter with the dramatic representation of Jewish houses in *The Jew of Malta* and *Merchant*.
- Smith, Shawn. "A Society of One: Reading *The Jew of Malta* through Serres's Theory of Exchange." *Exemplaria* 15.2 (2003): 419–50. Michel Serres's philosophy of exchange informs the thesis, which argues that "Barabas's manipulation of broken exchange" is "his response to the hostile and oppressive world of Malta" (429).
- Sullivan, Ceri. "Silver in *The Jew of Malta*." *Notes and Queries* 48.3 (2001): 265. Relates Barabas's and Bellamira's scorn of silver currency to debased Elizabethan coins in circulation at the time of the play.
- Tobin, J. J. M. "How Drunken Was Barnardine?" *Notes and Queries* 50.1 (2003): 46–47. Barnadine in *Measure for Measure* (1603) was not named for Marlowe's friar, but his name alludes to "Bernard's law," slang for cheating at cards with the aid of a confederate who feigns drunkenness. A passage from Nashe's *Strange News* (1593) contains this and other parallels to *Measure for Measure*.
- Vitkus, Daniel. "Turks and Jews in *The Jew of Malta*." In *Early Modern English Drama: A Critical Companion*, edited by Garrett A. Sullivan Jr., Patrick Cheney, and Andrew Hadfield, 61–72. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. Discusses English trading in the Mediterranean, Jewish-Muslim relations, the Ottoman attack on Malta, and the Maltese slave trade and concludes that the play's "critique of greed and religious hypocrisy" applied as well to "merchants and policy-makers in Protestant England who put profit before religious principles" (71).
- Webb, David. "'Pageants Truly Played': Self-Dramatization and Naturalistic Character in *The Jew of Malta*." *Renaissance Forum: An Electronic Journal of Early Modern Literary and Historical Studies* 5.1 (2000): ¶1–30. Accessed April 26, 2011. <http://www.hull.ac.uk/renforum/v5no1/webb.htm>. Emphasizes the centrality of

self-dramatization in Marlowe's characters, especially in *The Jew of Malta*. Approach foregrounds character criticism and the development of naturalism in early modern theater.

Wilson, Richard. "Another Country: Marlowe and the Go-Between." In *Renaissance Go-Betweens: Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Andreas Höfele and Werner von Koppenfels, 177–99. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005. The play read in the context of international finance and intrigue, including English ambition for trade with the East, an Anglo-Ottoman plot to seize Malta from Spain, and intelligence operations run by Marrano Jews.

*The Massacre at Paris*

Hillman, Richard. "Marlowe's Guise: Offending against God and King." *Notes and Queries* 55.2 (2008): 154–59. Examines *Massacre* in context with two plays supporting the Sainte Ligue, suggesting that most contemporaries would have maintained a skeptical distance between them.

Hoenselaars, A. J. "Shakespeare and the Early Modern History Play." In *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare's History Plays*, edited by Michael Hattaway, 25–40. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. Mentions *Edward* and includes a brief discussion of *Massacre*.

Lucas, Kristin. "Literature, Protestantism, and the Idea of Community." *Dissertation Abstracts International, Section A: The Humanities and Social Sciences* 67.2 (2006): 571.

MacKenzie, Clayton G. "The Massacre at Paris and the Danse Macabre." *Papers on Language and Literature* 43.3 (2007): 311–34. Henry's death draws on the emblem tradition of the *danse macabre* and "elicits from the audience a violent frisson of terror and self-reflection," inviting them "to recognize that what they had presumed was anti-Catholic propaganda has somehow reshaped itself into moral irony and painful introspection" (331).

Nicholson, Bruce Ambler. "Marlowe's Mighty Massacre." *Dissertation Abstracts International, Section A: The Humanities and Social Sciences* 62.6 (2001): 2125–26.

Probes, Christine McCall. "Rhetorical Strategies for a *locus terribilis*: Senses, Signs, Symbols, and Theological Allusion in Marlowe's

*The Massacre at Paris.*” In Deats and Logan, *Placing the Plays*, 149–65. Four rhetorical strategies create the vivid depiction of religious violence in the play: evoking the senses (perfumed gloves, the sight of blood), using signs such as the books carried by the Protestants, invoking liturgical symbols, and employing theological and biblical allusions.

Schillinger, Stephen. “The Murder of Ramus and the (Mis)recognition of Rhetorical Power in *The Massacre at Paris*.” *Marlowe Society of America Newsletter* 21.2 (2001): 3–5. Accessed April 26, 2011. <http://users.ipfw.edu/stapletm/msa/NLArch.html>. The Guise’s murder of Ramus reveals his misunderstanding of the nature of his own power.

Voss, Paul J. *Elizabethan News Pamphlets: Shakespeare, Spenser, Marlowe and the Birth of Journalism*. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2001. Examines the news pamphlets that arose to provide Elizabethan England with current accounts of Henri of Navarre’s battles with the Catholic League. The fourth chapter analyzes three fictional treatments of him: *Massacre*, *Love’s Labour’s Lost* (1590), and Burbon in book 5 of *The Faerie Queene* (1590–96). Marlowe’s willingness to depict the political and religious turmoil in France so openly reveals another dimension of his “daring and fearlessness” (116).

Wilson, Richard. “While Rome Burns: Marlowe and the Art of Arson.” In *Urban Preoccupations: Mental and Material Landscapes*, edited by Per Sivefors, 61–79. Pisa: Fabrizio Serra, 2007. Despite the virtual absence of arson in early modern England, many people feared “having their throats cut by religious maniacs whilst their houses burned” (66) because of their experiences with actual fires and news accounts of atrocities such as the genocide at Antwerp and the Saint Bartholomew’s Day Massacre. The many references to fire in Marlowe’s plays demonstrate that “no writer was more responsible for creating this lurid nightmare of fire and blood” (66).

Woods, Gillian. “Catholicism and Conversion in *Love’s Labour’s Lost*.” In *How to Do Things with Shakespeare: New Approaches, New Essays*, edited by Laurie Maguire, 101–30. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2008. Brief discussion of *Massacre* in exploration of the significance of Shakespeare’s use of “Navarre” in *Love’s Labour’s Lost*. Continued performance of Marlowe’s play after Henri’s conversion indicates that “ironic representations of Navarre were popular with early modern audiences” (116).

*Tamburlaine*

- Abate, Corinne S. "Zenocrate: Not Just Another 'Fair Face.'" *English Language Notes* 41.1 (2003): 19–32. Tamburlaine desires marriage to Zenocrate to establish social legitimacy and from her he learns restraint, political savvy, and diplomacy, "the very skills which shape the peaceful ending of *Part 1*" (29). Thus, her success comes from more than beauty, and she never suffers a loss of agency.
- Bohm, Arnd. "Seneca's Influence on the Construction of Bajazeth in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*." *Notes and Queries* 55.2 (2008): 152–54. Tamburlaine's caging of Bajazeth resembles the description in Seneca's *Moral Essays* of Lysimachus's similar treatment of Telesphorus.
- Brunkhorst, Martin. "'See, See How the Lovers Sit in State Together': Tragödienschluß und Schlußtableau bei Marlowe, Shakespeare und Dryden." *Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch im Auftrage der Görres-Gesellschaft* 43 (2002): 331–45.
- Burnett, Mark Thornton. "*Tamburlaine the Great, Parts One and Two*." In Cheney, *Cambridge Companion*, 127–43. Both *Tamburlaine* plays are distinct from each other, with ideas formulated in the first part about language, class, identity, and sexuality "ironized or pushed to a thematic extreme" in the second (127).
- . "'The Strangest Men That Ever Nature Made': Manufacturing 'Monsters' in *Tamburlaine the Great*." In *Constructing "Monsters" in Shakespearean Drama and Early Modern Culture*, 33–64. *Early Modern Literature in History*, edited by Cedric C. Brown. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002. Dramatic images of monsters and monstrosity are central to an understanding of early modern culture. Chapter 2 explores Tamburlaine's manipulation of images of giants, cannibals, hydras, and devils to regulate his foes and his environment.
- Burton, Jonathan. "Anglo-Ottoman Relations and the Image of the Turk in *Tamburlaine*." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 30.1 (2000): 125–56. The modern perception of English-Ottoman relations is filtered through the lens of nineteenth-century Orientalism and thereby distorted. Elizabeth traded with the Ottomans, and "if the Turks remained infidel dogs in some Elizabethan contexts, to English diplomats they became tactical allies in the long struggle against Catholic Spain" (128).

Marlowe's description of Turkish strength is accurate, and "the two *Tamburlaine* plays interrogate European responses to that power" (127).

Cahill, Patricia A. *Unto the Breach: Martial Formations, Historical Trauma, and the Early Modern Stage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. The opening chapter, "Martial Formations: Marlowe's Theater of Abstraction in *Tamburlaine*, Parts One and Two," discusses "Marlowe's attention . . . to the mathematical abstractions of the new military" (70): arithmetical calculations and battle formations displace individual heroics.

Cerasano, S. P. "Edward Alleyn, the New Model Actor, and the Rise of Celebrity in the 1590s." *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 18 (2005): 47–58. The role of *Tamburlaine* strongly affected Alleyn's career, making him a celebrity and creating "audience expectations for the future repertory of the Admiral's Men," which influenced the selection of plays and their frequency of performance (47).

Cheney, Patrick. "Defend His Freedom against a Monarchy': Marlowe's Republican Authorship." In *Textual Conversations in the Renaissance: Ethics, Authors, Technologies*, edited by Zachary Lesser and Benedict S. Robinson, 27–43. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006. Marlowe inaugurates English republican writing though he is not committed to a patriotic political agenda. Also, *1 Tamburlaine* reflects an "afflicted republicanism" (32) since it begins with an assertion of liberty, but ends in tyranny.

Dailey, Jeff. "Christian Underscoring in *Tamburlaine the Great*, Part II." *Journal of Religion and Theatre* 4.2 (2005): 146–59. The two episodes in *2 Tamburlaine* that most overtly address religion, Orcanes's triumph over the Hungarians and *Tamburlaine's* burning of the Koran, embody orthodox Christian themes.

Dimmock, Matthew. *New Turkes: Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005. Study of how the Ottoman threat affected English culture, with special attention to early modern dramatic representations of Islam. The *Tamburlaine* chapter argues that by identifying the hero with the Persians and setting him in opposition to the Ottomans, "Marlowe crucially inverts the prevailing tenets of late Elizabethan policy" (141).

Emsley, Sarah. "I Cannot Love, to Be an Emperess': Women and Honour in *Tamburlaine*." *Dalhousie Review* 80.2 (2000): 169–86.

Words like *honour*, *virtue*, and *faith* do not always mean what we expect in the play, and they “become particularly complicated when applied to the lives of women” (169). Zenocrate, Zabina, and Olympia embody male Machiavellian principles.

Fuller, David. “*Tamburlaine the Great* in Performance.” In Deats and Logan, *Marlowe’s Empery*, 61–81. Discusses three modern productions: Tyrone Guthrie’s in 1951, Peter Hall’s in 1976–77, and Terry Hands’ in 1992–93. These differing interpretations demonstrate that “in the theater the play has elements of comedy, pathos, and, in its Nietzschean exaltation of energy, the sublime, which draw an audience toward the otherwise diabolic hero” (79).

Ghatta, Javad. “Early Modern English Drama and the Islamic World: ‘By Mortus Ali and Our Persian Gods’: Multiple Persian Identities in *Tamburlaine* and *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*.” *Early Theatre* 12.2 (2009): 235–49. Criticism perceives that early modern England conflates Turks with Persians and other Muslims, but *Tamburlaine* shows an awareness of a distinct Persian Islamic identity, and that “after Marlowe’s play the London stage, haunted by the expansionist Ottoman Empire and inspired by *Tamburlaine*’s defeat of the latter, was forced to reassess an emergent yet ambiguous Islamic rival” (245).

Gillies, John. “*Tamburlaine* and Renaissance Geography.” In *Early Modern English Drama: A Critical Companion*, edited by Garrett A. Sullivan Jr., Patrick Cheney, and Andrew Hadfield, 35–49. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. Moderns who find the play morally repugnant fail to understand its popularity in its own time. Its celebration of Elizabethan imperialism and its social subversiveness may have encouraged its audience to escape its social constrictions temporarily.

Hadfield, Andrew. “*Tamburlaine* as the ‘Scourge of God’ and *The First English Life of King Henry the Fifth*.” *Notes and Queries* 50.4 (2003): 399–400. The use of the phrase “scourge of God” in *The First English Life of King Henry the Fifth* (1513) shows that it was not solely applied to evil tyrants.

Hardin, Richard F. “Apocalypse Then: *Tamburlaine* and the Pleasures of Religious Fear.” *Baylor Journal of Theatre and Performance* 3.2 (2006): 31–41. *Tamburlaine* exemplifies the exploitation of “the language and imagery of religious terror” (32) and reveals deeply rooted anxieties about an impending apocalypse.

Hopkins, Lisa. "Marlowe's Asia and the Feminization of Conquest." In *The English Renaissance, Orientalism, and the Idea of Asia*, edited by Debra Johanyak and Walter S. H. Lim, 115–30. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. The confused image of Asia available to Marlowe became "a stimulus rather than a hindrance to him" (120) because it offered him "a discourse through which to ask far-reaching questions about human identity, gender roles, religious authority, and the ways in which these may be conditioned and perhaps ultimately altered by the rapidly expanding horizons of the known geographical world" (128).

Hutchings, Mark. "And Almost to the Very Walles of Rome': 2 *Tamburlaine*, II.i.9." *Notes and Queries* 52.2 (2005): 190–92. Tamburlaine's reference is not an error, as scholars and editors often gloss it, but rather a deliberate reminder for his Protestant English audience "of the duplicity of the Church of Rome" (192).

———. "Marlowe's 'Scourge of God.'" *Notes and Queries* 51.3 (2004): 244–47. Concurs with Hadfield (above) about the ambiguity of the phrase "scourge of God" as applied to Tamburlaine and reviews current thought about the play's early reception. The use of the phrase on the title page of the printed play was most likely the choice of Richard Jones, the printer.

———. "The End of *II Tamburlaine* and the Beginning of *King Lear*." *Notes and Queries* 47.1 (2000): 82–86. Establishes parallels between the end of *2 Tamburlaine* and the beginning of *King Lear*, including the call for maps and the passing of power to two children, with a third having been killed or disinherited.

Ide, Arata. "Tamburlaine's Prophetic Oratory and Protestant Militarism in the 1580s." In *Hot Questrists after the English Renaissance: Essays on Shakespeare and His Contemporaries*, edited by Yasunari Takahashi, 215–36. New York: AMS, 2000. Elizabethan audiences admired rather than condemned Tamburlaine's actions because they reflect the dominant political and religious ideologies of Elizabethan society. Still, in the second part, Marlowe critiques the legitimacy of assertions made in the first.

Jaradat, Rami Mohammad. "Contrary Perspective: The Image of the Turk in the English Renaissance." *Dissertation Abstracts*

*International, Section A: The Humanities and Social Sciences* 64.8 (2004): 2903.

Jones, Emrys. "A World of Ground': Terrestrial Space in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* Plays." *Yearbook of English Studies* 38.1/2 (2008): 168–82. Ariosto inspired Marlowe's cartographic imagination. Part 1 is divided between Asia and Africa (Cosroe's empire and Bajazeth's) which explains some apparent problems with geographical references. The play's sense of vastness reflects the contemporary interest in panoramic perspectives in painting.

Keck, David. "Marlowe and Ortelius's Map." *Notes and Queries* 52.2 (2005): 189–90. Marlowe was influenced not only by the maps in Abraham Ortelius's 1570 *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* but by the illustrations that decorated them.

Khoury, Joseph. "Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*: Idealized Machiavelian Prince." In *Seeking Real Truths: Multidisciplinary Perspectives on Machiavelli*, edited by Patricia Vilches and Gerald Seaman, 329–56. Leiden: Brill, 2007. The play embodies the doubts about divine providence engendered by the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre, which had been carried out by legitimate rulers. It is Marlowe's version of Machiavelli's *The Life of Castruccio Castracani of Lucca* (1520). While moderns see *Tamburlaine* as a butcher, Renaissance audiences admired him for his machismo.

Klein, Bernhard. "*Tamburlaine*, Sacred Space, and the Heritage of Medieval Cartography." In *Reading the Medieval in Early Modern England*, edited by Gordon McMullan and David Matthews, 143–58. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. The play embodies tensions between the new geography and medieval maps.

Kolb, Justin. "Early Modern English Drama and the Islamic World: 'In th'Armor of a Pagan knight': Romance and Anachronism East of England in Book V of *The Faerie Queene* and *Tamburlaine*." *Early Theatre* 12.2 (2009): 194–207. Spenser, Marlowe, and others displaced the challenge of Islam "into the space of romance and classical literature" (194).

Lee, Young-Joo. ["*Tamburlaine the Great*: The Spirit of Renaissance Humanism and Its Dilemma"]. *Journal of Classic and English Renaissance Literature* 10.2 (2001): 57–78.



- Logan, Robert A. "Violence, Terrorism, and War in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* Plays." In *War and Words: Horror and Heroism in the Literature of Warfare*, edited by Sara Munson Deats, Lagretta Tallent Lenker, and Merry G. Perry, 65–81. Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2004. Transhistorical reading in relation to both Elizabethan and current politics. Marlowe's depiction of war in the *Tamburlaine* plays is ambiguous and ambivalent.
- MacKenzie, Clayton G. "Marlowe's Grisly Monster: Death in *Tamburlaine*, Parts One & Two." *Dalhousie Review* 87.1 (2007): 9–24. The play's reflection of the ruling elite may have been unsettling: "As Elizabethan England stood on the edge of its own great empire, envying the fortunes of longer-established competitors, the *Tamburlaine* plays stand at once as a celebration of the potential of superlative militarism and as stark warning against the excesses that can so easily flow from the impunities of conquest" (24).
- Maliekal, Bindu. "As Good as Gold: India, Akbar the Great, and Marlowe's Plays." In *The English Renaissance, Orientalism, and the Idea of Asia*, edited by Debra Johanyak and Walter S. H. Lim, 131–59. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. The *Tamburlaine* plays seem to resemble the imaginary kingdom of Prester John and the realm of the Muslim ruler Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar. Both kingdoms were perceived to be rich in gold. Akbar himself informs both the positive and negative aspects of Marlowe's depiction of *Tamburlaine*.
- Marcus, Leah S. "Marlowe *in tempore belli*." In *War and Words: Horror and Heroism in the Literature of Warfare*, edited by Sara Munson Deats, Lagretta Tallent Lenker, and Merry G. Perry, 295–316. Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2004. Presents five brief essays connecting our experience of war to the Elizabethan context of *Tamburlaine*.
- Martin, Mathew R. "'This Tragic Glass': Tragedy and Trauma in *Tamburlaine* Part One." In *Staging Pain, 1580–1800: Violence and Trauma in British Theater*, edited by James Robert Allard and Mathew R. Martin, 15–29. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2009. Argues that 1 *Tamburlaine* is neither moral nor Shakespearean tragedy, nor an imperfectly realized example of the form: "it is a trauma narrative that refuses tragic mimesis and the catharsis such mimesis purportedly provides" (16).

- Melnikoff, Kirk. "Jones's Pen and Marlowe's Socks: Richard Jones, Print Culture, and the Beginnings of English Dramatic Literature." *Studies in Philology* 102.2 (2005): 184–209. Jones, the printer of *Tamburlaine*, emended the play as a publisher-editor who had been active in marketing poetic miscellanies, and sought to market it as a chivalric history.
- Miller, Howard. "Tamburlaine: The Migration and Translation of Marlowe's Arabic Sources." In *Travel and Translation in the Early Modern Period*, edited by Carmine G. Di Biase, 255–66. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006. Marlowe's portrayal of Tamburlaine closely reflects the description of Timur in Arabic accounts, which suggests that he may have had the opportunity to study with Jewish scholars of Hebrew and Arabic while a student at Cambridge.
- Moore, Roger E. "The Spirit and the Letter: Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* and Elizabethan Religious Radicalism." *Studies in Philology* 99.2 (2002): 123–51. Compares John Pennyman's attempted burning of his books, including a Bible, to Tamburlaine's conflagration of the Koran. In the hero's "spiritual fanaticism," Marlowe explores the antinomian excesses that often resulted from the inner light philosophies then emerging in England" (126–27), but criticizes rather than champions these radical religious viewpoints.
- Myers, Brian Gregory. "Marlowe's Artistry in the Language of 'Tamburlaine the Great' Part One." *Dissertation Abstracts International, Section A: The Humanities and Social Sciences* 61.7 (2001): 2733–34.
- Newmark, Paige. "Marlowe, Maps, and Might." In *Renaissance Poetry and Drama in Context: Essays for Christopher Wortham*, edited by Andrew Lynch and Anne M. Scott, 129–44. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2008. Marlowe appropriates the esteem of cartography yet challenges the use of maps in the play's two parts: "For Tamburlaine, possession of Zenocrate is based on the same language as possession of the land" (136).
- Paul, J. Gavin. "English Renaissance Drama: The Imprints of Performance." *Literature Compass* 5.3 (2006): 529–40. The early editions of *Tamburlaine*, *The White Devil* (1612), and *Sejanus His Fall* (1603) demonstrate that Renaissance printers developed typographic features such as lists of *dramatis personae*, speech-prefixes, stage directions, and scene locations that "provide

readers with the means to conceptualize the play as performance" (530).

Pireddu, Silvia. "'Di caldi sensi e di liberal carne l'esempio': Tamerlano e il teatro delle virtù: Riflessioni sulla tragedia della restaurazione." *Confronto Letterario: Quaderni del Dipartimento di Lingue e Letterature Straniere Moderne dell'Università di Pavia* 39 (2003): 37–106.

———. *Tamburlaine the Great: Corpo, voce e singolarità nella cultura del Rinascimento*. Undine: Campanotto, 2004.

Porter, John. "The Definition and Redefinition of West African Muslims in Tudor Drama." *Dissertation Abstracts International, Section A: The Humanities and Social Sciences* 66.9 (2006): 3313.

Reynolds, Bryan, and Ayanna Thompson. "Viewing Antitheatricity; or, *Tamburlaine's* Post-Theater." In *Transversal Enterprises in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries: Fugitive Explorations*, edited by Bryan Reynolds, 168–82. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006. Considers *Tamburlaine* from the perspective of transversal poetics: The play co-opts antitheatrical claims and offers a mode of "post-theater" that differs radically from the dominant naturalistic mode of early modern drama.

Richter, Claudia. "Performing God's Wrath: *Tamburlaine*, Calvinism and the Phantasmata of Terror." *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* 143 (2007): 52–70. Violent fantasies seen on the early modern stage and elsewhere in the period derive from Calvinist theology and rhetoric, with which Marlowe was familiar, and which manifest themselves in *Tamburlaine*.

Schray, Kateryna A. R. "'Is This Your Crown?' Conquest and Coronation in *Tamburlaine I*, Act II Scene 4." *Cahiers Elisabethains* 68 (2005): 19–26. Analyzes the role of crowns in the two parts of *Tamburlaine* and concludes that the hero's coronations more than his victories establish his power: "to acquire a crown is great; to confer a crown is greater" (25).

Stripling, Mary. "Tamburlaine's Domestic Threat." In *Performing Maternity in Early Modern England*, edited by Kathryn M. Moncrief and Kathryn R. McPherson, 211–23. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007. No "military opponent plagues Tamburlaine with as much anxiety as maternity does. Motherhood in *Tamburlaine* is mysterious, powerful, even lethal—and a reading

of both parts of *Tamburlaine* reveals that women have a destabilizing effect, even on the seemingly invulnerable Tamburlaine” (211).

Strycharski, Andrew Thomas. “‘Stronge and Tough Studie’: Humanism, Education, and Masculinity in Renaissance England.” *Dissertation Abstracts International, Section A: The Humanities and Social Sciences* 65.8 (2005): 3004.

Szurawitzki, Michael Max. “Contra den ‘rex iustus/rex iniquus?’ Der Einfluss von Machiavellis *Il Principe* auf Marlowes *Tamburlaine*, Shakespeares *Heinrich V* und Gryphius’ *Leo Armenius*. [Against the ‘Just Rules/Unjust Ruler?’ The influence of Machievelli’s *The Prince* on Marlowe’s *Tamburlaine*, Shakespeare’s *Henry V* and Gryphius’ *Leo Armenius*]. *Dissertation Abstracts International, Section C: Worldwide* 67.2 (2006): 495.

———. “Contra den ‘rex iustus/rex iniquus?’ Der Einfluss von Machiavellis *Il Principe* auf Marlowes *Tamburlaine*, Shakespeares *Heinrich V* und Gryphius’ *Leo Armenius*.” *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 106.3 (2005): 349–56.

———. *Contra den “rex iustus/rex iniquus”? Der Einfluss von Machiavellis “Il Principe” auf Marlowes “Tamburlaine,” Shakespeares “Heinrich V,” und Gryphius’ “Leo Armenius.”* Würzburg, Germany: Königshausen & Neumann, 2005.

Tate, Joseph. “Tamburlaine’s Urine.” In *Fecal Matters in Early Modern Literature and Art: Studies in Scatology*, edited by Jeff Persels and Russell Ganim, 138–53. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004. The uroscopy undergone by the dying Tamburlaine so accurately reflects contemporary practice that Marlowe likely studied standard Galenic texts at Cambridge, such as Robert Record’s *The Vrinal of Physick*.

Taunton, Nina. *1590s Drama and Militarism: Portrayals of War in Marlowe, Chapman, and Shakespeare’s “Henry V.”* Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2001. Accounts for real and fictional generals, military strategies, and military encampments in study of plays such as *Tamburlaine* and manuals on the art of war, all of which reflect military anxieties toward the end of Elizabeth’s reign. Marlowe’s hero errs in giving preferments to friends, but otherwise conforms to accepted standards of leadership.

———. “Unlawful Presences: The Politics of Military Space and the Problem of Women in *Tamburlaine*.” In *Literature, Mapping*

*and the Politics of Space in Early Modern Britain*, edited by Andrew Gordon and Bernhard Klein, 138–54. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. Writers of military treatises defined military camps as exclusively male spaces. The theories of Georges Bataille, Irigaray, and de Certeau inform the concept of women's troubled identity in the discussion of gendered space in the two *Tamburlaine* plays: "Diverse texts with a military theme revolve around the problems associated with lack of official provision for the presence of women in the sixteenth-century military camp" (152).

Ward, Allyna E. "Lucanic Irony in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*." *Modern Language Review* 103.2 (2008): 311–29. Marlowe makes explicit reference to Lucan in *Tamburlaine*, thereby exposing "the irony in reformation theories of divine kingship and tyranny" (313). The play problematizes Protestant doctrines concerning tyranny and resistance. The hero's "extreme tyranny over men is just one symptom of a world in which resistance to tyranny is forbidden and where men believe that all magistrates, even self-appointed ones, are ordained by God" (324).

Whitfield, Pam. "'Divine Zenocrate,' 'Wretched Zenocrate': Female Speech and Disempowerment in *Tamburlaine I*." *Renaissance Papers* (2000): 87–97. Feminist analysis of the play concludes that *Tamburlaine*'s emotional manipulation of Zenocrate systematically disempowers her and reduces her to silence. This moral wrong encourages the audience to condemn his ambition and lack of humanity.

Whitney, Charles. "Tamburlaine and Self-Shattering, 1605: Applying the New Reception Theories." *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 42 (2003): 79–91. Recent theories of early modern dramatic reception inform this analysis of two theatrical recollections in John Davies of Hereford's *Wittes Pilgrimage* (1605): a description of standing by a pillar at the back of an amphitheater yard and watching a play and a sonnet in which the speaker recalls seeing a production of *Tamburlaine*.

Winiarski, Catherine Eileen. "Adulterers, Idolaters, and Emperors: The Politics of Iconoclasm in English Renaissance Drama." *Dissertation Abstracts International, Section A: The Humanities and Social Sciences* 68.9 (2008): 3845.

## Translations and Poetry

Ardolino, Frank. "Jimmy Stewart as the Passionate Shepherd in MGM'S *Come Live with Me*." *Marlowe Society of America Newsletter* 28.2/29.1 (2009): 13–14. Accessed April 26, 2011. <http://users.ipfw.edu/stapletm/msa/NLArch.html>. *Come Live With Me* (dir. Clarence Brown, 1941) is "the only Hollywood film whose title, plot, and themes are entirely indebted to a Marlowe work" (13). It "appropriates Marlowe's most famous poem to promote the abiding American values of pastoral wisdom and peacefulness" (14).

———. "The Passionate Shepherd at the Movies." *Marlowe Society of America Newsletter* 22.1 (2002): 3–7. Accessed April 26, 2011. <http://users.ipfw.edu/stapletm/msa/NLArch.html>. Identifies allusions to "Passionate Shepherd" in five films.

Berry, Philippa. "Renewing the Concept of Renaissance: The Cultural Influence of Paganism Reconsidered." In *Textures of Renaissance Knowledge*, edited by Philippa Berry and Margaret Tudeau-Clayton, 17–34. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003. Though the term "Renaissance" emphasizes the connections between humanism and classical antiquity, an awareness of the "fundamental alterity of classical culture" (25) animated fifteenth- and sixteenth-century thought, which the changing reception of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* suggests, especially in *Hero and Leander* and Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*.

Boehrer, Bruce, and Trish Thomas Henley. "Automated Marlowe: *Hero and Leander*, 31–36." *Exemplaria* 20.1 (2008): 98–119. The automated sparrows on Hero's buskins occasion a discussion of Renaissance *automata*, part of the poem's contrast between nature and artifice, which Marlowe uses as a metaphor for the human body, and which is then related to Hero's repressed sexuality.

Booth, Roy. "Hero's Afterlife: *Hero and Leander* and 'Lewd Unmannerly Verse' in the Late Seventeenth Century." *Early Modern Literary Studies* 12.3 (2007): ¶1–24. Accessed April 26, 2011. <http://extra.shu.ac.uk/emls/12-3/boother2.htm>. Jonson's burlesque of *Hero* in *Bartholomew Fair* (1614) is the first of many in the seventeenth century, including one by Wycherley.

- Boutcher, Warren. "Who Taught Thee Rhetoricke to Deceive a Maid?": Christopher Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*, Juan Boscán's *Leandro*, and Renaissance Vernacular Humanism." *Comparative Literature* 52.1 (2000): 11–52. Renaissance humanists developed a canon of vernacular writers deemed worthy of study to complement their canon of classical authors, such as Juan Boscán Almogáver (1490–1542), whose *Leandro* may have influenced Marlowe's conception of his poem, particularly in the Mercury episode.
- Brandt, Bruce E. "The Order of Marlowe's *Certain of Ovid's Elegies*." *Selected Proceedings: The Seventeenth Annual Northern Plains Conference of Early British Literature*. College of St. Benedict/St. John's University, 2009. Accessed April 26, 2011. <http://www.mnstate.edu/hamrick/NPCEBLWeb/NPCEBLWeb.htm>. The ten poems in *Certain of Ovid's Elegies* possess a discernible rationale for their order.
- Brown, Georgia E. "Gender and Voice in *Hero and Leander*." In Downie and Parnell, *Constructing Christopher Marlowe*, 148–63. *Hero* partakes of the literary debates of the 1590s. Marlowe eschews the humanist defense of literature on the grounds of its underlying moral or political truths, instead constructing his "self-consciously literary text" from attributes the movement considered trivial in order "to challenge sexual, gender, and aesthetic conventions" (150).
- . "Marlowe's Poems and Classicism." In Cheney, *Cambridge Companion*, 106–26. Survey of Marlowe's poetry stresses his engagement with classicism and his poetic innovation. Includes a discussion of the Latin Manwood elegy, which demonstrates "hitherto unacknowledged wit" (108).
- . *Redefining Elizabethan Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. Argues that shame is the pivotal element in the changing writing practices of late Elizabethan England, and provides an intriguing analysis of the epyllion's combination of the erotic and the aesthetic, much of which focuses on *Hero and Leander*.
- Bruster, Douglas. *Quoting Shakespeare: Form and Culture in Early Modern Drama*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000. A pointed critique of New Historicism. Early dramatic quotations of "The Passionate Shepherd" almost invariably suggest that the threat of force lies behind the invitation "to come live with

me”: The wealthy and powerful speaker of the invitation offers wealth and pleasure, but it is an offer that one can’t refuse.

Carlson, Cindy L. “Clothing Naked Desire in Marlowe’s *Hero and Leander*.” In *Gender Reconstructions: Pornography and Perversions in Literature and Culture*, edited by Cindy L. Carlson, Robert L. Mazzola, and Susan M. Bernardo, 25–41. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2002. Analysis of eroticism in *Hero* concludes that Leander is the safe choice for the poem’s mostly male readers to relate to while Hero is the disorderly choice, embodying “a perverse turning away from the promises of love and life” (38).

Carver, Gordon. “The Elizabethan Erotic Narrative: Sex(y) Reading.” *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 31 (2005): 107–34. Analyzes the rise and decline of the erotic epyllion.

Charney, Maurice. “Marlowe’s *Hero and Leander* Shows Shakespeare, in *Venus and Adonis*, How to Write an Ovidian Verse Epyllion.” In Deats and Logan, *Marlowe’s Empery*, 85–94. Shakespeare consciously modeled his poem on Marlowe’s.

Cheney, Patrick. “‘Deep-Brained Sonnets’ and ‘Tragic Shows’: Shakespeare’s Late Ovidian Art in *A Lover’s Complaint*.” In *Critical Essays on Shakespeare’s “A Lover’s Complaint”*: *Suffering Ecstasy*, edited by Shirley Sharon-Zisser, 55–77. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006. Shakespeare’s Ovidianism in *A Lover’s Complaint* is “distinctly Marlovian,” not only in its echoes of *Hero* but in “the young courtier himself, an Ovidian figure of desire deploying both poetry and theater, who most compellingly conjures up the perturbed spirit of Christopher Marlowe, his Ovidian career, and what it serves: a counter-Virgilian nationhood” (58).

———. “Milton, Marlowe, and Lucan: The English Authorship of Republican Liberty.” *Milton Studies* 49 (2009): 1–19. Marlowe as a formative influence on Milton’s Lucanian republicanism.

———. *Marlowe’s Republican Authorship: Lucan, Liberty, and the Sublime*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. A pioneering vision of English republicanism and liberty is evident throughout Marlowe’s poems and plays, which affects his understanding of authorship. He developed a poetics of the sublime in the service of his republican vision.

Darcy, Robert F. “‘Under My Hands . . . a Double Duty’: Printing and Pressing Marlowe’s *Hero and Leander*.” *Journal for Early*



- Modern Cultural Studies* 2.2 (2002): 26–56. Explores Blunt's role in "shaping the poem" and, by implication, its critical reception: finished or unfinished, comic or tragic. What the poem "delights in exposing, is that Renaissance epistemology gets one of its fundamental bearings from a fantasy of gender difference played out in everyday behavioral and linguistic conventions" (36). For a Renaissance reader the knowledge conformed by these gender fantasies is "knowledge about the differences between men and women" (37). "In *Hero and Leander*, the conventions of gender break down fictionally—first for Hero and later for Leander—laying by degrees a trap to incite the readers own crisis of epistemological expectation" (50).
- Duncan, Helga. "'Headdie Ryots' as Reformations: Marlowe's Libertine Poetics." *Early Modern Literary Studies* 12.2 (2006): ¶1–38. Accessed April 26, 2011. <http://extra.shu.ac.uk/emls/12-2/duncmarl.htm>. Shows that *Hero and Leander* participates profoundly in the theological debates of its day by relating it to Calvin's treatise *Against the Libertines* (1545), Gnosticism, and the *Adonia* (festival of Adonis).
- Edgecombe, Rodney Stenning. "An Allusion to *Hero and Leander* in Herbert's 'Whitsunday.'" *Notes and Queries* 51.1 (2004): 21. Stars walk the streets in both poems.
- . "Marlowe, Heine, and 'The Passionate Shepherd to His Love.'" *American Notes and Queries* 17.2 (2004): 39–40. Heine's allusion to "Passionate Shepherd" at the beginning of his poem "Tragödie" (1823).
- Grossberg, Benjamin Scott. "Leander and Neptune: Sodomy and the Implicit Conclusion of Marlowe's Epyllion." *Shakespeare and Renaissance Association of West Virginia: Selected Papers* 29 (2006): 15–26. Marlowe uses his readers' expectations that the Hero and Leander myth will end tragically to force them to finish the poem for themselves. The poem establishes a male-female and a male-male seduction which mirror each other: twin blazons, twin seduction scenes, twin pastoral narratives. There is, though, only one consummation scene, and readers are positioned to extrapolate the second: "to finish the poem and therefore to read sodomy, to experience firsthand just how closely related the discourses of classical homoeroticism and sodomy actually were" (24).

- Hester, M. Thomas. “‘Like a Spyed Spie’: Donne’s Baiting of Marlowe.” In *Literary Circles and Cultural Communities in Renaissance England*, edited by Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth, 24–43. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000. Protestant readers may have seen “The Baite” (1633) as participating in a literary debate with Marlowe and Raleigh, but Catholics may have read it as mocking Marlowe and protesting anti-Catholic activities by Walsingham and his agents.
- Kemeny, Tomaso. “Ovidio attraverso lo sguardo d’amore di Marlowe.” *Confronto Letterario: Quaderni del Dipartimento di Lingue e Letterature Straniere Moderne dell’Università di Pavia e del Dipartimento di Linguistica e Letterature Comparate dell’Università di Bergamo* 33 (2000): 229–34. [*Hero and Leander*]
- Kinney, Arthur F. “Reading Marlowe’s Lyric.” In *Approaches to Teaching Shorter Elizabethan Poetry*, edited by Patrick Cheney and Anne Lake Prescott, 220–25. New York: Modern Language Association of America, 2000. Discusses teaching *Hero* and “Passionate Shepherd” and suggests moving from the longer poem to the shorter.
- Kitch, Aaron. “The Golden Muse: Protestantism, Mercantilism, and the Uses of Ovid in Marlowe’s *Hero and Leander*.” *Religion and Literature* 38.3 (2006): 157–76. Marlowe’s combination of the language of economics with that of the humanist defenses of poetry in *Hero* helped to transform the epyllion into “a medium both for expressing private and authentic Christian interiority and for redirecting nationalist fervor toward the less apocalyptic discourse of trade and exchange” (174).
- Leonard, John. “Marlowe’s Doric Music: Lust and Aggression in *Hero and Leander*.” *English Literary Renaissance* 30.1 (2000): 55–76. Rejects Tucker Brooke’s rearrangement of the lines describing the consummation, arguing in favor of Marlowe’s original order, which lures us into the poem and presents the narrator as consciously ironic. Leander’s reference to Doric music (of love, not war) shows that he seeks sexual conquest. Three similes in the consummation scene suggest Hero does not consent or enjoy herself, which Chapman’s continuation confirms: Empedoclean strife, the Hesperian apples, and the strangled bird.
- Lyne, Raphael. “Lyrical Wax in Ovid, Marlowe, and Donne.” In *Ovid and the Renaissance Body*, edited by Goran V. Stanivukovic

and Valerie Traub, 191–206. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001. Ovid's love poetry connects the wax of the writing tablet "to the act of creation, the physical nature of the body, and the urgent sexual desire of the poet" (192). In the *Elegies*, Marlowe transforms the wax tablet into paper and ink, the writing medium of his time, a conceit that Donne extends in his focus on "the corporeal associations of the wax" (198).

Macfie, Pamela Royston. "All Ovids Elegies, the *Amores*, and the Allusive Close of Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*." *Renaissance Papers* (2004): 1–16. Identifies several allusions to the language and phrasing of *All Ovids Elegies* in the closing lines of *Hero* which reveal the lovers' relationship to be "empty of joy and tenderness" (2).

———. "Marlowe's Ghost-Writing of Ovid's *Heroides*." *Renaissance Papers* (2001): 57–72. Allusions to the *Heroides* in *Hero* show his interest in exploring parallels between Ovid's project and his own.

Moulton, Ian Frederick. *Before Pornography: Erotic Writing in Early Modern England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. Section on the 1599 burning of Marlowe's *Elegies* and Davies's *Epigrams* (103–9) suggests that the censorship may have been directed toward Marlowe and not simply Davies, as has been argued. Moulton also proposes a narrative order to the ten poems selected for this edition of the Ovid's elegies.

Orgel, Stephen. "Musaeus in English." *George Herbert Journal* 29.1/2 (2005): 67–75. Describes four English translations of Musaeus that appeared before 1700: Marlowe's, "obviously a work designed to be a fragment" (70), completed by Chapman, Chapman's later translation (1616), Sir Robert Stapylton's (1647), and Thomas Hoy's (1682).

Pasquarella, Vincenzo. "The Implications of Tucker Brooke's Transposition in *Hero and Leander* by Christopher Marlowe." *Studies in Philology* 105.4 (2008): 520–32. Contests C. F. Tucker Brooke's transposition of the consummation passage in *Hero*.

Perez Fernandez, José María. "From Virtue to Compulsion: Epic, Translation and the Significance of Early Modern Blank Verse." *Cahiers Elisabéthains* 75 (2009): 1–16. Contrasts Surrey's blank verse translation of Virgil with Marlowe's *Lucan* and argues that the poetics of *Lucan* underlies the verse of Marlowe's ambitious stage characters.

- Potter, Rebecca C. "The Nymph's Reply Nine Months Later." In *"And Never Know the Joy": Sex and the Erotic in English Poetry*, edited by C. C. Barfoot, 107–22. Amsterdam, Netherlands: Rodopi, 2006. Subtexts of "Passionate Shepherd" and "To His Coy Mistress" (1651–52) invoke fertility and the dangers of pregnancy.
- Riehle, Wolfgang. "What's in Lysander's Name?" *Notes and Queries* 54.3 (2007): 274–75. Lysander's name in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* alludes to Marlowe's Leander.
- Rivière de Carles, Nathalie. "Tenture et théâtre, de Minerve à Théspis." *Anglophonia: French Journal of English Studies* 13 (2003): 83–96. Compares weaving and myth in *Hero and Leander*, *Love's Labours Lost*, and *1 Henry IV*.
- Roe, John. "Ovid 'Renascent' in *Venus and Adonis* and *Hero and Leander*." In *Shakespeare's Ovid: The Metamorphoses in the Plays and Poems*, edited by A. B. Taylor, 31–46. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. *Venus* and *Hero* "changed the English perception and use of Ovid" (31). Shakespeare's epyllion, like Marlowe's, uses comic detachment, but is less skeptical and more concerned for the outcome of his lovers' passion.
- Semler, L. E. "Marlovian Therapy: The Chastisement of Ovid in *Hero and Leander*." *English Literary Renaissance* 35.2 (2005): 159–86. Marlowe's use of his classical sources for "It lies not in our power to love, or hate," "creatures wanting sense," and "Love is not full of pity" demonstrates that *Hero* is "an Epicurean critique of Ovid's love" (160).
- Sinfield, Alan. "Marlowe's Erotic Verse." In *Early Modern English Poetry: A Critical Companion*, edited by Patrick Cheney, Andrew Hadfield, and Garrett A. Sullivan, 125–35. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007. Explores the nature of the erotic appeal of Marlowe's poetry to Elizabethans.
- Summers, Claude J. "'Hero and Leander': The Arbitrariness of Desire." In Downie and Parnell, *Constructing Christopher Marlowe*, 133–47. The depiction of love as arbitrary and irrational in *Hero* destabilizes the conventional Neoplatonic and Petrarchan idealizations of its day and therefore "demonstrates the inequities of a gender system that commodifies women" (133) and deconstructs "his age's received ideas about same-sex relationships" (137).

Tamaizumi, Yasuo. "Hitsujikai no hen'yo (ge): Marlowe kara Cotton e." *Eigo Seinen/Rising Generation* 151.6 (2005): 361–35. ["Passionate Shepherd"]

———. "Hitsujikai no hen'yo (jo): Marlowe kara Cotton e." *Eigo Seinen/Rising Generation* 151.5 (2005): 273–37. ["Passionate Shepherd"]

Weaver, William P. "Marlowe's Fable: *Hero and Leander* and the Rudiments of Eloquence." *Studies in Philology* 105.3 (2008): 388–408. "In his adaptation of Musaeus's poem, Marlowe demonstrates the same strategy found in the mock-heroic amplification of a fable; he uses two formal elements for amplification: description and declamation" (398). Comparisons to Erasmus and Spenser.

———. "The Rudiments of Eloquence: Pedagogy and Literary Practice in the English Renaissance." *Dissertation Abstracts International, Section A: The Humanities and Social Sciences* 68.6 (2007): 2468. [*Hero and Leander*]