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Abbreviations for Marlowe's Works

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

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THE EDITORS
Fore-words

We are honored to publish the fourth issue of *Marlowe Studies: An Annual* in the year that marks the 450th anniversary of the author's birth in Canterbury. As always, we solicit essays on scholarly topics directly related to Marlowe 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.

For a fourth year, we offer essays that represent a cross-section of Marlowe studies as they now stand. Our first, by Bethany Packard, explores what has heretofore seemed a minor point in the study of *Edward II*, a reference to the game known as prisoner's base. Her paper explains that, on the contrary, the metaphor "serves as a lens for reading the paradoxically precocious character of Prince Edward, Edward II's fall, and the action of the play." Christine Edwards's analysis of imitation in *Dido*, *Queen of Carthage* explains Marlowe's constant awareness of his source text, the *Aeneid*, and how his incarnations of Dido and Aeneas "grapple for their own identity against an ever-present mythic backdrop." Lisa Hopkins, one of the world's leading authorities on Marlowe, examines his unexpected yet frequent yoking of two figures from classical epic and mythology, Aeneas and Actaeon, and how this connection helped him "question the idea of patrilineal transmission, . . . and for the cultural uses to which Marlowe's England put it." Annette Drew-Bear takes up the controversial issue of the reception and influence of Marlowe's plays by reading

the tragedy *Lust's Dominion* (first published 1657) against works such as *Tamburlaine* and *Edward II* and attempting to identify Marlovian elements therein, those that survived into the middle of the seventeenth century. John Christopher Frongillo convincingly argues for the importance of what has seemed to some as a somewhat gratuitous element in in the infrequently studied B-text of *Doctor Faustus*, the Duke of Vanholt scene, and suggests its literal and figurative centrality to the play. The distinguished theater historian Ruth Lunney applies her considerable knowledge of the pre-1595 English stage to a longstanding problem in Marlowe studies. Although *The Massacre at Paris* exists in what most have believed to be a mutilated and therefore imperfect form, it clearly influenced a decade's worth of plays. From this perspective she accounts for the distinctiveness of *Massacre* then and now. Corinna Box analyzes a text that we have not previously published an essay about in *Marlowe Studies*, the playwright's banned translation of Ovid's *Amores*, *All Ovid's Elegies*. She builds on the work of her predecessors to provide further evidence of Marlowe's excellence and attention to nuance in recreating poetry from an ancient language and transforming it into his own while preserving the effects of the poet from antiquity.

We thank the members of our editorial board who evaluated manuscripts for publication. We are grateful to our contributors, who wrote the essays, submitted them in a timely fashion, accepted our suggestions for revision in our editorial commentary, and revised accordingly without complaint. We offer special thanks to five people at our sponsoring institution, Indiana University-Purdue University, Fort Wayne: Elaine Blakemore, Interim Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences; Jessica Neuenschwander, who joined our staff as our editorial assistant; she succeeds Kendra Morris, our former (and first) editorial assistant, who contributed to this issue; and Cathleen Carosella, our managing editor, whose knowledge of publication, scholarship, copy-editing, journals, libraries, printers, and finance helps make our enterprise successful. We also thank our former Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, Carl N. Drummond, now the Vice-Chancellor of Academic Affairs at our sponsoring institution, who encouraged us

to found *Marlowe Studies* and who has always provided his moral and financial support.

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BETHANY PACKARD

Playing Prisoner's Base in Marlowe's *Edward II*

Act 4, scene 2 of Christopher Marlowe's *Edward II* opens with Queen Isabella and Prince Edward reacting to the French king's refusal to provide them with assistance. Rejected by her brother, estranged from her husband, and isolated in the country of her birth, Isabella is temporarily at a loss. Then Sir John of Hainault intervenes, offering a safe haven along with financial and political support. Isabella accepts his offer, and young Prince Edward also warmly agrees. However, as the adult conversation anticipates an invasion with the prince as its symbolic head, Edward objects to their assumptions. When Sir John promises, "We will find comfort, money, men and friends / Ere long, to bid the English king a base. / How say, young prince? What think you of the match?" (65–67), the prince replies, "I think King Edward will outrun us all" (68).[1] Sir John's lines refer to prisoner's base, a game played between two teams that begins with a member of one side leaving the team base to taunt the members of the opposing side into pursuing him. Overtly, Marlowe's metaphor indicates that the rebels will provoke Edward II into a reaction that will endanger him. The game language also functions in a pejorative sense, grouping together King Edward and his son as game-playing children without military acumen. However, I argue that the prisoner's base metaphor is more than a belittling reference or brief instance of foreshadowing. It serves as a lens for reading the paradoxically precocious character of Prince Edward, Edward II's fall, and the action of the play. The multifaceted interconnections

1. Christopher Marlowe, *Edward the Second*, ed. Charles R. Forker (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1994). All subsequent references to *Edward II* are from this edition unless otherwise noted.

between the play and the game highlight *Edward II*'s contingent version of royal agency.

The reference to prisoner's base may demean father and son and allude to Edward II's imprisonment, but it also conveys the potential for Mortimer and Isabella's downfall and Prince Edward's role in it. The game metaphor invokes negative period assumptions about play, considered frivolous and a waste of time.[2] It also seems to be unfavorable about children, described as lacking reason and focused on immediate gratification.[3] The two Edwards may echo such characterizations. For example, Sir John's lines recall the former tutor Baldock's praise of Edward II's newly aggressive attitude toward military confrontation with Mortimer and the barons. He declares that the king has ceased to behave: "As though your highness were a schoolboy still / And must be awed and governed like a child" (3.1.30–31). Meanwhile, the prince is naively optimistic about the strength of his father's grip on power. Even as he deploys these pejorative implications, Marlowe undercuts them by binding together the game, his play's action, and its thematic concerns. Play also had positive associations and pedagogical value.[4] In *Edward II*, prisoner's base contributes to Prince Edward's education and ascent to power. The prince is overtly wrong about his father; Edward II will not outrun his enemies. However, Marlowe's phrasing of the prince's reply anticipates King Edward III and the revenge he will take in his father's name by the final scene. Further, Sir John's "we"

2. Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2001), 196–197; *Francis Willughby's Book of Games: A Seventeenth-Century Treatise on Sports, Games and Pastimes*, ed. David Cram, Jeffrey L. Forgeng, and Dorothy Johnson (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2003), 64–69; John Harrington, *Nugæ Antiquæ: Being a Miscellaneous Collection of Original Papers, in Prose and Verse. . .* , ed. Henry Harington (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1968), 2:155; and John Northbrooke, *A Treatise against Dicing, Dancing, and Interludes: With Other Idle Pastimes* (London: Shakespeare Society, 1843), 9–11.

3. Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1994), 12–14; Paul Griffiths, *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England, 1560–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 34–36; Mark A. Heberle, "'Innocent Prate': *King John* and Shakespeare's Children," in *Infant Tongues: The Voice of the Child in Literature*, ed. Elizabeth Goodenough, Mark A. Heberle, and Naomi Sokoloff (Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1994), 28–43, 29–31; Orme, *Medieval Children*, 102, 123–24; and Keith Thomas, "Children in Early Modern England," in *Children and Their Books: A Celebration of the Work of Iona and Peter Opie*, ed. Gillian Avery and Julia Briggs (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), 45–77.

4. Harrington, *Nugæ Antiquæ*, 154–57, 173; Northbrooke, *Treatise against Dicing*, 44, 106–7; Richard Mulcaster, *Positions* Wherein Those Primitive Circumstances Be Examined. . . . (London, 1581), C3v–Cvr; and Roger Ascham, *Toxophilus*, ed. Peter E. Medine (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2002), 53–55.

includes all of the adults in the upcoming match. This game is not just for children and the foolishly childlike.[5] Marlowe's language makes them all players (as, in a sense, the actors already are).

Throughout the play, Marlowe creates overlaps between game, drama, and civil strife. In the context of Shakespeare's experimentation with chronicle history in the first tetralogy, Naomi Conn Liebler argues that "as structural or thematic elements, [games, play, and ritual] cannot be ignored, and they work in the plays as shapers of the audience's or the reader's reception."[6] Her point also applies to Marlowe. While early moderns might use the terms "play" and "game" interchangeably, such that prisoner's base could be called a "play" just as surely as *Edward II*, I do not assert equivalence between stage play, game play, and war as a kind of game. Rather, I argue that the playwright conflates these elements, so that game sometimes bleeds into the performance of the players, the performance of civil war intersects with the prisoner's base metaphor, and so on. By highlighting these elements, Marlowe conveys the ambiguity of Prince Edward's agency and royal authority. Although other popular early modern games might invoke such overlapping, Marlowe's use of prisoner's base in particular enables striking interactions between seemingly fixed rules and contingent variations across the many forms of play in *Edward II*. Features of prisoner's base align with some of the plot events, they emerge through aspects of characters, and they undermine the ideal of stable, unconditional monarchical power.

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5. On prisoner's base played by children and adults, see Randle Holme, *The Academy of Armory; or, A Storehouse of Armory and Blazon. . . .* ed. I. H. Jeayes (London: J. B. Nichols & Sons, 1905), 81; Iona Opie and Peter Opie, *Children's Games in Street and Playground: Chasing, Catching, Seeking, Hunting, Racing, Duelling, Exerting, Daring, Guessing, Acting, Pretending* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), 145. On a match between gentlemen of Cheshire and Derbyshire in 1770 played at Montague House, now site of the British Museum, see: Joseph Strutt, *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England. . . .* (London: William Tegg, 1867), 79. For popularity among young men of North Shropshire and Cheshire, particularly in the eighteenth century, see: Charlotte Sophia Burne, *Shropshire Folk-Lore: A Sheaf of Gleanings* (London: Trübner, 1883), 524. For a ballad commemorating a 1764 match of married men versus bachelors in Shropshire, see: Alice Bertha Gomme, *The Traditional Games of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1984), 2:82–83. *Willughby's The Book of Games* does not explicitly list it in the section on children's pastimes.

6. Naomi Conn Liebler, "King of the Hill: Ritual and Play in the Shaping of *3 Henry VI*," in *Shakespeare's English Histories: A Quest for Form and Genre*, ed. John W. Velz (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1996), 31–54, 33.

The rules of prisoner's base intertwine with political life in Marlowe's play. There are multiple forms of "base," and the name itself is fluid.[7] However, even with such variety, there are some rough constants. Iona and Peter Opie stress that it is a catching game, not a chasing game like tag. Players have specific goals beyond escaping the chaser. Additionally, the catcher must frequently do more than tap a fleeing player. Often he or she must physically restrain a captured player, holding the opponent down or dragging the opponent to a designated prison. These kinds of physical requirements could lend themselves to violence and chaos: "some of the catching games take on the appearance of a series of dog-fights, and it is remarkable that they ever manage to remain games."[8] The emphasis on goals and structure in catching games recall the structure of dramatic conventions, while the potential for chaos in catching games invokes uncertainty and the prospect of role-reversal evident in *Edward II*.

With its combination of limits and possibilities, Marlowe's prisoner's base metaphor aligns with Thomas Malaby's definition of game play: "A game is a semibounded and socially legitimate domain of contrived contingency that generates interpretable outcomes."[9] Both prisoner's base and *Edward II* have "semibounded" limits. Neither can be completely cordoned off from what we might consider day-to-day life. Many Western theorists of games and play, including Johan Huizinga and Gregory Bateson, stress separability as a primary feature. They assert that play can be divided from everyday life and from work and viewed as nonproductive.[10] Instead, Malaby argues "games are activities that can accommodate any number and kind of stakes and are not intrinsically consequence free or,

7. Additional variations: bars, base, Chivy, prison base, prison bars, prisoners' bars, prisoners' base, and prison birds. Paul G. Brewster, "Games and Sports in Shakespeare," in *The Study of Games*, ed. Elliott M. Avedon and Brian Sutton-Smith (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1971), 27–47, 41; Burne, *Shropshire Folk-Lore*, 524; Opie, *Children's Games*, 143–45; and Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes*, 78.

8. Opie, *Children's Games*, 124. Prisoner's base and its variants were viewed as lower status or rustic and prone to violence. Willughby, *Book of Games*, 59; Holme, *Academy of Armory*, 81.

9. Thomas M. Malaby, "Beyond Play: A New Approach to Games," *Games and Culture* 2.2 (2007): 95–113, 96.

10. Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture*, trans. R. Hull (Boston: Beacon P, 1964), 7–13; Gregory Bateson, "A Theory of Play and Fantasy," *Steps to an Ecology of Mind: Collected Essays in Anthropology, Psychiatry, Evolution, and Epistemology* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2000), 177–93, esp. 186–91; and Opie, *Children's Games*, 1.

therefore, separable from everyday experience."[11] This applies to Marlowe's prisoner's base metaphor, since the stakes established by Sir John involve control over the kingdom and the fates of many characters. As Glending Olsen asserts, early drama was also perceived, "as a kind of playing and thus principally as a kind of social *activity* rather than as a kind of artistic creation or object," and could have consequences beyond the stage.[12] Both versions of play have permeable limits and flexible parameters. In the context of performance, Tom Bishop highlights audience and player interaction and collaboration, "the freedom they enjoy both to observe and to alter the rules that hold in place an agreement to regard a fictional action as taking place."[13] In his working notes for *The Book of Games*, Francis Willughby expressed great interest in: "How games may bee altered, varied and what may bee added to them."[14] The flexible rules and boundaries of both play and game generate "contrived contingencies"[15] in *Edward II*—sudden changes of fortune and character. The game, the drama, the plot events, and the themes overlap, interconnecting with and altering each other, yet they can still be distinguished from each other and retain some boundaries. To echo Malaby, my argument certainly depends on the interpretability of their outcomes.

Sir John's mention of prisoner's base may function as a means of containment, rhetorically separating both Edwards from access to power. However, it also embroils all of the characters in a game that they cannot control and whose outcomes they cannot predict. While contemporary and early modern attitudes toward games differ in many ways, like more recent theorists on games and play, Marlowe's Sir John, Mortimer, and Isabella presume separation between play and the workaday world, between children's games and political ones. A certain amount of separation might be useful, especially with catch games like prisoner's base that entail inherent potential for chaos and violence. As Gina Bloom notes, drawing on Bateson, the "frame" of play prevents participants and spectators from perceiving

11. Malaby, "Beyond Play," 98.

12. Glending Olsen, "Plays as Play: A Medieval Ethical Theory of Performance and the Intellectual Context of the *Tretise of Miraclis Pleyinge*," *Viator* 26 (1995): 195–221, 197.

13. Tom Bishop, "Shakespeare's Theater Games," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 40.1 (2010): 65–88, 70.

14. Willughby, *Book of Games*, 62.

15. Malaby, "Beyond Play," 96.

as a fight a bloody match that looks like a fight. She argues that early modern writers stressed the separation of games from everyday life—that games are not battles but are similar to them—in order to sustain a linear developmental fantasy: "By insisting that there is some difference between boys with their playful games and men with their serious pursuits, authors can iterate that boys who play archery or hurl well will become good warriors: that boys will become men."[16] Derek Jarman's 1991 film version of *Edward II* picks up on the power of games in child and plot development fantasies. Although Jarman cut the mention of prisoner's base, Prince Edward's first line in the movie is: "I think King Edward will outrun us all." The film amplifies the line's evocation of future vengeance, since the prince speaks while playing a version of chess with Mortimer and punctuates his declaration with a victorious, extra-textual "checkmate!"[17] The similitude is clear; Prince Edward beats Mortimer at this game, and he will be able to beat him at the larger political and military game as well. In his play, Marlowe's dramatic use of games undermines this kind of teleological progression. His reference to prisoner's base does not imply that the civil war is like the game. Prince Edward does not mature into an authoritative king because he is good at games. The reference also does not equate games and politics to the extent that Edward II actually becomes a child at play. Rather, as highlighted by Malaby's definition, the permeable boundaries between aspects of play in *Edward II* allow overlap. In the process they undercut both developmental ideals and assumptions about lineal descent, destabilizing fantasies of royal authority without collapsing this dramatic version of England into an indistinguishable mass of equivalences.

16. Gina Bloom, "'Boy Eternal': Aging, Games, and Masculinity in *The Winter's Tale*," *English Literary Renaissance* (ELR) 40.3 (2010): 329–56, 337. Both Bloom and Liebler stress the personal and societal collapse that comes when characters equate play and politics.

17. *Edward II*, directed by Derek Jarman, performed by Steven Waddington, Tilda Swinton, Andrew Tiernan, John Lynch, Nigel Terry (1991; Chatsworth, CA: Image Entertainment, 2005), DVD.

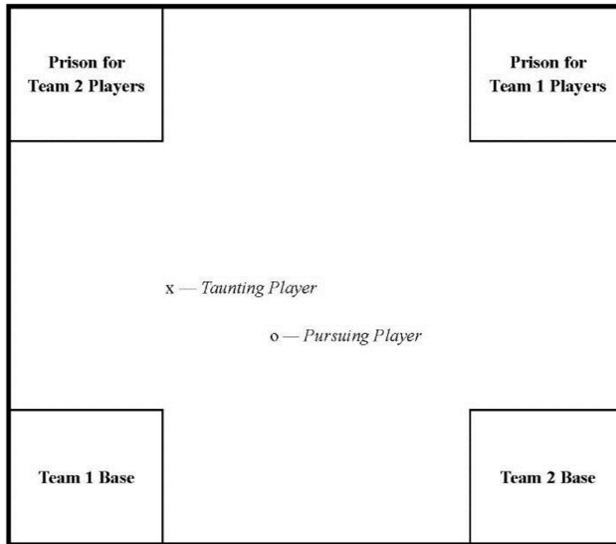

Figure 1. Prisoner's Base game general layout

Editorial explanations of the prisoner's base reference in *Edward II* tend to assume the game's most generalized form, with players running from one safe zone or "base" to another while avoiding a catcher or catchers who will take them to prison.[18] However, presuming a more specific form of the game reveals additional parallels to Marlowe's play, particularly in terms of contingent circumstances. This is not a baseless presumption, since, as the Opies note, prisoner's base "for centuries was the most renowned of catching or capturing games."[19] To play, two teams, potentially organized by captains, designate two bases on the same side of the playing area. Each team is also assigned a prison, usually located diagonally across from their respective bases (see figure 1). The game begins when one side sends a player out into the center to taunt its opponents. As soon as a player from the second team rushes out to chase the first player down, the taunting team sends out one of its own players to chase him or her. This series of moves means that, with the exception of the taunting first player, everyone on the field is both

18. Forker, *Edward II*, 244n66; Mark Thornton Burnett, ed., *The Complete Plays*, by Christopher Marlowe (London: Everyman, 2001), 561n66; and Martin Wiggins and Robert Lindsey, eds., *Edward the Second*, by Christopher Marlowe, 2nd ed. (London: New Mermaids, 1997), 82n66.

19. Opie, *Children's Games*, 143.

chasing and being chased. Players are only allowed to pursue the person they specifically left base to chase. If you catch your opponent, you are safe from capture yourself. Successful pursuers take their adversaries to prison and may return to their base.[20] Even if these rules are not followed precisely, the position of each participant as predator and prey is fundamental to the way the game was both played and perceived in the sixteenth century.[21] For example, Edmund Spenser relies on readers' recognition of this characteristic in *The Faerie Queene* when Artegall witnesses two Paynim knights: "As they had bene at bace / They being chased, that did others chase."[22] The knights pursue Samient, a lady of Queen Mercilla, and Arthur chases them, intent on rescuing her. Thus when Sir John, Isabella, and Mortimer "bid the English king a base," they are not just goading him to run from one base to another so that they can chase him, as a generalized view of prisoner's base might imply. They are inviting him to pursue them, and so are putting themselves at risk. The dual natures of the game's players reflect the successes and reversals of fortune in the civil war. Edward II is initially victorious, and in act 4, scene 3, immediately following Sir John's confident boast, he relishes the long list of his captured and executed enemies. However, Mortimer escapes Edward's clutches, and in the following scene he and Isabella enter triumphant. Soon, the rebel faction captures and incarcerates the king in a series of prisons until his murder. In the end his captors face imprisonment, as Edward III orders Mortimer to death and Isabella to the Tower. The game intermingles the positions of victim and aggressor. It enables sudden shifts of fortunes and the defining and redefining of players' roles based on the most recent events.

20. Opie, *Children's Games*, 143–44.

21. Willughby's version of "prison barres" eschews team captains in favor of children holding hands in two lines. The player on the head of the line for one team lets go, runs for a safe zone, and is chased by the corresponding player from the other team, who is then chased by the player on the first team who is now at the head of his or her line, and so on (*Book of Games*, 166). Strutt describes a handholding version in Cheshire and a variant in Essex that includes prisons and bases (*Sports and Pastimes*, 79–80). Gomme reports a London variant opening with a player in the center of the ground chanting, "Chevy, Chevy Chase, one, two, three" and ending when one team both imprisons all members of the opposing side and occupies their home base (*Traditional Games*, 81).

22. Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A. C. Hamilton (London: Longman, 2001), 5.8.5.4–5. Prisoner's base also appears in: Henry Chettle, *Tragedy of Hoffman* (c. 1603); Michael Drayon, *Polyolbion* (c. 1598); Ben Jonson, *The Sad Shepherd* (c. 1637); George Peele, *Edward I* (1591); Richard Brome, *The Antipodes* (1640); Samuel Rowlands, "Letting of Humors Blood . . . in the Head-vaine" (1600); and William Shakespeare, *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (1592), *Cymbeline* (1609), and *Venus and Adonis* (1592). See Brewster, "Games and Sports in Shakespeare," 27–47.

A team generally wins a game of prisoner's base when it imprisons most, or even all, of its opponents. However, imprisoned players can be rescued, which is another example of the game's "contrived contingency." One of the prisoner's teammates can leave base and head for the prison, instead of chasing an opponent. Of course, the other side will soon have a pursuer chasing the rescuer. The rescuer will have a head start, but he or she will have to run farther than the pursuer because the prisons for each team are located diagonally across from their bases. The other side's base is closer to the prison, so the pursuer has a chance to cut off the rescuer. Attempting to save a teammate from prison is especially risky; Joseph Strutt deems it "a difficult task, requiring the performance of the most skilful players."[23] If the rescuer makes it safely to the prison, both teammates can return to base and cannot be captured as they do so.[24] The events of the play echo the possibility of rescue in the game. The Earl of Kent's attempt to rescue his imprisoned brother singlehandedly in act 5, scene 3 seems ill conceived as a political move and as a brotherly gesture. However, when viewed through the lens of prisoner's base it resembles a high-risk, high-reward tactic for staving off defeat.

Later in *Edward II*, Marlowe simultaneously emphasizes his play's capacity for contingency and reprises Baldock's schoolboy reference with one of Mortimer's self-congratulatory speeches. Mortimer claims the role of schoolmaster to Edward III: "I view the prince with Aristarchus' eyes, / Whose looks were as a breeching to a boy" (5.4.52–53). Aristarchus is an ancient grammarian known for his severity, so Mortimer takes on the role of schoolmaster that Baldock ascribes to the nobles in general. His glance is supposedly enough to administer a beating.[25] Mortimer's hubris functions as a taunt that bids the new English king take a base, and Edward III soon catches him and orders his execution. Thus, while the rhetoric of game play may isolate and deride father and son, Marlowe also uses it to embroil most of his characters in a match prone to sudden reversals. Marlowe brings to fruition the interpretive possibility embedded in

23. Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes*, 80.

24. Opie, *Children's Games*, 144

25. Marie Rutkoski notes similarity between the whipping with which Mortimer threatens the prince and the manner of his father's death in "Breeching the Boy in Marlowe's *Edward II*," *Studies in English Literature* (*SEL*) 46.2 (2006): 281–304, 294.

Prince Edward's enthusiastic endorsement of his father: "I think King Edward will outrun us all." In a way, he does.

Sir John addresses the prisoner's base metaphor to Prince Edward, and the game, in particular the provisional roles of its players, serves as a means of interpreting this contradictory character. The young prince is sometimes naïve, sometimes perceptive. He seems to be politically powerless and yet is suddenly able to exercise considerable authority. Critical responses to these paradoxical qualities tend to group Prince Edward either with his father or his grandfather, a focus that recalls the categorizing impulses of some of the play's adult characters who strive to cordon off the Edwards. As a result of these associations, scholars often view the prince as continuing the trends of his father's reign or as reinstating the old order in his grandfather's memory. Claims about Edward III's family resemblance have implications for interpretations of Edward II and his sexuality, specifically the critical debate over whether his sexuality is transgressive, resistant to and unsettling norms, or whether it is contained within or even reinforces those norms.[26] Such categorizations also have implications for the play's portrayal of royal authority and its transmission. When Prince Edward asserts his authority at the end of the play, he may be sustaining transgressive changes, asserting or reasserting normative attitudes. The tableau of Edward III offering Mortimer's head to his father's corpse has the potential to emphasize family loyalties and thus to color retrospective interpretations of his father's reign. Keeping in mind the contingency associated with games like prisoner's base underscores Edward III's paradoxical qualities rather than aligning him with a particular predecessor or model of kingship. Such contingency is not just a feature of the game and the child king's characterization, but is also a component of the play's depiction of royal agency.

Prince Edward serves neither as a reemergence of the mythologized Longshanks nor as a continuation of his father. The boy is not restorative, although critics such as Carla Coleman Prichard, Marion Perret, and Sharon Tyler read the prince as repairing his father's mistakes and recalling the ideal of kingship frequently associated in the play with Edward I. Prichard asserts, for example:

26. David Stymeist, "Status, Sodomy, and the Theater in Marlowe's *Edward II*," *SEL* 44.2 (2004): 233–53.

"This child-king is the one who restores order to the empire by normalizing relationships on both a private and public level."[27] The idealization of the monarchy's past that makes "normalizing" claims possible appears when Kent invokes his father's authority in an attempt to chasten the barons who dare to argue with their king. He recalls when Percy dared to insult Mowbray in Longshanks' presence: "For which, had not his highness loved him well, / He should have lost his head; but with his look / The undaunted spirit of Percy was appeased" (1.1.111–13). Edward I functions as the embodiment of all-powerful kingship, his gaze disciplinary and his power absolute. In a sense, he is the play's ultimate authoritative schoolmaster. Tyler goes so far as to claim that Prince Edward is "a re-embodiment of his famous grandfather."[28] However, Edward III does not recall his grandfather and reassert some proper, lost sense of kingship, reestablishing royal authority squandered by his father. Although he overthrows Mortimer, he needs the lords' assistance to do so and the extent of his political control is uncertain. Indeed, the fact that even the supposedly redemptive young ruler does not reassert this supposedly lost view of kingship indicates that it never really existed to begin with.[29]

The biological son may not serve to reassert ruling patriarchal heteronormativity after the father's focus on homosexual romance, but he also does not follow in his father's footsteps. Some scholars highlight the similarities between father and son, stressing the occasions when Marlowe characterizes Edward II as a child and linking them to depictions of the prince, and noting the moments

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27. Carla Coleman Prichard, "'Learn then to Rule Us Better and the Realm': Restoration of Order and the Boy King in Marlowe's *Edward II*," in *Renaissance Papers*, ed. T. H. Howard-Hill and Philip Rollinson (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 1998), 29–38, 30; Marion Perret, "Edward III: Marlowe's Dramatic Technique," *A Review of English Literature* 7.4 (1966): 87–91; Sharon Tyler, "Bedfellows Make Strange Politics in Marlowe's *Edward II*," in *Drama, Sex, and Politics*, ed. James Redmond (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985) 55–68, 61–62. See also, H. David Brumble, "Personal, Paternal, and Kingly Control in Marlowe's *Edward II*," *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 34.1 (2008): 56–70, 66; and Sarah Munson Deats, "Marlowe's Fearful Symmetry in *Edward II*," in *"A Poet and a Filthy Play-Maker: New Essays on Christopher Marlowe*, ed. Kenneth Friedenreich, Roma Gill, and Constance Kuriyama (New York: AMS, 1988), 241–62, 244.

28. Tyler, "Bedfellows Make Strange Politics," 61. Brumble sees Kent's lines as offering a practical model of kingship ("Kingly Control in Marlowe's *Edward II*," 61).

29. On Shakespeare's royal heirs and healing children, see Carol Chillington Rutter, *Shakespeare and Child's Play: Performing Lost Boys on Stage and Screen* (London: Routledge, 2007), 17–18, 112–13.

when father and son stress their mutual family bonds.[30] For instance, Marie Rutkoski sees Edward III as likely to replicate his father's personal and political behavior because Marlowe associates him with the roles played by his father's minions. She argues, "The prince's ability to fill the position of the beloved . . . signals both political stability" and maintains "the homoeroticism and political upheaval" of his father's reign.[31] Although Edward II uses some common terms of endearment for Prince Edward, Gaveston, and Spencer, and although Marlowe's dialogue briefly characterizes both father and son as schoolboys, the two Edwards play the game differently. While Edward III's relationship with the peers is uncertain, unlike his father he wins their support for turning his vows of vengeance into reality.

Marlowe's depiction of Prince Edward as immature and observant, vulnerable and powerful, recalls the simultaneously imperiled and perilous position of prisoner's base players. Catherine Belsey declares: "One of the most striking instances of . . . disjunction in the drama between innocent child and authoritative king."[32] Even before the sudden shift from puppet king to ruler, Marlowe gives the prince naïve and knowing lines in quick succession. This disjunction appears in Prince Edward's first speech. When Edward II sends his wife and son to France as ambassadors, the prince reacts with both boasts and recognition that his parents are forcing him onto a political stage whose demands threaten to overwhelm him:

> Commit not to my youth things of more weight
> Than fits a prince so young as I to bear;
> And fear not, lord and father; heaven's great beams
> On Atlas' shoulder shall not lie more safe
> Than shall your charge committed to my trust. (3.1.74–78)

From the start, the prince grapples with the extent of his own agency. Perret notes that this speech stresses Edward's attentiveness to political issues from the very beginning, but he sees the boy's

30. Ian McAdam, "*Edward II* and the Illusion of Integrity," *Studies in Philology* 92.2 (1995): 203–29, 210, 223; Douglas Cole, *Suffering and Evil in the Plays of Christopher Marlowe* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1962), 161; and Rutkoski, "Breeching the Boy," 288–89.

31. Rutkoski, "Breeching the Boy," 286.

32. Catherine Belsey, "Little Princes: Shakespeare's Royal Children," in *Shakespeare and Childhood*, ed. Kate Chedgzoy, Susanne Greenhalgh, and Robert Shaughnessy (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007), 32–48, 39. On Prince Edward's mix of "deference and precocity" (13), see Evelyn Tribble, "Marlowe's Boy Actors," *Shakespeare Bulletin* 27.1 (2009): 5–17.

critiques as the source of "a convenient standard to measure the adults by."[33] Similarly, Constance B. Kuriyama views these lines as indicative of Marlowe's efforts to create in the prince "a positive, successful alternative to Edward's failure as a man and a king."[34] Rather than offering a replacement model for royal authority, I argue that this speech contains a contradictory mix of realistic reminder and high-flung declaration. Eager to prove himself, the prince goes from acknowledging his weakness to likening himself to the Titan who carries the weight of the world on his shoulders.[35] The Royal Shakespeare Company's 1990 production highlighted and dealt with the contradictions of this speech by dividing it in two. The first, self-effacing half caused Simon Russell Beale's Edward II to turn his back dismissively on his son, while after a pause, the appeal of the second, more rousing portion led him to turn and embrace Prince Edward, played by Callum Dixon.[36] While the speech's conclusion may be naïve bravado, with these lines Marlowe alludes to the role some characters and critics alike expect Edward to perform by the end of the play: the redeeming, world-righting young king. Yet Marlowe's varied introduction of the prince does not serve as the "first sign of a regality which links him with his grandfather, Edward Long-shanks."[37] From the start such expectations teeter on the shoulders of a boy who is by turns preternaturally self-aware and wildly hyperbolic. As Isabella's role in the rebellion develops, Marlowe gives young Edward more lines that amplify this initial recognition that adults are forcing him to assume a role that he does not have the power to perform. He asks not to be made king, "Mother, persuade me not to wear the crown" (5.2.91), and struggles with divided loyalty to both his parents. The prince's interactions with his father, mother, and uncle Kent lead Tyler to assert that he "seems to believe in government by emotion," a flaw that other scholars

33. Perret, "Marlowe's Dramatic Technique," 89.

34. Constance Brown Kuriyama, *Hammer or Anvil: Psychological Patterns in Christopher Marlowe's Plays* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 1980), 270.

35. Tribble notes that this comparison reinforces the prince's small size and thus his potential vulnerability ("Marlowe's Boy Actors," 12).

36. See *Edward II* 1990 Swan Theatre Prompt Book, Royal Shakespeare Theatre Collections, Accession no. 4305; and *Edward II* Master Archive Video, directed by Gerard Murphy (Swan Theatre, January 19, 1990), DVD.

37. Christopher Marlowe, *Edward the Second*, ed. W. Moelwyn Merchant (London, 1967), 3.2.77.

attribute to Edward II.[38] For instance, this apparently observant prince innocently trusts in King Edward's love and in his importance to his father.

The capacity for rapid change evident in Prince Edward's first and only exchange with the king is also underscored by his mother's reaction. Isabella draws attention to the prince's precocity and emphasizes its potentially dangerous nature: "Ah boy, this towardness makes thy mother fear / Thou are not marked to many days on earth" (3.1.79–80). The queen references an early modern commonplace based on the idea that quick-witted children could unfit themselves for life, all of their learning and study drying out growing bodies that should be humorally moist.[39] This is one reason that educators like Richard Mulcaster advocated for play and exercise as part of school curricula. Isabella's emphasis on precocity further highlights Prince Edward's paradoxical nature. As a precocious child, he transgresses the expected processes of maturation. In some ways he grows up too quickly, but in other ways he remains weak and innocent. During the early modern period, precocity was a desirable and precarious quality.[40] Precocious children quickly accumulated knowledge necessary to adulthood, which would seem to ensure that they would grow up to sustain the values of their elders. However, their mimetic abilities and sharp memories also enabled them to gather information beyond parentally sanctioned subjects. Precocious children might absorb unauthorized materials, build their own interpretations, and thus develop worldviews contrary to those that their parents and teachers sought to inculcate. They might, as Roger Ascham warns, grow up to be inconsistent, unreliable, self-satisfied, and always in search of new fads.[41] The transgressive speed with which Prince Edward grows can thus be dangerous to the social order of the play's England, as well as to the boy himself. Isabella's lines might serve as an expression of praise for her son's intelligence, rather than indicating concern. However, her fear also invokes the

38. Tyler, "Bedfellows Make Strange Politics," 61. Claude J. Summers, "Sex, Politics, and Self-Realization in *Edward II*," in Friedenreich, Gill, and Kuriyama, *New Essays*, 221–40, 228.

39. See Laurent Joubert, *Popular Errors*, trans. Gregory David de Rocher (Tuscaloosa: U of Alabama P, 1989), 163; and Mulcaster, *Positions*, C2v–4v.

40. Kuriyama notes Isabella's lines as indicators of Edward's precocity, but sees them as purely positive (*Hammer or Anvil*, 207).

41. Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (Londone: printed by John Daye, 1570), D1r.

endangered young heirs of *Richard III*. Richard notes the same commonplace as Isabella in reference to Edward V while anticipating the boy king's murder.[42] The comparison to the Princes in the Tower intensifies when the imprisoned Edward II worries about the prince's safety: "For he's a lamb encompassed by wolves, / Which in a moment will abridge his life" (5.1.41–42). This language recalls the lines of Queen Elizabeth and the other women as they fear for and mourn their Edward and his little brother.[43] Like Richard III, Mortimer is a predator threatening the lamb-like child, but Edward II's term is plural and may also apply to Isabella. The connection to *Richard III* alludes to ways that Isabella's own actions both protect and imperil her son. Similarly, Prince Edward proves a danger to his mother, despite his repeated expressions of love. The players in prisoner's base are threatened and threatening, and the boy-king's paradoxical qualities enable Marlowe's role reversal of an ending for game and stage play.

After his crowning, the new King Edward III continues to note disparities between his purported role and practical capabilities. When Prince Edward recognizes that he will be unable to save his Uncle Kent from execution he is anguished, rather than surprised:

> methinks I should command;
> But, seeing I cannot, I'll entreat for him.
> My lord, if you let my uncle live,
> I will requite it when I come to age. (5.4.94–97)

Figure 2, Michael Le Poer Trench, Royal Shakespeare Company, *Edward II*, Swan Theater, 1990, catalogue # S.4046. Image used with permission.

(See Edward collapsed in sorrow when Kent is dragged away, figure 2.) These lines may indicate the boy's innocence and uncertainty about what it means to be king. However, as this speech directly follows the ceremony of Edward III's coronation, it rather functions as a public criticism of

42. William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of King Richard III*, in *The Complete Works, ed.* Peter Holland (New York: Penguin Books, 2002), 3.1.79. Tribble also notes Edward's precocity and links it to *Richard III* ("Marlowe's Boy Actors," 12).

43. See *Richard III*, 1.3.216–33; 4.1; 4.4.47–58.

the political situation. The boy "shows his awareness of the situation through his inability to alter it."[44] Marlowe highlights the Protector's authority with what may be a sarcastic observation about the distribution of power, then follows it with a promise and veiled threat that ultimately comes true. When Edward "comes to age" he does "requite it," and Mortimer pays dearly. Isabella's ineffectual attempt to distract the prince with an offer to go hunting in the park meets with a more pointed barb: "And shall my uncle Edmund ride with us?" (111). Rutkoski uses this scene to assert that the prince "does not dare protest against Mortimer Jr.'s decisions," and Evelyn Tribble claims the prince is "fobbed off with the promise of a ride."[45] However, Perret's description of the line as "a thrust unexpected from one so young" better corresponds with the question's often angry, defiant tone in performance.[46] Indeed this "thrust" is not entirely "unexpected," given Prince Edward's fluctuations between precocity and naïveté, but rather a further exemplification of his sudden personality changes. Mortimer and Isabella treat Edward III as though he is simply playing at being king. Meanwhile, Marlowe takes advantage of the interconnections of game and drama, playacting and politics. As the associations between prisoner's base, plot, and character shifts should lead us to expect, the boy who plays king soon actually performs the part.

Edward III's sudden ascent to power is perhaps the most abrupt turnaround in a play filled with reversals of fortune. Although the historical sources—some of the playwright's "semiboundaries"—require the young king to ultimately overthrow the Protector, Marlowe orchestrates this transition almost without warning. For all his overconfidence, Mortimer expresses brief concern about the young king, although only in the distant future: "Yet he that is the cause of Edward's death / Is sure to pay for it when his son is of age" (5.4.3–4). He tries to avoid blame with the "unpointed" (13) execution order that is almost a kind of word game:[47]

"Edwardum occidere nolite timere, bonum est;

44. Perret, "Marlowe's Dramatic Technique," 89–90.

45. Rutkoski, "Breeching the Boy," 288; Tribble, "Marlowe's Boy Actors," 14.

46. Perret, "Marlowe's Dramatic Technique," 90. See *Edward II*, directed by Toby Robertson, performed 1969–70; and *Edward II*, directed by Gerard Murphy, Royal Shakespeare Company, performed 1990–91.

47. On early modern word games, see Willughby's *Book of Games*, 45.

> Fear not to kill the king, 'tis good he die."
> But read it thus, and that's another sense:
> "Edwardum occidere nolite, timere bonum est;
> Kill not the king, 'tis good to fear the worst." (5.4.8–12)

Mortimer's command is a failed effort to co-opt or create the contingency with which the playwright infuses his play through loaded rhetorical moments like the prisoner's base metaphor. Marlowe dramatizes an attempt to create linguistic instability in order to achieve plausible deniability. Edward III has no difficulty in leveraging the fatal message to prove Mortimer's guilt. The supposedly clever lack of punctuation goes unremarked as Edward accuses Mortimer; he instead "becomes crisply legal" and focuses on identifying the handwriting.[48] (See a version of this confrontation in figure 3.) Mortimer presumes that he is in control of the game and can personally create circumstances of "contrived contingency" for his own benefit, but he remains a player and is subject to the game's reversals.

Queen Isabella also undergoes a swift reversal of fortune in the final scene. In act 5 she repeatedly expresses concern for the prince's safety and security, until Edward's "towardness" abruptly threatens her life.[49] When she tries to leverage her maternal role to save Mortimer, she only feeds the boy's suspicion of her complicity in Edward II's murder. He declares:

> Mother, you are suspected for his death,
> And therefore we commit you to the Tower
> Till further trial may be made thereof:
> If you be guilty, though I be your son,
> Think not to find me slack or pitiful. (5.6.77–81)

Where once Isabella imprisoned her husband, approved Edward II's mobile captivity, mistreatment, and death, and accepted Mortimer's control over Edward III, she now becomes the prisoner. Although the young king's words might be viewed as restoring royal authority after the disruptive rule of Isabella and Mortimer, his attitude toward the queen may indicate shifting social roles. As Claude J. Summer asserts, "the imprisonment of his mother also symbolizes the collapse of even the most intimate of socially sanctioned attachments." Even if Edward III avoids some of his father's

48. Tyler, "Bedfellows Make Strange Politics," 61.

49. See *Edward II*, 5.2.15–20, 42–43, 113–16; 5.4.108–10.

failings, the ways in which he exercises his authority undercut idealizations of the play's social and political world.[50] The phrasing of his accusation also complicates his assertion of impartiality. While the new king's observations of his mother's relationship with Mortimer may contribute to his suspicions, Marlowe's use of passive voice together with the Second Lord's presumption of Isabella's guilt suggests that the peers may also influence his views. Even as Edward III begins to assert his power, Marlowe complicates the extent of that power and the nature of its deployment.

The playwright does not provide a precise reason for Edward III's sudden ability to rally the lords to his cause. Isabella cites the news of Edward II's death and her son's dramatic persuasive style for his success with the nobles in the council chamber: "he tears his hair and wrings his hands, / And vows to be revenged upon us both" (5.6.18–19). Although this is the first instance of the boy king pulling out his hair, Edward III previously assessed both his commands and his pleas as ineffective. They take effect quickly in this case, and there is no sense of why this news, instead of Edward II's imprisonment or Kent's execution, gives them especial force. Rather, latent possibilities come into being without warning. Marlowe stresses the uncertain origin of the new king's authority and its continuing contingencies through the involvement of the lords. They interject throughout, and before Edward speaks the First Lord prompts him: "Fear not, my lord; know that you are a king" (24). This apparent reminder of Edward's role and even his identity evokes numerous interpretive possibilities. It may function as an indication that Edward is no longer king in name only, recalling the boy's comments on the disparity between his title and his agency. However, the Lord's prompting may imply that any newfound power comes from the support of the nobility. Although he escapes from Mortimer's grip, Edward may still be under others' control. The First Lord's line raises the question of what it means to be a king, both for Edward III and in the world of Marlowe's play.

For all of the monarchs in *Edward II*, kingship is variously characterized as divinely ordained, inherited, and sustained through policy, involving tactical alliances with nobles and also military might, as a bare title and a powerful identity. This variety and the sudden shifts associated with the play's monarchy indicate that kings are game players, too. They do not make the rules, but rather

50. Summers, "Sex, Politics, and Self-Realization," 228.

participate in and are also subject to their fluctuations. Critics like David Brumble continue to argue for an "obvious interpretation" of the political world of *Edward II*: "a realm out of control, a realm without the firm, central, nearly absolute authority which the Tudor monarchs so persistently advertised as God's plan for England." This lack of royal control purportedly leads to the chaotic events of the play.[51] However, as Summers and Ian McAdam argue, the play "refuses to moralize history" and does not "promulgate a political lesson compatible with Tudor orthodoxy."[52] Keeping in mind the organized chaos of prisoner's base during Edward III's rapid ascent highlights the absence of a clear historical or political position and the instability of royal agency. As Summers later notes, "By the end of the play, the notion of the sacredness of kingship has been robbed of whatever force it may have possessed in the beginning."[53] I argue that while Marlowe does not present monarchy as a purely empty title in the final scene, his play confuses the nature of royal power and undercuts its reach. The fluidity of kingship for all the King Edwards stresses this uncertainty and clarifies their differences.

Figure 3. John Bunting, Royal Shakespeare Company, *Edward II*, Swan Theater, 1990, catalogue # 90/49/51. Image used with permission.

Prince Edward's paradoxical qualities and actions demonstrate that he functions neither as a continuation of his father's rule nor as a

51. Brumble, "Kingly Control in Marlowe's *Edward II*," 65

52. Summers, "Sex, Politics, and Self-Realization," 222; and McAdam, "Illusion of Integrity," 203.

53. Summers, "Sex, Politics, and Self-Realization," 232.

return to the idealized kingship of his grandfather. In addition to moments when characters dismissively link Edwards II and III together, Marlowe includes occasions when father and son stress their bond, often in order to assert the legitimacy and durability of their power. For example, the imprisoned Edward II takes comfort in the proverbial familial immortality his son provides: "So shall not England's vine be perished, / But Edward's name survive though Edward dies" (5.1.47–48).[54] Later, Edward III appropriates his father's lost voice to strengthen his accusation against Mortimer: "Traitor, in me my loving father speaks / And plainly saith, 'twas thou that murd'redst him" (5.6.40–41). McAdam asserts not only that these lines show Edward III "regain[ing] the control forfeited by his father, both rhetorically and in terms of the stage action," but also that, through his son, Edward II finds "his true voice, the voice of power."[55] However, the authority exerted by Edward III does not look or sound like the beginning of his father's reign or like the stories of his grandfather's. His claim of paternal ventriloquization draws attention to this dissonance. The Royal Shakespeare Company's 1990 production seems to have made such dynastic disjunction visible through Edward III's apparently rotating crowns. Initially Prince Edward wore a simple circlet, then he was crowned with and wore his father's more elaborate crown, and in the final scene (during some performances, at least) he confronted Mortimer and Isabella in his original band.[56] These changes could indicate distinction from Edward II and his reign, as well as from Isabella and Mortimer and their orchestration of his coronation and protectorate. The return of the original crown may also imply a level of strange continuity. Although in this scene Edward III may appear to be markedly different than the Prince Edward of act 3, many of the character's contradictions, his combinations of precocity and innocence, remain. Although Marlowe sporadically deploys language dependent on the importance of patrilineal descent, perhaps enough to encourage scholarly groupings of Edward III with either father or grandfather, he also regularly undercuts them.[57]

54. Deats ("Marlowe's Fearful Symmetry," 252) and Rutkoski ("Breeching the Boy," 285–86) note Edward II's lack of paternal concern until his imprisonment.

55. McAdam, "Illusion of Integrity," 225.

56. Although the production costume bible does not include these details, production photos confirm these changes for at least some of the performances. See figures 2 and 3.

57. Longshanks also sometimes figures in moments emphasizing lineage, as with

The play's final scene might appear to emphasize patrilineal succession and an assertion of order after the disruption of Isabella and Mortimer's rebellion, Edward II's reign, or both. For instance, Sara Deats argues: "Edward III's resolute, public beheading of Mortimer exemplifies the correct royal response—the honorable ruler need not placate the people nor resort to intrigue—foiling both Edward II's irresolution and Mortimer's treacherous machinations."[58] However, this moment further destabilizes the view that Edward III either rectifies or reiterates his predecessors. In the final speech of the play, Edward III addresses Mortimer's decapitated head: "Could I have ruled thee then, as I do now, / Thou hadst not hatched this monstrous treachery" (5.6.95–96). The monstrous conception and birth of Mortimer's plots recalls the boy king's self-contradictions. Instead of asserting a stabilizing succession, Marlowe stresses the uncertain origin of the new king's authority and its continuing contingencies. If Edward III could not save his father or uncle, if the foundation and extent of his authority are unclear, then he cannot bring idealized certainty to England. Edward III offers Mortimer's head to his father's hearse and speaks the play's final words:

> Sweet father, here unto thy murdered ghost,
> I offer up this wicked traitor's head,
> And let these tears distilling from mine eyes
> Be witness of my grief and innocency. (5.6.98–101)

With both offerings Marlowe gives concluding stress to the boy's fulfillment of and disjunction from that which he is heir to. The playwright deploys the innocence that Prince Edward demonstrates intermittently throughout the play, but he also stages the child holding the head he ordered severed, asserting his authority.[59] This contradictory tableau of tears and bloody hands provides a vivid continuation of this paradoxical character. McAdam also raises the possibility that this public performance of emotion may mask further contradictions: "Either we have here a perfect *congruency* of inner

Baldock's exhortation to Edward II at 3.1.10–23.

58. Deats, "Marlowe's Fearful Symmetry," 256.

59. Belsey also notes the concluding contrast between authority and childish tears ("Little Princes," 40). In contrast, Brumble argues that his innocence, as in innocent of wrongdoing and as in naïveté so great that he doesn't have "guilty knowledge" of Isabella and Mortimer's plans, is key to Marlowe's presentation of Edward III as a good king ("Kingly Control in Marlowe's *Edward II*," 66). See also figure 3.

emotion with outer show, or else Edward's histrionically calling attention to his tears as 'witnesses' makes us doubt the sincerity of his grief."[60] Whether heartfelt or a superficial show of power, this concluding moment provides no clear indication of how the new king will reign. Audience knowledge about the length and martial character of Edward III's historical reign overlaps with and further complicates the picture. This is the instability—the contingency—of the game, of the drama, of politics and power.

Prisoner's base was an extremely popular pastime in the late sixteenth century, and it retained prominence through the nineteenth. Although it is no longer a schoolyard favorite, Marlowe's reference can still serve to highlight the "contrived contingency" of both game and stage play, as it may once have done for audience members who had played it themselves. Considering Prince Edward's position as pursued and pursuer, in terms of the game, resonates with his changeable characterization. Beyond character and plot connections, the "semibounded" status of *Edward II*'s various forms of play and game—their structures and limits, their overlaps and alterations—undermines fantasies of absolute monarchy and inevitable lineal descent without evacuating the play's political world of all significance. Prince Edward does not serve as a continuation of his father's reign, but rather demonstrates that his father was not a uniquely disruptive ruler. Instead of confirming or containing his father's rule or restoring his grandfather's, the boy monarch's paradoxical qualities stress the contingent nature of reigns and games. Edward III transgresses the kingly ideal differently than his father, and yet he perpetuates its transgression. This sense of disjunction and continuity recalls the fact that prisoner's base, or prison bars, was popular for hundreds of years before Marlowe wrote his play. It was so widespread that on March 16, 1332, the opening day of Parliament, articles were read that expressly forbade playing bars and other games in the precincts of the king's palace while Parliament was in session. It was the only game specifically mentioned in the prohibition:

> Nostre seignur le roi defend sur peyne d'enprisonement qe nul enfaunt ne autres ne jue en nul lieu du paleys de Westm', durant le parlement qe y est somons, a bares ne as autres jues

60. McAdam, "Illusion of Integrity," 225. Rutkoski also stresses Marlowe's "equivocal representation of how Edward III will fare as king" ("Breeching the Boy," 290–91).

> Our lord the king forbids on pain of imprisonment that any child or other person should play at bars or at other games . . . in any part of the palace of Westminster during the parliament which is summoned there[61]

The king in question was, of course, Edward III.

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61. "Edward III: September 1332: C 65/2, m.3," Scholarly Digital Editions, accessed July 30, 2013, http://www.sd-editions.com/; previously edited in *RP*, II, 64–66.

Marlowe Studies: An Annual 4 (2014)

CHRISTINE EDWARDS

Bookish Play: Imitation and Innovation in *Dido, Queen of Carthage*

Marlowe's generation inherited a mythic tradition of Dido and Aeneas that was contested by various historical, literary, and moral sources. As a work of *imitatio*, *Dido, Queen of Carthage* is generally understood to be drawing upon two dominant literary sources, Virgil and Ovid, who each portray opposing perspectives on the myth. According to Virgil, Aeneas's decision to leave Dido exemplifies his pious duty to his wider epic mission. By contrast, in the Ovidian tradition Dido depicts Aeneas as an unfaithful lover guilty of abandoning her. Critics have usually considered *Dido* to be modelled upon one or both of these writers, as Virgil's *Aeneid* (c. 29–19 BCE) provides the raw material for the plot of *Dido*, and Ovid provides a model for the sensuousness of the gods and the humans who are subject to their wishes. Sara Munson Deats has long noted that *Dido* contains these "contradictory intertextual materials," which ultimately resist any attempt at synthesis. For Deats, the play, "both valorizes and deflates romantic passion . . . both affirms and interrogates heroic duty."[1] Timothy Crowley challenges this "merely 'eclectic'" or "noncommittal," reading of the play by asserting that it exhibits "compound, critical *imitatio*" that "consistently critiques the *Aeneid* and deploys Ovid for its unique parody of Virgil."[2] Crowley is right to note the critical

1. Sara Munson Deats, Sex, *Gender, and Desire in the Plays of Christopher Marlowe* (Newark: U of Delaware P, 1997), 107; Deats, "Marlowe's Interrogative Drama: Dido, Tamburlaine, Faustus, and Edward II," in *Marlowe's Empery: Expanding His Critical Contexts*, ed. Deats and Robert A. Logan (Newark: U of Delaware P, 2002), 107–30, 110.

2. TimothyD. Crowley, "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, 409, 410.

application of *imitatio* in the play, but I would contest the claim that critical *imitatio* necessarily privileges any source against another. I find Deats's study into the ambivalence of the play's source material to be more persuasive than Crowley allows, as ultimately no synthesis is reached between the competing value systems of romantic passion and heroic duty. However, perhaps this is because the play is less focused upon the conflict of values than about the textual construction of these concerns. The play represents Dido and Aeneas always in relation to the tradition that they come from, and this bookish awareness almost trivializes grand concepts such as passion and duty. Instead, I read characters that grapple for their own identity against an ever-present mythic backdrop.

Michel de Montaigne's reflections on schoolmasters' learning express his frustration when learning leads to a kind of parroting of other people's words as a form of elegant ornamentation. For Montaigne it seems that recalling the knowledge of others must not replace an individual's own process of thinking:

> Mais nous, que disons nous nous mesmes? que jugeons nous? que faisons nous? Autant en diroit bien un perroquet . . . Nous prenons en garde les opinions et le sçavoir d'autruy, et puis c'est tout.
>
> (But what have *we* got to say? What judgements do *we* make? What are *we* doing? A parrot could talk as we do. . . All we do is to look after the opinions and learning of others: we ought to make them our own.) [3]

His declaration that we should instead make learning "our own" is suggestive for the play's engagement with source material. By refusing to base his reworking of the myth on any one particular source, Marlowe makes the story his own in a very particular way. Instead of asserting any of his sources as an authority worthy of being deferred to, Marlowe's imitative work bases itself in textual conflict and therefore finds its own voice through problematizing the representations of the myth that have gone before. The play's engagement with the versioning of the myth as a subject in itself defies naturalized portrayals of Dido's doomed love, instead favoring a bookish struggle between competing textual voices. To adequately account for the innovation of this bookish play, we need to expand our assessment of its imitative focus from determining

3. Michel de Montaigne, *Les Essais de Michel de Montaigne*, ed. V. L. Saulnier (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1965), 137. Translation from Michel de Montaigne, *Michel Montaigne: The Complete Essays*, trans. M. A. Screech (London: Penguin, 2003), 154, 155, emphasis in original.

who is his "real" source, to considering how he reimagines imitation as an art form.

Critics have spent many pages detailing the deviations in the Trojan account from Virgil, though strangely Aeneas's desire to speak "with *Achilles* tongue" is quite often passed over.[4] On one hand the description is straightforward: he desires to be unmoved by the memory of the carnage at Troy. Indeed, throughout the scene the audience watches as Aeneas struggles to overcome his grief. At Dido's first entreaty for "newes" of the war, he claims that the "memorie . . . makes *Aeneas* sinke at *Didos* feete" (2.1.115, 117). According to this kind of reasoning, it is only in imagining himself to speak like the unmoved Achilles that he is able to recount the tale with composure. On the other hand his apparent desire to imitate the voice of his own despised enemy is unsettling. The phrase is put under further pressure when it is compared to Marlowe's main source material in Virgil's *Aeneid*. Virgil suggests that Achilles's soldiers actually would not have been unmoved, writing, "quis talia fando / Myrmidonum Dolopumve aut duri miles Ulixi / temperet a lacrimis?" (What Myrmidon or Dolopian, or soldier of the stern Ulysses, could refrain from tears in telling such a tale?).[5] Virgil has Aeneas express his own difficulty, but in contrast to Marlowe, it is heroically overcome: "quamquam animus meminisse horret luctuque refigit, / incipiam" (though my mind shudders to remember and has recoiled in pain, I will begin, 2.12–13). According to Virgil, then, Aeneas feels anguish at the tale, but outbraves the Greeks; but in Marlowe's piece of *imitatio*, Aeneas is so overcome that he relinquishes his own voice, and with it, for the audience, his own mythic identity.

Directly after claiming to speak as his enemy, Aeneas instructs his "Carthaginian Peeres" to take on a similar transformation:

4. Christopher Marlowe, *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, in *The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe*, ed. Roma Gill, 5 vol. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), 1:113–74, 2.1.121. All subsequent references to Dido are from this edition. For discussions of the reference to Achilles, see Deanne Williams, "Dido, Queen of England," *ELH* 73.1 (2006): 31–59; and Crowley, "Arms and the Boy." Williams discusses the reference only so far as to suggest that Achilles is a "notorious hothead and sulk" who lacks "seductive prolixity" (47). Crowley states that Aeneas uses the Achilles reference "counter-intuitively" (428) to assume "a voice of epic fortitude not his own" (427), yet he does not interrogate the implications beyond expressing his weakness (428).

5. Virgil, *Aeneid*, 2.6–8, in *Virgil,* trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, ed. G. P. Goold 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1999), 1:261–597. Subsequent references to *The Aeneid*, including translations, are from this edition and cited by book and line numbers.

> And *Dido* and you Carthaginian Peeres
> Heare me, but yet with *Mirmidons* harsh eares,
> Daily inur'd to broyles and Massacres,
> Lest you be mov'd too much with my sad tale. (*Dido*, 2.1.122–25)

In these lines Aeneas invites his peers to play a new role—that of Achilles's Myrmidons—and in so doing imagines himself in a kind of role-play surrounded by his own enemies. This creates a consciously artificial vision for the audience, who watch actors pretending to be Carthaginian characters who are in turn asked to adopt the role of other, Greek, characters, and who are all listening to Aeneas's story of the fall of Troy. Some of this character confusion begins to make sense if we recall that the mythic tradition of Dido and Aeneas was heavily contested and by no means stable. A completely different tradition to that of Virgil and Ovid derived from Pompeius Trogus (who was roughly contemporary to Virgil), whose lost work has survived through Justinus, and was later echoed by Giovanni Boccaccio in the fourteenth century. In this tradition, Dido is pressured to marry Iarbus against her will and takes her life in order to remain faithful to her dead husband, rendering Aeneas entirely absent from Dido's life. In yet another tradition, found in John Lydgate's *Troy Book* (1412–20), Aeneas is a traitor to his own people who, with Antenor, betrays Troy in return for safety. Vivien Thomas and William Tydeman note that Dido's words—"Some say *Antenor* did betray the towne" (*Dido*, 2.1.110)—signal Marlowe's awareness of this last tradition. Yet Thomas and Tydeman then suggest that "it is also clear that he did not base his play on this particular form of the legend."[6] It seems to me that when Aeneas claims to take on the voice of Achilles and then imagines himself surrounded by Myrmidons, the play is once again invoking the tradition of a traitorous Aeneas, which is itself embedded within one of the most significant moments of the *Aeneid*—Aeneas's recounting of the fall of Troy. This layering of source material emphasizes, rather than downplays, the multiplicity of the Dido myth it imitates and, therefore, reworks what imitation means on stage.

The play negotiates the relationship between plot and this metatextual layering so effectively that to describe the play as bookish in a stuffy sense seems misplaced. Yet the term has been applied to

6. Vivien Thomas and William Tydeman, eds., *Christopher Marlowe: The Plays and Their Sources* (London: Routledge, 1994), 19.

Dido at least twice by Donald Stump and Richard A. Martin,[7] and with its deep concern with the conflict between books, the term is at least technically appropriate. The Oxford English Dictionary notes that the term bookishness was not necessarily used negatively, but it suggests acquaintance with books and little else.[8] While the word bookish does not appear in any of Marlowe's works, it does appear in Shakespeare's plays and in Sir Philip Sidney's *Defence of Poesy* (1595). Sidney uses the term when he contests the claim that poetry is a useless "toy" that leads to the "soften[ing]" of an otherwise courageous nation. He writes, "Marry, this argument, though it be levelled against poetry, yet is it indeed a chainshot against all learning, or bookishness, as they commonly term it." In the notes to his edition, Geoffrey T. Shepherd suggests that bookishness had already become a disparaging term in the sixteenth century.[9] It is of course Sidney's task to argue that learning is useful, and he therefore delineates learning from the less valued category of bookishness.

Learning, or indeed bookishness, in literary works was demonstrated through the humanist practice of imitation. For Sidney, "Poesy therefore is an art of imitation, for so Aristotle termeth it in his word *mimesis*, that is to say, a representing, counterfeiting, or figuring forth—to speak metaphorically, a speaking picture—with this end, to teach and delight." Sidney here suggests that creative counterfeiting is a sign of the best poetry, but he also suggests that the "artificer" should "range, only reined with learned discretion, into the divine consideration of what may be and should be."[10] In *Dido*, however, learning and artifice are not concerned with depicting a divine ideal of "what may be and should be." Unlike previous traditions of the myth, Marlowe refuses to assert an overriding moral to the story, whether of pious reason, faithful love, or feminine chastity. Instead the play emphasizes the artifice of its vision by basing its story in textual conflict. As Roma Gill

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7. Donald Stump, "Marlowe's Travesty of Virgil: Dido and Elizabethan Dreams of Empire," *Comparative Drama* 34.1 (2000): 79–107, 94; and Richard A. Martin, "Fate, Seneca, and Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage*," *Renaissance Drama* 11 (1980): 45–66, 66.

8. *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) online, s.v. "bookishness," accessed July 15, 2014, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/21434?redirectedFrom=bookishness#eid.

9. Philip Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry; or, The Defence of Poesy*, ed. R. W. Maslen and Geoffrey Shepherd, 3rd ed. (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2002), 105, 102, 105, 211.

10. Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, 86, 85, 87.

observes, the play is often regarded as an immature piece of imitation, but she argues that this reading ignores the "effrontery which makes it more than mere juvenilia."[11] For Gill, then, the play's ability to use Virgil to affront marks it as significant, and in terms of imitation I believe that she is right. I would suggest that the play fosters a kind of bookishness in its willingness to allow tradition to intrude upon the experience of the play, and especially in those moments when traditions clash, or when characters are made to respond to the tradition that lies behind their characterization. What becomes clear is that these bookish intrusions are not only expressions of learning or of a removed scholarism, but are harnessed into the drama itself. Aeneas's weakness is intensified through knowledge of Virgil, as is Dido's resistance to love. Marlowe's play reimagines artifice from Sidney's method of "learned discretion" into a dissident appraisal of the traditions that underlie the myth.

Certainly the opening of the play could be expected to, in Gill's words, affront audience expectations. Virgil opens with his title character, Aeneas, and the epic framing of Troy—"Arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris / Italiam fate profugus Lavinaque venit / litora" (Arms and the man I sing, who first from the coasts of Troy, exiled by fate, came to Italy and Lavine shores, 1.1–3)—while Marlowe displaces both Dido and Aeneas and opens his play with an intimate scene of the gods. In place of this epic grandeur, the stage description details that as the curtains are drawn Jupiter is "discovered" dandling the young boy Ganymede on his knee: "Come, gentle *Ganimed* and play with me, I love thee well, say *Juno* what she will" (*Dido*, 1.1.1–2). The intimacy of the scene reimagines Jupiter, king of the gods, as subject to the same passions that will later drive Dido mad. Far from mimicking Virgil, Jupiter's opening words to the boy closely echo Marlowe's own lyric poem, "The Passionate Sheepheard to His Love" (1599): "Come live with mee, and be my love."[12] Although the lyric is believed to have been written later, the similarity demonstrates the way in which Marlowe mimics and reframes his own works in vastly different contexts, much in the same way as he reframes Virgil. Indeed, the reference

11. Roma Gill, "Marlowe's Virgil: *Dido Queene of Carthage*," *Review of English Studies* 28.110 (1977): 141–55, 142.

12. Christopher Marlowe, "The Passionate Sheepheard to His Love," in Gill, *Complete Works*, 1:215, 1.

enables him to "discover" romantic, homoerotic, and extramarital themes that mostly go unmentioned in Virgil—despite the notoriety of Jupiter's numerous affairs. So where Virgil invokes epic grandeur, which itself imitates Homer's *Iliad*, Marlowe uses the dramatic form to reduce the mystery of the gods into an intimate, and compromising, scene in which the main characters are unseen to the audience, and clearly forgotten by Jupiter himself.

While the opening of Marlowe's play is one of his most obvious departures from the *Aeneid*, it is clearly writing back to Virgil in a significant way. The *Aeneid* positions Juno's wrath as the main obstruction to Aeneas's success (1.4). For Virgil, the depth of her divine hatred of such a virtuous man is mysterious and unfathomable: "tantaene animis caelestibus irae?" (Can heavenly spirits cherish resentment so dire?, 1.11). Marlowe's scene is almost entirely different, but in the second line, Juno is again mentioned, this time by Jupiter: "I love thee well, say *Juno* what she will" (*Dido*, 1.1.2). Rather than as a danger to Aeneas's epic mission, she is here seen as a risk to Jupiter's affair with Ganymede. In an intricately witty use of Virgil, Marlowe has retained the concept of blaming Juno, who is the central complication of the *Aeneid*, but altered the meaning. In *Dido*, the reference to Juno heightens awareness of Jupiter's philandering and provides a more straightforward, justifiable, and in Virgil, largely unspoken reason for Juno's rage. The play represents Juno as an inconvenient distraction for Jupiter from his affair with Ganymede, and he is similarly unconcerned with the fate of Aeneas until Venus reminds him of it at length midway through the first scene (50–81). Consequently Aeneas and Dido are relegated to pawns in a far less exalted feud between the gods. By virtue of his lack of attention, Jupiter usurps the role of Juno as the villain of Marlowe's myth. These close textual maneuvers demonstrate the play's use of textuality to revise or refocus the plot. Indeed, where he seems to be upsetting the power structures within the play through Jupiter, Marlowe is also engaged in disrupting the authority of Virgil himself, and the authority of his version of the myth.

Marlowe had a model for this kind of disruption in Ovid, and the emphasis upon Ganymede in the first scene of *Dido* is symptomatic of an Ovidian-inspired revision of Virgil. In the *Aeneid*, Ganymede is briefly listed as one of the causes of Juno's anger, but is not explicitly described as Jupiter's lover:

> manet alta mente repostum
> iudicium Paridis spretaeque iniuria formae,
> et genus invisum et rapti Ganymedis honores
>
> (deep in her heart remain the judgment of Paris and the outrage to her slighted beauty, her hatred of the race and the honours paid to ravished Ganymede, 1.26–28)

Virgil describes Juno's jealousy of Ganymede's privileged position, but the reader is left to infer Jupiter's sexual interest in the boy through the parallel reference to Paris's preference for Venus's beauty. By contrast, in the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid gives a brief account in which Jupiter's erotic intentions are openly described:

> Rex superum Phrygii quondam Ganymedis amore
> arsit, et inventum est aliquid, quod Iuppiter esse,
> quam quod erat, mallet. nula tamen alite verti
> dignatur, nisi quae posset sua fulmina ferre.
> nec mora, percusso mendacibus aere pennis
> abripit Iliaden; qui nunc quod quoque pocula miscet
> invitaque Iovi nectar Iunone ministrat.
>
> (The king of the gods once burned with love for Phrygian Ganymede, and something was found which Jove would rather be than what he was. Still he did not deign to take the form of any bird save only that which could bear his thunderbolts. Without delay he cleft the air on his lying wings and stole away the Trojan boy, who even now, though against the will of Juno, mingles nectar and attend the cups of Jove.)[13]

Ovid's suggestively erotic reference to Ganymede reasserts a mythic history of gods who are capricious and adulterous, and thereby destabilizes Virgil's depiction of Aeneas's piety to such gods. In the opening of *Dido*, Marlowe follows Ovid's example in reemphasizing the erotic nature of Jupiter's attachment. However, although Marlowe's Ganymede is closer to Ovid than Virgil, both traditions address Ganymede's own sexual role "only indirectly and ambiguously before disciplining it," as Joyce Green MacDonald observes: "Not only is Jupiter's lust for Ganymede less ambiguously acknowledged [in *Dido*] than it is in Ovid, but Ganymede himself is endowed with a sexualised subjectivity present in none of the other sources we have considered."[14] By inventing material that

13. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 10.155–61, in *Ovid*: *Metamorphoses*, trans. Frank Justus Miller, (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1921), 2:74–75.

14. Joyce Green MacDonald, "Marlowe's Ganymede," in *Enacting Gender on the English*

places Ganymede on stage, Marlowe offers a new perspective on the myth that allows the boy to speak unmediated by Juno's anger or absorbed within Jupiter's lustful account. Rather than voicing his victimization or abduction, Marlowe's Ganymede is newly empowered and focuses upon manipulating Jupiter: "I would have a jewell for mine eare, / And a fine brouch to put in my hat, / And then Ile hugge with you an hundred times" (1.1.46–48). Jupiter wryly observes that he "should deny thy youth" (1.1.23), but even in the play's closeness to its sources, there is a sense that the traditional power structures that place adults over children are being reversed. Similarly perhaps, Marlowe is reversing the power structure that places canonical texts above imitations.

It has become a critical commonplace to observe that Marlowe is heavily influenced by Ovid, and yet the theatrical dimension of the play would suggest that he significantly adapts Ovid's revisionary process.[15] Daniel Javitch investigates Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as an important model for revisionary imitation in Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1532), and for, as he suggests, "challeng[ing] the authoritative status of Virgil's version." Javitch argues that Ovid upsets Virgil's hierarchy of values through conscious digression and omission, allowing him to reduce and dilute the Virgilian story within his own epic poem. He writes, "Ovid's main intent . . . was to challenge Virgil's authority, to defy his already classical precursor by denying Aeneas' voyage the epic size, the status of national myth, the unity, and the teleology Virgil had given it."[16] The revisionary imitation that Javitch describes is not unlike my reading of Marlowe's bookishness, and it is unsurprising, therefore, that *Dido* is often regarded as an Ovidian work. Indeed, Crowley persuasively asserts that the play's critical brand of imitation subverts Virgil by modelling his play on this kind of Ovidian revision.[17] However, what I find especially interesting about Javitch's comparison between *Orlando Furioso* and the

Renaissance Stage, ed. Viviana Comensoli and Anne Russell (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1999), 97–113, 103, 106.

15. For some of the more useful studies of this Ovidian influence, see Patrick Cheney, *Marlowe's Counterfeit Profession: Ovid, Spenser, Counter-Nationhood* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1997); Crowley, "Arms and the Boy."

16. Daniel Javitch, "The *Orlando Furioso* and Ovid's Revision of the *Aeneid*," *Modern Language Notes* 99.5 (1984): 1023–36, 1029, 1026.

17. Crowley, "Arms and the Boy," 410.

Metamorphoses is that he explores specifically poetic methods of revision—particularly those of digression and omission—and Marlowe does not appear to convert these methods to the stage. At times *Dido* digresses from its source material—for instance in the opening with Ganymede—and yet the plot remains close to Virgil's opening books, and its omissions of the wider epic are likely to be due to reducing the scope into a focused, play-length work. What becomes increasingly obvious in Marlowe's use of his source material is that unlike Ovid he mostly works within the story of his text, and even when he is creating original material, it remains bookish in focus. While Marlowe's methods of divergence can be linked to an Ovidian sensuality and fluidity, I find that the differences between them are sometimes understated. *Dido* criticism has moved beyond regarding the play as a slavish imitation of Virgil, but perhaps now there is an overreliance upon an exclusively Ovidian influence. To my mind, we do Marlowe's imitative inventiveness a disservice if we consider the play to be an Ovidian reinterpretation of Virgil. Marlowe's recurrent emphasis upon the textual artifice underlying the mythic love story suggests that his treatment of passion has a bookish irony that is distinct from Ovid.

This already artificial portrayal of passion would have been enhanced by the company of boy actors it was written for. Indeed, according to the title page printed in 1594, the play was performed by the "Children of her Maiesties Chappell." While there is no evidence of when the play was performed by this troupe, it is generally accepted that it was written for a boy's company, rendering it a unique offering in Marlowe's canon. The knowledge that not only Dido and Aeneas, but all of the gods, are performed by boys augments the comic moments of the play. However the critical disputes surrounding the genre of the play, coupled with the unknown, and perhaps absence of, stage history suggest that the effect of the staging may be more complex than the comedy derived from watching mythic heroes portrayed by children. According to G. K. Hunter, this kind of theatre charged more than adult companies and catered for a smaller, elite audience.[18] Michael Shapiro writes, "Unlike adult companies, who brought commercial entertainment to court, the children, especially in the years before

18. G. K. Hunter, *English Drama 1586–1642: The Age of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 280.

1590, brought court theater to wider audiences."[19] Gerald Pinciss suggests that the spectators would "consider themselves wealthy and extravagant as well as sophisticated, educated, and well informed."[20] This kind of audience could be expected to be familiar with the myth of Dido and would be more likely to follow the intricacies of imitation than an adult company's audience. Lucy Munro notes the diversity of repertoire: "Although there is a tradition of children's performance, it is not a monolithic, singular entity: children's performance could take on different meanings and associations at different times."[21] Shapiro categorizes the range of plays and reveals that many of them were not in fact comedies. Yet as Fred C. Tromly has suggested, Shapiro's categorization of Dido within a "pathetic heroine" genre is not entirely satisfying.[22] For Marlowe, Dido is not the moral figure of Boccaccio, resisting the temptation to compromise her chastity; nor does she entirely fit Ovid's Dido, whose faithful love is rendered pitiable or even transcendent. Furthermore, the passionate language of the play is considered by critics such as Mary E. Smith to be atypical for boys, as it requires a degree of skill that children may not have been capable of.[23] It appears that the play does not fit within this category of "pathetic heroine" children's repertoire any more than it does within the rules of *imitatio*.

Yet the play exploits the possibilities of children's drama in a number of ways. As the companies usually drew upon choir boys, music played a large part in their productions. There are cues for singing twice in the play: in the first, Venus sings to lull Ascanius to sleep, and in the second, Cupid, disguised as Ascanius, sings at Dido's request: "Sit in my lap and let me heare thee sing. / No more my child, now talke another while" (3.1.25–26). This second instance both makes use of the young boy's voice and, through

19. Michael Shapiro, "Early (Pre-1590) Boy Companies and Their Acting Venues," in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre*, ed. Richard Dutton (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011), 120–35, 121.

20. Gerald M. Pinciss, *Christopher Marlowe* (New York: Ungar, 1975), 111.

21. Lucy Munro, "The Humour of Children: Performance, Gender, and the Early Modern Children's Companies," *Literature Compass* 2.1 (2005): 4.

22. Fred C. Tromly, *Playing with Desire: Christopher Marlowe and the Art of Tantalisation* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1998), 186; Michael Shapiro, *Children of the Revels: The Boy Companies of Shakespeare's Time and Their Plays* (New York: Columbia UP, 1977), 166.

23. Mary E. Smith, "Staging Marlowe's *Dido Queene of Carthage*," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 17.2 (1977): 177–90, 189.

Dido's gentle shushing, "no more my child," dispels the ambience of the performance by hinting that the music is not very good. The impact of staging is also evident in the way that the play exploits the different ages of the boys. Indeed, the story already requires Cupid and Ascanius, but the addition of Ganymede at the beginning lays emphasis upon the role of children. Of these three, only Ascanius is swayed by the authority of the "adults." Both Ganymede and Cupid dominate the adults they interact with, particularly through their clever manipulation of desire. This depiction of powerful and manipulative children is an interesting comment on children's drama in its own right. The most noticeable effect, though, is in the fostering of an artificial style that comments on its own theatricality. As Hunter writes of the children, "play, pretence, affectation, trickery, lie at the centre of the dramatic method,"[24] and this self-reflexive playfulness is evident in lines such as Iarbus's complaint: "that love is childish which consists in words" (3.1.10)—when the play itself consists of words spoken by children about love. Indeed, whether or not we can categorize the play fully within children's drama or determine whether it had any successful stage history, the knowledge that it was written for boys informs the artificial, bookish nature of the play. It also tells us that it was positioned, unlike all of Marlowe's other plays, for an audience that could appreciate his challenge to what imitation can mean.

The textual conflict in Aeneas's characterization between Virgil's hero and Lydgate's traitor reinforces the artificial vision of the play. Rather than rendering the character simply inconsistent, however, he is portrayed as anguished and uncertain. The widening gap between this anguished Aeneas and the Aeneas that the other characters expect to find comes down to bookish expectations—for both the audience, who know the story of Virgil, and the characters on stage. Indeed, the fame of "Aeneas" has spread even to Carthage, but the Aeneas onstage is literally unrecognizable. First his own comrades fail to recognize him ("I heare *Aeneas* voyce, but see him not, / For none of these can be our Generall," 2.1.45–46) and then Dido herself mistakes him for an upstart stranger: "What stranger art thou that doest eye me thus?" (74). Crowley suggests that Aeneas is a traumatized version of himself "whose manliness has been emptied out rather than enhanced as a result of witnessing

24. Hunter, *English Drama*, 285.

violent conquest." The play's emphasis on the slippage between Aeneas as he is and Aeneas as he should be suggests that Marlowe may be playing on the idea that Aeneas is not so much suffering from the psychological trauma of war, but perhaps is struggling to impersonate a heroic character that he fails to live up to—as Crowley suggests, he appears very much like a "hollowed-out performer."[25] Marlowe's Aeneas, then, finds himself among characters who expect him to be Virgil's Aeneas, or even Ovid's Aeneas. Instead what they find is a doubt-ridden character full of uncertainties who is being upstaged by his own reputation.

According to classical tradition, the theme of a disguised and unrecognized hero was not necessarily used negatively. In the *Aeneid*, Venus disguises Aeneas in a cloud, and he therefore enters Dido's court undetected until the moment at which he is revealed (1.439–593). In Homer's *Odyssey* (c. 720 BCE), Odysseus returns to his home in Ithaca disguised as a beggar, and only gradually reveals himself to his family and subjects.[26] The difference in *Dido*, however, is that while Aeneas has his name to recommend him as a worthy hero, when he is recognized, there is no moment of transformation at which he undoubtedly becomes the true hero. He does not appear out of a cloud, as in the *Aeneid*, nor does he punish those who doubted him, as in the *Odyssey*. He is apparently not so much disguised as actually unable to embody his mythic heroism. Achates is certainly concerned that his general is not living up to his reputation when Aeneas is overwrought at the thought of Troy's fall: "Leave to lament lest they laugh at our feares" (2.1.38). Later in the play Achates again expresses concern that Aeneas has forgotten his war-like nature for "effeminate" thinking (4.3.36), something that never happens in Virgil or Ovid. Dido, more pointedly, notes his lack of heroic distinction: "Remember who thou art, speake like thy selfe, / Humilitie belongs to common groomes" (2.1.100–101). There is a sense not merely that the audience, but that other characters onstage are aware that this figure is a bad imitation of "Aeneas." Moreover, that both Achates and Dido are trying to readjust his character into a traditional

25. Crowley, "Arms and the Boy," 422, 424.

26. Homer, *The Odyssey*, trans. E. V. Rieu (London: Penguin, 2003). Odysseus is disguised by Athena in book 13. In book 19 his former nurse becomes the only person who is able to see through his disguise when she recognizes a scar on his leg as she washes him.

prototype, or perhaps complete the transformation they are hoping to see. Yet their attempts only serve to emphasize his failure to embody "Aeneas."

It is well recognized that Virgil and Ovid significantly differ in their representation of Aeneas's departure from Carthage, and yet there are surprising similarities between their representations of the Trojan hero. Virgil characterizes Aeneas as firmly resistant to Dido's pleas: "sed nullis ille movetur / fletibus, aut voces ullas tractabilis audit" (But by no tearful pleas is he moved, nor in yielding mood does he pay heed to any words, 4.438–39). In the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid refers to Carthage as merely a pause in Aeneas's travels:

> excipit Aenean illic animoque domoque
> non bene discidium Phrygii latura mariti
> Sidonis; inque pyra sacri sub imagine facta
> incubuit ferro deceptaque decipit omnes.
> rursus harenosae fugiens nova moenia terrae
> ad sedemque Erycis fidumque relatus Acesten
> sacrificat tumulumque sui genitoris honorat.
>
> (There the Sidonian queen received Aeneas hospitably in heart and home, doomed ill to endure her Phrygian lord's departure. On a pyre, built under pretence of sacred rites, she fell upon his sword; and so, herself disappointed, she disappointed all. Leaving once more the new city built on the sandy shore, Aeneas returned to the land of Eryx and friendly Acestes, and there he made sacrifice and paid due honours to his father's tomb.)[27]

Ovid provides some details of Dido's doomed love, but Aeneas's role in the love affair is conspicuously silent. The silence serves to literalize Virgil's own description of Aeneas's unresponsiveness toward her pleas and commitment to his epic destiny. This implication is made more explicit in Ovid's *Heroides* (c. 19 BCE), where Dido decries her lover's desertion and complains that: "te lapis et montes innataque rupibus altis / robora" (Of rocks and mountains were you begotten, and of the oak sprung from the lofty cliff). While these writers' accounts are opposed in their privileging either of Aeneas's piety (Virgil) or Dido's faithful love (Ovid), they both share a vision of an Aeneas who is resolute and according to the *Heroides*, worthy: "decepit idoneus auctor; / invidiam noxae detrahit ille meae" (He was worthy who caused my fall; he draws from my

27. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 14.78–84.

sin its hatefulness).[28] With this heroism stripped in Marlowe, the worthiness that both Virgil and Ovid describe is rendered unclear. I argue that the portrayal of Aeneas, like Ganymede, positions him as a character who responds to tradition, but is never of tradition himself.

The play's bookish artifice is especially evident in the relationship between Dido and Cupid. Indeed, Dido's sudden love for Aeneas is not portrayed as a natural crescendo into the madness of Virgil and the tragic ardor of Ovid. Instead, Marlowe creates a scene in which Cupid sets out to "conquer" (3.1.6) her, with the object of her affection, Aeneas, absent and barely mentioned. The contrivance of the Cupid plot device is exploited for the audience's enjoyment by creating comic reversals of affection punctured with stabs from Cupid's arrow:

> DIDO. Why staiest thou here? thou art no love of mine.
> IARBUS. *Iarbus* dye, seeing she abandons thee.
> DIDO. No, live *Iarbus*, what hast thou deserv'd,
> That I should say thou art no love of mine?
> Something thou hast deserv'd, Away I say,
> Depart from *Carthage*, come not in my sight. (3.1.39–44)

While Cupid does not speak in this excerpt, most critics presume that Dido's oscillations are directed by stabs from his arrow. The oscillations become so extreme that by the time the dialogue reaches the final four lines, Dido is no longer responding to either Iarbus or Cupid; instead we hear her speaking to herself as she asks and answers her own questions. Yet the dialogue is evidently not a rational soliloquy of a mind debating between two possibilities, such as we find in *Doctor Faustus*. Instead the audience watches the almost ridiculous spectacle of two opposed versions of Dido struggling for dominance: one is driven by mischievous Cupid's arrows, and one is trying to be free of his influence. The artificiality of the scene allows the audience to view two different possibilities for Dido at once, which has serious implications when we consider that if Dido falls in love with Aeneas, tradition tells us that she will die.

Just as there is a disjunct fostered in Aeneas's character between the hero that is expected of him and the Marlovian creation that appears on stage, this scene reveals a disjunct in Dido. Her two

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28. Ovid, *Heroides* 7.37–38, 105–6, respectively, in *Heroides and Amores*, trans. Grant Showerman, rev. ed. G. P. Goold (Cambridge: Harvard UP), 84–85, 90–91.

voices can be identified on a metatextual level as a bookish tug of war between a mad, lovesick, and traditional Dido, and a Marlovian creation apparently set on a different path. The scene is undeniably comic, especially when Dido berates herself for not seeing Aeneas's beauty earlier, when in fact she has not seen Aeneas in the scene at all: "O dull conceipted *Dido*, that till now / Didst never thinke *Aeneas* beautifull" (3.1.82–83). It is made very clear to the audience that Dido's divided consciousness is being driven by the boy Cupid rather than by affection for the supposedly heroic Aeneas. Yet the comedy is inseparable from the knowledge that Venus and Cupid's warlike language, although common to the courtly love genre, will later be literalized: Dido's heart, and indeed identity, will be so "wound[ed]" (2.1.333) by Cupid that she will take her own life. The potency of Cupid's arrows is therefore simultaneously playful and yet filled with mythic foreboding. It is in moments of affected comedy that the tragedy in the play really emerges, as on a bookish level the threat is less whether Aeneas will choose love or piety than whether Dido can escape her traditional fate—that she must die.

The artificiality of the scene is too frequently taken to be a sign that it can be ignored as comic entertainment. Respected *Dido* commentators Deats and Crowley both, for example, argue that Dido's love for Aeneas predates Cupid's interference, and consequently argue for Marlowe's invention of a more naturalized love.[29] Interestingly, though, neither commentator mentions the Cupid scene. According to Deats, Dido's love for Aeneas is evident in their first meeting. She offers Aeneas her husband's robe (2.1.80), seats him on her throne (2.1.91), and readily accepts to play the part of Ascanius's mother (2.1.97). Yet Dido's words can also be viewed as little more than the actions of a hostess who is eager to disguise her failure to recognize a Trojan hero: remembering her first words to him, "What stranger art thou that doest eye me thus?" (2.1.74). For Crowley, meanwhile, Dido's affection for Aeneas is evident in her ambition: he writes "Marlowe's Dido falls for 'Aeneas,' not the Aeneas she meets on stage. She expresses her interest in Aeneas' 'better fortune and good starres' from the beginning, well before she is struck by Cupid." It seems plausible that Dido calculates Aeneas's worth to her rule, and even Crowley gestures to a degree of emotional distance when he comments that the play fails to

29. Deats, *Sex, Gender, and Desire*, 93; Crowley, "Arms and the Boy," 426.

display the same "sympathy and sense of shared suffering between Aeneas and Dido present in Virgil's *Aeneid*."[30] After all, she is the wily leader responsible for converting "a hide of ground" into enough space to build an entire town (4.2.13). Iarbus uses another name to refer to Dido, "*Eliza*" (4.2.10), and this unmarried queen's methods of retaining power are not unlike those of Elizabeth I.[31] She keeps pictures of her suitors as trophies of her refusal to have "any man . . . conquer me" (3.1.137). Her latest suitor, Iarbus, is assured that he "of all my wooers . . . hast had the greatest favours I could give" (3.1.11, 13), and yet she refrains from marrying him. Much like Elizabeth I, perhaps, Dido is attuned to worthy suitors and yet remains relatively aloof. After hearing Aeneas's tale she is less overcome than eager to be cheered, as evidenced by her emphasis on "me": "Troian, thy ruthfull tale hath made me sad: / Come let us thinke upon some pleasing sport, / To rid me from these melancholly thoughts" (2.1.301–3). Her desire for a pleasing distraction suggests that this queen remains at heart more concerned for her own sport than for her visitor. Far from being overawed, she is acting as she feels she should to a hero of his status. I suspect that Marlowe's originality is not in fact drawn from a greater sense of Dido's agency in love; rather he emphasizes her lack of agency in the face of the bookish realm of story-makers who dictate her fate.

By the final scene, however, the comedy of her oscillations has taken on a more somber note. She wavers between hopeful fantasies and despair, but it is in Anna's desire to make her see reason that Dido's earlier—and saner—self emerges once again.

> ANNA: Sweet sister cease, remember who you are.
> DIDO: *Dido* I am, unlesse I be deceiv'd,
> And must I rave thus for a runnagate? (5.1.263–65)

Her declaration "*Dido* I am" is a powerful moment of self-assertion. Indeed, in the recent production by Edward's boys, this line felt like an awakening from madness.[32] To my mind, the words seem to break down the other, traditional version of her self and reassert the identity she had until Cupid (and arguably tradition)

30. Crowley, "Arms and the Boy," 426.

31. For deeper analysis of this Dido/Elizabeth I connection, see Williams, "Dido, Queen of England."

32. Christopher Marlowe, *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, directed by Perry Mills, performed by Edward's Boys (Oxford: Gavin Birkett, 2013), DVD.

interfered. And yet after gaining this semblance of identity, the speech is shortly followed by the same oscillations of voice and violent language that were in the Cupid scene: "I, I must be the murderer of my selfe: / No but I am not, yet I will be straight" (5.1.270–71). These lines suggest another voice coming through that is not part of this tradition, and that seeks to resist her literary fate. Where the oscillations are similar to how Dido spoke in the earlier scene, the absence of a mischievous Cupid directing her renders these lines far less comical. Dido's struggle for her own identity, which in the earlier scene was implicit, is now rendered explicit and far more threatening. Tradition becomes a constrictive force in the play that demands a tragedy of its characters, and Marlowe seems to tease the audience by offering this voice of dissent and the possibility of Dido's survival.

As the play hurries to its conclusion, the audience cannot be sure whether or not the mythic story will play out as expected. As Jackson I. Cope suggests, "Marlowe's playfulness with the dramatic limitations of the boys should have encouraged his audience until this penultimate moment to expect a denouement in the tradition which would become known as *Vergile travestée*."[33] Much earlier in the play Venus herself suggested that her expectations of Aeneas were not entirely prescriptive.

> Then touch her [Dido's] white breast with this arrow head,
> That she may dote upon *Aeneas* love:
> And by that meanes repaire his broken ships,
> Victuall his Souldiers, give him wealthie gifts,
> And he at last depart to *Italy*,
> Or els in *Carthage* make his kingly throne. (2.1.326–31)

By this account, Venus wishes to send Aeneas to Italy or allow him to rule in Carthage. Despite this emptying out of expectations of fate in this play, Marlowe has it end much as Virgil does, and indeed Ovid. Jupiter sends Mercury to instruct Aeneas to leave and leave he does. The lovers' final words to each other are directly quoted from Virgil:

> AENEAS. Desine meque tuis incendere teque querelis,
> Italium non sponte sequor. (5.1.139–40)

33. Jackson I. Cope, "Marlowe's Dido, and the Titillating Children," *English Literary Renaissance* 4.3 (1974): 315–25, 324.

> (Cease inflaming both yourself and me with these laments; it is not of my own free will that I search out Italy)[34]

Marlowe's quotation of Virgil is often interpreted to be a sign of his lack of imitative skill. Gill, more kindly, suggests that it is a modest acknowledgement on Marlowe's part that he could do no better than these Virgilian lines.[35] Perhaps, though, it signals that the play is receding back into the traditional frame that it has resisted and questioned throughout the play. Despite Aeneas's unworthiness and Dido's resistance to his doubtful charms, Aeneas summons the will to leave (though only through Virgil's words), and Dido takes her own life. What is significant though, is that while the ending may be the same, for the audience it is quite different. Dido's awakening in her line "Dido I am" suggests a character that resists the will of the gods and, more importantly, resists tradition. "Dido I am" at once reinscribes her mythic role and signals that she is a different Dido. Her difference is perhaps what makes her death harder to bear.

As Marlowe's only dramatic rendering of *imitatio* for a children's company, *Dido* offered him a unique opportunity to write for an educated audience who could be expected to grasp the intricacies of his imitative project. The play can be read or performed in a multitude of ways, but without knowledge of the various traditions of the myth—especially of Virgil and Ovid—the meaning of its imitative gaming is lost. All the characters in the play are conscious versions of the characters that have come before them in other works, and the play gleefully functions on this bookish, metatextual level. It is interesting that the characters have a heightened authenticity or appeal in those moments when they seem to be most responding to a bookish tradition, whether it is in Aeneas's self-doubt or Dido's split consciousness. Indeed, it is in the play's careful manipulation of its place within tradition that it becomes an altogether different style of imitation. To adequately account for this strange brand of imitation we need to ask not just who he is imitating, but how he rethinks what imitation means and what it can reveal. The metatextual gaming of the play suggests that he is not seeking to emulate writers nor is he correcting them. Instead, we have a text that incorporates conflicting traditions, and finds its own voice through situating characters within this conflict. In the

34. Translation by Roma Gill in *Complete Works*, 1:289.

35. Gill, "Marlowe's Virgil," 153–54.

play we see imitative gaming at its most bookish level, where Marlowe makes learning and imitative writing, in Montaigne's words, his own.

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What's Actaeon to Aeneas? Marlowe's Mythological Mischief

In this essay, I examine how Marlowe yokes two ostensibly unconnected figures from classical mythology, Aeneas and Actaeon, in such a way that the one is used critically to examine the other. The first of these, Aeneas, was central to England's image of both its past and future, for his great-grandson Brutus was the legendary founder of Britain and the *translatio imperii* that his bloodline embodied had supposedly brought the cultural authority of Troy to London. Descent from Aeneas was also seen as authorizing the hoped-for onward trajectory of that bloodline into lands still being discovered: not for nothing did Sebastian Brandt's *Aeneid* (1502) use Christopher Columbus's ships as models for Aeneas's.[1] A number of writers of Christopher Marlowe's time turned their attention to the supposed progeny of Aeneas, including William Warner, author of *Albions England* (1586), who along with Walter Warner the mathematician is one of the two candidates for the "Warner" whom Thomas Kyd named as the friend of Marlowe and who was the son of an explorer who went with Richard Chancellor to Russia in 1553 and died on one of William Towerson's voyages to Guinea.[2] Marlowe, however, eschews the "British History," and I suggest that this, like his notable failure to engage in the predominantly heterosexual form of the sonnet, is a speaking silence. The second of the two myths I want to explore, that of Actaeon, is "commonly interpreted as a tale of forbidden

1. See Anna Cox Brinton, "The Ships of Columbus in Brant's Virgil," *Art and Archaeology* 26 (1928): 83–86.

2. William Warner, *Albions England (1612)* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1971), 294.

knowledge,"[3] but the horns with which Actaeon is associated also suggested cuckoldry. I shall argue that connecting Aeneas with Actaeon thus allows Marlowe to call into question the idea of patrilineal transmission, which formed the basis both for the *translatio imperii* itself and for the cultural uses to which Marlowe's England put it.

Aeneas's status as *ur*-colonist meant that when he is remembered in early modern literature, it is often in conjunction with the New World.[4] All of Marlowe's plays are in a fundamental sense concerned with the difficulties of accommodating classical models and philosophies in a world trembling on the edge of modernity. It is therefore no coincidence that he regularly and insistently recalls Aeneas, who features or is remembered in almost all his plays. Aeneas's landfall in Africa is presented in *Dido, Queen of Carthage* as essentially a first contact narrative, and modernity for Marlowe is conditioned by the impact of the discovery not only of new lands but more fundamentally of the people who lived in them, and had bestowed exotic polysyllabic names on these strange territories and devised for them complex cosmogonies and histories, which might be quite independent of other traditions. According to the Baines Note (1593), a main cause of Marlowe's personal skepticism about established teachings and beliefs was prompted by his encounter with representatives of an alternative belief system, in the shape of two Native Americans named Manteo and Wanchese, both of whom his friend Thomas Hariot brought back from the fledgling English colony in Roanoke. For many Elizabethans, geography and cartography were easily assimilable within familiar paradigms. Sir Thomas Smith, writing in 1572 to his son who was about to depart for Ireland, advised that: "For the first year there, and peradventure the second, ye shall do well to take one sure and convenient place to make a fort, as Byrso was to Dido, and Mons Aventinus to Romulus."[5] People, though, may not be so readily readable as replicas of classical originals, and the knowledge that Manteo and

3. Roy Eriksen, "Marlowe and Company in Barnfield's *Greene's Funeralls* (1594)," *Nordic Journal of English Studies* 12.2 (2013): 71–80, 76.

4. See for instance Joan Pong Linton, *The Romance of the New World: Gender and the Literary Formations of English Colonialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998), 10.

5. Thomas Smith to his son, April 10, 1572, qtd. in David Beers Quinn, "Sir Thomas Smith (1513–1577) and the Beginnings of English Colonial Theory," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 89.4 (1945): 543–60, 547.

Wanchese offered Marlowe was certainly impossible to reconcile with any existing belief system to which he had access. In his plays, too, his characters' travels show them not a second Troy but a place that is wholly new, for the proper apprehension of which new paradigms must be deployed, and the focus on the motif of the first contact narrative, which throws emphasis onto the human rather than the cartographical, makes of Aeneas an apt and versatile trope for such encounters.

So what is he like, this figure who so insistently returns, Marlowe's most indefatigable revenant? In fact the Aeneas Marlowe offers us is a character whom one might prefer never to see again. "Warlike Aeneas, and in these base robes?" (*Dido*, 2.1.79) asks Dido incredulously,[6] and if Marlowe's original audience were expecting a pious epic hero, they might well be tempted to echo her. Bedraggled, bemused, and unable even to recognize his own mother, Marlowe's Aeneas seems consistently to mistake or misunderstand his own destined trajectory, and to have no idea of the narrative with which Marlowe's original audience would have been so easily familiar. The effect might have been one of history being made before us, but at times it actually comes closer to one of history being very nearly bungled before us, with echoes of the classic sci-fi paradox of the past going wrong when it is revisited. When Dido invites him into the cave he is comically slow to guess what she might have in mind; Achates, Ilioneus, Sergestus, and Cloanthus have all met one of Dido's suitors at various national and international events, but Aeneas has never come across any of them (3.1.140–48); when he first has to sail away he seems quite ready to abandon Ascanius, despite the fact that the boy is central to the prophecy of the founding of Rome; and Marlowe denies him a single opportunity ever to do or say anything really impressive in front of us.

Nevertheless, this rather doleful revenant comes back repeatedly, and he does so in ways that both differ from Marlowe's other invocations of classical mythology and also serve to underline the association of Aeneas with the new world. In *Tamburlaine the Great, Part 1*, allusions to the classical past are for the most part just so much baggage that the characters carry around with them, which prevents

6. Christopher Marlowe, *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, in *The Complete Plays*, ed. Mark Thornton Burnett (London: Everyman, 1999), 242–93, 2.1.79. All subsequent references to Marlowe's works are from this edition unless otherwise noted.

them from forging ahead in a new world bounded not by the Pillars of Hercules but by the trajectory "from Persepolis to Mexico" (*1Tam*, 3.3.255) and cuts no ice in the face of Tamburlaine's harder-headed practice of *realpolitik*, for which the only explanatory model that Meander can find is that "Some powers divine, or else infernal, mixed / Their angry seeds at his conception" (2.6.9–10). Nevertheless, the characters are wedded to the idea of modelling themselves on classical precedents. Menaphon advises Cosroe to pattern his strategy on Cyrus's (1.1.130) and compares Tamburlaine to Atlas (2.1.11) and Achilles (2.1.24); Ceneus recalls Darius (1.1.154). Both are apparently working on the assumption that if moderns do what their classical role models did, they can expect the same outcome, and at least some of the characters also appear to believe that these are not myths but historical fact: "Was there such brethren, sweet Meander, say, / That sprung of teeth of dragons venomous?" (2.2.51–52). Tamburlaine by contrast is interested in only two sorts of classical myth: those that can teach how to seize power, and those that can help him to woo. He likes stories about "the eldest son of heavenly Ops" who "thrust his doting father from his chair" (2.7.13–14), and he calls Zenocrate "lovelier than the love of Jove" (1.2.87) because, as he explains to Techelles, "women must be flatterèd" (1.2.107)—and she is indeed persuaded by "his talk much sweeter than the Muses' song" (3.2.50). The qualities of classical mythology most valued in the world of the *Tamburlaine* plays, then, are its ease of assimilation and applicability, and its ability to offer precedents or paradigms that characters may aspire to or borrow from.

The plays' references to Aeneas, though, work rather differently. The Soldan is certain that "methinks we march as Meleager did" (*1Tam*, 4.3.1), and Meleager is a figure who points us back to the Aeneas story, at least as understood by Marlowe, since in *Dido, Queen of Carthage* Dido notes that one of her many suitors is "Meleager's son, a warlike prince" (*Dido*, 3.1.162). To march as he did, though, is worrying, for Meleager was burned to death, so that this reference points in the directly opposite direction from that which the Soldan appears to suppose: it augurs not victory but defeat and annihilation. Philemus's reflexive troping of the Arabian king as the Turnus to Tamburlaine's Aeneas (*1Tam*, 5.1.381) similarly serves to align the doomed Egyptian forces with the dead past and to position Tamburlaine as an emblem of a relentlessly advancing and dangerously inchoate future, not locked into any one fixed, easily assimilable

identity but veering dizzyingly from shepherd to king and flicking between white, red, and black.

This sense that the oncoming future holds a range of possibilities rather than the stable narrative afforded by the past is arguably underlined by the sense of uncertainty that attaches itself to the end of the play. Historically, Tamburlaine's empire waned in the hands of his descendants: does Marlowe remember that, and are we meant to see Amyras as an obviously pale shadow of his father, or does the apparently successful marginalization of Celebinus mean that he has forgotten it? We cannot know: beyond the end of the play lies a blank, a map still waiting to be filled in. By the same token, the identity of Tamburlaine himself now begins visibly to settle as his story has been unfolded, apprehended, and concluded. That does not mean, though, that it is reducible or that it can be easily packaged in the way that has been possible for the characters of the play to do with the figures from the classical past that they have evoked: Tamburlaine may connote victory in something of the same way that Aeneas does when opposed to Turnus, but is that all he means, or do the meanings that accrue to him still have the potential to change and to be inflected by events? Certainly some of the cultural meanings made of the figure of Tamburlaine both by Marlowe and by others would suggest that the answer to this question is that they do, for he can stand as both model for English youth and patroller of borders as well as barbarous Scythian Other.[7] Tamburlaine, then, may be an Aeneas, but he is an Aeneas whose meaning is in flux, and as such he calls into question the meaning of Aeneas himself.

I have already suggested that when Aeneas does come back, he fails to be himself. A telling example of this distance of Marlowe's Aeneas from his classical "self" is his behavior in a rather mysterious scene during which he sees what either is or appears to him to be a representation of Priam. In the *Aeneid* (c. 29–19 BCE), this provides a moment of calm and reflection before the emotion of the retelling of the siege of Troy, and is prompted when Aeneas sees "pictured . . . the Trojan War, with all the battles round Ilium in their correct order, for their fame had already spread over the world."[8] In *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, by contrast, the atmosphere is febrile, and there is no readily

7. See Lisa Hopkins, "Tamburlaine and Julius Caesar," in *The Cultural Uses of the Caesars on the English Renaissance Stage* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008), 55–78.

8. Virgil, *The Aeneid*, trans. W. F. Jackson Knight (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1956), 41.

available way of explaining what happens. Without any indication of an external stimulus, Achates asks, "Why stands my sweet Aeneas thus amazed?" (*Dido*, 2.1.2), to which his leader replies,

> O my Achates, Theban Niobe,
> Who for her sons' death wept out life and breath,
> And, dry with grief, was turned into a stone,
> Had not such passions in her head as I.
> Methinks that town there should be Troy, yon Ida's hill,
> There Xanthus' stream, because here's Priamus,
> And when I know it is not, then I die. (2.1.3–9)

Marlowe deliberately withholds any explanation of Aeneas's sudden conviction that he can see Priam, making the most likely explanation for a previously uninitiated reader the suggestion that Aeneas is simply hallucinating. There is also another important difference between the two passages. In the *Aeneid*, the story of the fall of Troy is already known, and has been so long enough for artists to depict its events in the correct sequence, and it is therefore possible to independently verify the account that Aeneas gives of events. In *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, in contrast, Dido begs Aeneas,

> May I entreat thee to discourse at large,
> And truly too, how Troy was overcome?
> For many tales go of that city's fall,
> And scarcely do agree upon one point. (2.1.106–9)

What Dido does not say but what Marlowe's audience would almost certainly have known was that in one of those variant versions Aeneas was himself the betrayer of Troy, and Emma Buckley argues that Marlowe is visibly drawing on that tradition here,[9] so that a certain degree of skepticism inevitably attaches itself to Aeneas's narrative. In Samuel Harding's 1640 play *Sicily and Naples; or, The Fatall Vnion*, an account is referred to as "a tale as sad, and dismall / As that of Troy, and as much truth in't too";[10] it is left hanging whether that means that it is wholly true or that it is obviously not true at all. There is a similar uncertainty in Marlowe's play, but it is one shaped by a more sophisticated concept of truth, for in *Dido, Queen of Carthage* the developing future shapes the past as we see the

9. Emma Buckley, "'Live False Aeneas!': Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage* and the Limits of Translation," *Classical Receptions Journal* 3.2 (2011): 129–47, 130.

10. Samuel Harding, *Sicily and Naples; or, The Fatall Vnion: A Tragedy* (Oxford: printed by William Turner, 1640), 3.7.

story of Troy taking its definitive shape in terms clearly conditioned by a very specific set of circumstances.[11] We thus see it *become* truth even if we are not sure that it is true, and *Dido*, which of all Marlowe's plays apparently does most to offer us the story of Aeneas, thus also does most to undermine it.

Arguably the most provocative example of a Marlowe play that evokes Aeneas is one that, on the face of it, does not, though given the state of the text, it is of course impossible to be sure that it never did: *The Massacre at Paris*. However, this may well have been a rather speaking silence, for the play *does* openly mention Queen Elizabeth, and any conjunction of Elizabeth and Aeneas was potentially explosive. Yoking the two had clear potential to recall the fractious debate about the queen's proposed marriage to the Catholic French François, Duke of Alençon,[12] a relationship that was often troped in terms of the story of Dido and Aeneas, as in the Siena Sieve portrait of Elizabeth where roundels on a column show the two classical lovers. It is usually *Dido, Queen of Carthage* that is associated with the Alençon marriage.[13] There is however an intertextual link between *Dido* and *Massacre* in that the Guise says "set me to scale the high Pyramides"(*MP*, 2.40) and Dido promises that if Aeneas himself will stay his ships shall have "hollow pyramides of silver plate" (*Dido*, 3.1.122), and Timothy D. Crowley suggests that "the Greeks' battle cry here—"kill kill" (*Dido*, 2.1.190)—resurfaces as the Guisians' murderous cries in Marlowe's dramatic account of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, and Priam's death parallels the Huguenot leader Admiral Coligny's mutilation."[14] Dido and Aeneas, then, seem to inhabit Marlowe's imagination in this play too.

A notable feature of the use of the Dido and Aeneas story in conjunction with the Alençon marriage is that it is not always clear whether Elizabeth is to be identified with Aeneas or with Dido, a situation complicated by the fact that there were two separate myths

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11. As Timothy D. Crowley observes, "The play affirms that whatever Aeneas may do or not do on stage, he will ultimately become 'Aeneas' at least insofar as he leaves Carthage for Italy." See Crowley, "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, 430–31.

12. See for instance Patrick Cheney, *Marlowe's Counterfeit Profession: Ovid, Spenser, Counter-Nationhood* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1997), 105.

13. Jennifer M. Caro-Barnes, "Marlowe's Tribute to His Queen, in *Dido, Queen of Carthage*," *Early English Studies* 1 (2008): accessed October 7, 2014, http://bit.ly/1nAFipk.

14. Crowley, "Arms and the Boy," 419.

of Dido, one in which she stayed chaste and one in which she did not. The story of Dido and Aeneas may have an obvious applicability to the story of Elizabeth and Alençon, but the polarities of that applicability are very far from obvious. The negotiations for the Alençon marriage find an echo in *The Massacre at Paris* in that the marriage between Henry of Navarre and Margaret of Valois similarly crosses the confessional divide, and here too identities are troubled and blurred, because while possible paradigms and equivalences are readily apparent and obviously available, it is once again not clear which should be applied to whom. There is clearly a parallel between the childless Henry III, whose heir is the king of a foreign country, and the childless Elizabeth, whose heir is the king of a foreign country, and the fact that Henry III, before his death, specifically tells the Agent for England to warn his queen about what has happened to him suggests that what happened in Paris could happen in London. There is also a bond between Navarre and Elizabeth, both Protestant successors of Catholic monarchs. At the same time, though, the echoes of the Alençon marriage negotiations and of *Dido, Queen of Carthage* inevitably work to dissociate Elizabeth from both Henry III and Navarre and to reposition her as herself. Finally, there is a parallel between Henry III and James VI of Scotland, since both were known to have minions. If the old queen dies, as Jeanne d'Albret does in the play, and a young king takes over, what happens then and who will be who? Mythological paradigms may seem a familiar and attractive guide, but they are not safe ones, because in this strange new world we simply cannot be sure who represents whom.

Doctor Faustus, which shares *A Massacre at Paris*'s concern with the wars of religion, may appear much less concerned with the *Aeneid*. Valdes speaks of "the white breasts of the Queen of Love" (*DFa*, 1.1.131), that is, Aeneas's mother Venus, and Faustus reminds Mephistopheles that in Naples "saw we learnèd Maro's golden tomb, / The way he cut an English mile in length, / Thorough a rock of stone in one night's space" (3.1.13–15).[15] Maro is Virgil, to whom we owe the *Aeneid*, but of Aeneas himself there seems to be no sign. However, the thing that Faustus and many of those around him most

15. For a full account of the so-called tomb of Virgil and an indication of what was known about it in Marlowe's England, see J. B. Trapp, "The Grave of Vergil," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 47 (1984): 1–31.

want is to speak with the dead. The Emperor says of Alexander the Great, "It grieves my soul I never saw the man" (*DFa*, 4.1.32), and Faustus himself asks, "Have not I made blind Homer sing to me, / Of Alexander's love and Oenone's death?" (2.3.26–27). In this they certainly resemble Aeneas, who cries to the ghost of Anchises, "Where do you go in this haste, so soon? Where dart away? Whom are you hurrying to escape? And who denies you to my embrace?" and of whom we are told that on his way to Avernus to visit the Underworld, "now there was no suspense, but only a sweet joyfulness thrilling through the heart of Aeneas the Chieftain."[16] Moreover, the dead person most compelling to Faustus himself is Helen of Troy, and not only is she associated with the story of Troy but Faustus addresses her in terms directly reminiscent of *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, where Dido says of Aeneas, "And he'll make me immortal with a kiss" (*Dido*, 4.4.123): "Sweet Helen, make me immortal with a kiss" (*DFa*, 5.1.91). Nor is this the only textual echo of *Dido*: Jupiter's boast that he has "oft driven back the horses of the night" (*Dido*, 1.1.26) prefigures Faustus's "*O lente, lente currite noctis equi!*" (*DFa*, 5.2.75); Dido's "I'll frame me wings of wax like Icarus" (*Dido*, 5.1.243) is heard again when the prologue in *Doctor Faustus* speaks of how "his waxen wings did mount above his reach" (*DFa*, Pr.21); and Dido's promise that "Aeneas may command as many Moors / As in the sea are little water drops" (*Dido*, 4.4.62–63) is heard again in Faustus' despair, "O soul, be changed into little waterdrops" (*DFa*, 5.2.117). "Helen's rape doth haunt thee at the heels" (*Dido*, 1.1.144) says Aeneas to his companions; in this sense, the same remark could also be made to Faustus.

Ironically, the one play that offers no trace of Aeneas at all is *Edward II*.[17] Edward II, like his close comparator Richard II, is fond enough of appealing to the supernatural when he should be concentrating on the practical; he invokes, among others, Danaë (*E2*, 2.2.53), Phoebus (4.3.45), Pluto, and Charon (4.7.89–90), but Aeneas is one hero who does not feature in his mental pantheon, and Rome, the city Aeneas founded, is for him the seat of Catholicism rather than a site along the route of the *translatio imperii* (1.4.97). It might be

16. Virgil, *Aeneid*, trans. Knight, 142, 144.

17. Pace Patrick Cheney's suggestion that Edward III, when calling for his funeral robes, "recalls Dido's directive to Aeneas at the beginning of Marlowe's dramatic career." See Cheney, *Marlowe's Counterfeit Profession*, 173.

notable that this refusal of Aeneas echoes the perspective of William Warner, whose *Albions England* mischievously disavows the idea of the *translatio imperii*, so precious to early modern British monarchs, on the grounds that Ferrex and Porrex, who both died without issue, were actually the last surviving descendants of Brutus.[18] It would be absolutely in line with this refusenik attitude to keep the story of Aeneas out of the one play that Marlowe set in England, the place where, according to the story of the *translatio imperii*, it ought to be most prominent, and indeed perhaps it is partly in order to underline this omission that the figure of Aeneas is so insistently present elsewhere.

Another figure does appear in both *Edward II* and *Doctor Faustus*, though. That is Actaeon, and I want to argue that he is, for Marlowe, both an antitype of Aeneas and also a lens through which the cultural meanings of Aeneas can be negotiated. Patrick Cheney notes that "Marlowe finds his tragic ideology inscribed in Ovidian myths of daring, contestation, and rivalry. The most important of these myths for our purposes are those of Phaethon, Icarus, Actaeon, and Orpheus."[19] In *Edward II*, Gaveston plots how

> Sometime a lovely boy in Dian's shape,
> With hair that gilds the water as it glides,
> Crownets 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; and there, hard by,
> One like Actaeon, peeping through the grove,
> Shall by the angry goddess be transformed,
> And running in the likeness of a hart
> By yelping hounds pulled down and seem to die. (*E2*, 1.1.60–69)

Actaeon also features in *Doctor Faustus*:

> *KNIGHT* I'faith, that's as true as Diana turned me to a stag.
> *FAUSTUS* No, sir, but when Actaeon died, he left the horns for you. (*DFa*, 4.1.61–64)

Actaeon, who as the Knight notes was transformed by Diana into a stag and killed by his own hounds, is connected to Aeneas by the story of Aeneas's grandson Silvius and Silvius's son Brutus, founder

18. Warner, *Albions England*, 68.

19. Cheney, *Marlowe's Counterfeit Profession*, 90.

of Britain, which according to Geoffrey of Monmouth's rather cursory glance at it runs as follows: "the young man [Brutus] killed his father by an unlucky shot with an arrow, when they were out hunting together. Their beaters drove some stags into their path and Brutus, who was under the impression that he was aiming his weapon at these stags, hit his own father below the breast. As a result of this death Brutus was expelled from Italy by his relations, who were angry with him for having committed such a crime."[20] Like Aeneas, too, Actaeon was a descendant of Venus: Ovid describes how his grandfather Cadmus "was married to the daughter of Mars and Venus," and also like Aeneas, Actaeon suffered the enmity of Juno.[21]

To put Aeneas and Actaeon alongside each other is to introduce a clash of Ovid and Virgil. Critics have noticed in general how fond Marlowe is of pitting these two giants of the classical past against each other, but the coupling of Aeneas and Actaeon is a particularly resonant one. Cheney notes that Ovid figures himself as Actaeon in reference to his banishment, implying that it was caused by his having seen power naked.[22] In Ovid's case, this refers to his apparent entanglement with Julia, daughter of the Emperor Augustus, so the power in question is imperial and secular; however, given that his story involves a goddess, the figure of Actaeon is equally obviously available to trope seeing a truth about religion. Moreover, the fact that the goddess in question was Diana made the story dangerously suitable for undermining the authority of the Virgin Queen herself, since she was often figured as Diana or her equivalent Cynthia. To couple Aeneas with Actaeon, though, is to add still another layer. Separately and individually, the common feature of the cultural work done by Marlowe's representations of both Aeneas and Actaeon is that it does damage. Failing to connect Aeneas to Britain implicitly withholds any endorsement of the period's customary justification of the English colonial enterprise, and indeed if there is an heir of Rome in Marlowe's oeuvre, it is surely Tamburlaine, who declares that "my camp is like to Julius Caesar's host, / That never fought but

20. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, trans. Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966), 55.

21. Ovid, *The Metamorphoses*, trans. Mary M. Innes (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1955), 77, 80.

22. Cheney, *Marlowe's Counterfeit Profession*, 164–65.

had the victory" (*1Tam*, 3.3.152–53). This fed into a lively contemporary debate about what had really become of the Trojans, and whether their true heirs might be not the British but the Turks, who now lived in the lands once ruled by Troy. Terence Spencer observes "a considerable number of Shakespeare's contemporaries had visited Troy (at least, they visited what were supposed to be the ruins of Homer's Troy; they were really standing on St Paul's Alexandreia Troas)" because "nearly every boat that went to Constantinople had to wait off Tenedos, days or even weeks, for a favourable wind in order to navigate the Dardanelles and the Propontis,"[23] so it was common knowledge that early modern Turkey contained the geographical location of ancient Troy, but the idea of a continuity between the two was in many ways culturally unpalatable. Marlowe's association of Aeneas and Tamburlaine intervenes in that debate and firmly implies that if the *translatio imperii* went anywhere, it went to the east rather than to the west.

Marlowe's references to Actaeon work in ways similarly disturbing and destabilizing to the cherished ideological projects of early modern England, and they do so in ways that glance slyly at the stories and traditions associated with Aeneas. Gaveston's "by yelping hounds pulled down and seems to die" in *Edward II* (1.1.169) posits Actaeon as figuring queer desire and unnatural transformation. But he also, and perhaps from Marlowe's point of view more powerfully and suggestively, tropes illegitimacy. Intriguingly, William Shakespeare seems twice to have associated Marlowe and horns, in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1598), where there is an odd little instance of textual overlap with *Doctor Faustus*.[24] In *As You Like It* (1599), where the jokes about "elegies on brambles" and "honest Ovid"[25] appear to allude to the recent public burning of Marlowe's pioneering translation of *All Ovid's Elegies* and where the name Ganymede and the reference to a dead shepherd also point in the same direction. Here Duke Senior says of Jaques "I think he be

23. Terence Spencer, "Turks and Trojans in the Renaissance," *Modern Language Review* 47.3 (1952): 330–33, 333.

24. See Robert A. H. Smith, "*Doctor Faustus* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*," *Review of English Studies* 43.171 (1992): 395–97.

25. William Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, ed. Agnes Latham (London: Methuen, 1975), 3.2.353, 3.3.6.

transform'd into a beast, / For I can nowhere find him like a man," (2.7.1–2) and Touchstone declares,

> As horns are odious, they
> are necessary. It is said, many a man knows no end
> of his goods. Right. Many a man has good horns
> and knows no end of them. Well, that is the
> dowry of his wife, 'tis none of his own getting.
> Horns? Even so. Poor men alone? No, no. The
> noblest deer hath them as huge as the rascal. (3.3.45–51)

Most notably, the foresters' song counsels,

> *Take thou no scorn to wear the horn,*
> *It was a crest ere thou wast born.*
> *Thy father's father wore it,*
> *And thy father bore it.*
> *The horn, the horn, the lusty horn,*
> *Is not a thing to laugh to scorn. (4.2.14–19)*

Shakespeare here shows himself characteristically alert, for the motif of cuckoldry insinuates itself with surprising frequency into Marlowe's plays. In *The Massacre at Paris*, the king "*makes horns at the* GUISE" (17.14 s.d.). In *Edward II* Isabella does of course betray her husband, and in *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, Dido almost gratuitously mentions Sichaeus and is also constantly trailed by an Iarbas regarding himself as the equivalent of a wronged husband who is fully entitled to refer to Dido and Aeneas as "adulterers" (*Dido*, 4.1.20).

Connecting Actaeon with Aeneas thus serves to destabilize and undermine the idea of genealogical descent and by implication that of the *translatio imperii*, the myth to which Aeneas and his bloodline were central, and seeing Aeneas and Actaeon as two sides of a diptych forces us to notice Marlowe's studied lack of interest in the British history as a disjunction rather than an absence, an unholy splicing of Geoffrey of Monmouth and Virgil which reveals the extent to which they are not joined up. Aeneas was foundational to the myths of Tudor entitlement and the *translatio imperii*, but Marlowe/Actaeon, Ovid-like, looks at him and sees him exposed, bare, powerless, a liar and a cheat, an authorizer of nothing and an ancestor of no one. Given the use of the figure of Aeneas as authorizer not only of the original *translatio imperii* but of its continuance in the form of the English colonial enterprise, the use

of Actaeon to critique Aeneas questions not only the past but the future, making what mythology has to teach us a matter of speculation rather than of assurance, and the use of mythological paradigms as likely to be an augury of failure as of success.

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Marlovian Influences in *Lust's Dominion; Or, The Lascivious Queen*

Although *Lust's Dominion; Or, The Lascivious Queen* (c. 1600) has attracted interest in its authorship, its portrayal of the Moor, and its connection to other Moor plays, the Marlovian influences on the play have received less attention, and the portrayal of the title character, the lascivious queen, has been largely overlooked. The attribution "Written by *Christofer Marloe*, Gent." that appears on several title pages of the 1657 edition was, according to John Le Gay Brereton, made by publisher Francis Kirkman, but the attribution also appears handwritten on one 1657 title page, which reveals that at least one early reader thought the play was Marlowe's.[1] In 1825, J. P. Collier discredited his authorship because of references to events that occurred after Marlowe's death, and he identified the play with *The Spanish Moor's Tragedy* (c. 1600) for which Philip Henslowe recorded payment to Thomas Dekker, William Haughton, and John Day in February 1600.[2] Fredson Bowers includes *Lust's Dominion* in Dekker's complete works, and the most recent editor, Cyrus Hoy, states "that *Lust's Dominion* and *The Spanish Moor's Tragedy* are the same play," that an earlier play of the early 1590s lies behind the play of 1599/1600, that "Marston began a revision of this play for Henslowe in the fall of 1599, and that the work of revision was carried forward by Dekker,

1. John Le Gay Brereton, ed., introduction to *Lust's Dominion; or, The Lascivious Queen* (Louvain, Belgium: Uystpruyst, 1931), x. The handwritten ascription to Marlowe appears in the Library of Congress's copy of the 1657 edition.

2. Qtd. in Fredson Bowers and Cyrus Hoy, eds., introduction to *Lust's Dominion; or, The Lascivious Queen*, in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1980), 4:56.

Haughton, and Day early in 1600."[3] Although he argues against Marlowe's authorship, Tucker Brooke notes the influence of Marlowe in some examples of "structure and characterization and in phraseology," and he also observes that "some distinguished critics have been unwilling to renounce wholly the idea of Marlowe's connection with the play."[4] Algernon Charles Swinburne declared that *Lust's Dominion* "has things in it well worthy of Marlowe," and Walter W. Greg observed that "there is certainly a good deal that is Marlowan" in the play.[5]

More recently, Virginia Mason Vaughan terms Eleazar "a Marlovian overreacher, a Barabas figure," and she states without elaborating that the "culmination" of the drama is "similar in many respects to Marlowe's spectacular closure of *The Jew of Malta*."[6] Emily Bartels notes parallels between *Lust's Dominion* and Marlowe's *Edward II* in plot and language, especially "illicit desire" linking with "power" and "the demand for exile" or banishment, and she footnotes "instances of verbal echoes" that Brereton includes in notes to his edition.[7] Both K. Gustav Cross and Charles Cathcart, who have published extensive studies of the authorship

3. Bowers and Hoy, eds., introduction to *Lust's Dominion*, 4:65. Hoy summarizes the authorship discussion on pages 56–72. He states that "behind [*Lust's Dominion*] lies an older play, dating presumably from the early 1590s, when the plays of Marlowe and Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* were the rage" (62). Hoy remarks that "the plot of *Lust's Dominion* imitates Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* and Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*" and that Eleazar resembles Barabas (65–66). For the connection of *Lust's Dominion* to another Moor play, see Frank W. Wadsworth, "The Relationship of *Lust's Dominion* and John Mason's *The Turke*," *English Literary History* 20.3 (1953): 194–99.

4. Tucker Brooke, "The Marlowe Canon," *PMLA* 37.3 (1922): 406–12. Noting the influence of Thomas Kyd on the play, Brooke asserts that "there is a good deal in *Lust's Dominion* to support the fancy that the tragedy may have had its inception in 1591, when Marlowe and Kyd were by the latter's testimony 'wrytinge in one chamber'" (412).

5. Qtd. in Brooke, "The Marlowe Canon," 411.

6. Virginia Mason Vaughan, *Performing Blackness on English Stages, 1500–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005), 53, 54.

7. Emily C. Bartels, *Speaking of the Moor: From Alcazar to Othello* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2008), 122–24, 127, 217n11. Her observation that "Brereton downplays these parallels as 'accidental' . . . in order to dispute the possibility that Marlowe was the author of the play" calls attention to the reluctance to pursue Marlovian aspects of the tragedy (217n11). Bartels also mentions that Eleazar's end recalls the similarly ironic fate of Marlowe's *Jew of Malta* (135). In his introduction to the play, Brereton briefly discusses and then dismisses some arguments in favor of the "Marlovian origin" of the play (x–xiii). Brereton favors Dekker as the primary author, but he includes Marlovian verbal "reminiscences" in his notes.

question, downplay Marlowe's influence. Cross suggests that Kirkman mistakenly ascribed *Lust's Dominion* to Marlowe, mistaking John Marston's name on the manuscript for Marlowe's. While he briefly raises the question of "the Marlovian echoes in *Lust's Dominion*," Cathcart rejects the idea of a revision from the early 1590s, arguing instead that "the best account of the play's authorship we can make is to see the completion by Dekker, Day, and Haughton in early 1600 of a play started by Marston, probably during the previous autumn, and to hold out the possibility of subsequent revision, probably of a minor nature."[8] I argue, however, that the Marlovian elements in *Lust's Dominion* require more thorough study. My paper explores in detail how the tragedy contains "things in it well worthy of Marlowe" and demonstrates how the play exemplifies what Bart van Es terms "a culture of imitation and coauthorship."[9] *Lust's Dominion* exhibits what Leah Marcus has termed "the Marlowe effect," "the simultaneous exaltation and undermining of official ideology" and the creation of "the highest possible pitch of 'ravishment' and horror in terms of audience response."[10] I argue that Marlowe's influence appears in these Marlovian imitations, not only in verbal echoes of passages and plot situations from Marlowe's plays, but also in the depiction of Eleazar's overreaching histrionic villainy and in the portrayal of the queen's sensational villainy. Examining the role of the hitherto largely overlooked title character, the "Lascivious Queen," shows that she defies conventions of both gender and genre, that her survival at the end of the play upsets stereotypical expectations for a tragedy, and that her anomalous role as a female revenger who remains unpunished deserves attention. While her sensationalized villainy is Marlovian, her repentance and survival indicate the influence of Dekker and Marston, exemplifying how "a culture of imitation and coauthorship" could produce such disparities.

Lust's Dominion imitates the typical Marlovian plot in which delinquent characters pursue their desires while subverting

8. K. Gustav Cross, "The Authorship of *Lust's Dominion*," *Studies in Philology* 55.1 (1958): 39–61, 61; Charles Cathcart, "*Lust's Dominion; Or, The Lascivious Queen*: Authorship, Date, and Revision," *Review of English Studies* 52.207 (2001): 360–75, 365–66, 375.

9. Bart van Es, "'Johannes fac Totum'?: Shakespeare's First Contact with the Acting Companies," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 61.4 (2010): 551–77, 572.

10. Leah S. Marcus, *Unediting the Renaissance: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Milton* (London: Routledge, 1996), 65, 54.

authority.[11] Eleazar, a Machiavellian Moor, plots to seize the Spanish crown, pretending to love the Queen Mother, Eugenia, and manipulating her to proclaim the bastardy of her son, Philip. In turn, the Queen Mother pursues the reluctant Eleazar, cuckolding her ill husband, King Philip, and manipulating her would-be lover, Cardinal Mendoza. King Fernando pursues Eleazar's wife, Maria, whom the Queen Mother kills out of jealousy. In the last act Eleazar revels in tormenting his victims only to be undercut by the Infanta, Isabella, by Zarack, one of his own servants who turns against him, and by another of his victims, Philip, who kills him and pardons his mother, leaving the Queen Mother to survive and to pursue a solitary life of penitence. Ithamore's turning against his master, Barabas, in *The Jew of Malta*, provides a Marlovian pattern for Zarack, who, like Ithamore, is manipulated by a woman, the Courtesan in Marlowe and Isabella in *Lust's Dominion*, both of whom pretend to love their victims in order to use them for their own ends, money or murder. The pattern of ironic erotic manipulation also occurs in *Dido, Queen of Carthage*.

The opening of *Lust's Dominion* echoes the beginning of Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage* in its telling use of the discovery space, its inversion of gender roles, and its unsettling erotic overtures. After the initial stage direction in *Dido*, "*Here the curtains drawn; there is discovered* JUPITER *dandling* GANYMEDE *upon his knee, and* MERCURY *lying asleep*," Jupiter says, "Come, gentle Ganymede, and play with me: / I love thee well, say Juno what she will."[12] *Lust's Dominion; Or, The Lascivious Queen* also opens with a similarly transgressive wooing scene in which the amorous Queen Mother, Eugenia, disturbs a scene of male privacy with Eleazar seated behind the curtain in the discovery space and his servants taking tobacco: "*Enter Zarache, Baltazar, two Moors taking tobacco: musick sounding within: enter Queen Mother of Spain with two Pages, Eleazar sitting on a chair suddenly draws the curtain*" (B1 s.d.).[13]

11. For "an attempt to define the Marlovian mode," see Michael Hattaway, "Christopher Marlowe: Ideology and Subversion," in *Christopher Marlowe and English Renaissance Culture*, ed. Darryll Grantley and Peter Roberts (Brookfield: Ashgate, 1999), 198–223, 202, 207.

12. Christopher Marlowe, *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, in *Christopher Marlowe: The Complete Plays*, ed. Frank Romany and Robert Lindsey (London: Penguin, 2003), start of 1.1 s.d., 1–2. Unless otherwise noted, all references to Marlowe's works are from this edition.

13. *Lust's Dominion; Or, The Lascivious Queen*. Written by *Christofer Marloe*, Gent. (London, 1657), Early English Books Online single print edition. Unless otherwise noted,

The Queen pursues the reluctant Eleazar with a stage directed "*Kiss*" and a seduction speech that offers the attention of "two wanton boies" as well as herself, enacting what Sara Munson Deats would term transgressive gender reversal:[14]

> Smile on me, and these two wanton boies,
> these pretty lads that do attend on me,
> Shall call thee *Jove*, shall wait upon thy cup
> And fill thee Nectar: their enticing eies
> Shal serve as chrystal, wherein thou maist see
> To dresse thy self, if thou wilt smile on me. (B2, B2v)

The Queen Mother's speech echoes Jupiter's invitation, "Come, gentle Ganymede and play with me: / I love thee well, say Juno what she will" and Ganymede's statement that "I filled into your cups" at the opening of Marlowe's *Dido* (1.1.1, 5). Her concern about Eleazar's "frowns," which she repeats three times (B2), recalls Jupiter's concern with Juno's "frown" on Ganymede in the opening of *Dido* (1.1.12). Later in the play Dido also worries that Aeneas will "frown" if she prevents him from leaving, and she declares that "I cannot see him frown, it may not be" (4.4.110–12). These verbal echoes link the openings of both plays. *The Jew of Malta* presents another example of an illicit, incongruous erotic invitation in the advances of Bellamira, the courtesan, who kisses the slave Ithamore, and then commands, "Now, gentle Ithamore, lie in my lap" (*JM,* 4.2.85).

Eleazar's reply to Eugenia's tempting speech recalls Faustus' response to Helen, "Her lips suck forth my soul" (*DFa,* 13.93). The Moor depicts her as a devilish figure "Burning in the fire of lust" and himself as her Faust-like victim:

> have not I to cool it
> Made an xtraction to the quintessence
> Even of my soul: melted all my spirits,
> Ravish'd my youth, deflour'd my lovely cheeks
> . . . .
> Only to feed your lust. (B2v–B3)

all references to *Lust's Dominion* are from this edition.

14. For a discussion of Marlowe's typical fashion of dramatizing "multiple inversions of accepted rubrics of politics, gender, and sexuality," see Sara Munson Deats, "*Dido, Queen of Carthage* and *The Massacre at Paris*," in *The Cambridge Companion to Christopher Marlowe*, ed. Patrick Cheney (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004), 193–206, 193.

His use of the word "Ravish'd" echoes Faustus' repeated use of this term (*DFa*, 1.6, 112; 7.29). When Eleazar accuses her of murdering him by leading him on to lust and damnation, the Queen Mother orders the two boys, her "sons," to "cry" "Murder! The Queen's murd'red!" (B3v). She succeeds in getting her way: Eleazar, worrying that "this news / Will give Alarum to the cuckold King" (B3v), declares that he dissembled to try her love, vowing to kiss and smile on her: "And with my poniard will I stab my flesh, / And quaffe carowses to thee of my blood, / Whil'st in moist Nectar kisses thou do'st pledge me" (B4), ironically recalling Faustus' stabbing.

The Queen Mother's ingenious plotting mirrors the initiative of both Marlowe's Dido and of Catherine in *The Massacre at Paris*. Eugenia displays her cunning female agency when she interrupts the fight for power between King Fernando, Cardinal Mendoza, Eleazar, and Philip. She persuades Eleazar and Mendoza to be friends and pretends to encourage Mendoza's "violent love" for her, but in telling asides, she reveals her true intents. Speaking of Cardinal Mendoza to Eleazar, Eugenia says,

> Then speak him fair, for in that honied breath
> I'le lay a bait shall train him to his death.
> Come, come, I see your looks, give way to peace;
> Lord Cardinall begin, and for reward,
> Ere this fair setting Sun behold his bride,
> Be bold to challenge love, yet be deni'd.
> *Aside*. (C3)

The Queen matches Eleazar in his steps to remove impediments to his ambitions. Eleazar urges her to demonstrate "wit or spirit" by bribing two friars to proclaim her son, Philip, a bastard in order to get Philip to cross Cardinal Mendoza and then for these two "enemies" to destroy each other so that she and Eleazar can succeed in "climbing high" (C3v–C4v[1], C4v[2]). In return, she urges Eleazar to remove the object of their "true golden happiness," his wife, Maria (C6v–7). When Philip and Cardinal Mendoza escape, Eugenia takes the initiative to "advise" that the king "send the trusty Moor / To fetch them back, before they had seduc'd / The squint ey'd multitude from true allegiance, / And drawn them to their dangerous faction" (C10v–C11). The Queen reveals her ulterior motive when she states that Eleazar "once gon, / His wife that keeps me from his marriage bed, / Shall by this hand of mine be murthered" (C11). Eugenia succeeds in murdering Maria and

advances her agenda. As Alvaro declares, "Her advice is as a Steers-man to direct [Eleazar's] course. / Besides, as we by circumstance have learnt, / she means to marry him" (E4). Like Dido who makes Aeneas "the 'King of Carthage'" (*Dido*, 3.4.59), the Queen Mother succeeds in having Eleazar crowned "Castiles Royall King" (*Lust's Dominion*, D11). In her ruthlessness, the Queen Mother also echoes the Queen Mother Catherine in Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris*, especially in Catherine's imperious desire to have her "will" and her willingness to disinherit or kill her son to achieve her own ends. As Catherine asserts of her son,

> And if he grudge or cross his mother's will,
> I'll disinherit him and all the rest;
> For I'll rule France, but they shall wear the crown,
> And, if they storm, I then may pull them down.
> . . . .
> Tush, all shall die unless I have my will,
> For, while she lives, Catherine will be queen. (*MP*, 11.42–45; 14.65–66)

Eleazar's and the Queen Mother's subsequent intrigues and counter intrigues repeat typical Marlovian double-dealing and playing two characters off of each other, using them as expendable properties. Like Barabas' playing Abigail's two suitors and the two friars against each other in *The Jew of Malta*, Eleazar and Eugenia set up two friars, Cole and Crab, to proclaim the Queen's son, Philip, a bastard, only to have Eleazar's two servants, Zarack and Baltazar, shoot the friars down with calivers in act 3, scene 5. To reverse a defeat his side has experienced in the back and forth fights with the forces of Cardinal Mendoza and Philip, Eleazar tells the audience that he has used the Queen Mother as bait to entrap the amorous Cardinal:

> Her have I us'd as a fit property,
> To stop this dangerous current; her have I sent,
> Arm'd with loves magick to inchant the *Cardinall*;
> . . . .
> And by the witchcraft of a cunning kiss,
> Has she disarm'd him, hark, they sound
> *Retreat.*
> She has prevail'd, a womans tongue and eye,
> Are weapons stronger then Artillery. (E10v)

As the Queen Mother "*joins them together, they imbrace*" (E12 s.d.), Eleazar persuades Cardinal Mendoza to send his soldiers home and

to stop fighting, promising him that Eleazar will resign the kingship to him. Then the Cardinal, meeting Philip, vows to join with him to fight Eleazar, but once Philip "*Flings down his weapons*" (F4v s.d.), the Cardinal arrests Philip for treason. This double-dealing imitates Barabas' strategy of playing the Turks against the Maltese Christians and Ferneze's double-cross of Barabas at the end of *The Jew of Malta*.

A series of grotesquely comic spectacles in act 5 of *Lust's Dominion* recalls similar incidents in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, *Part One* and *The Jew of Malta* that display typical Marlovian delight in game-playing. The crown dominates the first scene of *Tamburlaine, Part One*. In act 1, scene 1, a stage direction states, "*Enter* ORTYGIUS *and* CENEUS, *bearing a crown, with others*," which serves as the prelude to the ceremony of crowning Cosroe king and emperor, supplanting his foolish, "witless" brother Mycetes whom Cosroe mocks before he exits. At the beginning of act 2, scene 4, the stage direction states, "MYCETES *comes out alone with his crown in his hand, offering to hide it*," which is followed by Tamburlaine's entrance, his deriding Mycetes as a "fearful coward," and his toying with him in the back and forth game between the two of lending and taking the crown. The next scene begins with another instance of handing a crown back and forth, this time between Cosroe and Tamburlaine, with Tamburlaine promising the crown of Persia to Cosroe but afterwards deciding to take it back by making "a jest to win the Persian crown" (*1Tam*, 2.5.98). These scenes establish a pattern of bizarre comedy involving the passing back and forth of the crown.

A similar jesting with the crown appears in the first scene of act 5 of *Lust's Dominion* in which the crown serves as the central prop. The initial stage direction in act 5, scene 1 has "*Zarack, and Baltazar bearing the Crown on a cushion*" as they enter along with the rest of the court (F6). Eleazar takes the crown and then offers to give it away to the most worthy, kneeling and resigning the crown to the Cardinal who puts it on a chair while Eleazar invites a "royall hand" to take it up (F6–F7). The Moor proceeds, however, to declare the presumptive heir, Philip, a bastard, and asks Philip's mother, Eugenia, to reveal the father. Eleazar proclaims mockingly of the father that "He that put him out to making, / I am sure can tell, if not, / Then she that shap'd him can, here's the *Queen Mother*" (F7v). With both Eleazar and the Cardinal chanting, "Spaniard or *Moor*, the saucy slave shall dye" (F7v), the Queen Mother announces that Cardinal Mendoza is the father, much to the

surprise of everyone, especially the Cardinal. But Eugenia, luring the Cardinal with the promise that if he admits to being Philip's father, "Now may a kingdom and my love be got" (F8), persuades him to declare that Philip is his son, whereupon she demands "Justice, revenge, / On vile *Mendoza* for my ravishment" (F9), and the Cardinal declares, "You have betrai'd me, by my too much trust, / I never did this deed of Rape and Lust" (F9–F9v). Repeatedly taunting the Cardinal with "Spaniard or Moor, the saucy slave shall die" (F10), Eleazar mocks him as he vainly protests and is carried off to prison. This strangely comic manipulation recalls the bizarre jousting over the crown in *Tamburlaine the Great, Part One*.

Marlovian delight in game-playing appears also in Eleazar's manic enjoyment in tormenting his victims. Imitating Barabas, he plots to entrap his enemies, using a grotesquely ingenious form of enclosure, "A torturing Iron chain" (F12) that he invented. The chain recalls the cage in which Tamburlaine imprisons Bajazeth, the iron bits that Tamburlaine has placed in the mouths of the kings of Trebizon and Soria to make them pull his chariot, and the iron cauldron that Barabas intends Calymath to perish in. Eleazar's "torturing Iron chain" as well as the "ring" he uses to entrap Hortenzo presents a gruesomely cruel spectacle of ingenious, invented villainy. Eleazar echoes Tamburlaine mocking Bajazeth in his cage, jesting at the kings of Trebizon and Soria who are pulling his chariot with bits in their mouths, and Tamburlaine and Theridamas taunting the Turks when the concubines are brought in, using terms like "jesting pageant," "pageant," and "jest" (*2Tam*, 4.3.89, 4.3.90–91). Eleazar takes delight in showing Isabella the spectacle of Hortenzo, the Queen Mother, the Cardinal, and Philip "*chained by the necks*," jetting in his villainy, reveling in their curses:

> Me thinks this stage shews like a Tennis Court;
> Do's it not *Isabell*? I'le shew thee how:
> Suppose that Iron chain to be the line,
> The prison doors the hazard, and their heads
> Scarce peeping ore the line suppose the bals;
> Had I a racket now of burnish'd steel,
> How smoothly could I bandy every ball,
> Over this Globe of earth, win sett and all. (G4v)

Like Barabas ordering the carpenters to erect the trap in his "dainty gallery" (*JM*, 5.5.33), Eleazar conceives of his plot as an artistic creation: "Murder be proud, and Tragedy laugh on, / I'le seek a

stage for thee to jett upon" (F12v). The comparison of the stage to a tennis court, the reference to "this Globe," Eleazar's wish to "seek a stage" "to jett upon," and the many references throughout to playing, acting, and actual staging call attention to the play's insistent theatricality. If playwrights and theatres were trying to outdo previous performances, then *Lust's Dominion* exemplifies the staging of "the highest possible pitch of 'ravishment' and horror in terms of audience response," Marcus' description of "the Marlowe effect."[15] Contesting the view that the play was written for Henslowe to produce at the Rose or the Fortune theater, J. L. Simmons argues that "*Lust's Dominion* was written for Henslowe's rival company, the Lord Chamberlain's Men, for a spectacular ballyhoo at the new Globe."[16] He observes that he knows of "no other play which employs the structural facilities of the playhouse and other theatrical resources more often, more spectacularly, and more self-consciously" and "no other play which makes gestic references to so many of those structural aspects." Simmons mentions, among other items, Eleazar's reference to "the painted canopy in the 'Heaven'" and to the use of the trap door which, he contends, is employed "with more ingenious complications than in any other play of the period."[17] Faustus' references to "Heaven" and his disappearance into the trap at the end of *Doctor Faustus* are repeated in *Lust's Dominion*, but Eleazar goes further to elicit horror in his audience.

Like Barabas, Eleazar pursues his "pageant" too far, getting so carried away in the joy of playacting that he falls victim to his own obsession with staging revenge. *Lust's Dominion* portrays Eleazar's overreaching as a staging choice, enacting Marlovian excess in theatrical terms. He forces Isabella to watch as he utters directions for each of his victims to be thrust, one by one, down into the trap, after which all of his victims exclaim at once, "Mischief and horror let the *Moor* pursue" (G5). Eleazar orders his men, Zarack and Baltazar, to increase their torment and to "Mad them with villainous

15. Marcus, *Unediting the Renaissance*, 54.

16. J. L. Simmons, "*Lust's Dominion*: A Showpiece for the Globe," *Tulane Studies in English* 20 (1972): 11–22, 12. Simmons rejects the arguments of Ernest L. Rhodes ("'Me thinks this stage shews like a Tennis Court,'" in *Renaissance Papers 1968*, George Walton Williams [Winston-Salem, NC: Southeastern Renaissance Conference, 1969], 21–28, 27–28) that Lust's Dominion was a Henslowe production performed either at the Rose or the Fortune (13n7).

17. Simmons, "*Lust's Dominion*," 14–15, 15–16.

sounds" (G5). Declaring "The Scene wants Actors, I'le fetch more, and cloth it / In rich Cothurnall pompe. A Tragedy / Ought to be grave, graves this shall beautifie," Eleazar commands Zarack, "execute to'th life my dread commands, / Vengeance awake, thou hast much work in hand" (G6–G6v). But Zarack, who has also witnessed Eleazar's threat that he will have all the heads of his victims, including Isabella, as decorations for his throne, refuses to play his part. He declares after Eleazar leaves that he is "weary of this office, and this life," that he will "be no more his slave" (G6v), and he agrees, with the promise of advancement, to help Isabella, to free Philip and Hortenzo, and to kill Baltazar and Eleazar. Like Ithamore, Zarack turns against his master. Like the courtesan Bellamira who professes to love Ithamore to use him to extract money from Barabas, Isabella declares that she loves the slave Zarack in order to use him to kill her enemies.

The play ramps up the horror and sensationalism by turning Isabella into a rival stage director of grotesque spectacles. Calling attention to the inversion of gender roles, she hands out parts and details costume and make-up to the hapless men:

> *Philippo* and *Hortenzo* stand you still, what; doat you both? cannot you see your play? well fare a woman then, to lead the way. Once rob the dead, put the *Moors* habits on, and paint your faces with the oil of hell, so waiting on the Tyrant. (G7v)

Isabella acts here as a strong female character reminiscent of Marlowe's Olympia who uses "an ointment" to trick Theridamas in *Tamburlaine, Part Two* (4.2.55–82).

Eleazar's enactment of his revenge is luridly theatrical. Drawing his rapier, Eleazar invokes tragedy and revenge, vowing to tragedy, "to thee I'le sing / Upon an harp made of dead Spanish bones," and telling revenge, "to thee . . . I consecrate my Murders, all my stabs, my bloody labours, tortures, strategems. The volume of all wounds, that wound from me; mine is the stage, thine is the Tragedy" (G9). Mirroring Barabas who vaunts his villainy to Ithamore and to the audience, Eleazar revels in Marlovian hyperbolic amplification and theatrical excess. He sets the scene at the prison, handing out props of books of revenge to the supposed Zarack and Baltazar and directing his actors with insistent rhymes: "Where thou stand'st now, there must *Hortenzo* hang, like Tantalus in a maw-eating pang: there *Baltazar* must Prince Philip stand, like damn'd *Prometheus,* and to act his part; shal have a daggar sticking at

his heart. But in my room I'le set the *Cardinall*, and he shal preach Repentance to them all. Ha, ha, ha" (G9–G9v). Proposing "a rare jest," Eleazar asks Hortenzo and Philip, whom Eleazar does not know are disguised as Zarack and Baltazar, to play the parts of Hortenzo and Philip. The sequence sheds light on early modern stage craft, offering a rare glimpse at actual rehearsal and staging practices, with its detailed directions spelling out the actions that lead up to Eleazar's entrapment. Eleazar becomes a playwright, telling the audience what a tragedy requires, constructing his play as he goes, becoming so caught up in his playacting that he allows himself to play a part that undoes him. Terming his plan "a rare jest," Eleazar directs the supposed Zarack to play Hortenzo: "I pray thee stand in passion of a pang, to see by thee how quaintly he would hang" (G9v). Eleazar then releases Zarack/Hortenzo and orders him to help him "to play the *Cardinall*" by manacling his hands and by placing an "Iron engine" on his head "like a Pope Miter, or a *Cardinalls* Cap" (G9v).

Recalling Barabas who invented the stratagem of the cauldron for his enemy to fall into, Eleazar is entrapped by manacles he intended for his victims. As he states once he realizes his plight, "Then am I betray'd and cozen'd in my own designs" (G10v). Philip takes control of the play, ordering the audience to enter, and Alvero and the Queen Mother "*Enter all below*" (G10) to denounce Eleazar. Marlovian echoes appear in Eleazar's final speeches and in his death. As Philip stabs Eleazar, he declares, "Come brave spirits of Spain, this is the Moor the actor of these evils: Thus thrust him down to act amongst the devills" (G10v–G11). Eleazar recalls Faustus' realization that he has "but one bare hour to live" when he declares that "had I but breath'd the space of one hour longer, I would have fully acted my revenge" (G11), and he repeats Barabas' dying curses on his enemies when he announces that he will "curse you all, and cursing end my life" (G11). Eleazar's final words exemplify Stephen Greenblatt's definition of Marlovian playfulness as "delight in role-playing, entire absorption in the game at hand": "Devills com claim your right, and when I am, confin'd within your kingdom then shall I, out-act you all in perfect villainy" (G11).[18] Eleazar displays Marlovian overreaching as acting villainy, defying mortality by projecting his acting excellence into the next world.

18. Stephen Greenblatt, "Marlowe and the Will to Absolute Play," *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1980), 193–221, 220.

Philip takes over as director, echoing the scholars at the end of *Faustus* who claim his body and return to the present: "take down his body while his blood streams forth, his acts are past, and our last act is done" (G11). He pardons the Cardinal and the Queen Mother, and by contracting his sister to Hortenzo, he inverts the genre of the play: "I here contract my sister unto thee, / With Comick joy to end a Tragedie" (G11–G11v). Even more unexpected is the anomalous survival of the title character, the lascivious queen. Although Eleazar vows at the end of act 1, scene 2 that he will "shed a harlots blood" (B6), meaning that he will kill the Queen Mother, she does not die at the play's end. Instead, she declares,

> I'le now repose my self in peacefull rest,
> And flye unto some solitary residence;
> Where I'le spin out the remnant of my life,
> In true contrition for my past offences. (G11v)

Her survival defies conventions of both gender and genre, upsetting stereotypical expectations for a tragedy, yet her survival seems largely to have gone unnoticed, as has her role in the play.

The Queen Mother's role as a transgressive Marlovian villain and her Dekker-influenced repentance and survival need to be recognized. The authors of the Wikipedia entry on *Lust's Dominion* state that Eleazar "kills her,"[19] an assertion that reveals more about stereotypical expectations for a tragedy than about the facts of the play. The Wikipedia summary is also inaccurate in the assertion that Eleazar "manipulates her into murdering her son Philip." Another misreading that denies the Queen Mother's agency appears in Anthony Martin's assertion in "Africans on the Elizabethan Stage" (1997) that "throughout the play, Eleazar manipulates the Queen Mother, firstly in aiding him to murder his wife, Maria."[20] In fact, it is the Queen Mother who manipulates an at-first-reluctant Eleazar into agreeing to his wife's death (C7), and it is the Queen Mother who states of Eleazar, "he once gon, / His wife that keeps me from his marriage bed, / Shall by this hand of mine be murthered" (C11). Oberon tells Maria, who has given her would-be seducer King Fernando a sleeping potion:

19. "*Lust's Dominion*," Wikipedia, last modified May 25, 2014, accessed October 19, 2014, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lust's_Dominion.

20. Anthony Martin, "Africans on the Elizabethan Stage," *Shakespeare Studies* (Shakespeare Society of Japan) 35 (1997): 33–57, 48.

His mothers hand shall stop thy breath,
Thinking her own son is done to death.
And she that takes away thy life,
Does it to be thy husbands wife. (D6)

Here he anticipates the Queen Mother's subsequent part in Maria's murder.

Lust's Dominion is subtitled "The Lascivious Queen," but her role has not been fully appreciated although several critics have expressed moral outrage at her unconventional actions. The Queen Mother has attracted the attention of one critic who focuses on what he views as her unacceptable transgressive behavior. He, too, says nothing about her anomalous survival. In "The Relationship of *Lust's Dominion* and John Mason's *The Turke*" (1953), Frank W. Wadsworth repeatedly condemns Eugenia for her "shameless lack of dignity" and for her behavior, like that of Timoclea in John Mason's *The Turke* (1610), as "an undignified, lust-maddened woman" who as "a white woman" presumes to offer "herself with complete abandon to an arrogant, dark-skinned lover."[21] In *Thomas Dekker and the Traditions of English Drama* (1987), Larry S. Champion laments that "points of moral reference are overwhelmed by the lascivious dialogue between the Queen Mother and Eleazar in the first scene," and he even blames Isabella who, he asserts, "to make good her escape offers indelicately suggestive overtures to Zarack." Observing that "sexual impropriety compounds itself with remarkable frequency," Champion concludes by stating that "If Dekker is partially responsible for *Lust's Dominion*, it adds little to his stature as a dramatist."[22] In contrast, Brereton presents persuasive arguments for Dekker's influence on the portrayal of the Queen Mother's "sudden conversion," noting also Dekker's influence on the end of the play in his "characteristic . . . ready sympathy and forgiveness which is meted out to all but the master criminal and his black-faced satellites."[23] Her conversion and remorse appear when she is chained with Eleazar's other victims. She confesses and asks Philip, Hortenzo, and the Cardinal for forgiveness:

I have been deadly impious I confesse,
Forgive mee, and my sin will seem the less;

21. Wadsworth, "*Lust's Dominion* and John Mason's *The Turke*," 197.

22. Larry S. Champion, *Thomas Dekker and the Traditions of English Drama*, 2nd ed., *American University Studies* 4 (New York: Peter Lang, 1987), 152–53.

23. Brereton, introduction to *Lust's Dominion*, xxi, xxiii, xxiv.

> This heavie chain which now my neck assaults,
> Weighs ten times lighter then my heavie faults. (G3v)

In her confession to the assembled court, she denounces Eleazar and repudiates all of her previous behavior, sounding more like one of Dekker's repentantly moral women than like the Queen Mother: "Spaniards this was the villain, this is he who through enticements of alluring lust, and glory which makes silly women proud, and men malicious, did incense my spirit beyond the limits of a womans mind, to wrong my self and that Lord *Cardinall*; And that which sticks more near unto my blood, he that was nearest to my blood; my son to dispossesse him of his right by wrong" (G10–G10v). Her son welcomes her pronouncements with forgiveness, saying, as he "*embraces her*," "thus then thy happinesse is compleat: / Behold thy *Philip* ransom'd from that prison / In which the Moor had cloistered him" (G10v).

The Queen Mother's survival defies Bowers' pronouncement in his classic *Elizabethan Revenge Tragedy* (1940) that "if the revenger is a villain he is always killed."[24] In his brief discussion in *Shakspere's* [*sic*] *Predecessors in the English Drama* (1900), John Addington Symonds terms *Lust's Dominion* "strictly a Tragedy of Blood" and judges it "a creditable, though extremely disagreeable, piece of imitative craftsmanship" in its "direct imitation of Marlowe . . . in the large conception, broad handling, and exaggerated execution of this character [Eleazar], no less than in the florid imagery and sounding versification which distinguish the style adopted by the authors of the play,"[25] assertions for which he provides no supporting textual evidence. He omits any mention of the Queen Mother's villainy and her anomalous survival, focusing instead on Eleazar, and his summary is inaccurate, stating that Eleazar "forces her to kill her son Philip, and then schemes her murder,"[26] overlooking that she does not kill her son Philip and that despite Eleazar's schemes, she survives him. Although Eugenia acts like a Marlovian seductress and villain in most of the play, I argue that her repentance and survival reflect Dekker's influence in his fondness for conversions

24. Fredson Bowers, *Elizabethan Revenge Tragedy 1587–1642* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1940), 64.

25. John Addington Symonds, *Shakspere's Predecessors in the English Drama* (London: Smith, Elder, 1900), 392.

26. Symonds, *Shakspere's Predecessors*, 392.

of "erring characters" as Brereton suggests[27] and Marston's hand in light of the similar ending of *Antonio's Revenge, Part Two* (1600), where the revengers Pandulpho, Antonio, Alberto, and Maria plan to "live enclos'd / In holy verge of some religious order, / Most constant votaries."[28] As van Es observes, "Marlowe's authorial presence reverberates through the theatrical world of the early 1590s, influencing Shakespeare and other contemporaries," and he points out that "professional writing in the 1590s was alive with a culture of imitation and coauthorship,"[29] assertions that apply as well to the 1600s. While the Queen Mother's sensationalized villainy is Marlovian, her repentance and survival indicate the influence of Dekker and Marston, exemplifying what "a culture of imitation and coauthorship" could produce.

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27. Brereton, introduction to *Lust's Dominion*, xxi, xxiii, xxiv.

28. John Marston, *Antonio's Revenge: The Second Part of Antonio and Mellida*, ed. G. K. Hunter (Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1965), 5.3.151–53.

29. van Es, "'Johannes fac Totum,'" 572.

Marlowe Studies: An Annual 4 (2014)

JOHN CHRISTOPHER FRONGILLO

More Masques, Mummings, and Metadrama: The Duke of Vanholt Scene in Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (B-text)

The Marlowe editor and scholar, Roma Gill, repeats the anecdote of a witty undergraduate, who, following Aristotle's famous dictum in the *Poetics* (c. 330 BCE), described the plot of *Doctor Faustus* as a "beginning, a muddle, and an end."[1] Indeed, that is an apt description. A good deal of opinion on the subject tends to dismiss the chaotic center of the play, especially act 4, as a series of "petty tricks" that fall beneath the accepted requirements of Doctor Faustus as tragic hero. It is true that the tragic arc dips in this penultimate act, reaching its nadir perhaps at the Duke of Vanholt's residence with the arrival of unexpected guests (B-text). Here several disorderly "clowns" boorishly intrude upon Faustus's audience with the Duke and Duchess. Angry and drunk, perhaps lost, the clowns brazenly curse the Duke: "therefore a fig / for him" (*DFb*, 4.6.41-42), declares Dick.[2] It is only one of several foul-mouthed jests uttered by minor characters as they confront Faustus as he performs for the aristocrats. Told that he, and others, will be "committed" to jail for disturbing the Duke, Dick puns on the word's sexual meaning: "He were as good commit / with his father as commit with us" (4.6.51, 52–53). Then Faustus stands accused

1. Roma Gill, "Such Conceits as Clownage Keeps in Pay": Comedy and *Doctor Faustus*," in Christopher Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus: A Two-Text Edition*, ed. David Scott Kastan (New York: Norton, 2005), 336–44, 337.

2. Christopher Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus: A- and B-texts (1604, 1616)*, ed. David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1993). All subsequent references to *Doctor Faustus* are from the B-text of this edition.

of having a "wooden leg" (4.6.76), yet another raunchy joke related to the others. It is hard to disagree with the chorus of critics: this scene marks low tide for Faustus. The necromancer has morphed from "demigod" (1.1.60) to jongleur, a leader of clowns. The problem with this scene and others similar is that, as Lukas Erne summarizes, "there is little sense . . . that the comic material has its cogency and constitutes an integral part of the play's design."[3] The purpose of this scene, this essay suggests, is to place two dramatic "shows" at opposite poles of theatrical experience in politically charged proximity, one an aristocratic masque, the other a folk play or mumming.

Recent readings of the Duke of Vanholt scene treat it, and other comic staples like it, no longer with "controversy and consternation," but as integral to the play's overall unity: as Suzan Last entreats, "The comic middle exists and cannot be ignored in an ethical reading of the play."[4] Interpretations range widely. Ruth Stevenson's "The Comic Core of Both A- and B-Editions of *Doctor Faustus*" (2013) contends that much buffoonery forms part of the play's comic nucleus and helps to clarify Faustus's character development and psychology. The "comic disorder and grotesque mutilation," she writes, "provide insight into sexual and prelinguistic desire" that simultaneously "stimulate and terrify" Faustus, even reviving him.[5] Classifying the play as a "Subversive Comedy of Error," Last's reading of the play's "burlesque humour" emphasizes the insubordinate and destabilizing "carnivalesque body, with its eternal hunger, thirst, lust, and laughter."[6] Among others, Last also highlights the "metatheatrical": She writes, "the metatheatrical aspects of the play call attention to the purposes and effects of the comic spectacles" which undermine all superstitions, religious and otherwise, with stage-crafted miracles.[7] Giving cultural

3. Lukas Erne, "Biography, Mythology, and Criticism: The Life and Works of Christopher Marlowe," *Modern Philology* 103.1 (2005): 28–50, 42.

4. Suzan Last, "Marlowe's Literary Double Agency: *Doctor Faustus* as a Subversive Comedy of Error," *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme* 24.1 (2000): 23–44, 23, 39.

5. Ruth Stevenson, "The Comic Core of Both A- and B-Editions of *Doctor Faustus*," *Studies in English Literature 1500–1900* 53.2 (2013): 401–19, 409.

6. Last, "Marlowe's Literary Double Agency," 28, 37.

7. Last, "Marlowe's Literary Double Agency," 39.

depth to notions of the play-within-the-play, Thomas Pettitt argues that key action in *Doctor Faustus* parallels primitive dramatic performances, namely a swordplay. According to Pettitt, Faustus operates as the "victim" of a type of swordplay who loses his head in an attack by Benvolio only to be cured by a standard folk play character, the doctor: the end result is that "Doctor Faustus [is] in effect curing himself." After noting other shared motifs, Pettitt asserts, "it seems very likely that the author used as his model a performance identical in many significant features with the modern folk-play, particularly the sword-play type."[8] Pettitt's contention that *Doctor Faustus* bears the traces of folk culture is useful for the light it sheds on the metadramatic aspect of the rest of act 4, specifically the long added scene (4.4–6) involving Faustus and the clowns' outrageous antics at the Duke of Vanholt's palace. Far from trivial or boring, this scene, like others, promotes unlikely social exchanges and even sanctions the free expression of social problems. The routine performed by the clowns, in direct contrast to the celebratory masque that precedes it, is part of a tradition of popular radicalism that uses folk culture to press for communal restitution.

The Duke of Vanholt scene's hybrid structure is formally consistent with the rest of the play; it shows the main plot composed of elevated figures, including the Duke, parodied by a subplot made up of clowns or, as Jan Kott describes the play's predominant structure, "at least from the first through fourth acts, *buffo* follows *serio*."[9] Folk play follows aristocratic masque. So just as Faustus battles unbelieving knights, Benvolio and Frederick, after showing Charles V the vision of Alexander the Great, so here Faustus tangles with Robin and clowns after showing the Duke and Duchess of Vanholt a vision of an "enchanted castle in the air." In these scenes, Faustus operates not so much as magician as dramatist, an extraordinarily popular one among the politically powerful. Indeed, as Stephen Orgel points out, we might easily see an analogy between the magician Faustus and the playwright Marlowe; they share similar occupations: "the only job Faustus gets

8. Thomas Pettitt, "The Folk-Play in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*," *Folklore* 91.1 (1980): 72–77, 73, 74, respectively.

9. Jan Kott, *The Bottom Translation: Marlowe and Shakespeare and the Carnival Tradition* (Evanston: Northwestern UP, 1987), 13.

turns out to be Marlowe's job, inventing theatrical spectacles for rich audiences."[10] Indeed, Faustus is an expert entertainer just like Marlowe; it appears, however, that the audience in the Elizabethan public theater was, like the play itself, a varied assortment, a combination of upper and lower classes, not just the "rich." As Ann Cook observes, "too much evidence supports the presence of ordinary folk at the large public playhouses . . . They came in droves on holidays, when everyone had liberty from work."[11] Perhaps because of this mixed clientele, Marlowe made sure to write scenes into his plays that appealed to a cross section of society and that could be performed successfully in both city and country. This hodgepodge gives the plot its heterogeneous quality: "Faustus presents . . . nothing but what Marlowe's stage presents, the mongrel tragicomedy that Sidney abhorred."[12] Sir Philip Sidney's concerns, we will see, were as much social as aesthetic.

The theatrical double-speak of the scene begins with an ending, the ending of a masque: the Duke and Duchess's vision of an "enchanted castle in the air" (4.6.3). This presentation seems to have taken place prior to the opening of the scene for we see the Duke and Duchess thanking the "Master Doctor" (4.6.1) for erecting the vision. Because the scene is set in "January, a dead time of / the winter" (4.6.16–17) and presented to an aristocratic audience, one of whom is pregnant, we might find an Elizabethan analogue in the courtly masques that playwrights sometimes concocted to commemorate important events like births or marriage. With the absence of any acting or dialogue given by the B-text, we may surmise that at the center of Faustus's theatrical presentation is the set itself, a byzantine bit of machinery—"the enchanted castle in the air"—which like other masques can sometimes be deciphered as political allegory. For example, given the Duke as primary audience, we might propose that the castle represents his family, his seat of power, the house of Vanholt. The "enchanted" element lends a supernatural aura and magical invincibility to the

10. Stephen Orgel, *The Authentic Shakespeare, and Other Problems of the Early Modern Stage* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 227.

11. Ann Jennalie Cook, "Audiences: Investigation, Interpretation, Invention," in *A New History of Early English Drama*, ed. John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan (New York: Columbia UP, 1997), 305–20, 317.

12. Orgel, *The Authentic Shakespeare*, 226.

Vanholt house. And, finally, the prepositional phrase "in the air" suggests that the Vanholt household occupies an elevated, perhaps superior, social position above other castles. In its entirety, the vision has the quality of a celebratory masque dedicated to the politically powerful. What is more, the spotlight on the complex presentation of architecture, to the relative exclusion of other dramatic elements, at the center of Faustus's masque gradually became a generic requirement. In fact, one of the leading masque writers, Ben Jonson, who worked and quarreled with the architect Inigo Jones, seems to be describing what Faustus has constructed in this scene when he writes, "Or, to make boards to speak! There is a task! / Painting and carpentry are the soul of masque. / Pack with your pedling poetry to the stage, / This is the money-get, mechanic age."[13]

After the presentation of the masque, Faustus performs an additional feat of magic, procuring out-of-season grapes for the Duchess. In a feminist reading of this scene, Alison Findlay urges us to see the Duchess as "an apparently innocent female character . . . depicted after the legacy of Eve." She argues that the Duchess's pregnancy embodies "the punishment inflicted on women to bring forth children in sorrow" and the grapes "hold the same mysterious danger as the apple." Instead of the winter grapes alluding to "the lost paradise of Eden," they might be seen to reinforce the fertility theme initiated by the Duchess's pregnancy: instead of winter as barren, it produces miraculous fruit. [14] Rather than seeing her pregnancy as "punishment," it is perhaps reason for celebration, perhaps the reason for the masque in the first place because of its importance to the immediate and extended Vanholt household. Likewise, Faustus's conjuration of real food also takes on special significance for Stevenson's argument regarding the magician's metanoia: "In his conjuration of the grapes," she writes, "Faustus makes a psychical breakthrough, bringing what is genuine, capable of stimulating the tongue and passing into the center and the bowels of human physical life, into verifiable existence" (410). This act of procuring winter grapes unleashes a "new power"

13. Ben Jonson, "An Expostulation with Inigo Jones," in *The Works of Ben Jonson*, ed. William Gifford (Boston: Phillips, Sampson, 1857), 777–78, 777.

14. Alison Findlay, *A Feminist Perspective on Renaissance Drama* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 15.

within Faustus, allowing him to confront confidently the clowns banging on the door, the "rowdy boys/men, dream-component projections of Faustus's mind" (410). The chaotic ingress of the clowns is somewhat surreal, but for my political reading of this scene, they and their demands are best seen, not as "projections" of a disturbed mind nor as "rough-and-tumble dream actors" (411), but as dangerously real. They are making serious social demands, and they are risking their lives to do so.

In his examination of the differences in staging the A- and B-text, David Bevington judges the clowns' entrance a "comic extension" of the fetching-the-grapes scene partly because of "how ambiguously a sense of place is suggested in the theater." Because he gives little significance to their antics, folk or otherwise, he flatly concludes that the clowns "do not know where they are." This dislocation, he argues, is what causes "them to behave with comic indecorum in the presence of the Duke of Vanholt."[15] His position seems to be that the clowns have forgotten their social superiors. Why else would they act so egregiously? Although the clowns seem to act without regard to their proper social position, as Bevington rightly maintains, it seems to me that they do so for just cause. At this point in the play, they are not the subject of laughter; instead, this scene gives them heightened status and presents them challenging the Duke's hierarchy while demanding recompense. Moreover, they know their exact location, having plotted in a backroom of a tavern in the previous scene to "seek out the doctor" (4.5.59). Their admission into the scene is bursting with tension, in marked contrast to the previous one with the Duke and Duchess, because here the social status quo is being challenged, not elevated. It begins with loud banging and Faustus calming the appropriately nervous Duke and expectant Duchess. The stage directions read, "*The* CLOWNS"—Robin, Dick, the Carter, the Hostess, and the Horse-courser—"*bounce at the gate, within*" (4.6.36 s.d.). What kind of disturbance is this? Is it a home invasion? Is it a social visit? Is it entertainment? Faustus convinces the Duke that the visitors, despite appearances, are harmless and asks him to "let them come in. / They are good subject for a

15. 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, 55.

merriment" (4.6.54–55). To say the least, the mood is mixed, apprehensive and slightly riotous.

From the beginning of their entrance into the scene, the clowns easily could be taken for rebels or robbers. They are called "rascals," "rude disturbers," and "saucy varlets" by the Duke's servant who first encounters them (4.6.51, 36, 43). An additional complication is that an aggressive sexual subtext underlies most of their discourse from the start. As soon as the clowns began speaking, even outside the gates, they refer to giving "the fig": "therefore, a fig / for him," they say to the Duke (4.6.41–42). Roughly equivalent to "giving the bird," this common slang is accompanied often by a hand gesture: a fist with a thumb inserted through the first or second fingers to indicate female genitalia. Dick soon makes another joke about the word "commit." In the slang of the time, it means both to jail and to fornicate. Dick focuses on the latter usage and tells the servant that the Duke "were as good commit / with his father as commit with us" (4.6.52–53). Here again the unstable nature of language allows the clowns to exploit these words for comic purpose but also to match the main theme of fertility begun with the Duchess's pregnancy. But most importantly all the punning and joking cannot disguise the fact that the clowns are brazenly insulting social superiors—"fill us some beer, or we'll break all the barrels in / the house and dash out all your brains with your bottles" (4.6.67–68)—and risking being tossed in jail or worse.

Beer in hands, the clowns toast to Faustus's "wooden leg" (4.6.76). This gag about the "wooden leg," like others in this scene, serves a dual purpose: it links the clowns' coarse language to the fertility motif initiated by the pregnant Duchess, and it refers to an earlier episode involving Faustus's misdealings acted out earlier in act 4, now repeated a second time in the play as a narrative. The "wooden leg" is a tangible reminder, perhaps even evidence, of their economic loss to the magician's double-dealings. Explaining the reappearance of the wooden leg, Bevington overlooks the sexual component and surmises that "the staging of the event were not enough to satisfy audiences; they are regaled with a narrative description after the fact . . . in loving repetition."[16] Of all the scenes in the play to repeat, why this scene of the wooden limb?

16. Bevington, "Staging the A- and B-Texts of *Doctor Faustus*," 55.

Because it is funny. Because, practically speaking, it made people laugh, which is a good sign for a professional theater company charging for admission. But the reference to the wooden leg is not just a standard phallic joke; it also indicates Faustus surviving a second "murder," a dismemberment.

The wooden leg links Faustus to earlier transgressions against the Horse-courser and Carter, two minor characters. The Horse-courser tries to remind Faustus of their encounter, saying, "Did not I pull off one of / your legs when you were asleep?" (4.6.105–6). The magician denies this loss of limb ever occurred. The clowns continue to accuse Faustus of crimes perpetrated against them: the load of hay he ate, the horse that changed to straw in water, and other wrongdoings dramatized earlier. He lies. To keep them from naming other charges, Faustus charms them dumb with a pass of his hand. Their grievances remain unaddressed. They exit, all but the Hostess. Left alone, she asks, "Who pays for the ale?"(4.6.118). Once more, working class demands are neglected. To say the least, this magically manipulated remedy offers no closure and only postpones or aggravates the underlying economic issue. Because of the fortunate outcome, the Duke, like a chorus, pronounces an insightful, if questionable, judgment on the merriment directed by Faustus: "His artful sport drives all sad thoughts away" (4.6.125). He sees it all as seasonal festivity, perhaps holiday entertainment meant to dispel a somber atmosphere, and totally discounts any possible threat.

The "artful sport" Faustus has directed maintains the general outline of a primitive type of folk play, a mumming, in which we find a winter house visit, a crudely constructed performance related to reviving a dead man, and at the very end, a "*quête*," a collection of money. At this point, some readers might insist that no play is staged. And except for the standard folk-play characters of doctor, devil, and fools, no actual duel between Saint George and a Turk, for example, or a ritual killing occurs. Nor do we see any costuming by the actors. It is true that there is no exact one-to-one correspondence with a text of an English mumming play. I would emphasize, however, that, while there was great uniformity in the general outline of the mumming play, there was also enough flexibility to allow local coloring and many variations. It did not necessarily follow any precise script other than reviving a character, any character, from death. From my perspective, it is important to

see that Faustus is revived in this mumming just as he was in the swordplay involving Benvolio and analyzed by Pettitt. The second "wooden leg" scene is crucial then because it confirms Faustus's miraculous recovery from earlier death. After the Horse-courser had pulled off his leg in the previous encounter, Faustus exclaimed, "The villain hath murdered me" (4.5.39). Obviously, he is now much alive with limbs fully restored. Like other mumming plays, I would argue, the theme of this one is "clearly death and resurrection."[17]

Wrapped within the crude form of humor permitted the mumming play, the social demands of the clowns are disguised and then pressed forward. In its most basic form, a mumming play might be seen as a social demand for redress, and it was often interpreted that way. As Pettitt has shown us, this aspect is common in the early modern era: rebels in the early sixteenth century would often use "the house-to-house visit as a means of pressing their demands."[18] They would intrude upon a household and demand "redress of their grievances" often disguised and under a blanket of festivity. After staging the crudest type of merriment, often unscripted, the players/petitioners would conclude the visit, as if finishing a folk play, when it is traditional to ask for a "a *quête*, a demand for a cash donation . . . a traditional feature conveniently misinterpreted by the authorities as extortion."[19] In addition, Stephen Schillinger, along similar lines, demonstrates how rebels often took on pseudonyms of legendary figures like "Jack Straw" or other populist heroes "in seasonal festivals as a way of performing and representing popular revolts."[20] The joking of the clowns with Doctor Faustus at the Duke of Vanholt's estate can be interpreted as a camouflaged uprising against the unjust economic practices committed under the Duke's administration. When looked at from this perspective, the play presents them, not just as drunken fools, but as "participants in a tradition of rural, popular radicalism."[21] The

17. J. A. Cuddon, *Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, 4th ed. (New York: Penguin, 1998), s.v. "mumming play," 523.

18. Thomas Pettitt, "'Here Comes I, Jack Straw': English Folk Drama and Social Revolt," *Folklore* 95.1 (1984): 3–20, 12.

19. Pettitt, "English Folk Drama and Social Revolt," 12.

20. Stephen Schillinger, "Begging at the Gate: *Jack Straw* and the Acting Out of Popular Rebellion," *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England* 21 (2008): 87–125, 95.

21. Schillinger, "Begging at the Gate," 94.

group of clowns is pressing for communal restitution; they want their money back, and rightly so. This motive is suggested in part by the name of the leader of the clowns, Robin.

Robin organizes the anti-Faustus group in the tavern. His name is significantly different, not an aptronym or nickname like the others—Horse-courser, Carter, Hostess. Rather it calls to mind a historical figure of the English popular imagination, Robin Hood. Celebrated for his support of common people, Robin appears to be conducting a similar activity: taking from the rich, the Duke and Duchess, and giving to the deserving poor swindled by Doctor Faustus. Robin is a part of group of figures, like Jack Straw, Jack-in-the-green, or Jack-o-lent who originate in the seasonal folk festivities and who are "variants of the spring-time games of death-and-resurrection played in England."[22] This leader of the clowns then, Robin, the one who first organizes the pseudo-rebellion at the alehouse and speaks first upon entrance into the Duke's palace, is a character type likely recognizable to the audience from popular seasonal activities, ballads, and oral legend. To mock a historically beloved character like Robin, to reduce his just demands to silence, does not lessen his cultural importance, but rather it allows Faustus to assume, at least for the moment, the role of folk hero. In short, he appropriates Robin's role as community leader and receives the monies owed the clowns after their entertainment. The Duke "will recompense" Doctor Faustus "With all the love and kindness" (4.6.123–24), not the other clowns. Faustus has what he wants: "the 'success' that he has bought so dearly," G. K. Hunter sadly concludes, "is to be the leader of a troupe of clowns."[23]

Rather than the lowest level of Faustus's descent, is this scene not more of the same improvised theater that has been happening since his encounter with the Catholic hierarchy in act 3? Is it not more of the same mummery, parody, pageants, and presentations; more of the same mixed entertainment; more of the same subplot parodying the main plot with lower class figures; more of the same laughter, pleasure, and recreation—all at the expense of scholarship, sobriety, and solemnity? In fact, the rich abundance of dramatic elements in the play, both classical and medieval, leads

22. Pettitt, "English Folk Drama and Social Revolt," 8–9.

23. G. K. Hunter, "Five-Act Structure in *Doctor Faustus*," *Tulane Drama Review* 8.4 (1964): 77–91, 90.

Kott to designate Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* a "'polytheatrical'" drama. He describes the play's multiplicity: "Theaters and spectacles appear in it as dramatis personae, who speak with their own, various and independent 'voices': tragic discourse in blank verse; the anachronistic morality of the late Middle Ages; interludes with ribald jokes and coarse humor; the masques and antimasques; the dumb-show; Italian *lazzi* from the *commedia dell'arte*, the parody of liturgical rites and exorcisms; and even metaphysical poetry."[24]

Like Proteus, the play is ever changing and shifting. One way to translate Kott's phrase "polytheatricality" is "meta-drama," drama about drama. According to John Mebane, a noted critic of the play, Marlowe frequently uses "metadramatic techniques" in *Doctor Faustus* to force the audience to contemplate the role of the artist and the nature of his powers. "In numerous scenes," Mebane tells us, "the magician and/or the devils perform 'shows' that dramatize the appeal of earthly power and pleasure." Not only the magician and the devils, but religious figures like the Pope also perform these "shows." The spiritual idea that "earthly crowns, delight, and wealth mean 'nothing' is subsequently reinforced by the presentation of the Pope's proud triumph over Bruno as another theatrical 'show.'" In other words, Faustus, the devil, and the Pope are of imagination all compact: they use dramaturgy to cast "intoxicating delusions" over the minds of the audience.[25] Because Faustus gives performances to Charles V and the Duke of Vanholt, two political figures, it is clear in these later scenes that theater is used by both church *and state* to reinforce their earthly rule. More than projecting the fruits of "idle fantasies" (5.2.14), Marlowe seems to be attempting something different with these "metatheatrical aspects" other than just criticizing "earthly power and pleasure." As the theater director Kott suggests, he is recycling various dramatic practices, like the masque and mumming, in order to distort their original generic value. As examples of high art and low, the masque and the mumming are worlds apart aesthetically and socially, but recontextualized and placed side by side paratactically, they furnish competing commentaries on the Duke's hegemony—one a celebration, the other a critique.

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24. Kott, *The Bottom Translation*, 21.

25. John S. Mebane, "Metadrama and the Visionary Imagination in *Dr. Faustus* and *The Tempest*," *South Atlantic Review* 53.2 (1988): 25–45, 28, 29, 27.

As Pettitt's work on folk culture makes clear, *Doctor Faustus* bears the traces of primitive folk plays, one of which, this essay has argued, resides next to an aristocratic masque. Faustus's prestidigitation in act 4 permits his collaboration with many performers up and down the social column, from knights to clowns, those willing and those unwilling, prompting seemingly anarchic events to erupt. The play's heterogeneity, its mishmash of classical and medieval elements, means that Marlowe is enacting a form of drama that integrates different levels of discourse. He lets the entire range of voices speak, the high and low, the king and the clown, sometimes even in the same scene. In other words, the problem with the play is that, with parts and pieces mismatched, there is a lack of sustained subordination to a tragic pattern. Not only does the play not adhere to the prescribed Aristotelian unities of space, time, and action, the plot moves in all compass directions: it rides into outer orbit, it gets sidetracked, it erupts into spontaneous performance, and in general, it seems unable to distinguish between what is imperative and what is not. Merging the serious with the trivial as in this scene is hazardous, and we can see why those like Sidney in the *Apology for Poetry* (1595) condemned it: the Duke of Vanholt's solemn ceremony of state is turned laughingstock by the "scurrility" of inebriated clowns. The Duke watches in horror as angry commoners invade his home, and only the magician's last second hocus-pocus, it seems, can prevent disaster. Not only does this exchange break with Sidney's literary prescription, it is straight-out socially and physically dangerous for the Duke. For the clowns, the play opens up a space in which they are not the subject of laughter, but instead are shown challenging the Duke's hierarchy, conducting their own quasi-legal inquiry and demanding restitution. Far from insignificant, this festive house visit authorizes the unfettered expression of social problems (via the mumming play) and calls attention to the harsh economic realities underlying the misbehavior of disgruntled, marginalized groups.

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The Bell, the Bodies, and the Bonking: *The Massacre at Paris* and Its Early Playhouse Audiences

What made Christopher Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris* so distinctive, so much so that its influence lasted for at least ten years—despite repertories crowded with plays—and resulted (possibly) in a late 1590s revival, assorted offspring or kin, and robust memories of its action if not entirely of its words? Roslyn Knutson has listed a dozen or more plays—including a four-part *Civil Wars in France*—before *Massacre*'s revival at the Fortune in 1601–2 that "duplicated, exploited, or in some sense answered" Marlowe's play.[1]

Most approaches to *Massacre* have been through sources, subject matter, or both, with most agreeing that it was topical and sensational, a parade of murder and massacre, which catered to anxieties about foreigners and politicians and religious opponents, to preoccupations with power, revenge, war, and civil dissension.[2] The

1. Roslyn L. Knutson, "Marlowe Reruns: Repertorial Commerce and Marlowe's Plays in Revival," in *Marlowe's Empery: Expanding His Critical Contexts*, ed. Sara Munson Deats and Robert A. Logan (Newark: U of Delaware P, 2002), 25–42, 25. A 1598/9 revival may be indicated by Philip Henslowe's payments to William Borne or Bird (or, "wm birde ales borne") in September (two pounds for a "payer of sylke stockens to playe the gwisse in") and November 1598 (twelve shillings lent on a "taney clocke of clothe" to "Imbrader his hatte for the gwisse"). See *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. R. A. Foakes, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002), 76, 82. These entries, however, are more likely to relate to the four Civil Wars plays mentioned, payments for which are recorded by Henslowe at much the same time, between September 1598 and January 1599 (98–103).

2. Useful discussions of the historical sources are offered by Julia Briggs, "Marlowe's *Massacre at Paris*: A Reconsideration," *Review of English Studies* 34.135 (1983): 257–78; David Potter, "Marlowe's *Massacre at Paris* and the Reputation of Henri III of France," in *Christopher Marlowe and English Renaissance Culture*, ed. Darryll Grantley and Peter Roberts (Aldershot, UK: Scolar P, 1996), 70–95; and Penny Roberts, "Marlowe's *The Massacre at*

play has been characterized as both Protestant propaganda[3] and a "consensus narrative,"[4] as satirizing rulers,[5] or even as expressing Marlowe's "own murderous desires."[6] But, while such descriptions may account for the impact of the *Massacre* in general terms, they do not explain what made the play so different from others. Such concerns were, after all, shared by many plays that survive from the early 1590s.

This essay approaches *Massacre* through its theatrical context, looking to the expectations and theatrical experiences of the play's

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Paris: A Historical Perspective," *Renaissance Studies* 9.4 (1995): 430–41. Laurie E. Maguire, *Shakespearean Suspect Texts: The "Bad" Quartos and Their Contexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996), 279–81, notes borrowings from and parallels with other plays. Martin Randall, "Anne Dowriche's *The French History*, Christopher Marlowe, and Machiavellian Agency," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 39.1 (1999): 69–87, suggests Anne Dowriche's verse narrative *The French Historie*, published 1589, as a possible influence.

3. See, for example, Paul Whitfield White, "Marlowe and the Politics of Religion," in *The Cambridge Companion to Christopher Marlowe*, ed. Patrick Cheney (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004), 70–89 ("rabidly anti-Catholic," post-Armada, 79); Andrew M. Kirk, "Marlowe and the Disordered Face of French History," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 35.2 (1995): 193–213 (comparing English order and French disorder); and James P. Bednarz, "Marlowe and the English Literary Scene," in Cheney, *Cambridge Companion*, 90–105 (approaching political propaganda).

4. A "messy" consensus narrative, nevertheless; see Rick Bowers, "*The Massacre at Paris*: Marlowe's Messy Consensus Narrative," in *Marlowe, History, and Sexuality: New Critical Essays on Christopher Marlowe*, ed. Paul Whitfield White (New York: AMS P, 1998), 131–41. Others stress the play's ambivalence, multiple perspectives, and/or two-step responses. For example, Briggs, "Marlowe's *Massacre*" (the play includes "a subtle, perhaps even a humane, analysis of contemporary crowd violence and religious hatred," 278); Sara Munson Deats, "*Dido, Queen of Carthage* and *The Massacre at Paris*," in Cheney, *Cambridge Companion*, 193–206 ("ironic structural parallels and ambiguous character portraits," 200); and Clifford Leech, *Christopher Marlowe: Poet for the Stage*, ed. Anne Begor Lancashire (New York: AMS P, 1986), 146–58 (a play exhibiting "the remorselessness of neutrality," 157).

5. Satirical and political messages aimed at rulers in general are identified by, for example, Judith Weil, *Christopher Marlowe: Merlin's Prophet* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1977) ("the inhuman worldliness of Christian rulers," 102); Roberts, "Marlowe's *Massacre*" ("universal moral bankruptcy," 440); and Clayton G. MacKenzie, "*The Massacre at Paris* and the *Danse Macabre*," *Papers on Language and Literature* 43.3 (2007): 311–34 (matters of "earthly vanities" and mortality, 332). Graham Hammill, "Time for Marlowe," *English Literary History* 75.2 (2008): 291–314, relates the play to sixteenth-century writings about the authority of the state. Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1998), finds a "republican sub-text" (202).

6. Richard Wilson, "While Rome Burns: Marlowe and the Art of Arson," in *Urban Preoccupations: Mental and Material Landscapes*, ed. Per Sivefors (Pisa: Fabrizio Serra, 2007), 61–79, argues that the massacre offered Marlowe an opportunity to "traumatise his audience with its terror of fire and blood," incriminating both them and the Queen in "his own murderous desires" (70, 73).

early audiences and the shaping of these by other contemporary plays. It is this context—the experiences generated by other plays—that offers, I would suggest, some measure of its distinctiveness. This is, I suspect, a perilous project. So many plays are lost as well as, it is believed, a deal of *Massacre*'s text.[7] I'll assume here that whoever compiled the text had sufficient memories of its action, even if they had only variable recall of or access to its words.[8] And I'll suggest there were three elements at least in its performance which made the play memorable, which offered its audiences an intense emotional experience. These might be termed sounds, stabbings, and sleeping with the enemy. Or, more succinctly, the bell, the bodies, and the bonking—or "boinking," according to your linguistic or orthographic preference.[9]

Massacre lined up with some of the theatrical heavy hitters of the early 1590s. Its first performance at the Rose in January 1593 by Sussex's Men was followed within days by ones of *The Jew of Malta*,

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7. Holger Schott Syme, "The Meaning of Success: Stories of 1594 and Its Aftermath," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 61.4 (2010): 490–525, comments on the "fecundity of the London theatrical scene in the 1590s" (497), but notes also that of the twelve "top-grossing productions" (507) recorded by Henslowe from 1594 to 1597 only two survive: *A Knack to Know an Honest Man* and *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria* (both printed in 1596).

8. Maguire, *Suspect Texts*, in her analysis of *Massacre* (279–81), suggests "deliberate cutting and accidental memorial omission," possibly for an alternate touring copy. See also Laurie E. Maguire, "Marlovian Texts and Authorship," in Cheney, *Cambridge Companion*, 44–47. Based on Maguire's figures in *Suspect Texts*, the number of lines in the printed text of the *Massacre* (1586 in total; 1438 lines of dialogue) is not too different from those in several other plays with plenty of action: *The Battle of Alcazar* (total, 1591), the 1604 *Faustus* (1517; dialogue 1450), *Orlando Furioso* (1613; 1518), *Mucedorus* (1500; 1424), and in another hit for Edward Alleyn in the 1590s, *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria* (1611; 1562). For the figures, see 280, 81, 242, 293, 288, 235. None of these other plays is classified by Maguire as "memorial reconstruction" (table XLIII, 324–25). Some of the textual "problems" may have resulted from what Evelyn B. Tribble, *Cognition in the Globe: Attention and Memory in Shakespeare's Theatre* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 69–85, terms "fluent forgetting," which, rather than "verbatim memory" (72), was an essential part of the players' expertise.

9. The edition used for citations is Marlowe, *The Massacre at Paris*, in *Dido Queen of Carthage and The Massacre at Paris*, ed. H. J. Oliver (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1968), 89–163. The publication date of *Massacre* is uncertain. Oliver, introduction to *Massacre*, xlvii–xlix, suggests 1602 as "the most probable date," after Henslowe purchased the "book" from Alleyn; on the other hand, R. Carter Hailey, "The Publication Date of Marlowe's *Massacre at Paris*, with a Note on the Collier Leaf," *Marlowe Studies: An Annual* 1 (2011): 25–40, dates the edition at 1596, from the evidence of the paperstock used. Kristen Poole, "Garbled Martyrdom in Christopher Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris*," *Comparative Drama* 32.1 (1998): 1–25, cites Mark Bland in private conversation as suggesting that several features—the unusual format (octavo), better quality paper, and competent production—indicate the text was published as private devotional literature (4–5).

The First Part of King Henry VI, and Robert Greene's *The Honorable History of Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*. They had already been performed multiple times in this brief five-week season, as had Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*, George Peele's *The Battle of Alcazar*, and the comic sensation *A Knack to Know a Knave*. These six plays accounted for two-thirds of the twenty-nine performances by Sussex's Men between December 29, 1592 and February 1, 1593, when playing was again suspended because of plague.[10] The next recorded performance of *Massacre*—there may have been others in the interim—was by the Admiral's Men at the Rose in June 1594, following two performances of *Titus Andronicus* in the previous weeks. Thereafter, *Massacre* remained in the repertory for four months, along with *The Jew of Malta* and *Tamburlaine*, until its place was taken by *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus* in October 1594.[11]

At much the same time, or shortly thereafter, playgoers could flock to the Theatre or elsewhere for *Richard III* or the early versions of the *Second* and *Third Parts of Henry VI* (respectively titled, *The First Part of the Contention of the Two Famous Houses of Yorke & Lancaster* and *The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York*); my analysis is based on these versions as more likely to be the ones staged in the early 1590s. Their recent experiences might well have included Peele's *The Troublesome Reign of King John* of the Queen's Men; or the historical romances named after Edward I, Edward III, and James IV of Scotland. Their emotions might have been stirred by versions of the classical past in Thomas Lodge's *The Wounds of Civil War* (an Admiral's play), the biblical past in Lodge and Greene's *A Looking Glass for London and England* (on stage in 1592), or for that matter the exotic past in the two Parts of *Tamburlaine*, revived once again in August 1594. The field of reference—twenty-five plays to be considered here, all staged between 1585 and 1595—is indeed rich, replete with ambition and lust, bloodshed and strife, with spectacular ceremony and appalling violence.[12]

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10. Some of these plays were relatively new: *1 Henry VI*, recorded as "ne" on March 3, 1592; *Knack*, "ne" June 1592. R. A. Foakes, introduction to *Henslowe's Diary*, xxxiv–xxxv, suggests that Henslowe's "ne" may have indicated either a new or a revised text. The other plays were older favorites: *Alcazar*, *The Jew of Malta*, and *Friar Bacon* were recorded at the Rose from February 1592, *Spanish Tragedy* from March. For further details, see *Henslowe's Diary*, 16–21.

11. In *Henslowe's Diary*, 21, *Titus* is recorded as "ne" on January 23, 1594, played by Sussex's Men. On *Massacre* in repertory, see *Henslowe's Diary*, 21–23.

12. See the appendix for the plays surveyed, listed by the short titles used in this essay.

To begin with the bell and the distinctive "soundscape" of *Massacre*:[13] a tolling bell on stage is itself unusual with few instances in the surviving plays before 1600.[14] One notable example is the bell that rings for the death of Abigail and the nuns, celebrated by Barabas as the sweetest of music. Far more common in the theatrical experience of *Massacre*'s early audiences were the drums that announced battles and the entry of armies, and the trumpets that often accompanied these entries as well as the grand processions on and offstage of royal personages. Trumpets also signaled important announcements, as for the fragile reconciliation between the king and York in the first scene of *True Tragedy* or the birth of Aaron and Tamora's child in *Titus*.[15] Thunder was another popular effect, found in about half of these plays, used to signify the presence of supernatural figures or powers, good or bad.[16] *Massacre*, curiously perhaps for a play of its time about religion and the victory of the good, does not utilize thunder and lightning, though it does employ other conventional effects, as in the three-fold sounding of trumpets to cries of "*Vive le roi*" at Henry's coronation (14.0.1–4) and the "drums and trumpets" heard for the entry of Navarre's army (16.0.1–2) or the uniting of Henry's and Navarre's forces (24.0.1–3).

The scenes of the tolling bell offered the early audiences an intense emotional and physical experience, boosted by a prolonged

The appendix also indicates authorship and dating range for each play ("*not before* date A x *not after* date B").

13. The term is from Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1999).

14. See Alan C. Dessen and Leslie Thomson, *A Dictionary of Stage Directions in English Drama, 1580–1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999), s.v. "bell," 28. Smith, *Acoustic World*, 52–53, draws upon visitors' accounts to describe the significant place of bells in London daily life: the "Bow-bell" that signaled the "rhythms of the workday" (53), the church bells before services (but not for the dead in the reformed church), and the recreational bell-ringing which might last for hours. Thomas Pettitt, "Categorical Transgression in Marlovian Death and Damnation: 'Curses! Broiled Again!,'" *Orbis Litterarum* 65.4 (2010): 292–317, explores the "hellish connotations" (307) of the bell "that to the devil's matins rings" (*Massacre*, 9.86), suggesting "a world separated by only a thin crust from . . . hell" and its fearsome "categorical transgressions" (312).

15. *True Tragedy* has at least nine entries with "drums and trumpets," with a typical scene pattern being: march on, messenger brings bad news, march off.

16. Dessen and Thomson, *Dictionary of Stage Directions*, s.vv. "thunder," "thunder and lightning," 230–31. For a more detailed discussion, see Leslie Thomson, "The Meaning of *Thunder and Lightning*: Stage Directions and Audience Expectations," *Early Theatre* 2 (1999): 11–24. Unlike many of its contemporaries, some "serious" history plays included, *Massacre* lacks magic effects like conjuring and devils.

period of anticipation and apprehension. The stress accumulates through scenes of escalating violence, starting from Guise's announcement in scene 4: "a bell shall ring, / Which when they hear, they shall begin to kill, / And never cease until that bell shall cease" (4.36–38). Then, knowing what will happen, the spectators must wait—while the King visits the Admiral; while Guise gathers his followers with their scarves and "argent crosses" (5.2); and while the Admiral is stabbed, "*thrown down*" (or across the platform), and stamped on (5.32.1, 41).[17] Audience tension reaches an explosive climax in "*the ordinance being shot off*" (5.60.1). This sound effect (a cannon discharged offstage) and the related "chambers" (a short cannon fired "within") were perhaps the loudest available in the playhouse.[18] Audiences would have experienced them elsewhere as heralding a significant battle, as in *Alcazar*;[19] or the turning point near the end of the *True Tragedy*, when the Yorkists are victorious and the queen and prince are captured;[20] or announcing grave military intentions, like Talbot's overcoming the Countess of Auvergne in *1 Henry VI* with his "substance" of drums, ordnance, and soldiers.[21]

17. Oliver suggests that the body is thrown down from the gallery (*Massacre*, 111n23); however, Leslie Thomson, "Marlowe's Staging of Meaning," *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 18 (2005): 19–36, comments that beds were never located "above" (32); she suggests that a discovery space, if available, would be convenient—and later an appropriate place for murdering Guise.

18. See Dessen and Thomson, *Dictionary of Stage Directions*, s.vv. "ordnance," "chambers," 155, 47. Smith describes the range of sound effects in the theaters (*Acoustic World*, 217–22); he comments earlier: "the very loudest sounds that a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century listener might encounter . . . [in daily life were] thunder, cannon-fire, and bells" (49). His table (50) rates a "thunderclap" at 120 decibels, a "gunshot blast" at 140.

19. The opening of *Alcazar* 5.1, with its alarms and chambers, offers the audience climactic excitement complete with more noises and smells after a spectacular dumb show featuring lightning, thunder, a "blazing star," fireworks, and falling crowns. George Peele, *The Battle of Alcazar*, in *The Stukeley Plays*, ed. Charles Edelman (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2005). All subsequent references to the play are from this edition.

20. "*Alarmes to the battell, Yorke flies, then the chambers be discharged. Then enter the king,* Cla[rence] *&* Glo[ucester] *& the rest, & make a great shout, and crie, for* Yorke, *for* Yorke, *and then the Queene is taken, & the prince . . . and then sound and enter all againe.*" William Shakespeare, *The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York (Henry the Sixth, Part III) 1595*, Shakespeare Quarto Facsimiles (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1958), E4r. All subsequent references to the play are from this edition.

21. William Shakespeare, *The First Part of King Henry VI*, ed. Michael Hattaway (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990), 2.3.59.1–2. All subsequent references to the play are from this edition. Another instance of "chambers" is found in *Contention* when Suffolk is taken by pirates: "*alarmes within, and the chambers be discharged, like as it were a fight at sea.*" William Shakespeare, *The First Part of the Contention of the Two Famous Houses of Yorke & Lancaster, with*

With this call to attention the tolling begins: measured, predictable, and seemingly interminable. Patricia Cahill has suggested that the combined "sensory assault" of ordinance and bell may have led to audience members feeling that "ordinary linear time" had been shattered and that they were "suspended in some atemporal loop of killing without end."[22] Certainly these scenes are confused and disorienting, with multiple, competing calls for audience attention. The sound waves from the bell reverberate around the playhouse time and time again, assailing ears and vibrating in bodies.[23] Within that fearful tolling the spectators *hear* shouts of "*Tue, tue, tue*!" (6.1) and "fearful cries" (9.1), the thump of running feet and knocking on doors, the hurried comments and angry confrontations (do the actors pause for or shout against the bell?). Within the tolling they *see* urgent action: figures fleeing or chasing across the stage; stabbing and rough handling; the repeated, violent invasion of "interior" space close to the tiring house wall.[24] When the bell is "stay[ed]" (9.86), there may be a sudden release from anxiety and confusion, from the sense of impending horror, as the play world abruptly returns to ordinary time with Anjou and the Polish envoys: the present imperfect of politics, diplomacy, and public faces.

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the Death of the Good Duke Humphrey 1594, Malone Society Reprint (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1985), 1463–64. All subsequent references to the play are from this edition.

22. Patricia Cahill, "Sensing *Massacre's* Others," paper presented at the Marlowe Society of America session at the MLA Conference, Boston, MA, January 2013, 6; cited with permission of the author. Cahill also notes the play's use of touch and smell as contributing to the audience's "somatic vulnerability" (8). The terms "assault" and "assailing" are also applied to audience experience of the play by Janet Clare, "Marlowe's 'Theatre of Cruelty,'" in *Constructing Christopher Marlowe*, ed. J. A. Downie and J. T. Parnell (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000), 74–87, who relates the play to the ideas of Antonin Artaud, commenting that "Marlowe's dramaturgy works through an assault on the audience's sensory perceptions and the release of extreme conflicts, ambitions and passions" (87); and by Christine McCall Probes, "Rhetorical Strategies for a *locus terribilis*: Senses, Signs, Symbols, and Theological Allusion in Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris*," in *Placing the Plays of Christopher Marlowe: Fresh Cultural Contexts*, ed. Sara Munson Deats and Robert A. Logan (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008), 149–65, who notes the constant "assail[ing]" (152) of the senses (sight, hearing, smell, and taste), together with signs, symbols, and biblical and theological allusions, as intrinsic to the play's "rhetoric of violence" (165).

23. See Smith, *Acoustic World*, 206–14, on the effectiveness of the London amphitheaters as devices for propagating sound.

24. Thomson notes Marlowe's technique of using the same stage space for analogous events; in *Massacre* this is seen in "the repeated action of invading private space to kill the occupants" ("Marlowe's Staging," 32).

The bell tolling scenes in *Massacre* are distinctive, quite different from—yet in the complexity of their theatrical techniques comparable to—the battle scenes in the notably successful *1 Henry VI*. The latter also integrates dialogue, overwhelming sound (battle cries, drums and trumpets, even thunder), and constant activity (fighting and fleeing, rapid vertical movement between platform and gallery) to engross the audience emotionally and physically. More common perhaps in plays contemporary with these is the separation of sound effects and even action from speech, with battles often (and traditionally) dialogue-free. Scott McMillin and Sally-Beth MacLean comment that the battle scenes of the Queen's Men were typically wordless, "as though the battles were thought of as having a text of their own."[25] Also common is the pattern of an impressive-sounding, noisy entry followed by a pause in the action for a lengthy formal speech (in this respect Lodge's *Wounds* and Peele's *Alcazar* follow earnestly in the footsteps of *Tamburlaine*).

And so to the bodies. *Massacre* abundantly deserves its reputation for violence. On a simple body count alone, the audience actually *sees* twice as many figures die on stage in *Massacre* (eighteen or nineteen)[26] than in its nearest rivals: *Contention / 2 Henry VI*, with more than nine;[27] *Titus* and *Spanish Tragedy*, nine; and *2 Tamburlaine*, eight. Except for *Contention* and *Titus*, the disparity is even greater if only those the audience *actually sees killed on stage by someone else* are counted—omitting (that is) those who die from natural causes, illness, grief, guilt, suicide, accident, or wounds incurred offstage. *Massacre* still has seventeen (at least) killed in view of the audience;

25. Scott McMillin and Sally-Beth MacLean, *The Queen's Men and Their Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998), 129–30. Battles without dialogue are found in *True Tragedy* and *Wounds*, for example. See also Michela Calore, "Battle Scenes in The Queen's Men's Repertoire," *Notes & Queries* 50.4 (2003): 394–99.

26. Depending on the number of nameless "Protestants with books" killed in scene 12 (the stage direction calls for "*five or six*"). King Charles's death by poison is sudden, violent, and suspicious, but no agent is clearly identified. The number of bodies may well have presented challenges for acting resources and stage management, as was seen in the June 2013 production at the Blackfriars Theatre in Staunton, Virginia, by the Mary Baldwin College Shakespeare and Performance group, in conjunction with the 7th International Conference of the Marlowe Society of America; with only twelve actors the production had to make do with fewer bodies, use basic black costumes, and rely on a "story-telling approach." This information is based on notes made during a discussion of the performance by the assistant producer, Michael M. Wagoner, and the stage manager, James Byers, on June 26, 2013.

27. Depending on the number of "victims" available when staging the Cade rebellion: "*Alarmes, and then Mathew Goffe is slain, and all the rest with him*" ; see *Contention*, 1762–63.

Contention, still over eight; *Titus*, still nine; but *Spanish Tragedy* has only six, and *2 Tamburlaine*, four, two of them in the Olympia subplot.[28]

Even plays dealing with war or civil dissension have low numbers of onstage deaths. *1 Henry VI*, for all its glorification of English martial prowess—and the "teares of ten thousand spectators" that responded to Talbot's "fresh bleeding"[29]—has only four deaths on stage: two from wounds and two from old age. Edward III conquers the French without a body in sight. *Alcazar*, based on a famous contemporary battle in which three kings were lost, shows three deaths in the first dumb show and three bloody disembowelings in the third but only one death late in the battle, that of the English adventurer Thomas Stukeley.[30] Scilla (Sulla) in *Wounds* triumphs decisively at the meager onstage cost of two stabbing deaths (one of them comic in a tavern) and the suicide of young Marius. Even Richard of Gloucester abandons hands-on killing after his "bloody supper" in the Tower: in *Richard III* his murderous career is exhibited on stage only in the stabbing of Clarence and the severed head of Hastings while his other victims (ten at least) die unseen, to return as ghosts the night before Richmond kills him in battle. The audience gets to see that death, at least.

While more bodies are on display in *Massacre* their deaths are generally less spectacular or ingenious than elsewhere.[31] Consider the sons of Tamora suspended upside down while Titus cuts their

28. *Massacre* is also unusual in locating the climactic violence in the middle of the play; most of the deaths in the other body-loaded plays occur toward the end (*Contention*) or in the final scenes (*Titus* and *Spanish Tragedy*). Tallies for some plays: *Contention* (seven or more stabbed or die in battle, one smothered, one sandbagged in a comic trial by combat, one dies raving); *Titus* (seven stabbed, two have throats cut); *Spanish Tragedy* (five stabbed, one hanged, three suicides); *2 Tamburlaine* (three stabbed, one shot, two die of wounds, two of illness); *1 Tamburlaine* (two die of wounds, three suicides); *True Tragedy* (four stabbed or die in battle, two die of wounds); *Troublesome Reign* (two die in battle, one stabbed, two poisoned, one accidental fall).

29. Thomas Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse, His Supplication to the Divell, 1592* (Westport, CT: Greenwood P, 1970), 87.

30. For the disemboweling, the dumb show uses "3 violls of blood & a sheeps gather" (*Alcazar* Plot; see 96n10SD). The Plot was prepared for a later production (possibly 1600–1601), but is reasonably consistent with the 1595 quarto. See Charles Edelman, introduction to *The Stukeley Plays* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2005), 21–26.

31. On spectacular effects generally, see Leslie Thomson's tabulation of them by play and by company in "Staging on the Road, 1586–1594: A New Look at Some Old Assumptions," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 61.4 (2010): 526–50. She suggests that touring companies retained spectacular and elaborate stage business, preferring to adapt the performance space rather than cutting spectacle from the play.

throats and Lavinia holds a basin with her stumps to collect the blood. Or Bajazeth and Zabina braining themselves on the iron cage and Barabas tumbling into the cauldron. Or Hieronymo's deadly entertainment for the rulers of Spain and Portugal. Or wicked Queen Elinor in *Edward I* who murders the Maris (London Mayoress) by binding her to a chair with an adder sucking on her breast: "And let the Serpent sucke his fil, why so / Now shee is a Nurse, sucke on sweet Babe."[32] *Massacre* also avoids the common properties and visual effects found elsewhere as adjuncts to violence: there may be poisoned gloves and plenty of bloody weapons, but there are no bloody handkerchiefs or fiery shows;[33] and no severed heads or body bits apart from the Cutpurse's ear and (possibly) a less-than-whole Admiral's body.[34]

Yet despite their lack of spectacle or ingenuity or fancy properties the massacre scenes provided a distinctive experience for the 1590s audience. The repeated stabbings—with eleven or twelve victims in a brief half dozen scenes—reinforce the emotional impact of the tolling bell, the frantic activity, and the disturbing sight of the white-scarved, helmeted troop of murderers.[35] The closest parallels to this violence are the final, climactic scenes of the *Spanish Tragedy* and *Titus*, the Cade rebellion scenes of *Contention*, and *1 Tamburlaine*'s

32. George Peele, *Edward I*, ed. Frank S. Hook, in *The Dramatic Works of George Peele*, ed. Frank S. Hook and John Yoklavich (New Haven: Yale UP, 1961), 2095–96. All subsequent references to the play are from this edition.

33. Lawrence Manley, "Playing with Fire: Immolation in the Repertory of Strange's Men," *Early Theatre* 4.2 (2001): 115–29, comments that Marlowe might talk about fire but avoids it on stage, despite this being a feature of the plays of Strange's Men. In *Alcazar* 2.4, for example, there is spectacular stage business when the ambassadors from the Moor to the Portuguese court must hold their hands in "a blazing brand of fire" as a warranty of good faith (23, 23–37). In *Massacre*, Manley notes, the "two" in scene 11 decide not to burn the Admiral's body, providing "a very Marlovian moment, as the purest hatred coincides with the truest revelation: we breathe the smoke of those we burn" (126).

34. On severed heads and other body parts, see Alan C. Dessen, "The Body of Stage Directions," *Shakespeare Studies* 29 (2001): 27–35: severed heads were particularly common, found in more than twenty-five plays. Roslyn L. Knutson, "Pembroke's Men in 1592–3: Their Repertory and Touring Schedule," *Early Theatre* 4 (2001): 129–38, notes that severed heads on pikes were a feature of Pembroke's plays such as *Contention* and *True Tragedy*.

35. An effect of distancing, of witnessing a masque perhaps, may result from the costuming of the murderers or, as in the historical account of Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays* (1965; repr., Cambridge: Polity-Blackwell, 1987), the recognition of a "rite of violence" which desensitizes the perpetrators (181). MacKenzie relates the scenes to the *danse macabre*, "which relies on an artistic sanitization of ritualized brutality" ("*Massacre*," 321).

accumulation of "sights of power." All but the last of these (*Tamburlaine*) derive their particular dreadfulness for the audience from the wielding of sharp weapons (knives, daggers, and swords). Rick Bowers has suggested that the effect of a knife on stage is to intensify rather than alienate audience response, heightening the psychological effects of violence: the fear, confusion, and shock. "Knifework," moreover, is experienced by spectators kinesthetically, with "neuro-sensory muscular reactions . . . that occur prior to intellectual perception."[36] Watching the massacre, spectators may feel their muscles tighten as the murderers grip dagger or sword, then flinch as the weapon appears to penetrate the victim's skin and flesh.[37] Preyed upon by an adrenaline rush of mixed excitement and fear the spectators become as murderers, they become as victims. The mirror neurons work both ways.[38] The experience is one of excitement, pain—and probably laughter. The grim verbal humor in these scenes was not unprecedented in the experience of early audiences, nor indeed elsewhere in Marlowe.[39] In *The Jew of Malta*,

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36. Rick Bowers, "Marlowe's Knifework: Threat, Caution, and Reaction in the Theatre," *Shakespeare Bulletin* 27.1 (2009): 19–26, 19–20.

37. Cahill comments that the stabbings reveal the "permeability of sensing bodies" ("Sensing," 11). Maik Goth, "'Killing, Hewing, Stabbing, Dagger-drawing, Fighting, Butchery': Skin Penetration in Renaissance Tragedy and Its Bearing on Dramatic Theory," *Comparative Drama* 46.2 (2012): 139–62, associates on-stage stabbings with contemporary notions of tragedy as found, for example, in Sir Philip Sidney's surgical imagery: tragedy "openeth the greatest wounds and showeth forth the ulcers that are covered with tissue" (146).

38. On the role of mirror neurons in producing empathy, see Bruce McConachie, *Engaging Audiences: A Cognitive Approach to Spectating in the Theatre* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 65–82, who offers an accessible account based on cognitive research of the physiological and psychological processes involved in spectating. The role of gesture in transmitting emotion from player to spectator is explored by Bruce R. Smith, *Phenomenal Shakespeare* (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 132–76; and Tribble, *Cognition in the Globe*, 85–110. The massacre scenes may offer spectators a different perspective on the French. Elsewhere audiences are called upon to sympathize with the citizens of besieged French towns, but more often the French are presented as devious and opportunistic, that is, when they are not being dismissed as clowns: incompetent, would-be French murderers turn up in Scotland (Jaques in *James IV*) and, more surprisingly, in ancient Rome (Pedro in *Wounds*), although Barabas as a French musician is rather more effective. *1 Henry VI* can be even-handed though not often: when Talbot dies, Joan scorns his body as "stinking and fly-blown" (so soon!), but the Dauphin does prevent the Bastard from mutilating the body (4.7.76, 49–50).

39. A similar verbal style is also found in scattered scenes after the massacre proper: the quibbling over the Admiral's body (11), shooting Mugeroun (19), and strangling the Cardinal (22).

death is grotesquely comic; in *Contention* the rebels kill opponents for bizarre reasons, including a clerk's literacy; in *Spanish Tragedy* a villain pins his hopes on an empty box; and Richard of Gloucester jests with his victims. Indeed, hundreds of years of theatrical tradition lay behind the comic evil and comic violence of the 1590s.

More unexpected at the time, however, would have been the lack of commentary, as distinct from dialogue, during and after the killing scenes. Even the brutal Cade scenes in *Contention* (which are quite possibly also by Marlowe) are much more wordy.[40] Battles and entries are often wordless but explanations usually follow soon after. In particular, 1590s audiences were accustomed to lengthy, passionate death scenes, and they were habituated to characters telling them how to think, how to feel. Consider *Spanish Tragedy*, with Revenge and the Ghost of Andrea hovering on the sidelines and Hieronymo in full flight until he bites out his tongue. Or Stukeley in *Alcazar* defending his reputation for nearly fifty lines despite being "slain with many a deadly stab" (5.3.132–80). Apart from Ramus (who requests a "word" but then has far too much to say) the massacre victims just protest briefly or die silently. This lack of speech is not entirely unusual for minor characters, with long death speeches the prerogative of more important ones.[41] Yet while these inarticulate figures may indicate deficiencies in the text, as commonly supposed, they could possibly reflect instead the version as performed, offering perhaps a deliberate challenge to audience expectations.[42] While the later deaths in *Massacre*—Mugeroun, Guise, and Henry—are explored at some length (Henry manages to take about seventy lines to succumb to cold steel and poison), during the massacre the task of making sense of what is felt and experienced is handed over by intention or default to the spectators themselves—very much as it happens with the death of Edward II.[43]

40. Hugh Craig, "The Three Parts of *Henry VI*," in *Shakespeare, Computers, and the Mystery of Authorship*, ed. Hugh Craig and Arthur F. Kinney (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009), 40–77. Using computational stylistics, Craig finds it possible that Marlowe wrote the Cade scenes in *2 Henry VI* as well as the later Joan scenes (acts 3–5) in *1 Henry VI*.

41. There are some exceptions such as Marlowe's Edward II, Duke Humphrey (*Contention*), and the speechless ends of Tamora, Titus, and Saturninus in the final scene of *Titus*.

42. Poole, "Garbled Martyrdom," argues from Foxe's depiction of martyrs that "a proper death, like a proper martyrdom, requires speech"; the massacre scenes are thus "disturbing and unsatisfying," providing "a deliberately incomplete theatrical experience" and dramatizing "not community but rather alienation" (19–20).

43. See Ruth Lunney, "Marlowe's *Edward II* and the Early Playhouse Audience," in

And so, to the bonking, at last. There is very little bonking, as it happens, but *Massacre* still offered an audience something distinctive.[44] First, in that lusting women like the Duchess of Guise are unusual,[45] though audiences may have seen them in other plays before *Massacre*: Queen Elinor (in *Edward I*) is one, as are Remilia (the incestuous queen in *Looking Glass*), Alice Arden, and Queen Margaret (in *Henry VI* and *Richard III*). They meet unpleasant ends: Elinor sinks through the ground to thunder and lightning; Remilia is "stroken with Thunder, blacke"; Alice is consigned to Canterbury where "she must be burnt"; while Margaret suffers grievously for years and another three plays.[46] The ends of powerful men who lust are far more pleasant. Kings and princes are able to learn and reform.

Deats and Logan, *Placing the Plays of Christopher Marlowe*, 25–41, 35–38.

44. There are opportunities in performance to develop the hints of Catherine's interest in Guise ("Sweet Guise . . . my Guise," 21.153–59) or Henry's depravity. Potter, "Marlowe's *Massacre*," explains however that Marlowe omits mention of the more scandalous rumors about Henri III spread by the Catholic League: debauchery with nuns, sodomy, flagellation, and dabbling in the occult. Jeffrey Rufo, "Marlowe's Minions: Sodomitical Politics in *Edward II* and *The Massacre at Paris*," *Marlowe Studies: An Annual* 1 (2011): 5–23, comments that Marlowe "did not reproduce the propagandistic elements of his source texts," presenting Henry as "more arrogant than debauched" (19).

45. I assume the Duchess is guilty, in part from Mugeroun's bawdy comment: "I'll make her shake off love with her heels" (17.41; Oliver suggests the expression may mean to enjoy lovemaking). Her pregnant appearance also suggests she is unchaste, whoever is the father.

46. Respectively: *Edward I*, 2199–200; Thomas Lodge and Robert Greene, *A Looking Glass for London and England: A Critical Edition*, ed. George Alan Clugston (New York: Garland, 1980), C2v.33–34; and *The Tragedy of Master Arden of Faversham*, ed. M. L. Wine (London: Methuen, 1973), 18.30–31. In scene 18 of *Edward I*, Elinor has asked the earth to open up if she is guilty of murder, and the earth obliges; she emerges some distance away only to die most remorsefully in scene 23, confessing all her adulteries to her husband who has disguised himself as a Friar. Her daughter Joan is collateral damage; she dies "*groveling on the ground*" when she discovers she is "baselie borne" (2587, 2494). Tamora, another decidedly lustful woman, is dishonored by her liaison with Aaron and dines on her children; her body is condemned to be thrown "forth to beasts and birds to prey." William Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus*, ed. J. C. Maxwell (London: Methuen, 1953), 5.3.198; all subsequent references to the play are from this edition. Lady Anderson (*James IV*) is humiliated when the object of her desire is revealed to be Queen Dorothea. Venus (*Cobbler*) is expelled from all company, human or divine, but Mars, her partner, is rehabilitated. More often, women are the adjuncts of powerful men, glorified for their beauty (Tamburlaine has much to answer for) but consigned to the role of cheerleaders (Zenocrate, Zabina); exemplars of virtue (Dorothea in *James IV*, forgiveness; Bel-Imperia, honor; Margaret of Fressingham in *Friar Bacon*, constancy); political pawns (Blanche in *Troublesome Reign*, Anne in *Richard III*); victims of pursuit (Margaret in *Friar Bacon*, Ida in *James IV*, Alfrida in *Knack*); or victims of male obsession (Bel-Imperia, Abigail, and Lavinia). Women who lust after military careers (Margaret in *Henry VI*, Joan la Pucelle, Isabella in *Edward II*) are decisively brought under control.

Edward III is denied by a virtuous woman and goes off to conquer France. The prince in *Friar Bacon* and the king in *Knack* begin with rape in mind but bow to friendship and true love. James IV orders his wife to be killed so that he can possess another woman, provoking a war with his father-in-law, but he is readily forgiven by his wife: "Youth hath misled: tut, but a little fault, / 'Tis kingly to amend what is amiss"—and all is well.[47]

Massacre's second, more telling discrepancy lies in the relationship between Machiavels and bonking. Machiavels like Guise play by different rules from other powerful men. They are far more likely to lust after power than women: Suffolk (*1 Henry VI*, *2 Henry VI*) and Aaron (*Titus*) are tempted but keep their love life quite subordinate. Suffolk's project is to have both, but with a woman as the stepping-stone to the other: "Margaret shall now be queen and rule the king: / But I will rule both her, the king, and realm" (*1 Henry VI*, 5.5.107–8). Aaron might relish his sexual prowess (his "sword" is not just a "dancing-rapier," 1.1.538), but in the wood he chooses revenge and eliminating his enemies rather than dalliance with Tamora: "Vengeance is in my heart, death in my hand, / Blood and revenge are hammering in my head" (2.2.38–39). When Machiavels fail it is from overreaching—as happens with figures such as Barabas, Lorenzo (*Spanish Tragedy*), Richard of York, Buckingham, and Richard of Gloucester. The Guise certainly spends most of the play overreaching but that does not precipitate his fall. What makes his demise so different from that of other Machiavels is that he is brought down by bonking—ironically, not his own (he is too busy killing Protestants and mustering armies), but his wife's.[48] The action of *Massacre* provides a different perspective on a Machiavel, one that makes it easier for spectators to disengage from him. The Machiavel of the early 1590s inherited the theatrical vitality of the Vice and, for the most part, his emotional connection with the audience. In his soliloquies and asides the Guise has invited the audience to share in his schemes, grandiose or appalling, unlike Navarre and Henry who either proclaim formally or just converse with their followers. The spectators may not identify with Guise but they are strongly tempted

47. Robert Greene, *The Scottish History of James the Fourth*, ed. J. A. Lavin (London: Ernest Benn, 1967), 5.6.160–61.

48. Elsewhere it is only lesser Machiavels (Ithamore is the prime example) who come undone through lust. Others, typically court flatterers like Ateukin (*James IV*) and similar figures in *Friar Bacon* and *Knack*, further their own interests by encouraging their rulers in lustful pursuits, to be disowned when the rulers reform.

to engage with him, to smugly know more than the others on stage and excitedly anticipate events, and to be captivated by his energy, however brutal or transgressive that might be.

In the fall of Guise that relationship between the villain and his audience undergoes a sudden and fundamental change. He may cast off his wife (she does not appreciate his "glory," 15.29), but he cannot avoid the public humiliation when Henry "*makes horns*" at him (17.11.1). "Jested at and scorn'd," he openly attacks the king and his minions, swearing that the "villain for whom I bear this deep disgrace . . . Shall buy that strumpet's favour with his blood, / Whether he have dishonoured me or no!" (17.16, 24–27). This is not the imposing, arrogant figure of his scene 2 manifesto nor the ruthless murderer of the massacre but a lesser being, the cuckold of popular jests and low comedy, as the Soldier who shoots Mugeroun makes plain:

> Now ser to you yt dares make a dvke a cuckolde
> and vse a counterfeyt key to his privye chamber
> thoughe you take out none but yor owne treasure
> yett you putt in yt displeases him / And fill up his rome yt
> he shold occupie.[49]

Menace has mutated into ordinary. The Guise is no longer evil and exciting; for all his vaunting, his fine words and fine clothing, he has become a figure of scorn, or in colloquial terms a "Loser." The scenes that follow (17, 19, 21) degenerate into personal malice and courtly intrigue as the King and Guise "perish in the pits" they construct for each other.[50] Meanwhile, the wheel of Fortune turns: in the alternating scenes (16, 18, 20) Navarre is presented increasingly as a "Winner." The way is prepared for a conclusion which offers the audience reassurance for all their conventional anxieties about Catholics, foreigners, and civil dissension.

Yet when the early audiences recalled Marlowe's *Massacre*, they may well have remembered—*not* the nice, tidy ending—but (more likely) an intense theatrical experience, one that sounded different,

49. Marlowe, "The *Massacre at Paris* Manuscript," in Oliver, *Massacre*, 165. Additional connotations of the "horns" are noted by Pettitt: "beast, devil, or both" ("Categorical Transgression," 307).

50. Note Henry's comment in aside as he lures Guise to his assassination: "Come, Guise, and see thy traitorous guile outreach'd, / And perish in the pit thou madest for me" (21.33–34). G. K. Hunter, *English Drama 1586–1642: The Age of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1997), 68, links Guise's downfall with the play's "web of politics," which recalls the palace intrigues of *Spanish Tragedy*.

looked different, and importantly felt different from other plays. The play's revival nearly ten years later showcased the virtuosity of Alleyn and the splendor of his costume[51]—but it may also have owed something to playgoers' memories of the bell, the bodies, and the perils of bonking.[52]

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51. Note the expenditure on costuming the Guise in 1601 (see *Henslowe's Diary*, 183–85): a cloak with lining and the "sewte," with payments to the "littell tayller" totaling 94s. 6d. or nearly five pounds (Oliver, introduction to *Massacre*, l). In contrast, Henslowe paid six pounds to Alleyn in 1602 for three playbooks, including the "book" of *Massacre* (*Henslowe's Diary*, 187). Alleyn's inventory of playing apparel c. 1602 mentions "the guises" without description in listing a collection of elaborate "frenchose" (*Henslowe's Diary*, 293). See note 1 for the costly silk stockings and fancy hat of 1598–99.

52. An earlier version of this essay was presented at the 7th International Marlowe Conference of the Marlowe Society of America, held at Staunton, Virginia, June 2013.

Appendix: The Theatrical Context of *The Massacre at Paris*

The plays referred to in this essay are listed by short title. Ranges for earliest date of performance are from the list in G. K. Hunter's *English Drama 1586–1642: The Age of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1997), 552–57. These dates are provided in the form: "*not before* date A x *not after* date B" or "1588x1589."

[*Alcazar*] 1588x1589. *The Battle of Alcazar* (Peele)

[*Arden*] 1585x1592. *The Tragedy of Master Arden of Faversham* (Anonymous)

[*Cobbler*] c.1589x1593. *The Coblers Prophesie* (Wilson)

[*Contention*] No date(s) listed; printed 1594. *The First Part of the Contention of the Two Famous Houses of York & Lancaster* (Shakespeare); the early version of *2 Henry VI*.

[*Edward I*] 1590x1593. *The Famous Chronicle of King Edward the First* (Peele)

[*Edward II*] 1591x1593. *The Troublesome Reign and Lamentable Death of Edward the Second* (Marlowe)

[*Edward III*] 1590x1595. *King Edward III* (Shakespeare, ?Peele)

[*Faustus*] 1588x1592. *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus* (Marlowe)

[*Friar Bacon*] 1589x1592. *The Honorable History of Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* (Greene)

[*1 Henry VI*] 1590. *The First Part of King Henry VI* (Shakespeare)

[*2 Henry VI*] c.1590. *The Second Part of King Henry VI* (Shakespeare)

[*3 Henry VI*] c.1591. *The Third Part of King Henry VI* (Shakespeare)

[*James IV*] c.1590x1591. *The Scottish History of James the Fourth* (Greene)

[*The Jew of Malta*] 1589x1590. *The Famous Tragedy of the Rich Jew of Malta* (Marlowe)

[*Knack*] 1592. *A Knack to Know a Knave* (Anonymous)

[*Looking Glass*] 1587x1591. *A Looking Glass for London and England* (Lodge and Greene)

[*Massacre*] 1593. *The Massacre at Paris with the Death of the Duke of Guise* (Marlowe)

[*Richard III*] 1591x1592. *King Richard III* (Shakespeare)

[*Spanish Tragedy*] 1585x1589. *The Spanish Tragedy* (Kyd)

[1 *Tamburlaine*] 1587x1588; [2 *Tamburlaine*] 1587x1588. *Tamburlaine the Great* (Marlowe)

[*Titus*] 1594. *The Most Lamentable Roman Tragedy of Titus Andronicus* (Shakespeare; ?Peele)

[*Troublesome Reign*] c.1587x1591. *The Troublesome Reign of John, King of England* (Peele)

[*True Tragedy*] No date(s) listed; printed 1595. *The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York* (Shakespeare); the early version of *3 Henry VI*.

[*Wounds*] 1587x1592. *The Wounds of Civil War* (Lodge)

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CORINNA BOX

The Power to Change a Line: Marlowe's Translation of Ovid's *Amores*

Christopher Marlowe's translation of Ovid's *Amores* (c. 19 BCE), first published as *Certaine of Ovids Elegies* (c. 1590), shows a deep understanding of the technical structures and poetic themes of Ovid's Latin verse.[1] He translates with an attention to elegiac line and couplet structure, which results in consciously Latinate English lines. The accuracy of Marlowe's scholarship has at times been doubted. Henry Lathrop finds the version "not creditable to Marlowe's scholarship," while Roma Gill discusses his "elementary mistakes."[2] Yet these criticisms have for the most part been attributed to differences between the Renaissance text Marlowe used

1. The first edition reorders the poems as follows: 1.1, 1.3, 1.5, 3.13, 1.15, 1.13, 2.4, 2.10, 3.6 and 1.2. This is discussed by Lee T. Pearcy, *The Mediated Muse: English Translations of Ovid, 1560–1700* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1984). The later editions published the poems in full, both were accompanied by John Davies' *Epigrams* (1599). The dates for all the early editions are unknown though Henry Burrowes Lathrop suggests a publication date of 1590 for *Certaine of Ovid Elegies*, with reprints in 1593, 1596; and that *All Ovids Elegies* was printed in 1597 and 1600. See Lathrop, *Translations from the Classics into English from Caxton to Chapman: 1477–1620* (Madison: U of Wisconsin, 1933). Lathrop bases his list on Henrietta R. Palmer, *List of English Editions and Translations of Greek and Latin Classics Printed before 1641* (1911; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1980).

2. Lathrop, *Translations from the Classics*, 271. Roma Gill, "Snakes Leape by Verse," in *Christopher Marlowe*, Mermaid Critical Commentaries, ed. Brian Morris (London: E. Benn, 1968), 133–50, 137. For further examples of such criticism, see Ian Frederick Moulton, "'Printed Abroad and Uncastrated': Marlowe's *Elegies* with Davies' *Epigrams*" in *Marlowe, History, and Sexuality: New Critical Essays on Christopher Marlowe*, ed. Paul Whitfield White (New York: AMS P, 1998), 77–90, 86; Stevie Simkin, *A Preface to Marlowe* (New York: Longman, 2000), 220; Clifford Leech and Anne Begor Lancashire, *Christopher Marlowe: Poet for the Stage* (New York: AMS P, 1986), 26; Stephen Orgel, "Tobacco and Boys: How Queer Was Marlowe?," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 6.4 (2000): 555–576, 564.

and modern editions, and to his textual commentary.[3] Comparisons with these documents has laid criticism of his Latin competency to rest but there has been little sustained analysis of how his scholarly approach to Ovid's poetics manifests itself. Marlowe's intelligent rendering of the *Amores* can be seen through analysis of individual lines and couplets. It is here that Marlowe's almost obsessive recreation of Ovidian style is best observed.

Marlowe tries to write English as Ovid would. His aim is to develop a new method of expression formulated specifically on the principles of Ovid's Latin elegiac verse. As Eric Jacobsen describes it, "Marlowe knew what Ovid was doing in terms of rhetorical structure, and he saw it as his task to create a structure, if possible identical, but failing that, equivalent."[4] Marlowe recreates Ovid where he can, and where he cannot, he finds an English poetic technique that can be used as an equivalent. He is so wedded to Ovid's style that sometimes "Marlowe will use a Latinate word order which is yet not the word order of Ovid's Latin."[5] This consciousness of Ovid's stylistic habits is matched by a consciousness of Ovid's meta-textual approach to poetry. Ovid's *Amores* are intensely concerned with the role and nature of poetry, a concern Marlowe shares. Where Ovid provides a commentary on the capabilities of the poetic form, Marlowe adapts this to offer some comment on the capabilities of translation.

In the prolegomenon to Ovid's *Amores* the poet tells us that he had written a five book series of poems that he has now shortened to three books. He hopes this will alleviate their tediousness. Marlowe reproduces this as follows:

> We which were *Ovids* five bookes now are three,
> For these before the rest preferreth he.

3. L. C. Martin demonstrates this; Patrick Cheney and Brian Striar also outline these differences in their edition of the poems. Christopher Marlowe, *Poems*, ed. L. C. Martin (New York: Gordian, 1966); Christopher Marlowe, *The Collected Poems of Christopher Marlowe*, ed. Patrick Cheney and Brian J. Striar (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006). Lee Pearcy persuasively demonstrates that Marlowe used Dominicus Niger's commentary on the *Amores*. Lee T. Pearcy, "Marlowe, Dominicus Niger, and Ovid's *Amores*," *Notes and Queries* 27.4 (1980): 315–18. My own study of the text leads me to agree with him. Dominicus Marius Niger, *P. Ovidii Nasonis Amorum libri tres. De medicamine Faciei libellus: et Nux . . . Una cum D. M. Nigri . . . enarrationibus, etc.* (1518).

4. Eric Jacobsen, *Translation: A Traditional Craft; An Introductory Sketch with a Study of Marlowe's Elegies* (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske, 1958), 179.

5. Pearcy, *The Mediated Muse*, 5.

> If reading five thou plainst of tediousnesse,
> Two tane away, thy labour will be lesse (*AOE*, 1.1.1–4)[6]

This is where the *Amores* begin, then, with a puzzle. If there were two extra books, why were they removed? Ovid is surely far too self-confident a poet to really fear they would have been tedious. If there were not, then why the introductory verse? Beginning the poems in this way encourages the reader to think about issues of textuality by making them aware that the poems they are about to read could exist in a different form. Ovid seems to invite critical interaction with his poems by opening them with an editor's note, a verse designed both to placate the disapproving reader and assure us of their mutability. From the beginning the poems are shown to be capable of being changed, adapted, or reworked. The opening epigram invites a translator as Ovid tells us clearly that this work is already defined by a process of editing and redefinition.

Marlowe takes up this challenge from the very beginning. The opening lines of a work of poetry are often important in Latin. Sextus Propertius' opening word in his elegies, "Cynthia" (c. 29 BCE), tells us that his mistress is his primary theme. The opening words of the *Aeneid* (c. 29–19 BCE), "arma uirumque cano," express not just its main themes but also Virgil's desire to create a Roman response to Homer. Ovid opens his *Amores* (his first work) with a satiric tone by imitating Virgil, telling his audience "Arma graui numero uiolentaque bella parabam" (*Amores*, 1.1.1). Where Virgil talks of "arma" (arms, war) Ovid will talk of love and where Virgil talks of "uirum" (the man) Ovid will talk of women, yet he uses the same terms as Virgil, starting off with "arma" and "uiolentaque bella" to suggest that his love is as violent and as important as Virgil's war. Marlowe's translation of this opening word appears not to acknowledge Ovid's intertextual wordplay. Instead, he refers to the muses, "With Muse upreard I meant to sing of Armes" (*AOE*, 1.1.5). It is traditional to address the muses at the beginning of a new work of poetry, but it is a tradition that

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6. Christopher Marlowe, *All Ovids Elegies*, in *The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe*, ed. Roma Gill, 5 vol. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), 1:1–84. *Ovid, Amores: Text, Prolegomena, and Commentary in Four Volumes*, ed. J. C. McKeown (Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1987), vol. 1. I will refer throughout to the translations as *Elegies* in text or *AOE* parenthetically. I will refer to Ovid's original Latin as *Amores* in text and parenthetically. The text for Marlowe's translations is taken from *The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe*, which for the most part retains Renaissance spelling. The Latin text is that of J. C. McKeown. All translations provided within parentheses are my own unless otherwise indicated.

Ovid has chosen not to follow. Marlowe's choice signals his knowledge of the genre he is translating and his independence from its poet. He will begin as Ovid ought to have done, by propitiating the muses. This departure suggests that Marlowe intends to serve two masters in this work: the poet who first wrote these poems, whose opening he clearly understood (as shown in the rest of his first line where "I meant to sing of arms" captures both Ovid and Virgil), and the goddess(es) of poetry. He will translate Ovid but he will also produce poetry beautiful in its own right and on his own terms.

While Ovid begins the *Amores* by placing himself within a generic context, Marlowe begins by setting himself apart from the literary background of his work. The generic world that Ovid makes reference to with his opening line is an unexpected one: he refers to epic not elegy. Marlowe's departure from Ovid's model is thus consistent with Ovid's departure from his expected model. A translation of Ovid's elegy should begin with a surprise because Ovid's elegy begins by upsetting expectations. Marlowe's translation is different from the original, but it is a difference that sits within Ovid's intended effect. Marlowe's description of the muse, "upreard," also fits within the Ovidian elegiac framework.[7] It suggests a military image, the muse clothed for battle as she might be in images of Britannia or Elizabeth I. In *Dido, Queen of Carthage* Marlowe uses "upreard" to refer to the newly built walls of Carthage, the word suggesting they are something already erected, imposing, and formidable.[8] It also has strong sexual overtones that respond to the sexual implications of "arma." The line suggests that the muse, who is both militaristic and priapic, is poised threateningly above Marlowe as if he sees Ovid's poetry as something already erect(ed) and intimidating. Such a muse would be just as worthy a subject as the "Arms" and "fierce alarmes," which somewhat mutedly stand for Ovid's "arma . . . uiolentaque bella." "With" also gives the sense that Marlowe felt he was entering an established tradition, that these events were already underway at the point when he begins.

7. Some editions, such as Cheney, have "With Muse prepared," but I think "upreard" is the more striking term, and it is also used in the 1599 edition. Cheney, *The Collected Poems*, 33; John Davies and Christopher Marlowe, *Epigrammes and Elegies*, (Middleborough, [1599?]).

8. Christopher Marlowe, *Dido Queene of Carthage*, in Gill, *Complete Works*, 1:113–74, 3.4.49. The line is said by Aeneas: "Never to leave these newe upreared walles, / Whiles *Dido* lives and rules in *Junos* towne, / Never to like or love any but her" (3.4.49–51).

The second half of this line then shows that Marlowe understands Ovid's acknowledgment of his place within the tradition. As Marlowe chose not to begin with arms, as Ovid did, in order to retain the Virgilian allusion he translates "edere" as "sing." Marlowe recreates Ovid's Virgil reference, albeit somewhat changed, and underscores the lyric quality of the verse.

Ovid uses the verb "dicitur" (*Amores*, 1.1.4) as an Alexandrian footnote. The word suggests that Ovid is referring to events described in some other work of poetry although he is not. There is no recorded instance of Cupid stealing a foot, metrical or otherwise. It is a conceit found only in Ovid, though it is built on the conventions of the *recusatio*. Ovid makes a point that he uses the texts of other poets, but crucially, in this instance there is no other poet. Marlowe translates this word as "(men say)" (*AOE*, 1.1.7), which creates the same suggestion of a backstory as "dicitur" but with the additional implication of a rumor. This is reinforced by the use of parentheses, which Marlowe often uses. They occur seventeen times in the *Elegies*. This effectively mutes his words but only in the way a stage whisper is muted. In practice the parentheses amplify them and alert the reader to their importance. In this case, they also stress that this is a work of translation. Where Ovid's "dicitur" signals us to look back at the tradition he is so liberally borrowing from, Marlowe's "(men say)" looks back even further. Writing sixteen hundred years later, his allusion encompasses the whole history of Ovidian translation and reception. Men, literally, have been saying these words for centuries.

Both poets emphasize other texts as a means to establish a space in which they can discuss the process of writing poetry. In Marlowe's case, where he is referring not just to other texts but to the original text, this space can also be used to comment on translation. He renders Ovid's "par erat inferior uersus" (*Amores*, 1.1.3) as "both verses were alike" (*AOE*, 1.1.7). This is what we expect of a translation. As Charles Martindale observes, there are always two versions of a translation: the invisible, figurative one that exists in both the reader's and writer's mind of what the translation should be and the actual one.[9] In this imagined perfect translation, what is said in Latin is reproduced exactly in English. This invisible translation is placed alongside the real translation, the one actually

9. Charles Martindale, *Redeeming the Text: Latin Poetry and the Hermeneutics of Reception* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993), 93–94.

produced, and inevitably the real one never measures up. Marlowe's verses here are not the two lines of hexameter in epic but the two poems, in Latin and in English that "should" exist. "Both verses were alike" to begin with, however Cupid interferes and alters the poet's course. For Ovid this means writing elegy, for Marlowe this means writing in English and so necessarily writing something different than Ovid.

Perhaps this is why Marlowe gives Cupid the "power to change a line" (*AOE*, 1.1.9) rather than Ovid's "carmina iuris" (*Amores*, 1.1.5). In the most literal sense Marlowe simply means the power to change a line from hexameter to pentameter, but in the context of a translation, this power suggests the ability to alter a line as necessary, the power to write a different line to the "imagined" perfect translation. This gives Marlowe the freedom to adapt his lines into English. Marlowe almost seems to invest Love as a patron deity of translation by giving him this power over changing lines of poetry, precisely what a translator does. Marlowe himself is happy to change a line, to alter where necessary, and put his own imprint on these poems.

These opening lines show that both poets are conscious of their writing as poetry, as conforming to or disrupting the conventions established for their genre. Marlowe responds to this trait in Ovid with a sophisticated sense of Ovid's poetic identity. He understands Ovid's use of references, use of meter and his metacritical commentary on his own process. This is because Marlowe understands Ovid's poetry from the inside out. He has a clear sense of how Ovid constructs a line or couplet of verse and he shows this through his ability to recreate them in English. This is why Marlowe translates him in the manner he does, couplet for couplet, line for line, and at times word for word. He translates not just the content of poems, but also their poetic techniques and devices, aiming to achieve an equivalency of effect if not always an exact verbal equivalence. Marlowe enjoys and imitates Ovid's "tightness, balance, a sense of one word placed to weigh against another. His translation imitates this quality throughout and becomes Ovidian even though it does not copy Ovid at every line or in every feature."[10] Where Marlowe cannot mimic or replicate what Ovid is doing in Latin, he finds an English technique that will approximate the same poetic effect so that he can, as closely as possible, recreate

10. Pearcy, *The Mediated Muse*, 10.

the poetic experience of reading the *Amores* in Latin. Marlowe effectively Latinizes English in his translation by replicating Ovid's effects and mimicking the structure of his lines and couplets.

In Latin, word placement is both important and largely free from syntactical rules. This gave the Latin poet far greater freedom in choosing where words will go in a line or couplet and what other words they would be placed next to. Only the rules of meter and a few grammatical conventions were restrictions. This means the poet could create connections and relationships between words that are not syntactically related by adjusting their placement in the line. Thus x and y may not technically relate to each other but we are encouraged to see x in light of y because they are placed in a position that indicates there is a relationship between them. English is much more rigid in its syntax, though these rules are often more relaxed when it comes to poetry. To make his poetry appear more Latinate then, Marlowe frequently stretched English's syntactical rules. He used word placement and, in a crucial difference, rhyme to create the additional relationships between words, ideas, and images that mimic Latin poetry. Through making these adjustments, he was then able to model his lines on Ovid's.

One of the most Latinate features of Marlowe's translation is the way he manipulates the structure of his lines to make the line lengths of his even heroic couplets appear more uneven to mimic Ovid's elegiac couplets. He utilizes several poetic techniques in order to make the first line appear longer than the second pentameter, even though they have the same number of stresses. The most common of these is dividing the first line with a strong caesura and leaving the second line without any pause. This has two main effects: it suggests that there is more content in the first line because it contains two clauses and that the pause draws out the line so it takes longer to say out loud. To complement this, he uses more fluent syllables and a quicker rhythm in the second line. This can be seen in a line taken from *Amores* 1.9: "What age fits *Mars*, with *Venus* doth agree / Tis shame for eld in warre or love to be" (*AOE*, 1.9.3–4). Here Marlowe uses a comma to separate the first line of the couplet but not the second. He also balances Mars and Venus on either side of this caesura so that the emphasis provided by the proper names adds a sense of weight to each half of the line. Conversely, in the second line he uses two abbreviated words, "tis" and "eld," and the less formal language gives a sense of playfulness to the speech, which makes the line look less important than the

first. Ovid's second line, "turpe senex miles, turpe senilis amor" (*Amores*, 1.9.4) is broken into two even halves, and he uses repetition and polyptoton to create a comparison and contrast. Both sides have "turpe" (shameful) and "senex" (old man) in two different forms, which shows us that readers are meant to see similarities between the two opposing ideas of the "miles" (soldier) and "amor" (lover). There is a clear delineation between each half of the line and each concept. In Marlowe's translation, "warre or love" are not differentiated by a central pause but instead seem to be jumbled in together. The first line has two thoughts, one about war the other about love, the second just has one thought about love and war. The same number of syllables is used in each line but the first has more important terms (the gods) and differentiates them more clearly. The lack of such balance in the second line makes it appear more of an afterthought and so shorter.

The second line can also be used as a form of commentary upon the first. The first thus contains the key idea of the couplet while the second line is merely an elaboration on it. This effect is intensified in this couplet where Marlowe uses the second line to elaborate on just half of the first line: "While thou wert plaine, I lov'd thy minde and face: / Now inward faults thy outward forme disgrace" (*AOE*, 1.10.13–14). Where Ovid talks of "mentis" (the mind) and "figura" (the figure) (*Amores*, 1.10.14), Marlowe changes these words to "inward" and "outward." This gives a much crisper sense of the similarities and differences between the inner thinking life and the outer physical expression. His second line is in fact more metrically balanced than Ovid's. The first line, on the other hand, is broken into two halves, of which the second half contains two sides: "minde and face." The balanced second line refers directly to the two aspects of the second half of the first line: "inward faults" to the "minde," "outward forme" to the "face." The second line thus appears to be an elaboration of just one half of the first line and, therefore, of less consequence. The clear relationship between part of the first line and all of the second line works stylistically and also serves to make the first line appear longer.

This longer first line can also be achieved through using Latinate syntax. Marlowe leaves out or delays the verb in the first line so that the words in half a line need to be supplemented in order to make sense. One verb is used for two clauses so that the content of the line is greater than the words used to express it: "My stay no

crime, my flight no joy shall breede, / Nor of our love to be asham'd we need" (*AOE*, 2.17.25–26). The first line of this couplet effectively contains two sentences. It is understood that the first half of the line also uses "breede" as its verb even though the word is not repeated. The sense is "My stay will breed no crime nor will my flight breed any joy." Omitting the second (or really the first) verb makes the line the right length but implies that there is a longer line because of the unspoken word needed to complete the sense. The delay also serves to elongate the line as we pause to work out where the verb is. As it is common in Latin to share one verb between different clauses and to delay the verb till the end of a sentence, Marlowe's English line appears both more Latinate and more elegiac.

Marlowe frequently adopts Latinate word placement, doing so to replicate specific Ovidian effects. In this couplet, in which the poet is upbraiding his mistress on her new lover, the line is made to resemble an embrace: "hunc potes amplecti formosis, uita, lacertis? / huius in amplexu, uita, iacere potes?" (*Amores*, 3.8.11–12). Ovid repeats three key words across the couplet: "vita" (life, in the context it should be regarded as an endearment), "potes" (you are able), and "amplector" (I embrace). This last one is most important because it changes its form, evidence of the kind of polyptoton that Ovid loves to use.[11] This helps highlight the similarities between the lines, the embrace, his love for her (vita), and her agency in the events, as well as the difference. In the first she holds him in her arms while in the second he holds her, as "iaceo" (I lie down) implies, in bed. When "vita" occurs within the line, it is metaphorically embraced by the words around it. The couplet is bookended by the repeated "potes" and, in both lines, "vita" and "amplecti/ amplexu" are in the middle of the line. The words embrace each other, creating an almost claustrophobic feel, which reinforces the speaker's sense of disgust and dismay. The poetics are intended to ensure we do not feel good about this situation.

Marlowe achieves a similar effect. He poetically recreates the sense of an embrace, and he highlights the similarities and differences between the two lines of betrayal, but he does so differently and makes the most of rhyme. The effect of Marlowe's language is

11. Jeffrey Wills usefully defines polyptoton as "the repetition of a word with morphological variation in the same clause." Wills, *Repetition in Latin Poetry: Figures of Allusion* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 189.

to replicate the visual image produced in Ovid's couplet: "Foole canst thou him in thy white armes embrace? / Foole canst thou lie in his enfolding space?" (*AOE*, 3.7.11–12).[12] The repetition of "fool canst thou" and the rhyme on "embrace" and "space" help make the couplet seem circular. The line and couplet begin and end with the same concepts. The effect is of encircling arms and gives a sense of the space between those arms. This mirrors Ovid's claustrophobic lines and helps to underline how undesirable this rival is, or should be.

Ovid often uses polyptoton to exploit balance within the line. As a device, it is much better fitted to Latin where the changes in word endings mean one word can have many different forms. As English has fixed word endings, there is less scope for this, yet Marlowe tries to use it where he can. In *Amores*, the poet protests that he is in love with two girls at once (2.10), which provides a startling display of how effectively and extravagantly polyptoton can be used in Latin: "pulchrior hac illa est, haec est quoque pulchrior illa, / et magis haec nobis et magis illa placet" (*Amores*, 2.10.7–8). This couplet is typical of Ovid's linguistic flourishes and also a key example of the difficulty of translating some Latin forms into English. The explanation of such lines is necessarily tedious as Ovid has used repetition and polyptoton perfectly and succinctly. Unpacking the poetic vision of two girls who are equally pleasing only detracts from his skill in creating it. His language is entirely equal and balanced, across the line and across the couplet, relying only on the three sets of "hac . . . illa" (this . . . that) to create the difference. The use of comparatives is another masterstroke. Neither girl is superlative, and both are more something than the other one. He has created a great translation challenge. A purely word for word style translation will end up long and dull and any other kind of translation will be unable to convey that perfect mastery of his own language.

Marlowe tries to replicate this use of comparatives and superlatives, but there is only so much he can do: "This seemes the fairest, so doth that to me, / And this doth please me most, and so doth she" (*AOE*, 2.10.7–8). He uses Ovid's "this . . . that" formulation but only once instead of three times. As the terms have no gender in English, it would be hard to repeat them and retain

12. Marlowe's text read *stulta* (stupid girl) for *vita*, hence his repeated "Foole." Marlowe, *The Collected Poems*, 121n11–12.

the sense of tenderness or personal engagement that Ovid has. He only uses the pronoun "she" once, perhaps fearing (and rightly so) that, without the differentiation between declensions offered by Latin, the result of repeating "she" would only be to confuse the reader. He is able to get across the idea that the poet finds both girls pretty and both please him, but the poetic pyrotechnics available to Ovid are for the most part denied Marlowe. It is a fair translation, but it shows the difficulties of any translation of poetry. Whilst the sense can usually be brought across, the beauty or skill of the first poet is often lost.

In using polyptoton Marlowe has to adapt it to English rather more than some other features of Ovid's verse, such as word placement through which he is more willing to make English fit the Latin form. He often uses it in combination with another technique. In the Dipsas poem, Marlowe mixes polyptoton and repetition to achieve the Ovid's effects: "And as first wrongd the wronged some-times banish, / Thy fault with his fault so repuls'd will vanish" (*AOE*, 1.8.79–80). In the first line "wronged" appears twice but in different forms: the first is a verb, the second a noun. Yet in English they have the same form and so initially appear to be repetition rather than polyptoton. The idea of wrongness is effectively emphasized but the subtle differences in the nature of that wrongness are obscured by the seeming repetition of the words and the line feels clumsier for it. It is also a difficult word to say quickly in succession. The second line is more successful. Even though the word "fault" is repeated in the same form, the two different possessive pronouns make readers aware the difference between them is. By altering the phrase ("thy fault," "his fault") rather than the word, Marlowe maintains the sense of similarity with a difference, which Ovid uses polyptoton to achieve. Somewhat ironically, in this English line repetition is more effective at this than actual polyptoton.

Often the difficulties of making polyptoton work in English mean Marlowe has to be selective about what he will adopt from Ovid. In *Amores* where the focus is on Ovid's homeland, Paeligni (2.16.11–12), there are two main effects, only one of which Marlowe is able to replicate: "But absent is my fire, lyes ile tell none, / My heate is heere, what moves my heate is gone" (*AOE*, 2.16.11–12). Ovid plays particularly on the idea of love as fire. He uses "ignis" (fire) once and "ardor" (flame, heat, but also the heat of passion) twice in the couplet (*Amores*, 2.16.11, 12). This is especially

appropriate in a poem that until now has been celebrating the cool and temperate climate of Paeligni, which remains pleasant even during the hottest days of summer. This use of the heat metaphor for love follows on from the descriptions of the countryside where it is easy to think that, like Paeligni, the poet is cool and protected from heat. This is not the case, however, as he explains here. He feels the heat of passion even here and even in the absence of his mistress. Marlowe replicates this well, he uses "fire" and "heate" as Ovid does and the fire as love metaphor translates easily into English.

The other polyptoton of importance in this couplet is that of "abest" (is absent) and "adest" (is present) (*Amores*, 2.16.11, 12). The two words are not only exact opposites in Latin, they are derived from the same root (*sum*) and in this form look almost exactly the same. Placed as they are near the beginning of the first line and at the end of the second, the idea of presence and absence encloses the couplet. His love is absent, but his love for her is present. Marlowe cannot fully render this in his verse, and although the English present and absent are also linguistically similar, he chooses instead to use "absent" and "heere" for the two terms. This is partly because "heere" provides alliteration, and alliteration adds poetic density to a line that cannot capture the original's use of polyptoton. He also reverses the order of the second line so that it no longer gives the sense of these two terms enclosing the rest. He has, in fact, removed the emphasis that Ovid had built around these two concepts. The meaning is the same as Ovid's, but it is less interestingly expressed. He emphasizes heat, but at the expense of the absent/present dichotomy. This simplification of the poetic structure and associated meaning is due significantly to the fact that English is not as accommodating to these multiple levels of linguistic punning or polyptoton.

This difficulty in using polyptoton in English means Marlowe often has to alter Ovid's polyptoton, but he usually finds a poetic effect to use as a substitute. In *Amores*, Ovid uses polyptoton twice: "quod sequitur, fugio; quod fugit, ipse sequor" (2.19.36). Again, Marlowe retains one and changes the other: "What flies, I followe, what followes me I shunne" (*AOE*, 2.19.36). In this couplet the play with "sequor" (I follow) and "fugio" (I flee) shows typical Ovidian balance. The change from third person to first and back illustrates the type of personal relationship being depicted. Again this is one of those places where Latin is able to state such shifts more

emphatically than English, which is perhaps why Marlowe decides to change the formula in his translation. Whilst he repeats the verb shift for "I followe," he does not repeat "fly" instead replacing it with "shunne" when it changes to the first person. The effect works in English because, whereas the alliteration of "flies" with "followe" produced a sense of continuity and attraction between the two words, the distinctive sound patterns of "shunne" creates a strong disjunction between them. This follows the speaker's view as he does wish to be connected to the first behavior (flying) and does not want a connection with the second (following). Ovid is using similarity to make his point, Marlowe uses difference instead. Both are strong interpretations of the rhetorical device.

Even when Marlowe cannot replicate Ovidian features, he still maintains an Ovidian structure, as in his translation of *Amores* 3.11. Its first four lines introduce the lover persona full of shame at the love he feels yet unable to free himself from this dishonest love. Ovid's Latin and Marlowe's translation of it rely on the use of various forms of the verb "fero" (I bear) in Latin (*tuli*, *ferre*, *tulisse*) and to bear (borne, borne, bear) in English.

> Multa diuque tuli; uitiis patientia uicta est.
> cede fatigato pectore, turpis Amor!
> scilicet asserui iam me fugique catenas,
> et, quae non puduit ferre, tulisse pudet. (*Amores*, 3.11.1–4)

> Long have I borne much, mad thy faults me make:
> Dishonest love my wearied brest forsake
> Now have I freed my selfe, and fled the chaine,
> And what I have borne, shame to beare againe. (*AOE*, 3.10.1–4)

In some instances repetition can weaken polyptoton because it makes it harder to see the differences between similar words, but here, where repeated words are spread out over four lines, it helps to unify the passage. Marlowe makes a strong structural change by taking Ovid's "diu . . . iam" (daily/over a long time . . . now) and putting "long" and "now" at the start of the first and third line respectively. This makes the timeframe of the passage quite clear. The overall structural features are therefore similar. Marlowe expands on what Ovid has done and utilizes an extra strength available in his language. In the second line, Marlowe more or less reverses Ovid's word order. Ovid places the imperative at the start of the sentence whereas Marlowe places it at the end. Both are powerful positions. Marlowe makes use of alliteration and

assonance in the third line with "freed" and "fled." These are techniques Ovid likes to use and that are also quite strong in English. The emphasis in the first line adds heightened emotion to Marlowe's translation. The faults of the lover make him "mad" whereas for Ovid they have merely eroded patience. It is in the last line where we see a real difficulty in the transition between the two languages. Ovid's last line is packed full of meaning, expressed with Latinate succinctness. Marlowe with his five feet could not hope to fully express what Ovid is able to in the same space. He cannot fully show that the speaker once was not ashamed and so his current feelings of shame relate both to what he did and the lack of shame with which he did this.

Marlowe follows Ovid not just in this arrangement of specific words in a line but also in the overall poetic structure of longer passages. *Amores* book 2, elegy 4 has the lover persona energetically describing the many different types of girl who attract him. It provides a number of clear examples of Ovidian lines, couplet structure, and wit. The poem's premise means the poet is always comparing and contrasting different girls before finding them equally attractive. It showcases Ovid's rhetorical ingenuity and the importance of balance in structuring his lines. Marlowe clearly enjoys translating this kind of language, and he exploits the playfulness that such a theme invites. A typical example of an Ovidian couplet is: "siue es docta, places raras dotata per artes; / siue rudis, placita es simplicitate tua" (*Amores* 2.4.17–18). He finds two contrasting traits and explains their difference yet nonetheless finds both charming. Both lines begin with "siue" (if) , hinge on the central verb "placeo" (I am pleasing) and have a cause and effect type structure. In the first line, "docta" (learned) leads to "artes" (arts), and in the second, "rudis" (roughness/unlearnedness) leads to "simplicitas" (simplicity). As "placeo" is the central verb we know that regardless of the specific cause and effect relationship, the outcome will be pleasing. Marlowe partially adopts and partially adapts these tricks, translating it as: "If she be learn'd, then for her skill I crave her, / If not, because shees simple I would have her" (*AOE*, 2.4.17–18). He too begins each line with "if" and balances each line with a cause and effect relationship. He does this in the first line by following Ovid's language with "learned" and "skill," but instead of using a specific word in the second line, he merely negates "learned." This works quite well, partly because any

translation of "rudis" risks being unflattering (in Latin, and especially with Ovid, it can be quite negative) and because it introduces a little variety into the couplet so that it is not rigidly confined to the formula. Marlowe's other change is in the use of the verb. Firstly he does not use "pleasing" or use the same word in both lines. This again adds variety, but because he uses verbs that rhyme, they still have the sense of being of equal value. As they are rhyme words, they are at the end not in the middle of the line, which alters the "hinge" effect. Thus the verb is more important because it is the culmination of the line, but the sense that it applies equally to and is the central balance point between "learned" and "skill" is lost. Marlowe uses the Latinate effects that will work in English and adapts the ones that will not while still taking his cues as to what is poetically or rhetorically important from what he sees in the Latin.

This desire to recreate Ovidian effects alongside a willingness to adapt them into English is the hallmark of Marlowe's translation. He wants to express what Ovid is expressing poetically and will do so using the same effects if he can but different ones if he cannot. This can mean using the structure Ovid has used but altering the vocabulary within it:

> molliter incedit: motu capit; altera dura est:
> at poterit tacto mollior esse uiro (*Amores,* 2.4.23–24)

> Trips she, it likes me well, plods she, what than?
> Shee would be nimbler, lying with a man (*AOE*, 2.4.23–24)

Ovid separates his first line into three parts, but Marlowe trumps him by using four. This gives the sense of balance that is so often important in Ovid's structure. These frequent stops rhythmically reflect the plodding gait of the second girl, while the more flowing second line suggests the softening of this, which the poet says will happen in the arms of a man. "Trip" is quite a loose translation of "molliter incedit" (she treads softly), yet the meaning is the same: the girl walks nicely. The same can be said of the whole line. Marlowe does not use equivalent language, yet the idea is clear. Where one walks lightly, the other is hard, "dura" or "plods." Ovid makes a clear comparison between "molliter" and "dura." "Trip" and "plod" also provide a strong contrast. This adaptation continues in the next line where "mollior" (softer) becomes "nimbler," which is a more fitting comparative for the verbs Marlowe has already

chosen. He also maintains the sexual element of the line, he changes it from "tango" (I touch) to "lying" (which can suggest sex in both Latin and English). His language throughout is quite different yet the way he builds the line is still Ovidian. In the first line, two ideas are answered in a four part structure, which suggests balance and equality between all parts. In the second line, he copies Ovid in placing his comparative in the middle of the sentence and putting the "man" at the end of it. Additionally, in both couplets the various qualities of these girls are leading up to the most important aspect of the sentence: the man who enjoys them.

This flexible approach to which aspects of Ovid's line he will translate turns at places into a willingness to use a wholly different structure to that which Ovid has used, but only if the new structure still seems Ovidian. Marlowe's makes some significant adaptations in his translation of lines in *Amores* about Leda: "If her white necke be shadoed with blacke haire / Why so was *Ledas*, yet was *Leda* faire" (*AOE*, 2.4.41–42). Marlowe separates the first line into two halves each of which is centered on the character of Leda. The first half seems to offer up a question (about Leda's coloring) and second answers it (it is still good). The two halves are separated by a caesura followed by "yet." This kind of balanced question/ response anchored by a central idea is typical of Ovid's style but is not being used by Ovid in this instance. His line here was straightforwardly descriptive.

In creating an Ovidian poetic structure, Marlowe consistently tries to reproduce Latinate word order, sometimes to the extent of reproducing Ovid's word order almost exactly. For instance, he translates "neue tenax ceram siccaque gemma trahat" (*Amores*, 2.15.16) almost word for word, "Least to the waxe the hold-fast drye gemme cleaves" (*AOE*, 2.15.16), only "tenax" (clinging, tenacious, holding fast) and "ceram" (wax) are swapped, which is necessary as "tenax" refers to "gemma" (the gem) rather than "ceram." This tendency to extreme fidelity in translating Latinate word order at times extends to writing a Latinate sounding word order that is not the word order Ovid has actually used, such as "to thee being cast do happe / Sharpe stripes" (*AOE*, 2.2.61–62), for "tibi uerbera uicto / assunt" (*Amores*, 2.2.61–62). More often, however, Marlowe focuses on Latinate line structure over word order.

Marlowe seems to learn from Ovid how to create certain effects. The structure seen in *Amores* from the elegy on the death of

Tibullus is recreated quite clearly by Marlowe.[13] The subject provides Ovid with an excellent opportunity to show his particular poetic skills:

> sic Nemesis longum, sic Delia nomen habebunt,
> altera cura recens, altera primus amor. (*Amores*, 3.9.31–32)

> So Nemesis, so Delia famous are:
> The one his first love, th'other his new care. (*AOE*, 3.9.31–32)

There are two mistresses, equally belonging to Tibullus but possibly with competing claims. Their equality is clearly stressed in this couplet. He introduces each with "sic Nemesis . . . sic Delia" (so Nemesis . . . so Delia) and then applies an even more even-handed approach in the second line where each one, "altera" (the other), has three words placed either side of the central caesura. He balances "cura" (care) with "amor" (love) and "recens" (recent) with "primus" (first). Marlowe's treatment of it follows in this vein, even outdoing his source: "So *Nemesis*, so *Delia* famous are, / The one his first love, th'other his new care" *(AOE*, 3.8.31–32). He replicates the introduction "So *Nemesis*, so *Delia,*" and where the Latin formulation "altera . . . altera" really cannot be replicated in English, Marlowe uses a fitting rendering of it with "The one . . . th'other." This is absolutely typical Ovid, and Marlowe in his translation only heightens those elements that make it typical. There is, however, one change that is significant. Ovid is projecting the "nomen" (name, or fame) that these two women will have. Marlowe has them famous in the present, as presumably they were at the time when Marlowe was translating. Marlowe shows his awareness that this is a translation of Ovid made hundreds of years later rather than an exact transliteration of his source.

A later passage from the same poem shows Marlowe translating Ovidian structure with a similar level of skill, but this time he is not translating the structure Ovid created. Where in the first example Marlowe was clearly recreating Ovid's lines, here he creates Ovidian lines not based on Ovid's own:

> cumque tuis sua iunxerunt Nemesisque priorque
> oscula nec solos destituere rogos.

13. This elegy reminds us that elegy began as the form fitted for funerals and death, though its scope widened to love poetry. Georg Luck provides some discussion on the funerary origins of elegy. Luck, *The Latin Love Elegy* (London: Methuen, 1959), 17.

> Delia discedens "felicius" inquit "amata
> sum tibi: uixisti, dum tuus ignis eram." (*Amores*, 3.9.53–56).

> *Nemesis* and thy first wench joyne their kisses
> With thine, nor this last fire their presence misses.
> *Delia* departing, happier lov'd she saith,
> Was I: thou liv'dst, while thou esteemdst my faith. (*AOE*, 3.8.53–56)

Marlowe makes three significant changes to the Latin version: he alters the emphasis on the second line; he quite dramatically changes the last line; and he creates a more ordered structure than Ovid does. Marlowe's translation gives a much greater sense of agency to Tibullus' pyre. It would "miss" the presence of his family and lovers rather than them leaving the pyre alone in the Latin. It is a subtle and poignant change, one primarily occasioned by the need to rhyme yet not simply the result of expedience. It gives a further example of the way translation can necessitate changes in emphasis and yet accommodate these within the spirit of the original. Marlowe then changes Ovid's "tuus ignis eram" (I was your fire) to "thou esteemdst my faith," a much more restrained phrase. Ovid's phrase suggested both emotional and physical passion. Marlowe has the kind of chaste and mild emotion that we might expect in a more religious context. Marlowe is superficially more in keeping with the tone an audience (both ancient and Renaissance) might expect in a funeral elegy, but this is not in keeping with Ovid, who emphasizes passion because Tibullus was an elegist.

The passage also shows the kind of gaucheness that Ovid is criticised for but is central to his style. Tibullus' mistress refers to herself as his "ignis" (fire) at the very moment when Tibullus' body lies burning in front of her in the flames of his pyre. Ovid's use of such borderline ridiculous detail could seem inappropriate in this context. Marlowe, who usually follows Ovid in such details, uses more decorous language. He nonetheless is able to replicate this discomforting absurdity in other places. He shows this well in his translation of Ovid's other funerary elegy, the one for Corinna's parrot. The poem follows in the tradition of Catullus II on the death of Lesbia's sparrow, but while it may be possible to rescue some sense of seriousness in a poem about the death of a swallow, it is hard to do this with the death of a parrot. Ovid paints a picture of the birds mimicking the funerary actions of humans, which is sublimely ridiculous yet still oddly moving. He contrasts such tender language as "piae" (pious), "plangite pectora" (beat your

breasts), and "teneras . . . genas" (tender cheeks) with those specifically avian terms, "uolucres" (flying or winged, hence birds), "pinnis" (feathers) and "rigido . . . ungue" (hard claws) (*Amores*, 2.6.3–4), suggesting the silliest of anthropomorphic scenes. Marlowe does the same with his translation, telling them: "Go goodly birdes, striking your breasts bewaile, / And with rough clawes your tender cheekes assaile" (*AOE*, 2.6.3–4). The birds "bewaile" and have "tender cheeks" but also "rough clawes." He emphasizes the tenderness but with enough bird references to undercut the seriousness and create an outlandish picture.

In the parrot poem, Ovid lightly satirizes Gaius Valerius Catullus and Marlowe is able to honor that satire. He also responds to Ovid's more straightforward literary homage and provides a nuanced translation of Ovid's echo of Catullus 85, "tunc amo, tunc odi frustra, quod amare necesse est" (*Amores*, 3.14.39): "Then thee whom I must love, I hate in vaine, / And would be dead, but dead with thee remaine" (*AOE*, 3.13.39–40). The first line of this poem is rich in possibilities in terms of poetic structure. The combination of hate and love is a gift for the poet. Ovid's poet, like Catullus's, cycles through hate and love continuously. In Ovid love wins—he use "amo" twice, "odi" once—but the negative words attached to it show that the victory has not been sweet. Marlowe's line is plainer: "I . . . love, I hate." The two words are placed next to each other but are only used once and without the repetition of "tunc," which creates such chilling momentum in Ovid's couplet. His translation of both "must" and "in vain" reflects the actual words Ovid is using (though "must" is a somewhat weak translation), yet they are rearranged from Ovid's original. Marlowe structures the second line around the central construction of "dead, but dead" to show both despair and hesitation. It is a close translation of Ovid and responds to Ovid's reading of Catullus, but Marlowe has rearranged Ovid's words to suit his own language.

Where Marlowe does this, rearranging Ovid's word order or poetic structure, he always does it for a poetic effect. There is nothing lazy in his adaptation of Ovid's poetry. His response to Ovid's intertextuality points to this. More significant perhaps is the way he recreates Ovid's metatextuality his ongoing commentary on the role of poetry itself. Describing the many hairstyles a girl can have that will please him, Ovid tells us "omnibus historiis se meus aptat amor" (*Amores*, 2.4.44). This is typical of Ovid, this ability to step outside the context of his poetry and comment on it, usually in

a witty or wry manner. The last line shows this plainly as he proves his adaptability by using the term "aptat" (fitting, apt). His point is that he can make his poetry and his stories fit whatever context is necessary (usually in order to seduce a girl) as well as suggesting that love can be fitted to many contexts. "Aptat" expresses this well. Marlowe translates this as "my love alludes to every history" (*AOE*, 2.4.44), changing it slightly. This is quite significant, especially given that this is a translation and not an original composition. Marlowe seems to copy Ovid in stepping outside the world of the text in order to comment upon it, but he is not, as Ovid is, creating this world and finding things that fit. Instead he is translating a world already defined by Ovid. Where Ovid "fits" his love to other stories, Marlowe's translation "alludes" to Ovid's use of those stories. The additional distance interposed between the translator and the original words of the poet makes allusion a more appropriate term for translation.

In making these translations, Marlowe has to engage critically with Ovid in order to find the best way of expressing his poetry in English. His does this by focusing closely on Ovid's language and the techniques and devices he uses in constructing each couplet. He understands Ovid's use of intertextuality and can recapture it for an English audience, whilst bringing to those references an extra sixteen centuries worth of interpretation. He is able to master the translator's voice such that he can comment on his translation, even as he is writing it. It is not, generally, the content of these poems that interests him so much as the way in which Ovid has created them. The structure, techniques, and devices are what he is most keen to translate. He deviates little from the text of Ovid, but he nevertheless acknowledges the changes necessary in translation, that he has the power to change a line, however rash this may make him. Marlowe does his best to put Ovid's words and structure into English, to express them in a style reminiscent of Ovid's, and to use English to its best capability as well as to include some sense of his own ability and poetic style. This comes through in his potential to sound like Ovid when Ovid does not sound particularly like Ovid and to sound like Marlowe when he cannot make Ovidian Latin into Ovidian English. He proves to us that Marlovian style can be as impressive as the Ovidian style it is so influenced by.

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Marlowe Studies: An Annual 4 (2014)

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The Year's Work in Marlowe Studies: 2013

Last year I noted that *Marlowe Studies: An Annual* was responsible for stimulating and nurturing a significant proportion of the year's Marlovian criticism. That trend continues, and I discuss that journal's contents throughout this article, but whilst it is pleasing to see that it was again an important source of scholarship, there were also a higher than usual number of books and articles relevant to the study of Marlowe in 2013.

In *Teaching Shakespeare and Marlowe: Learning versus the System*, Liam E. Semler formalizes some of the conclusions drawn from his recent work on secondary and tertiary education models and discusses his attempts to innovate within the confines of a neoliberal education system's legacy.[1] The product of collaboration with school teachers and academics, Semler's project (and the book that promulgates its findings) explores tensions produced by system-imposed limitations on pedagogy. It advocates "life at the system edge" (53), or creativity at the margins, including what Semler calls "Ardenspace": "a space of creative interactivity for temporary exiles of educational courts," or "creativity provoked by the system" (53). The nature and tone of the book is typical of the "Shakespeare Now!" series in which it appears: energetic, provocative, brief, and direct to the point of informality. In the context of ostensible interdisciplinarity, for example, Semler observes that:

> Literary critics are famous for screeching out of camp at dusk, crossing into states like History, Philosophy or Gender Studies, seizing some unsuspecting theory, often the wrong end of it, roping it to the tow bar and dragging it back to base. Then when there's a dull moment around

1. Liam E. Semler, *Teaching Shakespeare and Marlowe: Learning versus the System* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

> the campfire, we stick our hand up its rear end and make it speak to our colleagues in a funny voice. . . . So much for neighbouring states, but Education is [a] different country altogether. You just wouldn't go there. Pack of weirdos. Ever seen *Deliverance*? (88).

The focus on pedagogy and the injunction to consult the latest research in higher education is welcome, and I suspect that Semler's basic point about the relative neglect of pedagogical theory relative to "high theory" may indeed ring true for a number of academics. (The author implicitly asks the reader to assume that his use of educational insights is distinct from the ventriloquizing humorously mocked above.) Marlowe enters the last forty-five pages or so, where Semler's tertiary level module on Marlowe is offered as a case study for expanding the perceived field of relevance in our approach to teaching and learning, which is "closely related to Dr Faustus' dilemma in his opening monologue: how to think freely in a disciplinary context" (89). Recognizing the way students are molded by institutions, Semler promotes agitation and "system stress," or thinking creatively about the learning and assessment processes, to reduce the control of formal learning systems and to "discuss learning as it was happening" (123). Examples include requiring his Marlowe class to see Vassily Sigarev's contemporary Russian play, *Ladybird* (2004) or to watch the violent Australian television series *Blue Murder* (1995), and using these unexpected avenues to open up discussion of Marlowe's relevance to contemporary culture. (Alternative strategies include posing the willfully provocative contention, "Marlowe was a vampire," to stimulate new thinking, 98). The aim of the various experiments is "to enrich the learning experience via intelligent engagement with systems" (90) by expanding the "band of perceived relevance" (91). Creative assessment tasks and journal-keeping were incorporated into the format of the module. Semler is cautiously optimistic about having achieved the aim of generating an "authentic personal encounter with Marlowe's texts" (106) through this introduction of system stress.

Christopher Marlowe in Context (edited by Emily C. Bartels and Emma Smith) is a somewhat eclectic mix of uncommonly short chapters, intentionally diverse rather than definitive or exhaustive.[2] The editors' stated aim is to offer a fresh assessment of Marlowe

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2. Emily C. Bartels and Emma Smith, eds., *Christopher Marlowe in Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013). Hereafter cited as *Marlowe in Context*.

and to "model heterogeneity" in their collection,[3] which they certainly do with contributions on "Marlowe and the Question of Will,"[4] "Editing Marlowe's Texts,"[5] and "Marlowe and the Critics."[6] Thomas Cartelli resists the commonplace association of *Edward II* with William Shakespeare's *Richard II* (1595) to explore instead the intersections between Shakespeare's play (especially the deposition scene) and the changes in fortune experienced by Faustus, and the "neo-Tamburlainean presumption" that Bolingbroke brings against the established royal succession.[7] Patricia Cahill regards martial violence rather than desire for power, riches, or exotica as the central feature of the *Tamburlaine* plays, and draws on Achille Mbembe's notion of "necropower" (weapons of excessive violence used to create "death-worlds") to analyze the instrumentality of warfare in these plays.[8] Rather than being collateral damage, mass death is the intentional outcome (or product—it is regarded as constructive) of violence in this schema.[9] Paulina Kewes focuses on the historically focused plays of the end of Marlowe's career (*Edward II* and *Massacre at Paris*) and contemplates the reasons for Marlowe's anachronistic alteration of source material, suggesting that Marlowe favors broad political points over specific and unambiguous allegories.[10] (The other chapters from this collection will be discussed below, where thematically relevant.) Paul Menzer's bravura finale brings the volume to a head by surveying trends in Marlowe criticism up to the present, focusing particularly on readings that "map the death of the author back onto his plays" and the "attempts of modernity to rationalise Marlowe to its terms."[11]

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3. Bartels and Smith, *Marlowe in Context*, 2.

4. Kathryn Schwarz, "Marlowe and the Question of Will," in *Marlowe in Context*, 192–201.

5. Andrew Duxfield, "Editing Marlowe's Texts," in *Marlowe in Context*, 325–33.

6. Adam Hansen, "Marlowe and the Critics," in *Marlowe in Context*, 346–56.

7. Thomas Cartelli, "Marlowe and Shakespeare Revisited," in *Marlowe in Context*, 285–95, 285.

8. Patricia Cahill, "Marlowe, Death-Worlds, and Warfare," in *Marlowe in Context*, 169–80. See Achille Mbembe, "Necropolitics," Public Culture 15.1 (2003): 11–40, 40.

9. Cahill, "Marlowe, Death-Worlds," 170.

10. Paulina Kewes, "Marlowe, History, and Politics," in *Marlowe in Context*, 138–54.

11. Paul Menzer, "Marlowe Now," in *Marlowe in Context*, 357–65, 362, 363.

Cambridge Scholars Publishing (CSP), the independent press founded by a group of Cambridge University graduates whose business has no connection to Cambridge University Press, were responsible for a Marlovian monograph in 2013. CSP has been around for a number of years now, its reputation often the subject of lively discussion; their publication of a master's thesis by Milena Kostic as *The Faustian Motif in the Tragedies of Christopher Marlowe* will no doubt add fuel to the fire. Reading Marlowe's works beyond *Faustus* to examine the symbolism and consequences of selling one's soul ought to make for an interesting central premise but the limitations of this book are regrettable. It is poorly produced: two different misspellings of Stephen Greenblatt's name on one page (3) should be an early warning that editing and copyediting have not been performed adequately ("Sarah Cane" repeatedly for "Sarah Kane" elsewhere [33], and her absence from the index under either "C" or "K" is another example). The most recent piece of Marlovian scholarship cited is almost fifteen years old (*Constructing Christopher Marlowe*, 2000); the majority are mid-twentieth century (for example Harry Levin) and are frequently summarized for extended periods in lieu of advancing an argument (as in the chapter on *Faustus*, where Cleanth Brooks's argument is pitted against "some critics" [29] and Levin's own conclusions constitute the final say in the chapter).

Robert A. Logan's thoughtfully introduced and edited *The Jew of Malta: A Critical Reader* is a welcome contribution to Arden's "Early Modern Drama Guides" series.[12] Logan himself concentrates on Marlowe's "purposeful ambivalence and ambiguity" as seen in three vexing issues in the play: the ambiguous relationship of Machevill to Machiavelli; the generic instability of the play; and the characterization of Barabas.[13] He argues that we need to embrace the play's resolute defiance of taxonomies: the play is "unable to resolve the confusion of issues that it has presented, because it has not located a value system from which to proceed."[14] The *Reader* includes a selective but erudite overview of trends in twentieth-century *Jew of Malta* criticism (Bruce Brandt; see also Andrew Duxfield's continuation into the twenty-first century), a comprehensive performance

12. Robert A. Logan, ed., *The Jew of Malta: A Critical Reader*, Arden Early Modern Drama Guides (London: Bloomsbury, 2013). Hereafter cited as *Critical Reader*.

13. *Critical Reader*, xxxi.

14. *Critical Reader*, xxviii.

history (Sara Munson Deats), and a list of resources (Sarah K. Scott).[15] It also contains a good deal more original scholarship than might be expected for a "guide." With her usual flair for debunking shoddy premises and sticking to concrete evidence, Roslyn L. Knutson examines the play's role in terms of repertorial commerce, focusing on four discrete moments in its stage history: 1589 (Admiral's), 1592–94 (companies at the Rose), 1594 (Admiral's), and post-1601 (including Queen Henrietta Maria's).[16] Of these periods, the first in particular is of interest, as it is commonly neglected by critics who seize on Philip Henslowe's records of 1592 performances of the play as their starting point for discussion. Knutson locates the Admiral's (and thus *The Jew of Malta* in its maiden run) at the Theater in Shoreditch by 1590, at a time when such plays as *Soliman and Perseda* (c. 1588), *The Spanish Tragedy* (c. 1587), *The Wounds of the Civil War* (c. 1588), *The Battle of Alcazar* (c. 1588), the "Ur-*Hamlet*" (c. 1588) and "Don Horatio" (before 1592) were likely in their repertory, and themes of "revenge, criminal passion and cultural otherness" were featured.[17] She also notes that company's touring schedule in 1589–90 and gives serious consideration to the likelihood that *The Jew of Malta* was performed on the road. Ian McAdam revisits the relationship between *The Jew of Malta* and *The Merchant of Venice* with the benefit of recent scholarship (including Patrick Cheney's work on republicanism, which affects interpretation of Machevill's prologue).[18] He traces Marlowe's influence in terms of "masculine self-fashioning" [19] and subversive theology as present in Shakespeare's play. Two further essays, by Kirk Melnikoff and M. L. Stapleton, offer similarly fresh perspectives on Marlowe's play. Melnikoff's essay in cultural bibliography takes as its premise Nicholas Ling and Thomas Millington's 1594 registration at Stationers' Hall of *The Jew of Malta*

15. See Bruce E. Brandt, "The Critical Backstory," in *Critical Reader*, 1–26; Andrew Duxfield, "The State of the Art: Current Critical Research," in *Critical Reader*, 53–78; Sara Munson Deats, "The Performance History," in *Critical Reader*, 27–52; and Sarah K. Scott, "A Survey of Resources," in *Critical Reader*, 169–90.

16. Roslyn L. Knutson, "New Directions: The Jew of Malta in Repertory," in *Critical Reader*, 79–106.

17. Knutson, "*The Jew of Malta* in Repertory," 86.

18. Ian McAdam, "New Directions: *The Jew of Malta* and *The Merchant of Venice*: A Reconsideration of Influence," in *Critical Reader*, 107–28.

19. McAdam, "A Reconsideration of Influence," 127.

for possible publication.[20] Resisting received wisdom about the superstar-status supposedly accorded to Marlowe as marketable commodity, Melnikoff instead attributes the decision to attempt an edition of the play to "these booksellers' prevailing publishing practices and print specialties."[21] Stapleton moves beyond the usual reading of Ovid and Marlowe that focuses on the poetry, to instead argue provocatively that Marlowe's translations of the *Amores* (c. 19 BCE) contain the "beginnings of Marlowe's conception of individual voice and rhetorical habits that his various tragic personae tend to exhibit, among them Barabas," whose character has certain affinities with the lover of the *Elegies* and Edward Alleyn's portrayal of whom is described in explicitly Ovidian terms by the additional prologues/epilogues of the 1633 quarto.[22] Furthermore, Marlowe's intimate acquaintance with Ovid's work can be seen to account in no small part for the perceived inconsistencies and instability of *The Jew of Malta*'s dramatic structure, which Stapleton notes is influenced by the "savagery and humour in the *Metamorphoses*."[23]

Chloe Kathleen Preedy's monograph *Marlowe's Literary Scepticism: Politic Religion and Post-Reformation Polemic* appeared too late in 2012 to be included in last year's survey. It usefully shifts discussion from Marlowe's alleged "atheism" (a word whose current meaning is a poor approximation of the early modern understanding) to "scepticism," a term whose predication on "proof" need not conflict with religious "faith."[24] Whereas plays by Robert Greene, George Peele, and Shakespeare maintain a relatively clear dichotomy between religious frauds and heroes with genuine piety, Marlowe's plays exhibit a "vein of sceptical ambivalence" that sees "the politic appropriation of religion" become a "cross-confessional and indeed almost universal phenomenon" (22–23). Preedy argues that it is his "cross-confessional, universalizing approach to politic religion that sets Marlowe apart from his

20. Kirk Melnikoff, "New Directions: *The Jew of Malta* as Print Commodity in 1594," in *Critical Reader*, 129–48.

21. Melnikoff, "*The Jew of Malta* as Print Commodity," 131–32.

22. M. L. Stapleton, "New Directions: The Nose Plays: Ovid in *The Jew of Malta*," in *Critical Reader*, 149–68, 150–51, see also 160.

23. Stapleton, "The Nose Plays," 153.

24. Chloe Kathleen Preedy, *Marlowe's Literary Scepticism: Politic Religion and Post-Reformation Polemic*, The Arden Shakespeare Library (London: Bloomsbury, 2012.

contemporaries" (27). Importantly, not only does Marlowe's depiction of religious fraud know no denominational boundaries, he "portrays such politic behavior within fictional universes where divine providence is either absent or ineffectual, suggesting that in a secular world only the fraudulent appropriation of religion can offer any hope of success or safety" (27). A great strength of the book is the author's habit of blending historical analysis with references to recent theatrical productions, which exemplify the religious paradigms under discussion.

Chapter 1 refines this interest in false religious rhetoric by focusing on the Catholic practices of linguistic deceit and dissimulation. Here Preedy pays particular attention to the seductive argumentation in *Doctor Faustus* and *Hero and Leander*, Barabas's use of "mental reservation" (49) in *The Jew of Malta* (an intriguing explanation for his conspicuous use of asides, seen here as a way of offering partial replies to interlocutors but reserving full answers for God), and the prevalence of equivocation in *Edward II*. An early example of this inherent complexity is the observation that although Mephistopheles appears in the guise of a Catholic friar, the plain speaking mistruths he pronounces have more in common with the Protestant style of rhetoric than with the equivocation of Jesuits. Preedy uses "early modern debates about eloquence, seduction and religious belief" to link *Faustus* to Marlowe's nondramatic work, especially his *Hero and Leander*, which she reads as predicated on a tension between "religious duty and . . . worldly desires" (45). In chapter 2, analysis turns from religious martyrs to the less frequently acknowledged masses whose religious convictions were less steadfast, and for whom the English reformations were experienced as a series of changes. Outward conformity becomes the central motif of this portion of Preedy's study, which examines *The Jew of Malta* in terms of the English sixteenth-century context (rather than the usual medieval-expulsion-of-the-Jews framework) wherein enforced church attendance became a matter of political significance and religious difference was taxed with fines for recusancy. Feigned conversion and "confessional adaptability" (78) is at the forefront here, and again a virtue of Preedy's approach is to see beyond the narrow confines of a single religious identity (Barabas as Jew) to instead consider how Marlowe's work encapsulates a diversity of religious dissidents' views, framing Barabas as "an unfixed and shifting denominational

identity that allows his own sufferings to reflect those of religious non-conformists in general" (70).

The third chapter explores the Elizabethan anxiety over oaths of allegiance to the state, which implicitly entailed a rejection of Catholicism and thus carried religious as well as political connotations: it explores "how Marlovian protagonists from Aeneas to Ferneze call on their gods to vindicate acts of oath-breaking and perjury, while Marlowe simultaneously reveals their underlying financial and political motives" (96). This interest in religious motivation for the breaking of contracts is expanded in chapter 4 where consideration is given to religious resistance (exploited) as justification for political rebellion. For example, the post-Armada fears of English Catholics' potential rebellion against Elizabeth are thus read against Tamburlaine's rebellions against eastern monarchs, or against rebellious Caesar and his invocation of Roman gods in *Lucan's First Book*. Religious rhetoric plays a significant role in civil war preparations throughout Marlowe's work, but also throughout the later Elizabethan period in which those works were initially received. Most importantly, such rhetoric culminates in "tracts by Protestant and Catholic writers that actively advocated the killing of heretical rulers" (149) and in the depiction of regicide in *Edward II*.

The final chapter returns to *Faustus* and follows the appropriation of religious rhetoric for political, personal gain as it manifests in what is (for Marlowe) a uniquely "supernatural Christian universe" (161). Here the earlier topical concern with oath-breaking as an act of political disloyalty manifests itself in the curious dilemma faced by a man whose dual allegiance to God and to Lucifer, to religion and to the legality of his contract, sees him doomed to become a traitor no matter what course of action he pursues. A brief coda gestures toward the legacy of Marlowe's religious skepticism and rhetoric of deceit in the work of his literary inheritors, including Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, John Webster, and later seventeenth-century writers such as John Milton and Christopher Blount.

In his contribution to the Bartels and Smith collection, Martin Wiggins draws on a spectrum of approaches (ranging from analysis of chronological evidence to subjective conjecture about how a text's dating "feels") to offer a current survey of the order of Marlowe's works, which he suggests should be: *1 & 2 Tamburlaine* (1587); *Dido* and *Faustus* (both in collaboration, 1588); *Jew of Malta* (1589);

Edward II (1592); and *Massacre at Paris* and probably *Hero and Leander* (1593).[25] He notes the conspicuous lacunae in creative output between 1589 and 1593, suggesting that the gap might be filled by nondramatic poetry (for example, the Lucan translation), extant plays not currently ascribed to Marlowe, or (on the basis of comments by Thomas Kyd) lost plays from the repertory of Lord Strange's Men, which are also not currently ascribed to Marlowe. Although he tantalizingly notes the appeal of associating titles like "Pope Joan" or "Machiavel" with Marlowe, Wiggins is as restrained here as he is in his *British Drama 1533–1642: A Catalogue* (2012–), wryly admitting that such ascriptions are "probably a hypothesis too far."[26]

Two critics refined our knowledge of the early texts of *Edward II*. Until recently, it had been thought that only one copy of the 1594 first printing of the play had survived (the large-paper quarto held by Zürich's Zentralbibliothek and digitized in EEBO [Early English Books Online]). A second known copy, once held by the Landesbibliothek of Kassel, Germany, perished during World War Two (though W. W. Greg had managed to collate it before it was destroyed). In the course of preparing his forthcoming critical edition of the play for Arden, however, Jeffrey Masten announced that he had located a previously unknown copy.[27] Still in seventeenth-century binding, it is held by the Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg, Germany (where it has been since 1809, when its previous holder, the University of Altdorf, closed). Incredibly, Masten's discovery was not the product of extensive archival work, but was instead produced by a simple search of WorldCat, the largest online network of library catalogues. This "Erlangen copy" contains multiple variants not found in the Kassel or Zürich copies. Mathew R. Martin has further complicated that play's textual history by arguing that Roger Barnes's 1612 "reprinting" actually contains important repunctuation, and therefore has some kind of independent authority: the kind associated with "a sensitive reader's response to the text" or as a trace of the text's early modern reception.[28] By the time this third quarto was printed, James's royal

25. Martin Wiggins, "Marlowe's Chronology and Canon," in *Marlowe in Context*, 7–14; 10.

26. Wiggins, "Marlowe's Chronology and Canon," 14.

27. Jeffrey Masten, "Bound for Germany: Heresy, Sodomy, and a New Copy of Marlowe's *Edward II*," *TLS: The Times Literary Supplement*, December 21, 2012, 17–19.

28. Mathew R. Martin, "Accidents Happen: Roger Barnes's 1612 Edition of Marlowe's

favoritism was readily apparent and the emendations register an interpretation affected by these conditions: "the punctuation changes suggest a harder, more self-serving Gaveston than emerges from the 1594 and 1598 quartos, thus sharpening the play's tragic lesson about the dangers of royal favourites."[29]

John Blakeley also turns to early printings, asking why the *Tamburlaine* plays were the only ones printed during Marlowe's lifetime.[30] Rather than attributing publication to any impetus provided by stage success, Blakeley finds significance in the fact that the *Tamburlaine* plays frequently allude to Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (1590–96) and were registered for publication at almost exactly the time that Spenser's poem appeared in print. In other words, it is possible that Marlowe's plays were "consciously revised for publication in the light of *The Faerie Queene*'s publication—which, after all, would undoubtedly have been the literary sensation of the year."[31] A further complication is both authors' apparent reliance on Xenophon's pseudohistorical *Cyropaedia* (c. 450 BCE), which Spenser treats as an exemplar text in the manner advocated by Sir Philip Sidney, but which Marlowe interprets subversively like Machiavelli does, to produce an anti-Spenserian "counterfeit Cyrus."[32]

Drawing on speech-act theory's recognition that texts carry something of the performative efficacy of the speech they immortalize, Leah S. Marcus suggests that the printed editions of Marlowe's works modify but retain something of the transgressive power of his plays in performance.[33] She suggests that the printing of Marlowe's plays in octavo rather than quarto form may have been a deliberately transgressive nod to the printing of devotional material, and that the Latin ascription at the end of print editions of *Faustus* (accompanying the printer's device in the 1604 text)—"*Terminat hora diem. Terminat Author opus*"—reinforces the perception of the performative function of the printed book and

Edward II," Early Theatre 16.1 (2013): 97–117, 98.

29. Martin, "Accidents Happen," 101.

30. John Blakeley, "Marlowe's Counterfeit Cyrus," *Marlowe Studies: An Annual* 3 (2013): 23–48.

31. Blakeley, "Marlowe's Counterfeit Cyrus," 27.

32. Blakeley, "Marlowe's Counterfeit Cyrus," 48.

33. Leah S. Marcus, "Marlowe's Magic Books: The Material Text," in *Marlowe in Context*, 15–26.

functions (in the edition of 1611 and subsequently) as "the author's final send-off to the reading public."[34] Elizabeth Spiller considers the related topic of early modern reading practices and what "reading" might mean for Marlowe and for Faustus, observing that Faustus's refusal or inability to draw the correct lessons from the texts he selects from his library places him in direct contrast to the model of reader imagined by Renaissance humanism.[35]

Sarah Dewar-Watson surveys classical and early modern definitions of genres (tragedy and comedy) and considers Marlowe's relationship to the theory and practice of dramatic form, with special attention to the prologue/chorus roles.[36] Genre theory (in particular John Frow's advocacy of genre as productive rather than restrictive)[37] has not received adequate attention from early modernists; Dewar-Watson's chapter begins to move away from older beliefs about the conservatism of adhering to recognizable generic forms, to instead acknowledge the versatility associated with experimenting within prescribed boundaries (as Marlowe clearly does with his tragedies). Danielle Clark's complementary essay on "Marlowe's Poetic Form" notes a similar generic playfulness (this time in the realm of poetry) and a willful subversiveness when it comes to Marlowe's treatment and hybridization of forms less frequently utilized by his contemporaries (the epyllion and the Ovidian elegy, for example).[38] The manipulation of prosody in *Hero and Leander* receives the most attention here on account of that poem's influence and its ostensible open-endedness, but Clark concludes that the originality of Marlowe's method has been somewhat overstated; that Marlowe's reliance on familiar tropes is noteworthy in its own right. Rebecca Yearling also resists the more radical aspects of Marlowe's work, referring in passing to *Hero and Leander* in the context of Renaissance lyrics and the "homoerotic themes and ideas" that Marlowe never allows "to come to any real fruition."[39] Her topic has some analogy with Sarah E. Wall-Randell's

34. Marcus, "Marlowe's Magic Books," 23, 24.

35. Elizabeth Spiller, "Marlowe's Libraries: A History of Reading," in *Marlowe in Context*, 101–9.

36. Sarah Dewar-Watson, "Marlowe's Dramatic Form," in *Marlowe in Context*, 49–56.

37. See John Frow, *Genre* (London: Routledge, 2006).

38. Danielle Clarke, "Marlowe's Poetic Form," in *Marlowe in Context*, 57–67.

39. Rebecca Yearling, "Homoerotic Desire and Renaissance Lyric Verse," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 53.1 (2013): 53–71, 63.

interest in Marlowe's "bookish" model for Leander-as-lover.[40] Wall-Randell proceeds from Marlowe's description of Leander's "look" as an "index" of his mind, to discuss the evolution of indexes in English books and to read Leander's facial expression (like early modern indexes) as "less straightforwardly accountable" for the content it supposedly represents, and offers instead a "bookish model of extrabodily thought and agency."[41] Like Dewar-Watson and Clarke, Chris Chism sees Marlowe innovating within tradition, but Chism locates Marlovian drama in the spectrum identified by David Bevington as being from "*Mankind* to Marlowe."[42] Chism extends Bevington's early work to limn Marlowe as a Janus-faced playwright at the intersection of medieval traditions and Renaissance originality, with a particular emphasis on exploring the intersections of the human and divine, which Marlowe inherits from the late medieval cycle plays and twists to his own ends; and on the uses of temporal continuity/discontinuity between the diegetic world of the play and the world of the playgoing public, which Marlowe varies from his medieval dramatic precursors to produce new effects.

Marlowe's use of race, place, and space continued to interest scholars. In his chapter on "Geography and Marlowe" in the Bartels and Smith collection, Jacques Lezra surveys the competing influence of older mythopoetic models of geography and newer empirical models, which coexist in Marlowe's plays in incommensurable ways.[43] Noting the special place of the Other in Marlowe's work, Emily C. Bartels argues that a dramatic world filled so prolifically with sexual, social, and political difference is a promising site to examine "how complicated, tentative, and undifferentiated early modern terms of racial identity are."[44] Emma Katherine Atwood notes the critical tendency to omit Matrevis's reference to Edward II's mind in quotations used selectively in queer readings of the denouement of Marlowe's play, and explores the

40. Sarah E. Wall-Randell, "Leander's Index: Reading Desire in Marlowe's Hero and Leander," *Marlowe Studies: An Annual* 3 (2013): 3–21, 4.

41. Wall-Randell, "Leander's Index," 10, 15.

42. Chris Chism, "Marlowe's Medievalism," in *Marlowe in Context*, 90–100. See also David Bevington, *From "Mankind" to Marlowe: Growth of Structure in the Popular Drama of Tudor England* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1962).

43. Jacques Lezra, "Geography and Marlowe," in *Marlowe in Context*, 125–37.

44. Emily C. Bartels, "Race, Nation, and Marlowe," in *Marlowe in Context*, 212–21, 212.

implications of treating the mind rather than the body as the "ultimate source of conflict and anguish."[45] Accordingly, Atwood advances a reading of "imaginative space" in the play (as informed by the work of Henri Lefebvre): "If drama is performative, imaginative space is the interpolative effect of its speech-act . . . a sort of subjunctive hypothetical experiment."[46] In this account, audience participation is crucial to the construction of imaginative space, which is experienced differently by each playgoer, and whose limits Marlowe is at pains to challenge by undermining collective/homogenous experience of the drama. One example is the notion of the court, and whether it is a fixed physical space or a relative one, associated with the movements of Edward or of Mortimer. David McInnis is also interested in space and the imagination of playgoers and playwrights, devoting a chapter of his monograph to "Marlovian Models of Voyage Drama."[47] Whereas scholars have typically looked to the *Tamburlaine* plays for evidence of Marlowe's interest in travel, and consequently produced accounts of Marlovian voyaging predicated on conquest and the East, McInnis considers the "will to travel"[48] exhibited by Faustus, as a complement to the Tamburlainean model of voyaging. Whilst the spate of Tamburlaine influenced plays peaked in the 1590s, Marlowe's own wanderlust—indulged vicariously through the extraordinary voyages of Faustus—can be seen to have the greater influence on subsequent dramatists, their plays, and their audiences.

Faustus's journey to Rome and interest in "urbanism" provides the premise for Roy Eriksen's study of Marlowe's depiction of that city as "Hell on earth" in terms of the anti-Catholic sentiment found elsewhere in *Jew of Malta* and *Massacre at Paris*, and a more abstract meditation on sovereignty (and the relation between church and state).[49] Rowley's part in the scene is actively downplayed, and Dante's critique of papacy is entertained as a possible

45. Emma Katherine Atwood, "'All Places Are Alike': Marlowe's Edward II and English Spatial Imagination," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 43.1 (2013): 49–70, 50.

46. Atwood, "'All Places are Alike,'" 51, 52.

47. David McInnis, "Marlovian Models of Voyage Drama," in *Mind-Travelling and Voyage Drama in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 51–82.

48. McInnis, "Marlovian Models," 52.

49. Roy Eriksen, "Marlowe's Tour of Rome: Policy, Popery, and Urban Planning," in *Urban Encounters: Experience and Representation in the Early Modern City*, ed. Per Sivefors (Pisa: F. Serra, 2013), 71–91, 91.

source; Marlowe's dragon has less in common with the flying horse of the *English Faust Book* (c. 1592) than with Dante's Geryon (which descended into Malebolge (the eighth circle of hell). The specificity of Rome's urban topography, Eriksen further suggests, may be the result of familiarity with a print of Rome such as Ugo Pinard's engraving in Antoine Lafréry's *Speculum Romanae magnificentiae* (1555). Like Eriksen, Andrew Hadfield reads anti-Catholic sentiment into Marlowe's work, focusing on the breaking of promises or oaths by Sigismund of Hungary's Christians in the *Tamburlaine* plays.[50] The overt meditations on Christian deceit lead Hadfield to recognize that the plays were "designed to be read as a critique of bad faith, of self-interest disguised as a holy principle that needs to be exposed and ridiculed."[51] John Parker suggests that *Faustus* registers a nostalgia for the Catholic practice of confession, which for Calvin entails "the thrill of mimesis" as crimes and sins are vicariously reanimated: "Calvin's confessional is Marlowe's theater."[52] Parker revisits Faustus's ostensible misreading of scripture in the opening scene of that play, suggesting that "the reward of sin is death" may have Augustinian origins rather than incorrect biblical origins, and probably circulated as an independent warning (32). Moreover, although the play's editors typically suggest that an injunction to "confess" our sins ought to follow in the text Faustus neglects to read, Parker points out that none of the English Protestant bibles available to Marlowe's audience printed the Catholic term "confess" or "confession." The potential for dissimulation, for insincere contrition enacted publicly meant that "confession had always threatened to transform the faithful into a troupe of actors" (41), and its demise left something of a vacuum: "Marlowe and his colleagues strove to restore every inch of fetishistic hedonism that Protestants imagined, somewhat wishfully, the Catholic Church had once pursued—worship of money, sensuous stimulation from images, the magical transport beyond moral limitation" (42).

Gillian Woods notes the "relativity" of early modern religious difference (Protestant England might align itself with Islamic

50. Andrew Hadfield, "Literature and the Culture of Lying before the Enlightenment," *Studia Neophilologica* 85.2 (2013): 133–47.

51. Hadfield, "Literature and the Culture of Lying," 138.

52. John Parker, "Faustus, Confession, and the Sins of Omission," *ELH* 80.1 (2013): 29–59, 31.

opposition to Catholicism), especially as manifest in *Tamburlaine*, *Faustus*, *Massacre at Paris*, and *Jew of Malta*, and considers how this forces the audience to question the uses and depiction of providential logic in the world of Marlowe's plays.[53] Eva Johanna Holmberg offers a counterpoint to readings of Jewishness that are too indebted to Marlowe and Shakespeare's depictions of usury, using accounts from English travelers to examine the variety of trades and professions (beyond the stereotypical) associated with Jews during the early modern period.[54] Noam Reisner shies away from new historicist analysis of religious difference but finds Marlowe's alleged views on the construction of religion through reading and writing (as formulated in the Baines note, for example) important for understanding how Marlowe's poetic style is implicated in cultural moment and the stage on which it is spoken "emerges as the secular spatial alternative to the churches and courts of Europe where absolute metaphysical or temporal power corrupts absolutely."[55]

A number of publications made incidental use of Marlowe's biography. In a contribution to the *Cambridge Companion to Theatre History*, Thomas Postlewait uses Marlowe's death as a case study for a broader introduction to interpretive methods and working with historical evidence.[56] Elizabeth Hanson considers Marlowe's early life and the impact on his life and works (especially *Faustus*) of the grammar school system (where places were not limited to the well-born) and of university education (where a change in demographics ensued from the access offered by grammar schools to impoverished students of merit).[57] In her *A Short History of English Renaissance Drama* Helen Hackett devotes a chapter to covering Marlowe's biography and influence, including his treatment of

53. Gillian Woods, "Marlowe and Religion," in *Marlowe in Context*, 222–31.

54. Eva Johanna Holmberg, "Jews of All Trades: Jews and Their Professions in Early Modern English Travel Writing," *Journeys* 14.2 (2013): 27–49.

55. Noam Reisner, "Framing Religion: Marlovian Policy and the Pluralism of Art," in *Religious Diversity and Early Modern English Texts: Catholic, Judaic, Feminist, and Secular Dimensions*, ed. Arthur F. Marotti and Chanita Goodblatt (Detroit: Wayne State UP, 2013), 311–29, 326.

56. Thomas Postlewait, "The Nature of Historical Evidence: A Case Study," in *The Cambridge Companion to Theatre History*, ed. David Wiles and Christine Dymkowski (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013), 231–45.

57. Elizabeth Hanson, "Education, the University, and Marlowe," in *Marlowe in Context*, 181–91.

religion and sexuality in his work.[58] Thomas Healy provides an overview of the four major sources of information about Marlowe's life—official records, contemporary comments made by those with a grudge against Marlowe, Marlowe's own writings, and modern scholarship—and urges critics to reassess the available information to arrive at a view of Marlowe as an altogether more "ordinary figure" than conventional biographies would have him appear.[59] Roy Eriksen suggests that Richard Barnfield was a common link between such leading dramatists as Shakespeare, Marlowe, and Greene; he discerns a reference to Marlowe in the line "old *Maltaes* Poet" in Barnfield's *Greene's Funeralls* (1594), as well as other Marlovian echoes, which he offers as evidence that the B-text of *Faustus* was available to Barnes as early as January 1594.[60] Charles Nicholl examines "The Case for Marlowe" as author of Shakespeare's work, noting that after Francis Bacon, Marlowe was the earliest candidate proposed by anti-Stratfordians, and proceeding to give a general overview of the various claims for Marlowe as prime candidate (disingenuous conspiracy theories, stylometric analyses), noting biographical errors along the way.[61] Finally, Robert Sawyer revisits the dynamics of the Shakespeare-Marlowe relationship as imagined by biographers in the wake of the September 11th terrorist attacks in the United States, exploring how these historical events affected accounts of the two playwrights' "so-called rivalry."[62] Focusing on biographies in the wake of Katherine Duncan-Jones's life of Shakespeare, he divides his survey between four types of response to the attacks ("crisis, credibility, conjecture, and conspiracy," 23) and biographical readings that largely conform to these positions. For example, Constance Kuriyama's Marlowe biography, which notably exercises restraint and caution in the interpretation of biographical evidence, is raised in the context of investigations into the terrorist attacks,

58. Helen Hackett, "Marlowe," in *A Short History of English Renaissance Drama* (London: Tauris, 2013), 73–92.

59. Thomas Healy, "Marlowe's Biography," in *Marlowe in Context*, 334–45, 337.

60. Roy Eriksen, "Marlowe and Company in Barnfield's Greene's Funeralls (1594)," *Nordic Journal of English Studies* 12.2 (2013): 71–80.

61. Charles Nicholl, "The Case for Marlowe," in *Shakespeare Beyond Doubt: Evidence, Argument, Controversy*, ed. Paul Edmondson and Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013), 29–38.

62. Robert Sawyer, "Biographical Aftershocks: Shakespeare and Marlowe in the Wake of 9/11," *Critical Survey* 25.1 (2013): 19–32, 29.

whilst Lois Potter's response to Stephen Greenblatt's imaginative liberties in *Will in the World: How Shakespeare Became Shakespeare* (2004) is discussed in relation to the various incorrect conjectures that followed the attacks.

Lars Engle examines Marlowe's work in the context of critical claims about the emergence of modern selfhood or subjectivity in early modern culture.[63] Engle sees Marlowe's proto-Nietzschean quest for selfhood as integral to the Renaissance anticipation of modern self and "a modern secular goal of emancipatory self-recreation" in particular, despite the ostensible challenge that *Doctor Faustus* poses to such recognition.[64] In "Marlowe and Social Distinction," James R. Siemon uses Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* as he examines early modern understandings of social strata, claiming that "Marlovian notions of distinction depend on more than desire to rise over others; it is crucial how one deports oneself to achieve and display superiority."[65] The topic of queer identity, once so popular in studies of *Edward II* but less common in recent years, is revisited by David Clark who suggests that "if Marlowe had anything to say to queer theorists today, perhaps it would be a reminder to balance the pleasures of discourse and performativity with the need to critique a world in which people are murdered for failing to conform to a perceived norm."[66] Timothy Francisco also offers a fresh perspective on masculine, queer identity in Marlowe, noting that in the *Tamburlaine* plays, the scenes of violence consistently "deploy animal tropes in processes of masculine subject formulation based on abjection and animalization of the Other" (the pampered jades is only the most celebrated example) such that typical "associations of normative masculinity with controlled subjectivity" are unsettled or queered.[67]

Lisa Hopkins investigates the role of doubles or doubling in *Edward II*: of characters' names or roles, of kings, of classical

63. Lars Engle, "Marlowe and the Self," in *Marlowe in Context*, 202–11.

64. Engle, "Marlowe and the Selfe," 203.

65. James R. Siemon, "Marlowe and Social Distinction," in *Marlowe in Context*, 155–68, 160.

66. David Clark, "Marlowe and Queer Theory," in *Marlowe in Context*, 232–41, 240.

67. Timothy Francisco, "Marlowe's War Horses: Cyborgs, Soldiers, and Queer Companions," in *Violent Masculinities: Male Aggression in Early Modern Texts and Culture*, ed. Jennifer Feather and Catherine E. Thomas (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 47–66, 47, 48.

analogues, and of extradiegetic historical moments, but perhaps most importantly, Marlowe's "inherently dual and fissured" response to Sidney's work.[68] Whilst Marlowe would have agreed with Sidney's defense of poetry he would have greeted with less enthusiasm Sidney's proposed ends for poetry and his suggested subjects,[69] and the mode of poetic history writing embodied in *Edward II* is indicative of this, eschewing providentialism in favour of realism and the ultimate problem of "the clashing of two rights."[70] Syrithe Pugh also sees Marlowe in dialogue with literary tradition, suggesting that in Jonson's *Poetaster* (1601), the figure of Ovid might represent Marlowe and arguing that "Jonson identifies a strain of counter-classical irreverence expressed in Marlowe's Ovidian poems . . . [and] in his Lucan translation and adaption of Virgil."[71] Pugh examines Marlowe's alterations of Ovid's *Amores* and the counter-Virgilian tendencies in Marlowe's *Dido* and *Lucan's First Book*. Jenny C. Mann also looks at Marlowe's translations, insisting that Marlowe's retention of the sexual connotations of Ovid's *Amores* is essential for comprehending the relationship between vernacular and classical poetry, since Ovid's sexualization of verbal skill means that an inability to render the classical verse into an adequate vernacular translation amounts to a shortcoming in the English poet's virility.[72] Mann thus focuses on the "troubling association of classical elegy with inactivity and effeminacy"[73] as she reassesses the *Elegies*. In a chapter for *Staging the Blazon in the Early Modern English Theater*, Patricia Marchesi sees Marlowe's relationship to poetic tradition somewhat differently, reading the dismemberment of Faustus (by the Horse-courser, Benvolio, and the devils) in the B-Text as a form of dramatized, magical blazon.[74] Just as the Petrarchan sonneteer's itemization of his lover's constituent parts

68. Lisa Hopkins, "'Truest of the Twain': History and Poetry in Edward II," Marlowe Studies: An Annual 3 (2013): 111–27, 113.

69. Hopkins, "History and Poetry in Edward II," 115.

70. Hopkins, "History and Poetry in Edward II," 117.

71. Syrithe Pugh, "Marlowe and Classical Literature," in *Marlowe in Context*, 80–89, 81.

72. Jenny C. Mann, "Marlowe's Translations," in *Marlowe in Context*, 110–21, 110.

73. Mann, "Marlowe's Translations," 111.

74. Patricia Marchesi, "'Limbs Mangled and Torn Asunder': Dismemberment, Theatricality, and the Blazon in Christopher Marlowe's *Dr Faustus*," in *Staging the Blazon in Early Modern English Theater*, ed. Deborah Uman and Sara Morrison (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), 85–95.

affords the speaker control over representational apparatus, so too does the use of dramatic dismemberment (with its "ultimate reduction to props"[75]) point to a greater truth about the power of representation and the power of the theatre.

Claire Hansen examines patterns of learning by the female characters Zenocrate, Abigail, and Isabella in Marlowe's plays, using double-loop learning theory and organizational management theory to better understand the agency of these women within the patriarchal societies of their respective plays.[76] These women are shown to not merely adapt their own behaviors as a coping strategy, but to adopt alternative behaviors that effect a change in the system: "Tamburlaine's attempts to placate Zenocrate demonstrate the effectiveness of her double-loop learning: she has learnt that Tamburlaine is susceptible to her sadness ('why art thou so sad?' 4.4.66) and thus correctly assumes that the demonstration of her unhappiness through her silence may effect further change in Tamburlaine."[77] Alison Findlay also considers the roles available to women in Marlowe's plays, but in terms of the homosocial hegemony at large in the diegetic world of the drama and in terms of the pragmatics of staging female parts in a transvestite theater.[78] The differences between the roles of Dido (played by a boy actor alongside a cast of fellow boy actors) and Zenocrate (probably portrayed by Edward Alleyn's apprentice John Pig for the Admiral's) is offered as an instructive case study of this latter dimension. Jennifer L. Sheckter restricts her focus to the performance of self by Isabella, attempting to reverse critical prejudice against her character and suggest that she is even heroic in her own right.[79] Isabella's various responsive self-presentations are seen to align her with "Marlowe's famous machiavels in their shared dedication to the pursuit of power."[80]

75. Marchesi, "'Limbs Mangled and Torn Asunder,'" 89.

76. Claire Hansen, "'Who Taught Thee This?' Female Agency and Experiential Learning in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, *The Jew of Malta*, and *Edward the Second*," *Journal of Language, Literature and Culture* 60.3 (2013): 157–77.

77. Hansen, "'Who Taught Thee This?,'" 163.

78. Alison Findlay, "Marlowe and Women," in *Marlowe in Context*, 242–51.

79. Jennifer L. Sheckter, "Perform to Power: Isabella's Performative Self-Creation in Edward II," *Marlowe Studies: An Annual* 3 (2013): 129–49.

80. Sheckter, "Perform to Power," 131.

Enrico Stanic returns to the issue of Machiavellianism in *The Jew of Malta*, reading deceitfulness, political pragmatism, and the reference to the Papal "climbing followers" in Marlowe's prologue as evidence of a "sarcastic parody" of and sophisticated engagement with *The Prince* (1532).[81] He focuses his discussion on the Machiavellianism of the Christian governor Ferneze, rather than that of Barabas. In his analysis of the latent tension between unity and individualism in the term "multitude" as used in *The Jew of Malta*, Andrew Duxfield attempts to show that the play's "Machiavellianism is symptomatic of a broader interest in the notion of the multitude as a unified collective," a concept that receives attention in *The Prince* and *The Discourses*.[82] It is relevant to a late 1580s/early 1590s play on account of Elizabeth's attempts to unite what was still a discordant society rather than a unified populace, inasmuch as it explores "the place of the individual within a larger collective body" and identifies the idea of unity as "an expedient fiction."[83]

The interest in the material conditions of the playing was taken up by a number of other scholars in 2013, including Tom Rutter, whose chapter on "The Professional Theatre and Marlowe" considers the implications of Marlowe (unlike Shakespeare) being neither fully professional nor amateur, being associated with multiple companies rather than having an enduring relationship with one, being relatively less productive than his playwright peers, yet also being a collaborative writer who was thoroughly aware of the pragmatics of professional staging.[84] Brian Walsh broaches the topic of audience study and our limited knowledge about early modern playgoers, privileging the "imaginative" mode of audience analysis over the historical—that is, Walsh asks what Marlowe imagined his audiences would want from or respond to in his plays.[85] It was an audience, Walsh asserts, that wanted to be confronted with uncomfortable situations. He considers the effect

81. Enrico Stanic, "Machiavellianism in Christopher Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*," in *Machiavellian Encounters in Tudor and Stuart England: Literary and Political Influences from the Reformation to the Restoration*, ed. Alessandro Arienzo and Allesandra Petrina (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 75–88, 79.

82. Andrew Duxfield, "The Uses of Unity: Individual and Multitude in *The Jew of Malta*," *Marlowe Studies: An Annual* 3 (2013): 63–81, 65.

83. Duxfield, "The Uses of Unity," 69, 79.

84. Tom Rutter, "The Professional Theatre and Marlowe," in *Marlowe in Context*, 262–72.

85. Brian Walsh, "Marlowe and the Elizabethan Theatre Audience," in *Marlowe in Context*, 68–79, 70.

of: characters/scenarios (especially in *The Jew of Malta*) that are likely to lead to a variety of responses, situations that draw attention to the audience as a group (scenes from *The Massacre at Paris*), and affective sound effects (bells, fireworks, clocks—especially in *Faustus*) that unify playgoers.

The aptness of Marlowe's plays for success on the professional stage and enduring fame in literary circles is addressed by Holger Schott Syme, who continues his plea for rational, disinterested assessment of the evidence (first advanced in his article for *Shakespeare Quarterly*) of Marlowe's success and legacy, this time noting in particular the conspicuous absence of Marlovian influence on the repertory of the Lord Strange's Men.[86] Tom Rutter, Lucy Munro, and Lisa Hopkins are also interested in traces of Marlowe's ongoing influence. Rutter explicitly engages with Syme's general downplaying of the significance of Marlowe to the Admiral's Men, agreeing with Syme's conclusion about the limited financial incentive to stage Marlowe, but (building on Paul Menzer's revaluation of nostalgia in the Admiral's turn-of-the-century repertory) arguing nevertheless for the enduring influence of Marlowe in that company's offerings.[87] Steering discussion of Henry Chettle's *The Tragedy of Hoffman* (1603) away from the usual comparisons with *Hamlet* to instead consider its echoes of *The Jew of Malta* and *The Massacre at Paris*, Rutter points out that the Admiral's "canonization" of their writers' work,[88] observed by Menzer in the context of revivals, is demonstrable in the company's new offerings. Munro examines Marlowe's Caroline afterlife in print and on stage, drawing attention to the importance of his nondramatic work in this period and discussing what can be learned about Marlowe from the references to his work that frame him in terms of populist, nonliterary qualities, in terms of performance, and in terms of transgressive desire.[89] Hopkins divides Marlowe's literary influence into responses to style and responses to content.[90] She notes the

86. Holger Schott Syme, "Marlowe in His Moment," in *Marlowe in Context*, 275–84. See also Syme, "The Meaning of Success: Stories of 1594 and Its Aftermath," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 61.4 (2010): 490–525.

87. Tom Rutter, "Marlowe, Hoffman, and the Admiral's Men," *Marlowe Studies: An Annual* 3 (2013): 49–62. See also Paul Menzer, "Shades of Marlowe," *Marlowe Studies: An Annual* 1 (2011): 181–92.

88. Menzer, "Shades of Marlowe," 187.

89. Lucy Munro, "Marlowe in Caroline Theatre," in *Marlowe in Context*, 296–305.

90. Lisa Hopkins, "Marlowe's Literary Influence," in *Marlowe in Context*, 306–15.

relatively short-lived vogue for imitating Tamburlainean lines, especially as evidenced in other dramatic offerings of the 1590s and early 1600s, and the more enduring legacy of Marlowe's subversive ideas (for example, the challenge to authority cherished by Romantic poets and embodied in Faustus). Within the context of establishing the final speech of Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667) as an example of the "invitation poem" mode within European poetry, Erik Gray cites "The Passionate Shepherd to His Love" as an important precedent to Milton: "The achievement of Marlowe's poem is to combine the pastoral tradition of the gift-giving shepherd with the sublimated eroticism of the Song [of Songs]," but the "dangerous seductiveness" and "deviousness rather than delicacy" of the poem proved useful to Milton.[91]

Focusing on the uses of meteorology and astronomy in *Tamburlaine* and in fifteenth-century historical documents, Mary Thomas Crane examines Marlowe's engagement with the new science, tracing Copernican as well as Ptolemaic thought in his work.[92] Human ambition and ability is frequently broached via meteorological metaphors, and Crane explains that violently destructive celestial imagery of *Part 2*, which (informed by new science's capacity to see beyond the lunar limit) exceeds the terrestrial boasts of *Part 1* in every measure, signals the excesses of Tamburlaine's aspirations perhaps even beyond the notorious example of the Koran burning. Rinku Chatterjee is also interested in developments in knowledge, revisiting the idea of Faustus's connection to the Renaissance magus figure but cautions against readings that "oversimplify the characteristics of humanism," which she argues need to be understood in terms of the "constraints of social, intellectual, and religious orthodoxy" as a mode of inquiry that was practical, useful, and hierarchized.[93] Faustus's insatiable desire for knowledge is not, then, in itself transgressive, but his discounting of social responsibility remains troubling, so that "Ficino, Calvin, and Erasmus would have regarded Faustus as a bad humanist . . . socially, spiritually, and politically."[94]

91. Erik Gray, "Come Be My Love: The Song of Songs, *Paradise Lost*, and the Tradition of the Invitation Poem," *PMLA* 128.2 (2013): 370–85, 378, 380.

92. Mary Thomas Crane, "Marlowe and the New Science," in *Marlowe in Context*, 252–61.

93. Rinku Chatterjee, "'I'll Burn My Books': Doctor Faustus as a Renaissance Magus," *Marlowe Studies: An Annual* 3 (2013): 97–110, 98.

94. Chatterjee, "'I'll Burn My Books,'" 107.

The "aspiring souls" of Faustus and Tamburlaine are considered in two chapters by Richard Sugg, where these plays' attitudes to religion are examined on the basis of their "tendency to materialise soul and spirit" as physical rather than metaphysical.[95] Sugg's approach to the *Tamburlaine* plays encompasses early modern medical theories (Claudius Galen and Paracelsus) but also the role of Homeric conceits (including the gradual manner of death as the soul slips out of the body) as they influence the plays' consistently concretized depictions of the soul. Tamburlaine is shown to "deal with what is tangible, immediate or physically manipulable" and to "materialise the more insubstantial earthly phenomena as far as possible" (102). Via excursions into early modern magic and physic, Faustus's soul is similarly shown to have a "sort of materiality or immediacy" that in part explains his protectiveness of his body and fear of Mephistopheles' physical presence rather than substantial concern about "the more abstract and distant authority of God" (106). He suggests that it may be Faustus's physicalized soul, not his blood, which congeals in the infamous contract-signing scene—it is, after all, at the mention of "soul" that the clotting occurs, and the heat of the chafer of coals may cause visible steam to rise from the actor's arm as the spirit/soul ("the hottest part of the blood," 111) escapes the body with Mephistopheles' aid. Hence Faustus "uses his soul to sign away his soul" (112). The exchange of breath that occurs when Faustus kisses the likeness of Helen of Troy would, therefore, be an exchange of souls too (124).

Ruth Stevenson studies the proliferation of "allegorical dream symbolism" in the comic scenes of the texts of *Faustus*, using Kristeva's work on semiotics and the symbolic to theorize how language formation and "linguistic antics" intrude into the tragic plot via the characters of the Knight, Horse-courser, Carter, and Benvolio.[96] Catherine Nicholson revisits Marlowe's "high astounding terms" (*1Tam*, prologue.1.5) to suggest that Marlowe perceived the limitations of rhetoric's utility to a greater extent than critics have generally inferred from his verbose style.[97] Focusing primarily on

95. Richard Sugg, *The Smoke of the Soul: Medicine, Physiology and Religion* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), especially 81–132, 82.

96. Ruth Stevenson, "The Comic Core of Both A- and B-Editions of *Doctor Faustus*," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 53.2 (2013): 401–19, 405, 407.

97. Catherine Nicholson, "Marlowe and the Limits of Rhetoric," in *Marlowe in Context*, 27–38.

Hero and Leander, Nicholson attends to the ambiguity of Marlowe's response to the uses of rhetoric espoused by Erasmus and others. She argues that the poem is "paradoxically invested in linguistic commodities that it simultaneously and systematically devalues."[98] A comparable case of Marlovian skepticism is examined by Laurie Maguire and Aleksandra Thostrup, who posit that exemplary characters (like the Vice figure) are not deployed emblematically and uncritically by Marlowe, but are deliberately renegotiated by the playwright so that immutability gives way to fluidity and a more complex subject emerges.[99] The liminal figure of Barabas, who locates himself "in the space between caricature and aside"[100] is typical of Marlovian characterization in this regard, but so too (for example) is Faustus, who comes to embody the roles that should be played by the devils that surround him on stage. Maguire and Thostrup argue that language and myth are imperfect indices of interpretation, exposing the limitations of comprehension through analogue rather than offering assistance.

The 2009 DVD release of Toby Robertson's production of *Edward II* (filmed and first screened by the BBC in 1970) prompts Pascale Aebischer to advocate what she calls an "anachronic" approach to viewing this production and Derek Jarman's film of the same play (1991).[101] Aebischer argues that treating the films synchronically (each in its own context) or diachronically (treating the Robertson *Edward II* as both a live event in 1970 and discretely as a film in 2009) is ultimately less useful than a fuzzier intertextual understanding of the mutual influences and the way knowledge of one version affects knowledge of the other. Aebischer elsewhere argues that Derek Jarman's increasing radicalism, inspired by Tilda Swinton's feminism and most fully realized when the director turned from Shakespeare to Marlowe for a counter-cultural voice, led to his *Edward II* marking "a turning-point in the history of early modern drama on screen in the twentieth century."[102] Also dealing

98. Nicholson, "Marlowe and the Limits of Rhetoric," 31.

99. Laurie Maguire and Aleksandra Thostrup, "Marlowe and Character," in *Marlowe in Context*, 39–48.

100. Maguire and Thostrup, "Marlowe and Character," 42.

101. Pascale Aebischer, "Marlowe in the Movies," in *Marlowe in Context*, 316–24.

102. Pascale Aebischer, *Screening Early Modern Drama: Beyond Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013), 2; see especially, "Derek Jarman's Queer Contemporary Jacobean Aesthetic: Caravaggio and *Edward II*," 20–65.

with film, albeit a much older release, Jennifer A. Yirinec bases her discussion of *Faustus* on the premise that whereas Marlowe appears to have "pride" in mind as the protagonist's cardinal sin, Richard Burton and Nevill Coghill's 1967 cinematic adaptation prioritized "lechery" (drawing on the seminal work of W. W. Greg in this interpretation).[103] Accordingly, they furnished their narrative with appropriate alterations to emphasize sexual temptation, even altering the pageant of the Seven Deadly Sins so that Lechery becomes Faustus' guide.

The most recent film version of Marlowe, Douglas Morse's *Jew of Malta* (2013), is the subject of Ann McCauley Basso's article, which draws on an interview she conducted with the director ahead of the film's release.[104] Basso situates Morse's film alongside a host of stage performances ranging from Edmund Kean's 1818 Drury Lane production to several twentieth-century pairings of *The Jew of Malta* and *The Merchant of Venice* in repertory (Royal Shakespeare Company 1965, 1987; Theatre for a New Audience, 2007), but also attends to the unique challenges facing a cinematic adaptation. The insights provided by the director and actors about alternative takes that were ultimately rejected in the final cut and the information about the use of direct address to the camera will be useful for anyone teaching the film. For example, the fact that Ferneze (unlike Barabas and Ithamore) never speaks to camera means "we see him objectively as a viewer and not as an entertaining conspirator . . . and this distancing helps to dispel charges of anti-Semitism."[105] Katherine Allocco also uses a directorial interview to think about recent performance, singling out Rebecca Patterson's production of *Edward II* (The Queen's Company, New York, 2004) for particular attention on the grounds of its interest in gender and its use of costumes.[106] An all-female cast, utilizing samurai costume and aesthetic (an "outdated tradition" of "social rigidity"[107]), this production encouraged viewers to "question the supposed masculinity

103. Jennifer A. Yirinec, "Re-Envisioning the Faust Legend: Christopher Marlowe's *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus* and Richard Burton and Nevill Coghill's *Doctor Faustus*," *Literature/Film Quarterly* 41.1 (2013): 67–76, 67.

104. Ann McCauley Basso, "'And Yet It Might Be Done That Way': *The Jew of Malta* on Film," *Marlowe Studies: An Annual* 3 (2013): 83–96.

105. Basso, "*The Jew of Malta* on Film," 88.

106. Katherine Allocco, "Costumes, Bodies, and Gender in The Queen's Company's 2004 Production of *Edward II*," *Marlowe Studies: An Annual* 3 (2013): 151–73.

107. Allocco, "Costumes, Bodies, and Gender," 155.

and potential femininity of each character and to then reassess the importance of gender identity in politics"[108] by drawing attention to the performance of gender as assisted by sartorial display.

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108. Allocco, "Costumes, Bodies, and Gender," 153.

Notes on Contributors

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