Writing under Influences:
A Study of Christopher Marlowe

A Dissertation

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by

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INTRODUCTION

I.

Why is Christopher Marlowe considered the most important playwright in the study of the history of the pre-Shakespearean drama? We will take up this question as the starting point of an exploration of plural voices in Marlowe, or influences upon Marlowe's writing. One likely answer is that Marlowe was Shakespeare's prime predecessor. Undoubtedly Shakespeare was a main contemporary rival of Marlowe's in the former's earliest career in the late 1580s and the early 1590s. Yet, such a rivalry has been fully explored during the last several decades of Shakespeare studies; critics have mainly underlined either that Marlowe was too minor a playwright to affect Shakespeare, or that he was completely different from the gigantic figure in English literature. None of the arguments about how far Marlowe affected Shakespeare or vice versa are the conncerns of this paper. Rather, this paper intends to dissociate Marlowe from Shakespeare. If Marlowe's plays are totally different from those of Shakespeare, how are they atypical of his contemporary plays? An answer to the question lies, we may assume, in an exploration of influences on Marlowe, which no other playwright experienced. Although the span of his writing career was very short (1587-1593), Marlowe's ways of dealing with influential sources were so varied that he was an exceptionally interesting figure among pre-Shakespearean playwrights.

None the less, it is almost inconceivable that any study on Marlowe could be academically established without relation to Shakespeare studies. While at present the study on Shakespeare per se is being questioned as a disciplinary area of human science, students on Marlowe should be conscious of the *raison d'etre* of Marlowe studies, which have been parasitic to the so-far powerful discipline of Shakespeare studies. It is, therefore, worthwhile to pose the question of what we can make of Marlowe's writing in itself, if we can avoid the enduring critical stance of regarding his texts as mere source-materials which Shakespeare perfectly exploited.

We will take a brief look at the critical heritage of Marlowe before the establishment of Shakespeare studies in the late nineteenth century. It was not until Charles Lamb reproduced excerpts from Marlowe's texts around 1808 that performances and readings of Marlowe's texts were revived in the modern era. The name of Marlowe had been buried in oblivion in the late seventeenth and the whole eighteenth century before the revival. During the eighteenth century his name was seldom, if ever, mentioned except in terse comments by a few antiquarians, like Theophilus Cibber, Thomas Warton and Joseph Ritson.

Although Warton was the most sympathetic to Marlowe, he was never hesitant to assert that Marlowe's plays were too old-fashioned to be examined seriously.

> A tale [of *Doctor Faustus*] which at the close of the sixteenth century had the possession of the public theatres of our metropolis, now only frightens children at a puppet-show in a country-town.[1]

In the middle of the Enlightenment it is remarkable that *Doctor Faustus* was represented here as a specimen of immature and unsophisticated entertainment. What is worse is that even this kind of reintroduction of the old playwright was never free from criticism; Joseph Ritson criticized Warton for introducing such innocuous texts written by notorious Marlowe to the readers who might have forgotten even his name.

> and if you, Mr. Warton, still choose to think him innocent of the charge, I shall be very glad to see him thoroughly white-washed in your next edition.[2]

Marlowe and his texts were literally "thoroughly white-washed" from criticism on English drama until they were re-discovered by the Romantics. Even when Marlowe was discovered by the Romantics in the nineteenth century, "white-washed" Marlowe was reintroduced as a Romantic hero as a result of the Romantics' fabrication of the old dramatist as the daring "overreacher."[3]

In the nineteenth century Marlowe was reintroduced as a "name that stands high," which means that there are (in William

Hazlitt's description) "a lust of power," "a hunger and thirst after unrighteousness, a glow of the imagination, unhallowed by any thing but its own energies" in Marlowe's writing.[4] This image of Marlowe was so impressive that it was frequently used to make a striking contrast with that of Shakespeare. The following is too common a description of the difference between the two playwrights:

> Marlowe, proud and violent, "intemperate and of a cruel heart". . . was both a scholar and a criminal. Shakespeare had naturally the courtesy of a gentleman ("gentle Shakespeare"); others called him "friendly Shakespeare," and he held something of a record in never getting himself jailed.[5]

Thus, the two playwrights were disengaged from each other as a result of the Romantic revival of Marlowe. This convention of widely separating the two, we may assume, has a parallel in the literary criticism of the twentieth century, the criticism which argues that there was a rivalry between them.

II.

In the celebrated work of the historical study, *Shakespeare's History Plays* (written in 1944), E.M.W. Tillyard argued that Shakespeare synthetically described two hundred years of history of England in the ten history plays in terms of historical vision,

the vision that under the reign of Henry VII England retrieved order and peace, clearing herself of the political chaos that his precursors had brought about. For Tillyard, Marlowe's stance toward the Tudor vision was ambiguous, for his history play *Edward II* included elements that were too subversive of the Tudor myth to be wiped out by the end of the play. No more does Mortimer Junior, who revolts against Edward's tyranny, restore order in England than the king himself. We are faced with nothing but the incessant turn of Fortune's Wheel by the culmination of *Edward II*. Fully recognizing that Marlowe's history play was an annoying obstacle to his argument, Tillyard must have deliberately kept Marlowe's play out of this category.

> *Edward II* shows no prevailing political interest: no sense of any sweep or pattern of history. What animates the play is the personal theme: Edward's personal obsession, his peculiar psychology, the humour and finally the great pathos of his situation. Marlowe shows no sense of national responsibility. . . . This is not to decry the play; it is only to suggest what kind the play is or is not.[6]

Obviously Tillyard attempted to disengage *Edward II* from the history plays of the time to the degree that the former was the rarest case in the genre. Thus he initiated the convention of

disengagement into Shakespeare studies with the authoritative view that Marlowe wrote private plays, whereas Shakespeare produced public plays on a larger scale, being responsible for matters of the State.

Irving Ribner reiterated Tillyard's view in the scholarly history of criticism on Marlowe and early Shakespeare.

> These two men [Marlowe and Shakespeare] represent diametrically opposed reactions to the complex of Elizabethan life, each in his own way forging a poetically valid vision of reality beyond the comprehension of the other.[7]

Such critical assertions as Tillyard's and Ribner's did more than represent "diametrically opposed" playwrights of different temperaments. Comparing Marlowe's tragedies with Shakespeare's, Ribner continued:

> Marlowe's tragedy, in short, can only offer a view of death and damnation as the fate of those who would seek to escape the limitations of the human condition, whereas Shakespeare can offer a compensating view of order emerging to expel evil from an essentially harmonious universe.[8]

He insisted that Marlowe's plays were the works of *hubris* and were too outrageous to maintain the world of order represented by the Tudor vision. Along this line, these critics not only marked a remarkable difference between Marlowe and Shakespeare, but formed a viewpoint commonly held among critics, the viewpoint that Marlowe was heretical while Shakespeare was orthodox. Marlowe was decisively expelled out of Tillyard's "Elizabethan world picture," when Ribner asserted:

> If Marlowe had disciples in his age, Shakespeare was not one of them; they were . . . the Jacobean dramatists who were Shakespeare's later contemporaries.[9]

While many critics were dominated by the influence of Tillyard, Nicholas Brooke, in the 1960s, was the only critic to argue a different kind of relationship between Marlowe and Shakespeare. He argued that although the two playwrights were of different temperaments, there was a reciprocal influence working between them.

> Marlowe seems to have been for Shakespeare not only a great poet, as his tributes imply, but the inescapable imaginative creator of something initially alien which he could only assimilate with difficulty, through a process of imitative re-creation merging into critical parody.[10]

Though he was conscious of the convention that the two were different types of writers, Brooke analyzed how Marlowe's writing provoked early Shakespeare and how the latter managed to assimilate Marlowe's way of writing. His essay was controversial during those years when Tillyard's view was prevalent. More remarkably, Brooke slightly implied that Shakespeare was inclined to parody Marlowe's drama. (And this suggestion later affected the Marlowe-Shakespeare criticism of the 1980s.)

Brooke's approach was an attempt to revise Tillyard's view in that he drew our attention to the mutual influence between the two playwrights, though the span of the influence was restricted to only a few years (1589-93) when Shakespeare was just starting to produce his plays.

> However much they may owe indirectly to Marlowe, Shakespeare's later plays never (as far as I know) show any direct dependence. The provocative agent has taken his seat in the Establishment.[11]

Here we may recognize that Brooke's attempt was still contained in the dominant current or the convention of the Marlowe-Shakespeare criticism. In line with this convention mature Shakespeare is supposed to have envisioned the Tudor myth through getting rid of the incipient rivalry with Marlowe, the outrageous youth.

Ⅲ.

No other opinions on the link of Marlowe with Shakespeare was offered in the criticism of the 1970s. This was partly because Tillyard and others' disengagement of the two playwrights still held sway, and partly because their rivalry was argued only in the light of poor biographical documents. It was not a critical paper of Elizabethan studies, but a radical theory by Harold Bloom that stimulated and revived the issue of the relationship between Marlowe and Shakespeare. *The Anxiety of Influence* marked an epoch, in that it argued how the rivalry of writers produced literary texts. His theory was built on the assumption that a poet appealed not so much to his contemporary readers as to the dead poets who influenced and still haunted him. The theory was ahistorical in that it focused on the psychology and the struggle of creative minds.

> Battle between strong equals, father and son as mighty opposites, Laius and Oedipus at the crossroads; only this is my subject here, though some of the fathers, as will be seen, are composite figures. That even the strongest poets are subject to influences not poetical is obvious even to me, but again my concern is only with *the poet in a poet*, or the aboriginal poetic self.[12]

With this revolutionary theory, the way literary texts had been produced could be argued not only in the light of artistic genius of an individual writer, but also in the light of the rivalry between writers.

Bloom's theory affected even Shakespeare studies, not to mention the criticism of Romantic literature. Although his theory was highly applicable in other areas of literature, Bloom himself regarded the Elizabethan period as "the giant age" and ruled out Elizabethan literature from the argument of "the anxiety of influence."

> The main cause [why Shakespeare is excluded from the argument], though, is that Shakespeare's prime precursor was Marlowe, a poet very much smaller than his inheritor. . . . Shakespeare is the largest instance in the language of a phenomenon that stands outside the concern of this book: the absolute absorption of the precursor.[13]

Bloom evaded being involved in the issue of the link between Marlowe and Shakespeare, the link which Tillyard denied by asserting that they are diametrically opposite playwrights. We can suppose that even Bloom was under the strong influence of the convention of disengaging the two playwrights.

IV.

Since the early 1980s a few scholars have attempted to supplement Bloom's "anxiety of influence," by applying it to the matter of the rivalry between Marlowe and Shakespeare. In the stimulating work, *Shakespeare's Mercutio*, Joseph Porter assumes that Shakespeare's rival consciousness (or unconsciousness) is projected onto the characters the playwright creates. Shakespeare, Porter argues, projected himself into Romeo, while he cast the shadow of Marlowe in the role of Mercutio in *Romeo and Juliet*.

> The basic sort of relation . . . between Marlowe and Shakespeare is apparent between Mercutio and Romeo, with Mercutio aggressively subversive, as well as ambiguously prior, and eliciting from Romeo a response of attempted containment.[14]

Porter's psychoanalysis links the three types of the dichotomy —Mercutio/ Romeo, Marlowe/ Shakespeare and subversive violence/ ideological morality. In his argument Mercutio is nothing but a Marlovian homosexual character, who attempts to seduce the Shakespeare-like Romeo, but is eventually rejected. That is to say, as Romeo rejects Mercutio's homosexual love, so Shakespeare gets rid of theatrical expression of corporeality that the theme of love is likely to include. In this process the Elizabethan

dominant ideology is assumed to have contained successfully both homosexuality and corporeality.

Porter's assumption that Mercutio is a portrait of Marlowe has another significant effect. It has been commonly accepted by critics that Shakespeare had not mentioned a word of Marlowe until he recollected Marlowe's words in a rather nostalgic way in *As You Like It*. However, Porter challenges this common view, too.

> This authoritative Marlovianness suggests that in Benvolio's brief elegy for Mercutio Shakespeare performs an elegy for Marlowe, dead some two years, and hence that the fictional dramatic character serves in some ways as a simulacrum of the dead competitor.[15]

Though this seems far-fetched to some degree, the assumption is provocative enough to draw critical attention to the strain of the rivalry between Shakespeare and Marlowe, the rivalry which had been completely ignored under the convention of disengagement. The assumption is, however, totally based on Bloom's monolithic theory of Laius and Oedipus, which inevitably concludes that Marlowe is the dead Laius who haunts the Oedipus of Shakespeare.

James Shapiro is another critic who adapts Bloom's model for his argument. He seems sympathetic toward Porter's view when he emphasizes the rivalry of the two playwrights. Porter retraced

the way the rivalry between the two was psychologically projected onto dramatic characters. On the other hand, in *Rival Playwrights* Shapiro illustrates that the rivalry was presented not only by characterization but also by the parodying of the other's words.

> Porter's work— grounded in psycho-biography, and focusing on Shakespeare's handling of character— is complementary to my own and may help explain what my emphasis on verbal recollection cannot: where was the relationship being played out in the mid-1590s, before the period marked by extensive parodic engagement and nostalgic tribute?[16]

Unlike the preceding critics, Shapiro observes the rivalry over a longer span of time; the rivalry starts with Shakespeare's entry to the boards in 1589 and ends around the turn of the century (around 1601). His argument can be epitomized in this way; it is not until the turn of the century that Shakespeare recollects Marlowe's words, having failed to appropriate Marlowe in the period between 1589 and 1593, because the recollection could only take place during the social and political changes occurring at the turn of the century. Obviously Shapiro owes the idea of "the anxiety of influence" to Bloom, but he evaluates it in the historical light.

> I am interested in why Shakespeare returned to Marlowe—that is, what combination of personal, cultural, and historical forces shaped his responses to his dead rival. I pursue a historicized approach to influence, though one rooted in the intertextual recollections that signal key moments in their literary encounter.[17]

Shapiro's suggestion opens up a new vista of the Marlowe-Shakespeare criticism, which allows us to recognize how Shakespeare was faced with "the anxiety of influence" from Marlowe throughout his career.

Throughout his case studies of rivalry there is Shapiro's sharp awareness that rivalry works both overtly and covertly as a dynamic convention in any writing society. (In this sense, we should not fail to recognize that Shapiro intentionally removes the definite article of "the" from the title of the work, *Rival Playwrights*.) It is remarkable that he positively approves of conventions that set limits on creative minds in any writing society, extending the argument of "the anxiety of influence" to the contextual level. However, it is not too much to say that Shapiro overgeneralizes the matter, in that he presupposes that Marlowe and Shakespeare belonged to the completely same literary society. It is this point where this paper may deviate from Shapiro. Rather, this paper is based on the premise that the literary societies that each of the playwrights belonged to, were

so different that they should be examined separately. Critics are faced with a new stage, where the convention of disengaging the two playwrights which Tillyard initiated should be reevaluated in a different context.

So far, we have sketched the brief history of the Marlowe-Shakespeare criticism in the twentieth century. Critics have generally underlined either that Marlowe is diametrically different from Shakespeare in English literature or that Marlowe is a rival playwright of Shakespeare's, though the former's influence on the latter is subtle. In either case, Marlowe has always been a byproduct —whether he is a mirror or a precursor for Shakespeare— to supplement the discipline of Shakespeare studies in this century. This tendency can be aptly epitomized by Bloom's assertion that "Shakespeare's prime precursor was Marlowe, a poet very much smaller than his inheritor." Although this assertion sounds anachronistic, Shakespeare has been, as a matter of fact, formulated as a gigantic Father of that age under whose repression Marlowe's plays have been only partially examined. Few critics have paid attention to the problem of who were the influential fathers for Marlowe, though they have been delving for Shakespeare's precursors who were "very much smaller than their inheritor." It is therefore necessary not only to dissociate Marlowe from the dominant discipline of criticism but to explore father figures for Marlowe, or a series of influences on him.

V.

Recently, there occur some critical movements against Bloom's "anxiety of influence." The theory of Bloom is being put into question. The application of Bloom's "anxiety of influence" inevitably limits understanding in the problem of influence because Bloom exceptionally focused on one capital influence by an absolute father-poet on latecomers. However, there is no denying the possibility that plural influences (not one capital influence) are working on an author in a protean fashion. It is necessary to revise Bloom's influential model of the 1970s because it now seems to be too monolithic (or immobile) from hindsight. With an aim to partially revise the theory, the following three approaches will be underlined in this paper.

(1) Emphasis should be placed on the socio-cultural context from which influences arise. Bloom totally passed over the particulars of pertinent historical periods as a result of overemphasis on the Freudian Oedipus complex. This is why he has been regarded as an anti-historicist. What we will explore is the way "the anxiety of influence" arises and works in a particular writing society, and the way that kind of anxiety is related to the socio-political ideology of Elizabethan England. Under the various influences from his particular society (whose representatives include Robert Greene, Thomas Nashe, Gabriel Harvey, Thomas Kyd, etc.) Marlowe's handling of sources could hardly ever be simple.

(2) Throughout this paper we will attempt to cover not only literary works but also other kinds of writing which exemplify how Marlowe dealt with the sources of influence; it ranges from the pamphlets of his days to marginalia and libels, as well as play texts. It must be questioned why Bloom restricted his interest only to the genre of poetry. In far as we focus on the literary and cultural context as well as on the literary canon, it is almost impossible to exclusively argue the rival relationship between "the strongest poets."

(3) We may assume that there was no single Father for Marlowe, for the way he handled the sources of influence was too manifold and too protean to theorize. Since the advent of Bloom's model of influence it has been often regarded as being too monolithic (or immobile) a model. Bloom's incipient concern lies with the Establishment (or the later modern era), when an economically and politically powerful society of writers was more stably established than in the Elizabethan era. In that society any strong poet was, though dead, qualified to be a Father, whose patriarchal power brought about "the anxiety of influence" in the minds of latecomers. Indeed, Bloom most appropriately analyzed the anxieties the Romantic poets suffered from John Milton. On the other hand we cannot identify any single Father for Marlowe; in this respect Marlowe is completely different from the Romantic poets for whom Milton was identified as an absolute father-poet.

In these respects, the Oedipal model itself marks the limits of understanding in the matter of Marlovian influence. The sources of influence are not limited to father-figures (Lucan, Sulpitius, Alciati, Bruno, Machiavelli and Ramus), but are extended to what he produces through conflict with the sources. His products, whether it is a character or a "high-astounding" term, became so popular that his rival playwrights appropriated them for their own purposes. This must have been a heavy burden for Marlowe, who was again obliged to create something new, and would have brought about another kind of the anxiety of influence on him.

VI.

In this paper we will attempt not to repudiate Tillyard's view of the two playwrights (as Porter and Shapiro attempted), but rather to disengage Marlowe from Shakespeare more drastically through an analysis of Marlowe's peculiarities. At that point, some questions arise. What makes Marlowe's texts distinct from Shakespeare's, though they have been unanimously regarded as different? What sort of influences are at work in his writing which must have been foreign to Shakespeare? In the following chapters we will focus on those particular sources of influence attributed to these five groups of key persons: (1) Lucan and his commentator Sulpitius (2) the emblematists such as Andrea Alciati and Geffrey Whitney (3) Giordano Bruno, the magus (4) Niccolo

Machiavelli, the political philosopher and dramatist (5) Peter Ramus and some other logicians.

In the following five chapters we will examine several plays and poems in chronological order. In the first chapter, "Marlowe's (Mis-)Translation of Lucan's *Pharsalia* and Sulpitius Commentaries," we will examine the way Marlowe translated the Latin source, Lucan's *Pharsalia*. In Harold Bloom's *Poetry and Repression* (1976) he posits (un-)conscious mis-reading of a precursor's text as a symptom of "the anxiety of influence," the anxiety which any later writer cannot but suffer.[18] In this light *Lucan's First Book*, one of the Marlowe's translations, is worth evaluating, though it has not been seen fit as an object of critical concern owing to his earlier incompetence for translating and reading Latin. In fact, there are some traces of his mistranslation, which exemplify his way of handling the original source. It is agreed that Marlowe depended on Sulpitius' commentaries published in the Frankfurt edition of *Pharsalia* and was indebted to that edition to a remarkable degree. As some critics point out, it is not too much to assert that Marlowe seems to have translated Sulpitius rather than Lucan. However, it is noteworthy that *Lucan's First Book* includes some lines which never appeared in the commentaries, not to mention Lucan's original. Supposing that the translation was produced around 1587-88 when Queen Mary Stuart was executed, and the Elizabethans were often threatened by rumours of a second or third Armada, there may have

been some echoes of that unstable society in his (mis-)translation. Attention will be paid to the way the two national boundaries of Nero's Rome and Elizabethan England are transposed on each other so that we can examine Marlowe's digression not only from the original but also from the commentaries.

In the next chapter, "The Adaptation of Emblem Literature in *Tamburlaine*, *The Jew of Malta* and *Edward II*," we will focus on the way Marlowe adapted emblem literature for theatrical purposes. Marlowe made his début in the Elizabethan theatre with the two plays of *Tamburlaine*, the sensational success of which brought him more fame than any of his contemporary playwrights ever had. To a remarkable degree Marlowe owed this success to emblem books, which were very popular as a new form of visual entertainment. It was in 1587 that Geffrey Whitney's *The Choice of Emblems*, the first English emblem book, was published; in the same year the first play of *Tamburlaine* was most likely put on the stage. A great number of emblematic devices are adapted for spectacular stage pictures in the *Tamburlaine* plays. Marlowe's success, as we will examine later in this chapter, resulted from his way of adaptation which verged on plagiarism of emblem literature, a way that is symptomatic of his handling of the sources that influenced him in the early stages of his career.

In the third chapter, "The New Actaeon's Fortune, A and B, Giordano Bruno in the Two Texts of *Doctor Faustus*," dramatic personification of the influential source will be examined.

Doctor Faustus is the first play that has one remarkable feature in common with Marlowe's later texts, for it presents his source of influence personified on the stage. As well, *Doctor Faustus* marks a linkage between the earlier works, which tend to veil sources and the later ones, which seem to uncover or expose them.

There are two extant texts of the play: the A-text (1604) and the B-text (1616). It is only in the B-text that Giordano Bruno, an influential propagator of heretical mysticism, is personified as "Saxon Bruno." It is, however, agreed that the episode of "Saxon Bruno" was added to the original by some revisers so that Bruno could be stereotyped as such when the earlier text was revised after Marlowe's death. We can suppose that Marlowe was affected by Bruno, though traces of his influence are only barely palpable in the pre-revised A-text. Through the revision the Brunian traces were drastically removed because they were, in our view, either subversive or incompatible with dominant Christian orthodoxy. The question in this chapter is this. Why did Marlowe tangibly expose Bruno, or the source of influence, when the source includes something so subversive that it required total revision in later years?

The fourth chapter of "Fake Machiavelli or 'much-evil' Marlowe: The Case of *The Jew of Malta*" is an exploration of a much more complicated personification of the influential source than that in *Doctor Faustus*. *The Jew of Malta* begins with the Prologue

by Machiavelli (which is spelled as "Machevil" in the extant text); he introduces Barabas as his favorite pupil at the close of the Prologue. It is not a novel nor sensational technique that ghosts of dead fathers (or masters) appear first on the stage as a vehicle for explaining the play, for similar dramaturgical instances can be seen in texts that range from Andrea in *The Spanish Tragedy* (1589) to Father Hamlet (1600). In this chapter we will reevaluate this personification of Machiavelli in the light of the social and cultural formulation of Machiavellism in Elizabethan England. Attention will be paid to "Machevil's" role as mediator not only between the audience and the play on the stage, but also between Machiavelli's "realpolitik" and its reception. Consequently, we will see that there is a double master-disciple relationship working in and around the play: that of "Machevil" with Barabas and of Machiavelli and Marlowe. Marlowe was, we may assume later, bound both by the contemporary "ism" (Machiavellism) as well as by Niccolo Machiavelli.

In the final chapter, "The Death of Ramus, Ramism in *The Massacre at Paris*," we will see Marlowe's final attempt to incorporate his contemporary source of influence into his drama. No other personification of Marlowe's is more complicated than that of Ramus, who appears in *The Massacre at Paris* (1593), presumably Marlowe's last work. In Scene Seven of the play, Ramus opens a debate on logic with Aristotelian Guise and is consequently executed as a heretical logician by Guise. No doubt

this scene is a digression from the main plot, which consists of a series of political struggles between the Catholics and the Protestants. It is, however, worth questioning why Marlowe incorporated this incongruously pedantic episode into the play. We will attempt to examine the scene in this context. When Marlowe produced the play, quite a few pamphlets which reported the murder of Ramus at the Eve of St. Barthelmey were already accessible to Marlowe. Moreover, he must have been familiar with the controversy between Aristotelian logicians and Ramists, which was the most fervent at Cambridge in the late 1580s when Marlowe was enrolled in Corpus Christy, Cambridge. However, what is more interesting is that even the Harvey-Nashe Controversy picked up the subject of Ramism so as to pour oil on their brawl at the same time Marlowe produced the Ramus scene. Marlowe must have been involved in a very complicated network of writers engaged with this influential subject. The handling of those influences by Marlowe, we may assume, can be found in the digressive Scene of Ramus.

There is, in our view, a remarkable shift in the way Marlowe dealt with the influential sources in the middle of his career, around the end of the 1580s. In *Lucan's First Book* and the two plays of *Tamburlaine*, Marlowe tends to veil the sources of influence so that he can inscribe his own voice on the texts through his conflict with those sources. Yet he finally reveals the sources of influence to the audience in his last plays by way of personification. Accordingly, the whole argument can be

divided in two; in the former part we will mainly examine *Lucan's First Book* and the two plays of *Tamburlaine*, which is followed by further exploration of three types of personification in *Doctor Faustus*, *The Jew of Malta* and *The Massacre at Paris* in the latter part. As for the texts which belong to the former part, we will pay attention to the way Marlowe veils traces of influence while assimilating them into his texts. In other words, misreading, mistranslation and adaptation of the sources for different purposes are the main concerns on this part. Common to the three later plays, which we will examine in the latter half, there can be seen personifications of three historical figures who possibly affected Marlowe: Giordano Bruno, Niccolo Machiavelli and Peter Ramus. The way of dealing with those influential sources is totally different from what we see in the former part; by exposing these three figures as dramatic personae on the stage, Marlowe seems to reveal and manipulate the sources of influence in his last career. These three types of personification will be no less interesting examples in our attempt to examine Marlowe's handling of his influences.

We must admit that this paper consists of miscellaneous topics. If there is one consistent throughout these pages it is that Marlowe fashioned himself as a playwright in the course of a seven-year career, struggling with miscellaneous influences, and thus his texts were produced.

CHAPTER ONE

Marlowe's (Mis-)Translation of Lucan's *Pharsalia* and Sulpitius Commentaries

I.

In 1718 Nicholas Rowe published a translation of the unfinished epic, *Pharsalia* by Marcus Annaeus Lucanus. James Wellwood (1652-1727), who was the writer of "Vindication of the Revolution in England," gave a complimentary dedication to the translated epic:

> [Lucan's style] is so masterly, that you rather seem to see than read of those transactions. But for the enterprises and battles, you imagine them not related but acted: towns alarmed, armies engaged, the eagerness and terrour of the several soldiers, seem present to your view.[1]

It seems that readers of the eighteenth century, during the neoclassicist movement, favourably responded to Lucan's rhetorical style, which vividly described bestiality and cruelty in the civil war that Caesar waged upon his homeland.

It was not long before the readers forgot the epic; it completely disappeared from literary studies after the Romantic period. However, according to the fact that not a few writers had attempted to translate Lucan's epic before Rowe's work, it seems

that Lucan's epic had attracted continuing interest over the centuries, from the Middle Ages to the neoclassical period. About a century before Rowe's translation was printed, Arthur Gorges (1557-1625) and Thomas May (1595-1650) had already published their translations of Lucan in 1614 and 1627 respectively. Gorges (as James Shapiro notes) managed to anglicize the original Alexandrine by using couplets; each line of his translation was composed of eight syllables. In contrast, May, whose translation was highly praised by Samuel Johnson, adopted the heroic couplet.[2]

In the late sixteenth century, however, Lucan's *Pharsalia* was rendered only partially into English and published in 1600 under the title of *Lucan's First Book*. This earliest translation was attempted by Marlowe with an aim to assimilate the original Latin into blank verse. It is more than a coincidence that the eighteenth century readers were oblivious of Lucan just as they were of Marlowe, who first attempted his translation. This book begins with the scene —as is the case with the epic— where a narrative poet prays to Muse that she may help him successfully produce an epic and then outlines a pair of main characters, Julius Caesar and Pompey Magnus. In the middle section of Book One, Caesar and his army at the Rubicon, and subsequently at Rimini, are depicted, which is followed by a roll call of Caesarean legions. (In the roll call are listed the Gallic tribes from various regions, all of whom were once conquered by Caesar.)

All of the episodes retold in this section previews the civil war that is to break out in the field of Pharsalia. At the end, the reactions in Rome to the threat by Caesar are described, followed by the predictions of three soothsayers who speak before Caesar initiates the civil war. The last of the soothsayers most ominously envisions a headless corpse in the Nile, an image which foretells the fate of the "body politic" of the Roman Empire, as well as of Pompey.

This unfinished translation by Marlowe has brought about a lot of conjectures concerning the period of his translation. Some critics, like Shapiro, argue that the translator's death in June 1593 must have left the work unfinished.[3] Yet, we cannot ignore several features in the translation which are remarkably akin to *Tamburlaine* (1587-88).

At no other period in the later years until the Civil War (1642-49) did people feel the strain of civil war more sensitively than in the late 1580s and the early 1590s. It is highly plausible that Marlowe attempted to translate Lucan at the same time he was writing transcripts of the two parts of *Tamburlaine*. William Blissett in his comparative study on "Lucan's Caesar and the Elizabethan Villain" (1956) asserts that Marlowe was "strongly under Lucan's influence" in "style, subject, and point of view," while he was producing the character of Tamburlaine.[4] In order to illustrate the link, he quotes the following speech by the Scythian shepherd:

My Campe is like to *Julius Caesars* Hoste,
That never fought but had the victorie:
Nor in *Pharsalia* was there such hot war,
As these my followers willingly would have:
(*1 Tamburlaine*, III.iii.152-5)

It is agreed that the two parts of *Tamburlaine* propagated patriotism under threats of the Spanish Armada in 1588. If what Blissett suggested is accepted, *Lucan's First Book* should be examined in relation to *Tamburlaine*. It is an intriguing viewpoint that around 1588 Marlowe perhaps produced two literary works about war at once: a war of expedition represented in *Tamburlaine* and a civil war translated from Lucan.

In August 1586, Anthony Babington and his followers were arrested on charge of having conspired to murder Queen Elizabeth. As it transpired, they had the daring aim of setting Mary Stuart free from confinement and killing Elizabeth. In no time the revelation of the so-called "Babington plot" led to anxiety about Catholic treason in Ireland and elsewhere in late sixteenth century England. Mary Stuart was executed in February 1587, and Elizabethan people often felt threatened by the rumour that Philip II was plotting the second or third Armada under the pretext of retaliation for the execution of his Catholic ally. (The second, third and even fourth assaults were indeed organized by Philip II in 1596, 1597 and 1599 respectively.) Amidst social unrest,

where Elizabeth and Mary Stuart (who were both heirs of Henry VII) competed for sovereignty over Britain at the same time, it was an age, as Marlowe described in the opening line of *Lucan's First Book*, of "wars worse then civill."

Harold Bloom in his *Poetry and Repression* (1976) explains how (un-)conscious misreading of a preceding text can be seen as a manifestation of symptoms of "anxiety of influence" which no later writer can be exempted from. In this light *Lucan's First Book* is worth evaluating, though its significance has been underestimated owing to Marlowe's earlier incompetence at translating and insufficient ability to read Latin. In fact, there are some examples of his (mis-)translation which exemplify the way Marlowe dealt with the source of influence. It is agreed that Marlowe depended on Sulpitius commentaries which the Frankfurt edition of *Pharsalia* contained. This edition was published in 1551 under the title of *M. Annei Lvcani, de Bello Civili, Libri Decem. cum Scholijs, integris quidem Ioannis Sulpitij Verulani, certis autem locis etiam Omniboni, unà cum Annotationibusquibusdam adiectis Iacobi Micylli*. Marlowe was indebted to this edition to a remarkable degree. Indeed, as some critics point out, he seems to have translated Sulpitius rather than Lucan. (There are no records to inform us of the life and academic career of Sulpitius.) We may suppose that Lucan and Sulpitius were a double source of influence that Marlowe was obliged to deal with. However, it is noteworthy that *Lucan's First Book* includes lines

which never appear in the commentaries, not to mention Lucan's original. If we assume that the (mis-)translation was produced around 1587-88, it may have incorporated some echoes of the unstable society of that period. Therefore, attention will be paid to Marlowe's digression not only from the original but also from the commentaries.

We will pose the following two questions in this chapter: (1) To what degree can we interpret allusions to the contemporary social affairs by way of Marlowe's (mis-)translations, supposing that *Lucan's First Book* was produced in the turbulent years between 1587 and 1593? (2) Are these (mis-)translations due only to modernization of the topic? If not, to what degree did Marlowe expose his own personal (in most cases, sexual) traits into the text?

II.

Surely it is unfair that critics are still ignoring Marlowe's translation of Lucan, yet that kind of critical attitude is understandable, for *Lucan's First Book* is fragmentary and full of mistakes in his translation. This is one of the reasons why most of the critics may regard it as an apprentice work, unworthy of critical attention. J.B. Steane and Roma Gill are, however, exceptional, for they deliberately examine the way the original Latin was rendered into English by Marlowe.

After he made a close comparison between Marlowe's rendition and later versions by Gorge or May, Steane focused not only on

Marlowe's remarkable knowledge of "humanist studies" but also on the affinity between Lucan and Marlowe. He states that the most striking affinity lies "in the sadistic trait which they had in common" or in "an attraction towards pain and particularly to the humiliation" related to their sadism.[5] On the other hand Gill paid careful attention to Marlowe's mistranslations, that is, digressions from and additions to the Latin original. Her study convincingly proved how far Marlowe depended on Sulpitius commentaries included in the source that the translator consulted.[6]

In the 1980s we can find more than a few critics influenced by Steane. O.B. Hardison is one of them. He argues that *Lucan's First Book* played a connective role in the Renaissance epic tradition, bridging Sully's *Aeneid* to Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and insists that "the only sustained sixteenth-century heroic poem in blank verse is Marlowe's translation of the first book of Lucan's *Pharsalia*."[7] James Shapiro is another important critic. He analyzes Marlowe's poetic style, comparing *Lucan's First Book* with *Edward II* (1592), suggesting that the same kind of maturity can be seen in those texts. He concludes that the translation is one of Marlowe's last works written around 1592. Although he insists on their similarity by citing internal evidence, especially Marlowe's use of words common to both *Lucan's First Book* and *Edward II*, it is almost impossible to find any external proof to support Shapiro's assumption. Yet, this position is sufficiently

supported by considering the socio-cultural boom in the middle 1590s, when a lot of epic poems on civil war —for example, Daniel's *Civil War* and Drayton's *Mortimeriados*— were successively published. Shapiro assumes that Marlowe's translation may have been the starting point of the social fever for epics during the 1590s. Although Shapiro's approach is stimulative, it is questionable whether *Lucan's First Book* was actually Marlowe's last work written around 1592. In the following sections we will see allusions to the contemporary political matter of Ireland in the late 1580s. To examine those allusions is significant, for one of the ways Marlowe deals with the sources of influence — Lucan and Sulpitius— is, in our view, manifested by his modernization of the theme of civil war, an undertaking which verges on mistranslation of the sources.

Ⅲ.

Roma Gill is the first scholar that analyzed the process of Marlowe's (mis-)translations throughout the work. In her comparative study of "Marlowe, Lucan, and Sulpitius" (1973) she compares the translated words with Sulpitius commentaries which are appended to the Latin text (published in Frankfurt 1551), plausibly accessible to Marlowe. She identifies line 399 as an example of Marlowe's (mis-)transration:

Under the rockes by crooked *Vogesus;*

(*LFB* 11. 399)

Lucan's original Latin reads, "Vosegi curvam super ardua ripam" (on the steep and winding shore of the Vosges). This obviously shows that Marlowe's way of translating is far from being correct. Yet, it is not the fault on the translator, for we can see in the Frankfurt edition that "ripam" (shore) is mistakenly replaced by "rupen" (cliffs). This editorial accident made Marlowe render the line into English somewhat ambiguously. Therefore part of Marlowe's (mis-)translation can be explained if we acknowledge the extent to which he depended on the Frankfurt edition.[8]

It is also noteworthy that names of personae and places are, in many cases, translated in a descriptive manner in *Lucan's First Book*. This tendency itself also supports Gill's assumption that Marlowe must have been dependent on Sulpitius commentaries to a remarkable degree.[9] We can suppose that Marlowe had great difficulty in putting into English the Latin names of personae and places which were unfamiliar to Elizabethan readers. In the convention of Latin literature, personal names are very often replaced by other vocative variants; for example, Pompey is frequently described as Magnus. It is, then, highly plausible that Marlowe relied heavily on Sulpitius commentaries in order to identify who's who, because Sulpitius was kind enough to append elaborate notes to personal names: "Magnus is equivalent to Pompeius." Besides, in line 256 ("We first sustain'd the uproars of the *Gaules*") Marlowe employed the word "*Gaules*" for "Suenonum motus" (Senones' uproar) in Lucan's original. The reason for this

modification is clear if we assume that he was influenced by the following commentary of Sulpitius: "Galli Senones ex ultimo Oceano."[10]

The commentaries are no less useful to modernize an ancient Roman ritual. In the description of augury at the closure of the Book, Arruns, an Etrusian augury is introduced as:

> . . ., *Aruns*, dwelt in forsaken *Leuca*,
> Well skild in *Pyromancy*; one that knew
> The hearts of beasts, and flight of wandring foules;
> (*LFB* 11. 585-587)

The original "Fulminis edoctus motus" (the course of the thunderbolt) is here translated as "pyromancy", which convincingly shows that Marlowe consulted Sulpitius' emendation of "Fulminis edo.mo. *pyromanticus, fulminum enim causam & naturam.*" Strangely, Marlowe employs the etymologically Greek word "pyromancy" in translating "Fulminis . . . motus." This definitely proves that Marlowe consulted Sulpitius' corresponding commentary: "pyromanticus, fulminum enim causam & naturam" (pyromancy, that is, educated in the origin and movement of thunders). The word "pyromancy", seldom if ever, appears in the contemporary writings except in Robert Greene's *Friar Bacon and Bungay* (1589). It can be suggested that Marlowe's translation in that line was one of the earliest examples of its usage in English.

IV.

It is undeniable that Marlowe was, as Gill emphasizes, indebted to Sulpitius almost subserviently. In other words, Marlowe seems to be willingly under the influence of Sulpitius commentaries. However, digressions from the source sometimes occur throughout the translation. To focus on his way of dismissing those Sulpitius commentaries is another approach we will take in order to unravel his technique of translation. The following quotation represents a chaotic scene brought about by the civil war, a scene in which we can sense the correspondence of the State as a small cosmos with the macrocosm.

> The Ocean swell'd, as high as Spanish *Calpe*,
> Or *Atlas* head; their saints and houshold gods
> Sweate teares to shew the travailes of their citty.
> (*LFB* 11. 553-5)

"Spanish Calpe" in line 553 should be the translation of "Hesperiam Calpem" in the original. In the same place Sulpitius makes an annotation: "Hesperiam" is the same word for "Hispaniam." As Gill succinctly asserts, "Marlowe translates not the poet [Lucan] but the commentator." Marlowe seems to follow Sulpitius commentaries blind-mindedly, especially when he translates names of personae and places. Yet strangely enough, Marlowe completely ignores both Lucan's original and Sulpitius commentaries in the

quotation above. What did come over Marlowe's mind when he translated "Hesperiam" (or "Hispaniam") into "Spanish"? For, "Hispanic" is more common as an epithet than "Spanish" for the Elizabethan readers. This might be too trivial an example, but we can at least assume that there are some (un-)conscious distortions working in *Lucan's First Book*.

There is another instance that illustrates Marlowe's way of digressing from Lucan and Sulpitius. In the congregation scene Caesar (as if Milton's Satan) appeases the wrestling debate among his men with his right hand and cunningly agitates them into the civil war with his speech.

> . . . say I merit nought,
> Yet for long service done, reward these men,
> And so they triumph, be't with whom ye will.
> Whether now shal these olde bloudles soules repaire?
> What seates for their deserts? what store of ground
> For servitors to till?
>
> (*LFB* ll. 340-345)

Caesar reproaches Pompey for his negligence of duty in rewarding the Roman soldiers who had successfully expelled the foreign tribes. Here we should pay attention to the word "servitors" (line 345) inventively employed by Marlowe. Lucan's original line and the corresponding commentary of Sulpitius read respectively:

Quae noster veteranus aret? (Where shall our veterans cultivate?) (*Pharsalia*, 345)

and

Veteranus. *Vetus miles, & belliperitus*. (Veteranus. old soldier and expert warrior)

It is obvious that Marlowe, while translating the line, replaced "veteranus" by "servitors" with no regard to verbatim translation of the original "Where shall our veterans cultivate?". The commentator expounds even the following line that begins "quae moenia . . . ," modernizing "moenia" into a colony. We suppose that Marlowe must have followed Sulpitius here. As a result of this (mis-)translation, the ransacked city wall is modernized into the colonized boundary of the Elizabethan period. Moreover, it should be remembered that "servitors" were often referred to as those to whom "lands were assigned to Ulster in the reign of James I, as having served in the military or civil office in Ireland." (*The OED* estimates that the first usage of the word in that sense occurred around 1561.) From the end of 1570s throughout the 1580s Ireland was a boundary region in which the Catholic powers attempted to gain a foothold against Elizabeth. For example, in the summer of 1579 Pope Gregory XIII successfully occupied Dingle, a cape city in south-west Ireland with aid from Philip II of Spain, and in the following year invaded Smerwick at Kerry Bay. This brought about an overall uproar in Munster, known as

"the revolt of Desmond," which lingered until 1583. Elizabeth was obliged to send expeditions so that she could expel them the following year, a venture which cost £254,960 out of the Treasury. The contemporary tension over problems in Ireland was conspicuously represented even on the stage. In *Edward II* Lancaster implicitly criticizes Edward's policy against the rebels in Ireland:

> The wilde *Oneyle*, with swarmes of Irish Kernes,
> Lives uncontroulde within the English pale,
> (*Edward II* II.ii. 164-165)

The English Pale was the territory around Dublin under direct rule of Elizabethan England. If we take into account that a several lords of Ulster such as O'Neil (*Oneyle*) repeatedly invaded the English Pale in the 1580s, the likely political tension was, we may infer, represented in Marlowe's inventive adoption of the word "servitors." These distortions are worth close examination, for it aptly illustrates Marlowe's handling of the source of influence.

Marlowe seems to have struggled with the Latin place names and determined to follow Sulpitius commentaries so as to render them into English. All the more for such dependence on the commentaries, his digressions from them are worthwhile to pay attention to, for here we may sense manifestations of his struggle

with the source of influence. Let us examine another example of his use of "Spanish" (or "Spain") which neither Lucan nor Sulpitius employed. Around line 230, Caesar makes up his mind to undertake a war against Pompey, and in no time invades the town of "Arriminum" (Rimini), leading on his immense forces.

> This said, the restles generall [Caesar] through the darke
> (Swifter then bullets throwne from Spanish slinges,
> Or darts which *Parthians* backward shoot) marcht on
> And then (when *Lucifer* did shine alone,
> And some dim stars) he *Arriminum* enter'd:
>
> (*LFB* 11. 230-234)

Here the translator replaces the original "Balearis verbere fundae" (Balearic strained slings) by "Spanish slinges shot" (line 231). "Balere" or its adjective form "Balearic" for the Latin "Baleares" has been used since 1576 as a term which refers to the islands of Majorca and Minorca in the Mediterranean Sea. And so did Sulpitius comment upon the term: "Bareares are two islands in the Spanish Main." Therefore, the word "Balearic" must have been familiar among the Elizabethan readers when *Lucan's First Book* was written. We may assume that Marlowe (mis-)translated the line for some reason in spite of Lucan and Sulpitius. If it is taken into account that the Mediterranean islands such as Majorca and Minorca were under the reign of Spain in the sixteenth century, Marlowe's

version in line 231 may well be alluding to the contemporary affairs of that period. In the scene quoted above, Caesar is on the point of transgressing the State's boundary with flying bullets launched from Spanish slings. (Note the anachronism of "bullets," which Marlowe added to the Latin original.) What allusion could the post-Armada Elizabethans read there?

Moreover, line 233 reads "Solis lucifero fugiebant astra relicto" in Lucan's text. Sulpitius explicates "lucifero" in this manner: "phosphorous is the star of Venus which predicts sunrise in the Orient direction." Interestingly, Marlowe here translates not Sulpitius but Lucan so that he may present "Lucifer" in a double sense; the italicized "Lucifer" in line 233 of *Lucan's First Book* reminds us of the archangel of Hell as well as the planet of Venus. This ambiguous translation, consequently, produces an impersonation of Caesar (who hatches the civil war) into Satan. This double image is echoed later in the emblematic scene from *Edward II*, where Lightborn, an ominous figure whose name is etymologically traced back to Lucifer, finds his way into the utterly dark dungeon so as to execute King Edward.

Supposing that the external threat by Caesar could be in Elizabethan minds associated with the Invincible Armada, the word "fleet" may play an allusive role throughout *Lucan's First Book*. The most famous usage of "fleet" appears at the end of *Lucan's First Book*—"Then *Gaynimede* would renew *Deucalions* flood, /And in the fleeting sea the earth be drencht." (ll. 652-3) As well,

there is another usage of the word at the beginning which is worth observing. In the opening of the epic the narrator says that "Time" ends along with the outbreak of the civil war and that things fall to ancient "Chaos." Where there is a chaotic world,

> Confused stars shal meete, celestiall fire
> Fleete on the flouds, the earth shoulder the sea,
> Affording it no shoare, . . .
>
> (*LFB* 11. 75-77)

In the original text the corresponding lines read: "stars enwrapped in flame shall fall to the earth and the sea." Obviously, Marlowe digresses from the source here. The analysis of Gill on these lines is noteworthy. She argues that the alliteration of the light sounds of "f" ("fire /Fleet on the flouds") beautifully produces the image of the skimming movement of a fleet on the surface of the sea.[11] Moreover, the successive sounds of "f," she continues, make a remarkable contrast with the massive phrase: "the earth shoulder the sea." In contrast with the skimming motion of "fleets," the cliff massively stands still, as if it prevented the enemies from setting foot on the shore. It is highly plausible for the post-Armada readers to be reminded of the battle fire at the Strait of England in reading these lines.

V.

The first book of *Pharsalia* is interspersed with speeches that are related to (1) the formation of boundaries and (2) anxiety about disruption of the "body politic." (As far as we follow Ernst H. Kantorowicz's epoch-making study of *King's Two Bodies*, the "body politic" should be understood as a political community represented by a body that is constituted for the direction of the people and the management of the public welfare.)[12] These speeches are supposed to vocalize a double caution against outer powers that attempt to transgress boundaries and against inner agents that plot to subvert the "body politic." It is noteworthy that both the formation and breakdown of geographical boundaries are often articulated throughout the first book. In line 98-125 the narrator of the epic looks back upon the history of the rivalry between Caesar and Pompey. Crassus, a weak mediator, is thus portrayed in the following narration:

> *Caesars*, and *Pompeys* jarring love soone ended,
> 'Twas peace against their wils; betwixt them both
> Stept *Crassus* in: even as the slender *Isthmos*,
> Betwixt the *Aegean* and the *Ionian* sea,
> Keepes each from other, but being worne away
> They both burst out, and each incounter other:
>
> (*LFB* 11. 98-103)

There is a geographical implication here, for "Isthmos" specifically refers to the narrow passage in the Panama Gulf according to the usage of those days. As the narrow "Isthmus" of the Panama Gulf divides the Pacific from the Atlantic, so Crassus barely intervenes in the strife between the two powers. The "slender *Isthmos*" image vividly represents the tension portending the irrevocable encounter between Caesar and Pompey after the breakdown of the boundary of Panama. Given that the Elizabethans must have regarded the English Pale at Dublin as the State's boundary, the collapse of that boundary was perhaps psychologically associated with the Apocalypse and the eventual chaos in their homeland.

In contrast to the above quotation, in which "Isthmus" draws a boundary between the two oceans, the river Rubicon is depicted not only as a borderline which separates one State from another, but also as the site of the outbreak of Caesar's civil war.

> In summer time the purple *Rubicon*,
> Which issues from a small spring, is but shallow,
> And creepes along the vales, deviding just
> The bounds of *Italy*, from *Cisalpin Fraunce*;
> But now the winters wrath and wat'ry moone,
> Being three daies old inforst the floud to swell,
> And frozen *Alpes* thaw'd with resolving winds.
>
> (*LFB* 11. 215-221)

This is a well-articulated representation of civil war by the metaphorical depiction of landscapes. It is worth noting that civil strife is compared to a raging flood, which undermines the boundary that the Rubicon used to "divide just" in peace time.

We may notice that the narration of boundaries sometimes appears even in Marlowe's digressions from the original. Still hesitant to wage civil war, Caesar's compunction is at odds with the ambition that Fortune stirs in him.

> Now light had quite dissolv'd the mysty night,
> And *Caesars* mind unsetled musing stood;
> But gods and fortune prickt him to this war,
> Infringing all excuse of modest shame,
> And laboring to approve his quarrell good.
>
> (*LFB* 11. 263-267)

It is noteworthy that Marlowe translated "et causas invenit armis" (and she contrives excuses of war) of line 265 as "Infringing all excuse of modest shame," instead of as "inventing those excuses." Here the obvious misreading is not understandable, for he reproduces a diametrically opposite sense from the original by adopting the word "infringe" instead of the more likely rendition "invent"; "infringe" stands in for an act of trespass or violation. Marlowe perhaps interpreted the original word as "infringe" because Latin "invenio" (invent) etymologically means

"encounter." Whether it is intentional or not, the narration of boundaries is overemphasized in his translation regardless of the original meaning.

VI.

Since *Gorboduc* (1561) through the time leading up to Marlowe's translation of Lucan, the disruption of the "body politic," followed by the division of the kingdom, had been one of Britain's greatest concerns. Norton & Sackville, the collaborators of *Gorboduc*, intent on the political education of the young Queen, represented in their tragedy the national crises caused by civil war or division of the kingdom. In reading the play's radical teaching, we can imagine the extreme social tension between Protestantism and Catholicism. In the late 1580s Elizabeth and Mary Stuart, both of whom were heirs of Henry VII, reigned over England and Scotland respectively. It is this strong sense of crisis that underlies the social chaos predicted in *Gorboduc*. The following lines should be interpreted in the same light, lines where Euburus, a wise counselor to Gorboduc, is strongly opposed to the idea that Britain should be divided in two.

> Within one land, one single rule is best:
> Divided reigns do make divided hearts,
> But peace preserves the country and the prince.[13]
> (*Gorboduc* I. ii. 328-30)

From the early 1560s when this play was produced up to the execution of Mary Stuart in 1587, England had been involved in international conflicts and experienced the growing threat of civil war: the political marriage of Bloody Mary with Philip of Spain, the conspiracy of Mary Stuart and the Guisians against Elizabeth, et cetera. It is in these chaotic years that *Lucan's First Book* was translated by Marlowe. In the translation also, the division of the State is deeply deplored, in this case by the narrator.

> O *Roome* thy selfe art cause of all these evils,
> Thy selfe thus shivered out to three mens shares:
> Dire league of partners in a kigdome last not.
>
> (*LFB* 11. 84-86)

Here, the division of the State is evoked by reference to the Roman situation involving "three mens shares" around 1 B.C. The tone of the speech is, however, akin to that of Euburus. Even if one scene takes place in ancient Britain and the other takes place in Rome, Marlowe as well as Norton & Sackville seem to have had in mind the England of their time.

Furthermore, the act of dividing the State (or truncating the "body politic") is repeatedly emphasized in the middle part of *Lucan's First Book*. Lallius, the most warlike commander, brags that he would never betray Caesar, even if it caused the

devastation of his homeland and murder of his kin. He continues that he would rather divide the State in two so that Caesar and his followers could build up a new State on the other side of the river Tyber:

> If to incampe on *Thuscan Tybers* streames,
> Ile bouldly quarter out the fields of *Rome*;
> (*LFB* 11.382-383)

In these lines Gill interprets "quarter out" as "mark out."[14] Yet, the interpretation is almost impossible because there had been no usage of "quarter" in that meaning before 1600. Rather, the phrase might well be interpreted as "shiver out" or "divide in pieces" if one takes into account the context of the speech, where Caesar is initiating civil strife that eventually splits the State in two. As well, the verb "quarter" could have been plausibly associated with the kind of executions done at that time; according to *The OED*, "quarter" can mean the dismemberment of a human body (especially, of a traitor). In these lines Marlowe manages to make the warlike figure Lallius hint at the dismemberment of the "body politic" of Rome.

In Lucan's *Pharsalia* the "body politic," dismembered by civil war, is depicted as an agonized body writhing in a sea of blood. The first book of *Pharsalia* (and *Lucan's First Book*) ends at the scene where Caesar makes up his mind to transgress the

State's boundary formed by the river Rubicon. Therefore, none of the bloodshed of warfare is described in the first book. However, the bloodshed that is to stain Rome is presaged by way of allusion. The narrator looks back on the civil war in which Pompey conquered the traitor Sylla.

> As brood of barbarous *Tygars* having lapt
> The bloud of many a heard, whilst with their dams
> They kennel'd in *Hircania*, evermore
> Wil rage and pray: so *Pompey* thou having lickt
> Warme goare from *Syllas* sword art yet athirst,
> Jawes flesht with bloud continue murderous.
>
> (*LFB* 11. 327-332)

This description clearly reminds us of Shakespeare's *3 Henry VI* (c.1591), another contemporary text that deals with a series of battles of the civil war in England. In the drama, York deeply laments the death of her own son, heaping curses on Margaret, the murderer;

> But you are more inhuman, more inexorable—
> O, ten times more— than tigers of Hyrcania.[15]
>
> (*3 Henry VI*, I.iv.154-5)

If *3 Henry VI* was written around 1590-2, the use of the trope "Hircanian tiger" illustrates a literary convention of that period, when the writing about civil war was a cultural boom.

At the end of *Lucan's First Book*, the Roman citizens entreat the soothsayer Aruns to predict their fortune and the outcome of the civil war Caesar has just started. Aruns proceeds to dissect a sacrificed mule, look into its entrails and lecture in detail on the results of his anatomy. This strange sight is at the same time a previewed "type" (or a symbolic event as exposed in typology) of the battle of Pharsalia, that is, of the blood drained in that battle.

> No vaine sprung out but from the yawning gash,
> In steed of red bloud wallowed venemous gore.
> These direful signes made *Aruns* stand amaz'd,
> And searching farther for the gods displeasure,
> The very cullor scard him; . . .
>
> (*LFB* 11. 613-617)

Note here that it is not "bloud" but "venemous gore" that springs from the wounds of the sacrifice. It is nothing other than a preview of the "gore" that is soon to pile up on the soil of the battlefield, so much so that it forms an actual layer on the ground and adheres to the soles of Roman soldiers' boots, as if preventing them from continuing to march. We could further assume

that "venemous gore" has something to do with the blasphemy of the "body politic" of the State, if blood had a sacramental connotation here.

Ⅶ.

So far, we have seen the way allusions to the contemporary social affairs have been made through the process of translation. In our search for such allusions we have focused on Marlowe's digression both from the original *Pharsalia* and from Sulpitius commentaries. Some lines invite readers to associate the Rubicon with the English Pale or the Strait of England; others link stones thrown from slings in the ancient warfare with bullets shot from Spanish vessels. It seems reasonable to assume that post-Armada readers would have been sensitive to those descriptions. Under the reign of Elizabeth in the late 1580s, when she was never free from the crisis of civil war, humanists were likely to discover Roman texts in which the shaky condition of Rome was depicted, a condition where two rulers competed for supreme sovereignty. *Lucan's First Book* can be placed in the genealogy of civil war literature from *Gorboduc* to epic poetry in the eighteenth century in that it underlines the bloodshed of civil war and the blasphemous stain of the homeland soil. *Lucan's First Book* is, we may at least say, involved in the socio-political tensions of that age rather than the purely literary convention of epic.

However, there remains something too complicated to explain from the socio-political viewpoint. Let us again examine the lines of Aruns;

> No vaine sprung out but from the yawning gash,
> In steed of red bloud wallowed venemous gore.
> (*LFB* 11. 613-614)

Gill here points out that the use of "wallow" is very Marlovian, for "wallow" is seldom, if ever, used in the meaning of "stream" or "spring."[16] If we turn our eyes to the original, we can notice that "diffusum" is employed there, which simply means "to diffuse or to stream." Although he doesn't comment on the term "diffusum," Sulpitius, instead, defines "virus" as "poisonous and bloodlike fluids." This offers a clue to Marlowe's rendition of the phrase as "wallowed venemous gore." According to *The OED*, "wallow" is a word that has a strongly sensual nuance of perverted pleasure from writhing in filth or dirty fluids. The use of "wallow" is, then, nothing but an invention that Marlowe's peculiar imagination gives rise to, triggered by the commentary.

Indeed, Marlowe often portrays the "body politic" in *Lucan's First Book* as an erotic body. In the middle section of the translated epic, there is a scene in which the political "body" is stirred to a feverish pulse because of an inauspicious coalition of the inhabitants of the boundary region with Caesar.

Whether the sea roul'd alwaies from that point,
Whence the wind blowes stil forced to and fro;
Or that the wandring maine follow the moone;
Or flaming *Titan* (feeding on the deepe)
Puls them aloft, and makes the surge kisse heaven,
Philosophers looke you, for unto me
Thou cause, what ere thou be whom God assignes
This great effect, art hid. They came that dwell
By *Nemes* fields, and bankes of *Satirus*,
Where *Tarbels* winding shoares imbrace the sea,
The *Santons* that rejoyce in *Caesars* love,
Those of *Bituriges* and light *Axon* pikes;
(*LFB* 11. 413-424)

These lines remind us of the passage from *Hero and Leander*, where kingly Neptune (or the allegory of the sea) attempts to steal the kiss from the red lips of Leander, a beautiful boy who is swimming across the sea to see his love Hero.

The lustie god [Neptune] imbrast him, cald him love,
And swore he never should returne to *Jove*.
But when he knew it was not *Ganimed*,
For under water he was almost dead,
He heav'd him up, and looking on his face,
Beat downe the bold waves with his triple mace,

Which mounted up, intending to have kist him,
And fell in drops like teares, because they mist him.
(*Hero and Leander* II, ll. 167-174)

In the same manner, "flaming *Titan*" in *Lucan's First Book* makes his surge (another innuendo) aloft in order to kiss heaven. It demonstrates how far Marlowe digresses from the original "does flame-laden Titan . . . have the Ocean aloft and draw the sea up to the stars." Moreover, at the "bankes of *Satirus*," whose sound may remind readers of lustful "Satyrus," the "winding" stream of Tarbels eventually embraces the sea. It is nothing other than playful distortions of the epic into sexual verse. What is more noteworthy is Marlowe's (mis-)translation in line 423, though it is not clear whether he consciously mistranslates it or not; Caesar's "amoto" (departure) inscribed in the original Latin is translated as if it were as "amato" (love). There is a commentary on the original "amoto" by Sulpitius: "Caesaris milite, qui olim puer at hostis" (Caesar's soldiers who used to be hostile in childhood). Hence it is obvious that the translation is neither due to the original printing nor to Sulpitius' commentary. As a result of Marlowe's (mis-)translation, the Santons are supposed to be rejoicing at Caesar's homosexual love of them instead of at his departure from their region. Thus, the political "body" writhing amidst internal conflicts overlaps here with the erotic body twisting itself in ecstasy. Here a social predicament is

inseparably mixed with corporeal rejoice. The same kind of digression occurs at the end of the book. In lines 638-671 another prophet Figulus appears immediately after Arruns' pyromancy and speaks of Rome's future in terms of astrology:

> . . . If cold noysome *Saturne*
> Were now exalted, and with blew beames shinde,
> Then *Gaynimede* would renew *Deucalions* flood,
> And in the fleeting sea the earth be drencht.
> (*LFB* 11. 650-653)

The equivalent passage in Lucan's original reads: "If, at the height of heaven, the freezing, /baleful planet Saturn were kindling his inky fires, /Aquarius would have spilled a Deucalean flood of rains /and all the earth would have disappeared in the spreading sea." Here again, Marlowe consults Sulpitius: "the Aquarius signifies metamorphosed Ganymede in mythology." Although Lucan's prophet only enumerates strange omens involving several planets, Marlowe seems to prefer Sulpitius' mythical explication on it to the astrological one. Marlowe's translation consequently underlines, not an astrological virtue of the Aquarius, but the chaotic outcome caused by the homosexual love of Jove with Ganymede. The characteristic bias of Marlowe to the story of Ganymede is exemplified elsewhere in his later plays and poetry. The outset of *Dido* begins with the following speech by Jupiter to

Ganymede: "Come gentle *Ganimed* and play with me, /I love thee well, say *Juno* what she will" (I.i.1-2). Even in *Edward II*, one of his last works, the story is reiterated by Isabella (the Queen of Edward II) who complains of her husband's strange love with his minion:

> For never doted *Jove* on *Ganimed*,
> So much as he on cursed *Gaveston*.
> (*Edward II*, I.iv.180-1)

In these digressions lies Marlovian rhetoric. It is rhetoric similar to what Marlowe employs later in the catastrophe of *Doctor Faustus*, where Faustus' outcry of fear at the final moment, when he is falling down to Hell, merges into an erotic murmur of "*lente, lente, currite noctis equi*"(O, run slowly, slowly, ye horses of the night!). As has been very often pointed out, the Latin phrase is quoted from Ovid's *Amores*, I.xiii.40, where a youth is vainly pleading that Aurora, the goddess of the dawn, may run the course of the dawn as slowly as possible because he wishes to embrace Cirinna his love for ever. Faustus' final outcry during damnation is intermingled with his attachment to sensual and erotic pleasure. The erotic undertone in *Lucan's First Book* aptly portends the mature writer's rhetoric deployed in the climax of *Doctor Faustus*.

In this chapter we have attempted a case study of (mis-)translation which a poet under the weighty influence by his precursors manages to inscribe his age or his personal voice in the text, setting himself free from the burdensome influential sources. Not all the (mis-)translations detected in *Lucan's First Book* should be ascribed to Marlowe's Latin incompetency. Therefore, some of them should be examined in the light of the poet's struggle with his precursors. Marlowe employs two tactics in (mis-)translating Lucan: subtle implications about the England of his day and playful distortions of the epic into sexual verse. Sometimes he alludes to the socio-political affairs of the late 1580s —the Invincible Armada and the Catholic intrigue in Ireland— by modernizing the sources. At other times his (mis-)translations include transformation of battle into sexual dalliance.

However, it requires close examination on the part of readers to uncover those (mis-)translations. At this stage Marlowe dealt with his sources of influence —in this case, Lucan and Sulpitius— so covertly that one might pass over his several (mis-)translations without noticing. The young dramatist still tended to veil humanist materials or influential sources, and this tendency most possibly enabled him to attain theatrical success in 1587-8, when he made his début at the theatre. In the next chapter we will focus on Marlowe's handling of emblem literature

in *Tamburlaine* so that we can examine how covertly Marlowe adapted this influential source into his drama.

CHAPTER TWO

The Adaptation of Emblem Literature in *Tamburlaine*, *The Jew of Malta* and *Edward II*

I.

On the titlepage of *Doctor Faustus* (the quarto of 1604) an emblem is inlaid, which is the same emblem that can be found on the titlepage of the 1597 quarto of Shakespeare's *Richard II* (Fig.1). Presumably Elizabethan readers could understand the meaning of the picture portraying "a boy with wings upon his right arm and with his left-hand holding, or fastened to, a weight."[1] This emblem is, unquestionably one of the variations of Andrea Alciati's emblem 121, the motto of which reads "Poverty hinders the greatest talents from advancing" (Fig.2). There lie some minute differences between the two emblems; the English emblem is a portrait of a boy turning his back to God while the original presents an old man looking up to Him. Gazing at the English variation, we cannot but wonder where this boy wishes to fly when God calls him from behind and whether he is holding a weight or is tied to it. It would be intriguing to associate the variation with atheistic Marlowe (so was he branded by his contemporary writers) if it were not for the historical fact that the emblem was one of the favorites of the printer, V.S., who had used it elsewhere.

This modified emblem, however, forms an exception to the general tendency in English emblem literature, for most of the pictures in English emblem books are complete imitations of Latin emblems. Admittedly, emblem literature in England shows no particular development in itself. Yet Marlowe's drama at the earliest stage, by assimilating emblem literature into it, was able to gain great energy toward making its own identifiable mark. Marlowe made his début in the Elizabethan theatre with the two plays of *Tamburlaine*, the sensational success of which brought him more fame than any of his contemporary playwrights enjoyed. To a remarkable degree Marlowe owed this success to emblem books, which were very popular as a new form of visual entertainment. It was in 1587 that Geffrey Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes*, the first English emblem book was published; most likely in the same year the first play of *Tamburlaine* was staged. A great number of emblematic devices are adapted for spectacular stage pictures in the two plays of *Tamburlaine*. Marlowe's success, as we will examine later in this chapter, resulted from his way of adapting material from emblem literature, a utilization which verged on plagiarism. This tendency toward plagiarism is symptomatic of his way of handling the influential source in the early stages of his career.

As far as they are evaluated by the Shakespearean standard, the stage pictures in *Tamburlaine* are doubtless unworthy to critical attention; they are still fragmental and static though

impressive. But it is still possible to assume that what seems to be too fragmental and static is due to Marlowe's way of handling his sources from emblem literature. Not only did he adapt for the stage pictures a number of emblematic devices from emblem literature, but also assimilated even its method (or structure) into the whole design for *Tamburlaine*. This chapter examines Marlowe's way of adapting emblem literature as one more conflict with his source of influence.

II.

Since the 1970s the Elizabethan drama has been studied in the light of its visual presentation. So far, quite a few critics have pointed out the static and emblematic nature of Marlowe's presentation of stage pictures. Judith Weil, for example, observes that "Marlowe's way with icons resembles his way with allusion," which "makes even a commonplace image difficult to identify."[2] Malcolm Kelsall supplements Weil's view when he focuses on "Marlowe's attempt to preserve an iconographical role of his protagonist which demands that he represent something more than a mere individual."[3] Other critics examine how the static pictures are related to the whole design of the plays. Clifford Leech points out the alternation of scenes of activity with those of inactivity, insisting on "the need for the Tamburlaine scenes to be frequently static."[4] It is, then, surprising that the relationship between the overall method (or structure) of emblem literature and the technique by

which Marlowe constructs stage pictures has not been fully studied. The influence of emblem literature on *Edward II* alone has received a careful analysis in the collaborative study by David Bevington and James Shapiro.[5] When they interpret a painted shield featuring an emblem employed in the play, they compare it with the woodcut of emblem 170 from "a version of Alciati's popular and influential Emblemata." However, the influence of emblem literature should not be restricted only to *Edward II*, for applications of emblems can be found throughout Marlowe's entire works, which spanned from *Tamburlaine* (1587-8) to *The Massacre at Paris* (1593).

First, we will sketch Marlowe's employment of emblem literature throughout all his works in terms of three modes of adaptation. The first emblem book was published by an Italian craftsman, Andrea Alciati in 1531. This book achieved widespread popularity throughout the Continent in the sixteenth century, and a great number of editions were printed in the same century. The emblem book itself, originally designed as an epigram book with illustrations, consisted of a unique structure; fragmental emblems, each of which is constructed of a motto, an icon and an epigram, were printed randomly throughout the book. Though epigrams and mottoes tended to be variously modified or removed during the process of diffusion, emblem icons left traces of the original designs intact. In comparing Marlowe's plays with emblem literature we will focus on these three modes of adaptation: (1)

employment of emblem icons for stage pictures, (2) borrowings from emblem epigrams or mottos and (3) verbalization of emblem icons in speeches.

(1) Employment of emblem icons for stage pictures

Marlowe's audience first knew emblems through Geffrey Whitney, who published the first English emblem book, *A Choice of Emblemes* in 1586. Although it was generally an imitation of Andrea Alciati's *Emblemata*, it gained popularity among Elizabethan readers. The part of the audience familiar with it were probably excited to see one of the cruel scenes in *Tamburlaine* (first performed in around 1587-88) where the Turkish emperor Bajazeth, being confined in a cage, is fed from Tamburlaine's sword's point. It would have been all the more interesting because they probably knew that a cage is an allegory signifying servitude of spirit as well as body. They owed that information to Whitney's emblem of servitude (p.101), the icon of which is a large cage containing a nightingale (Fig.3). Amidst the cultural explosion of emblem literature, Marlowe was employing this celebrated icon of servitude and depending on privileged knowledge on the part of the literate class in the audience to interpret the stage picture.

To a surprising degree, the static stage pictures in *Tamburlaine* show close affinities with Alciati's book of emblems, which Marlowe is supposed to have read using some continental editions. One of the most exemplary instances of Marlowe's

employment of emblem icons can be seen in a series where Tamburlaine is mocking the defeated emperor Bajazeth. The victor has caged the Turkish emperor and then mocks him by using him as a footstool.

> But Villaine, thou that wishest this to me,
> Fall prostrate on the lowe disdainefull earth.
> And be the foot-stoole of great *Tamburlain*,
> That I may rise into my royall throne.
> (I.IV.ii. 12-15)

In emblem literature there is a symbol for the victory of God over Devils; in ancient hieroglyphics (which is supposed to be the prototype of emblem literature) an eagle is portrayed as stamping on a serpent. If we recall that Tamburlaine assumes the role of "the Scourge of God," the stage picture quoted above is adequate enough to remind us of his ultimate role. There is a similar emblematic scene in the B-text of *Doctor Faustus*, the scene in which the Roman Pope tramples upon "Saxon Bruno," an alternative pope appointed by the Protestant Emperor of Germany.

> *Pope*. To me and Peter shalt thou grovelling lie
> And crouch before the papal dignity.
> Sound trumpets, then, for thus Saint Peter's heir
> From Bruno's back ascends Saint Peter's chair.

A fourish while he ascends.

(*Faustus B* III.i. 94-97)

The "Saxon Bruno" Scene is, indeed, the most famous example to show how Marlowe adapted the same icon for his later plays, yet we can see quite a few similar instances elsewhere. In *The Massacre at Paris* (1592), The Duke of Guise murders Lord Admiral, an influential Huguenot, whose corpse he sets his foot on:

> Ah base *Shatillian* and degenerate,
> Cheef standard bearer to the Lutheranes,
> Thus in despite of thy Religion,
> The Duke of *Guise* stampes on thy liveles bulke.
>
> (scene v, 312-315)

It must be remembered that Guise is, throughout the play, portrayed as a defying atheist. What is represented here is the victory of the atheist Duke over "cheef standard bearer to the Lutheranes." So much so, the stage picture adapted here by Marlowe from emblem literature seems to deviate from the original of the victory of God over Devils.

In his later plays, Marlowe used some other emblematic icons for the plots of retribution which inevitably awaits his protagonists. Even Faustus is to fall into "the jaws of hell" (theatrically, the pit) in the final scene after he "surfeits upon cursèd

necromancy." The way of Faustus' end corresponds with the retribution for gluttons in emblem literature. In the same way, Barabas suffers from "the extremity of heat" until he dies with "intolerable pangs." His end is in harmony with the emblem tradition, for the retribution for "greed" is often represented in a picture where a covetous man is put into a cauldron of boiling oil. *Le grant kalendrier et compost des Bergiers* printed in Troyes, 1496, offers a typical example of that picture (Fig.4).

The retribution that the homosexual protagonist in *Edward II* suffers is the most horrible in all of Marlowe's plays. This poor homosexual king raises an extreme outcry while pierced through from his anus by a red-hot iron spit, so much so that his final cry may "raise the town." However, more ingenious adaptations of emblem literature can be seen in the middle part of the play, where Edward's decline is rendered emblematically. After defeat in battle with the barons (Act Four Scene Six), Edward takes refuge in a monastery, where he gives vent to his hearty desire to live quietly:

> Father, this life contemplative is heaven,
> O that I might this life in quiet lead. . .
> (*Edward II* IV.vii.20-21)

Scarcely has he completed his soliloquy when a couple of pursuers charged with apprehending the king enter the stage with Welsh

hooks, the chasers called Rice Ap Howel and Mower. The stage picture here represents the emblematic motif of *Danse macabre*, which is connected to a widespread image of Death as a reaper (or a mower) with a scythe (Fig.5). Another emblematic figure is Lightborn who is also hired by Mortimer Junior to torment and ultimately to murder Edward (Act Five Scene Five). This ominous figure, whose name is etymologically related to Lucifer, steps into the utterly dark dungeon where Edward is imprisoned, holding a red glowing light, that is, the spit by which the king is executed:

> *Edward.* Whose there, What light is that, wherefore comes thou?
> *Lightborne.* To comfort you, and bring you joyfull newes.
> (V.v.42-43)

Here emblematic icons are incorporated into the general scheme of retribution so conspicuously that the audience cannot have failed to notice it. (By contrast, as we will see below, it requires careful analyses to interpret the icons adapted for stage pictures in *Tamburlaine* because they are too covertly incorporated into the play to leave any trace of the adaptation.)

(2) Borrowings from emblem epigrams or mottoes

Marlowe's concerns in emblem literature are not only directed to its icons but also to its epigrams and mottoes. On a several occasions he attempts to adapt for speeches succinct and pithy

epigrams and mottoes from emblem literature. References to Fortune, Fortune Wheel, the Fates and Occasion are pervasive throughout his plays. When he is at the apex of political treachery (Act Five Scene Two), Barabas admonishes himself on the freak nature of Occasion:

> Begin betimes, Occasion's bald behind,
> Slip not thine opportunity, for feare to late
> Thou seek'st for much, but canst not compasse it.
> (*The Jew of Malta* V.ii.44-46)

It is almost certain that the Elizabethan audience recollected the widespread image of the goddess Occasion portrayed in Whitney's emblem under the motto of "*In occasionem.*" The figure of Occasion in it stands on a wheel with a long forelock, and is bald at the back of her head (Fig.6). Moreover, the same image is frequently enunciated in certain impressive speeches by Marlowe's protagonists. Tamburlaine dauntlessly avows that he holds

> ... the Fates bound fast in yron chaines,
> And with my hand turne Fortunes wheel about,
> (*Tamburlaine* I.I.ii.174-5)

By contrast, Mortimer Junior is resigned to his fate when he is finally indicted as a traitor:

Base Fortune, now I see, that in thy wheele
There is a point, to which when men aspire,
They tumble hedlong downe: that point I touchte,
And seeing there was no place to mount up highter,
Why should I greeve at my declining fall?
(*Edward II* V.vi.59-63)

The epigrams in emblem literature are also applied to the intrigues of Barabas, the clever trickster. With the purpose of revenging himself on the Governor of Malta, Barabas plotted a duel between Lodowick, the Governor's son and Mathias, Abigail's lover, both of whom will die in the course of the fight. While revealing his wily intention to his servant Ithamore, Barabas warns him in the following motto: "Yet be not rash, but doe it cunningly" (Act Two Scene Three). Here we may point out an echo from Whitney's emblem of "Hasten slowly," the icon of which is a crab that holds a butterfly in its claws (Fig.7). Note that Barabas provokes the rivalry in love between the two youths with a forged cartel. Just as the crab holds the butterfly with its firm and slow grip, so Barabas attempts to revenge himself on the Governor, that is, to take his son's life with the circuitous treachery of the young lovers' voluntary duel.

(3) Verbalization of emblematic icons for speeches

One example of verbalization, which is directly borrowed from the icon of Aliciati's emblem 86 (and its English version by

Whitney), appears in Act Five Scene Two of *The Jew of Malta*. When he successfully rises up to the position of Maltese Governor in that scene, he reveals the next intrigue:

> For he that liveth in Authority,
> And neither gets him friends, nor fils his bags,
> Lives like the Asse that *AEsope* speaketh of,
> That labours with a load of bread and wine,
> And leaves it off to snap on Thistle tops:
> (*The Jew of Malta* V.ii.38-42)

This description is an exact verbalization of emblem 86 (its motto is "On misers"), in which an ass feeds on the trifling things like thistles while it is carrying costly foods and wines on its back (Fig.8).

If one examines all of Marlowe's texts in comparison with their sources, the adaptation of emblem literature seems to have developed throughout Marlowe's writing career. In the following sections we will focus on Marlowe's earliest employment of emblem literature by examining the way he adapts it for the two plays of *Tamburlaine* so that we can observe his development in dealing with the influential source.

Ⅲ.

Since we have sketched the overall influence of emblem literature on Marlowe's dramaturgy, we will turn our eyes to his

earlier use of the source in his earliest plays, the two plays of *Tamburlaine*. First we had better examine how Marlowe employed each piece of emblems for the stage pictures in those plays.

In 1549 Henri the Second of Valois France made a triumphal entry into Paris. The arch, which was monumentally built for the entry, was topped with an emblem allegorizing Hercules' eulogy, indubitably borrowed from Alciati's emblem book (Fig.9). The original is emblem 181 under the motto of "Eloquence more powerful than strength" (Fig.10); it portrays Hercules with a club, and from his mouth stretch a few chains which bind four classes of people by the ears. When this emblem was brought into Valois France, it became an allegory for the Gallic Hercules who tied up the four classes by chains of eloquence. Even in England a similar icon from the "eloquence" emblem is employed on the stage of *Tamburlaine*, accompanying one of Marlowe's rhetorical features of the Invitation-to-Love poetry. In Act One Scene Two of *1Tamburlaine*, the protagonist for the first time enters the stage leading his vassals and the Median peers now captured. In the midst of the triumphant entry, he courts Zenocrate, the daughter of the Soldan of Egypt, who grieves because of her bad fortune and captivity. In this monologue we can sense the rhythm "come live with me, and be my love" of *The Passionate Shepherd to his Love*.

Disdaines *Zenocrate* to live with me?
Or you my Lordes to be my followers?

My martiall prises with five hundred men,
Wun on the fiftie headed *Vuolgas* waves,
Shall all we offer to *Zenocrate*,
And then my selfe to fair *Zenocrate*.
(I.I.ii. 82-105)

In the following speech Tamburlaine attempts to win the heart of Theridamas, one of the competent Persian captains, in order to invite him into the army as his new vassal. The style of invitation that Tamburlaine adopts here is a variation of the discourse Tamburlaine used to win the heart of Zenocrate.

Forsake thy king and do but joine with me
And we will triumph over all the world.

If thou wilt stay with me, renowmed man,
And lead thy thousand horse with my conduct,
Besides thy share of this Egyptian prise,
Those thousand horse shall sweat with martiall spoile
Of conquered kingdomes, and of Cities sackt.

Then shalt thou be Competitor with me,

And sit with *Tamburlaine* in all his majestie.

(I.I.ii. 172-209)

Charmed by Tamburlaine's inviting speech, Theridamas immediately decides to "be competitor with" the orator:

Won with thy words, and conquered with thy looks,
I yeeld my selfe, my men and horse to thee:
To be partaker of thy good or ill,
As long as life maintaines *Theridamas*.

(I.I.ii. 228-231)

Throughout the static scene where the protagonist first appears on the stage the "eloquence" icon is perceivable, employed as a stage picture. Just as French King Henri II ties up all the four classes by the chain of eloquence, so does Tamburlaine bind the hearts of the captured, one after another, with his unique "Invitation" discourse.

We can also observe some examples of visual embodiments of epigrams or mottoes from emblem literature. In *Tamburlaine* several stage properties visualize certain key messages from emblem epigrams or mottoes. In this respect Tamburlaine's military tent should be considered; the colors of his tent (or pavilion) are symbolic of destruction. This is first reported by a messenger to the Soldan of Egypt, one of Tamburlaine's antagonists.

The first day when he pitcheth downe his tentes,
White is their huw, and on his silver crest
A snowy Feather spangled white he beares,
To signify the mildnesse of his minde:
That satiate with spoile refuseth blood.
But when *Aurora* mounts the second time,
As red as scarlet is his furniture,
Then must his kindled wrath bee quencht with blood,
Not sparing any that can manage armes.
But if these threats moove not submission,
Black are his collours, blacke Pavilion,
His speare, his shield, his horse, his armour, plumes,
And Jetty Feathers menace death and hell.
Without respect of Sex, degree or age,
He raceth all his foes with fire and sword.

(I.IV.i. 49-63)

In the emblem tradition, each colour has its own symbolic meaning. Alciati draws an emblem under the motto of "On Colours" (this one is identified with Whitney's emblem in p.134), which explains the symbolic meanings of colours one by one. It says that "the blackish colour is the token of grief . . . . But a white robe is the sign of a sincere spirit and a pure mind . . . . But let a blood-red cloak adorn armed knights" (Fig.11). It is also

noteworthy that the three colours are respectively associated with Heaven, Hell, and the Earth in the same emblem.

On the first day of siege, Tamburlaine is still like a pensive person wearing white, without bloodstains, but on the second day he appears as a valiant knight, being ferocious though still temperate. When the last day comes, he is nothing but an embodiment of reaping Death, who leaves ruins, a pool of blood and great sorrow in the sieged town. There is a conspicuous echo in this idea of colours from Robert Fludd, the contemporary occult philosopher who thought that black and white the extremes of luminosity and red was the middle colour between the extremes.[6] This concept is not in disagreement with the emblem tradition and the way Marlowe arranges the colours for Tamburlaine's property from white through red to black.

Undoubtedly "valour" is one of the key words because the same word is frequently voiced by Tamburlaine. The matter is: how is it rendered emblematically? Valour is represented by Alciati's emblem 57 as "Fury and rage" (Fig.12). In the center of this emblem, armoured Agamemnon raises a sword in the right hand and a shield depicting a lion in the left. Moreover, a city wrapped in flames can be seen in the background. Undoubtedly "fire," "sword" and "lion" are all attributes of wrath, yet Agamemnon is here represented rather heroically. A similar picture is displayed on the stage in the second scene of Part Two

Act Three. Tamburlaine sets fire to the town where Zenocrate breathed her last.

So, burne the turrets of this cursed towne,
Flame to the highest region of the aire:
And kindle heaps of exhalations,
That being fiery meteors, may presage,
Death and destruction to th'inhabitants.

Flieng Dragons, lightning, fearfull thunderclaps,
Sindge these fair plaines, and make them seeme as black
As is the Island where the Furies maske,
Compast with *Lethe*, *Styx*, and *Phlegeton*,
Because my deare *Zenocrate* is dead.
(II.III.ii. 1-14)

Tamburlaine's valour is, as David Daiches asserts, represented through static gestures "to find actions which are at least symbolic of something larger than themselves."[7] The static gesture of Tamburlaine with the burning city at the background is rendered symbolically as a way to find expression producing valour on the stage. It is, however, understandable that fury is associated with valour both in Alciati's emblem and in Tamburlaine's posture cited above. The word "fury" does not necessarily mean anger or madness in the modern sense but heroic passion in

those days, as *The OED* defines. Any reader of Renaissance texts, who is aware of the influence of Renaissance Platonism, will recall that "fury" was a popular concept through the influential writings such as Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* and Bruno's *De gli eroici furori*.

How battles are emblematically rendered is our next concern. Both parts of *Tamburlaine* are thoroughly lacking of battle scenes, though all episodes are of the expedition of the conqueror. For the invincible warrior, any outcome of battle must be either a complete victory or a peaceful concord with opponents. In both cases, it is emblematically embodied in any given scene after clashing sound-effects have been produced from behind the stage.

Emblematic stage pictures bearing on Tamburlaine's victory are abundant: the cage scene (I.IV.ii; V.ii), the stamping one, where the defeated emperor is used as a footstool (I.IV.ii), and the celebrated chariot scene of "Holla, ye pampered Jades of *Asia*" (II.IV.iii). Though these had originally been emblems of diverse, mutually irrelevant, meanings, Marlowe wryly adapted them for Tamburlaine's heroic action. Among them, the last one is the most impressive;in Act Four Scene Three of the second play, Tamburlaine enters, "*drawen in his chariot by* Trebizon *and* Soria *with bittes in their mouthes, reines in his left hand, in his right hand a whip, with which he scourgeth them*" (II.IV.iii, stage direction).

Holla, ye pampered Jades of *Asia*:
What, can ye draw but twenty miles a day,
And have so proud a chariot at your heeles,
And such a Coachman as great *Tamburlaine*?
(II.IV.iii. 1-4)

The chariot was a useful emblem, which instantly showed the relationship between the victor and the defeated to the audience. Presumably Alciati's emblem 29 and 106 were the sources of this design (Fig.13). Marlowe became the originator of this efficacious, dramatic technique, using those symbolic stage pictures of the chariots.

As we mentioned above, any outcome of battle must be either a complete victory or a peaceful concord with opponents. Throughout both plays of *Tamburlaine* the scenes of peaceful concord are scarce, but the first play of *Tamburlaine* ends with emblems of Pax. When the concord of Tamburlaine with the Soldan of Egypt, the father of Zenocrate, is completed, Tamburlaine and his followers all hang up their armour on "*Alcides* poste."

Hang up your weapons on *Alcides* poste,
For *Tamburlaine* takes truce with al the world.
(I.V.i. 528-529)

Pax is in Alciati's book represented as armour not in use which are left on the ground (emblem 177, 178) (See Fig.14). When Marlowe produced Tamburlaine on the stage hanging up his belongings on the door post of the temple of Alcide (which is a variant name for Hercules), some parts of the audience versed in emblem literature must have recognized that it emblematically represented Pax.

So far, we have enumerated the examples of Marlowe's adaptation of emblem literature into *Tamburlaine*. Although Marlowe exploits the fragmentary and impressive nature of the source successfully, the method of adaptation reveals Marlowe's limitations as a recipient of that influential genre. On one hand, it seems to be indeed a successful dealing with emblem literature, given that a number of emblems are represented on the stage for the first time in the history of Elizabethan drama. Yet, it also uncovers his inclination to leave the source of influence covered. At the same time it seems to be a clever adaptation on the part of the producer, it is far from mastery over the influence in that it assumes a conspiracy with only a portion of the audience — who can identify any given stage picture with its emblematic source — of interpreting the hidden meanings. In *Tamburlaine* he assimilated the emblems of Alciati and Whitney into the text so covertly that it required privileged knowledge to interpret the stage pictures, which inevitably

excluded the unprivileged audience from collaborating on the dramatic experience in the theatre.

Ⅳ.

Not only did he adapt for the stage pictures a number of the icons from emblematic literature but also assimilated into the whole structure of *Tamburlaine* structural designs which generally underlie each emblem book. In comparison with *Tamburlaine*, we will focus on two general designs in emblem literature: (1) the design of juxtaposition that presents two contrasting images together in their respective icons (2) the mosaic design which enables a collection of fragmentary pieces to form one overall pattern.

(1) The design of juxtaposition

Emblem literature has a remarkable feature in its way of presentation, that is, juxtaposition. Van del Noot's emblem book, *A Theater for Worldlings* (published in 1569) is exemplary of this feature. About half of the emblems listed in the book present pairs of contrasting images juxtaposed in their respective icons. This can be found in Alciati's emblem book as well; emblem 155 allegorizes the fickleness of Fortune by juxtaposing an old man fancying a young woman with a young man who lies breathless on the ground, accidentally shot by the arrows exchanged by Death and Eros (Fig.15).

Similarly, the emblematic pictures of valour are contrastingly juxtaposed with those which are mainly discordant

with the valour pictures in some scenes of *2Tamburlaine*. The valiant image of the protagonist is emphatically contrasted with a meek and effeminate image of his family when he first enters the stage in the second part.

> So, now she [Zenocrate] sits in pompe and majestie:
> When these my sonnes, more precious in mine eies
> Than all the wealthy kingdomes I subdewed:
> Plac'd by her side, looke on their mothers face.
> (II.I.iii. 17-20)

Here Marlowe turns our attention from Tamburlaine's warlike face to the serene image of a holy mother and her sons. But this sight is ill-matched with Tamburlaine, the warlike man. The man of war soon makes the sight problematic.

> But yet me thinks their looks are amorous,
> Not martiall as the sons of *Tamburlaine*.
> (II.I.iii. 21-22)

The looks of the sons are here represented by their father as being too amorous to be martial. Marlowe's theatrical technique is reinforced by this method of emblematic juxtaposition, for this stage picture not only reflects Tamburlaine's insensitivity to the human bond, but enables the protagonist to be distinct from other

personae as if his existence as the "scourge of God" were autonomous for itself.

The germ of discord presented in the scene above soon grows into a serious conflict between the father and one of his sons. This conflict is represented by a juxtaposition of wrath with sloth. Wrath is in this period personified in a man who wounds himself without finding a mark toward which to emit his passion, as Furor, in *Fairy Queen* 2.4.3, violently tears his hair. Moreover, in the pageant scene of Seven Deadly Sins in *Doctor Faustus*, wrath is characterized in this way:

> I am Wrath. I had neither father nor mother. I leaped out of a lion's mouth when I was scarce half an hour old, and ever since I have run up and down the world with this case of rapiers, wounding myself when I had nobody to fight withal.
>
> (*FaustusA*. II.iii. 125-129)

To some degree Tamburlaine seems to be another Wrath, who will "run up and down the world with this case of rapiers," even wounding himself when he has "nobody to fight withal." Resenting the cowardice and effeminacy of his sons, Tamburlaine cuts his own arm and admonishes them as to the meaning of valour in this psudo-sacramental manner. For the father makes his sons feel the wound by fingers while cutting his arm.

View me thy father that hath conquered kings,
And with his hoste marcht round about the earth,
Quite voide of skars, and cleare from any wound,
That by the warres lost not a dram of blood,
And see him lance his flesh to teach you all.
He cuts his arm.
A wound is nothing be it nere so deepe,
Blood is the God of Wars rich livery.
(II.III.ii. 110-116)

By contrast, Calyphas, one of his sons, is characterized as an embodiment of sloth. He rejects any kind of activity in warfare. And this is his answer when his brothers urge him to follow their father to the battlefield:

Goe, goe tall stripling, fight you for us both,
And take my other toward brother here,
For person like to proove a second *Mars*.
Twill please my mind as wel to heare both you
Have won a heape of honor in the field,
And left your slender carkasses behind,
As if I lay with you for company.
(II.IV.i. 33-39)

Throughout the fourth scene of Act Four, Tamburlaine raging in the field and Calyphas indulging in cards inside the tent are juxtaposed against each other. In their encounter at the end of the scene, the raging father (or the Wrath) stabs his own son, stigmatizing him as

> Image of sloth, and picture of a slave
> (II.IV.i. 91)

More impressive juxtaposition can be seen in the later scenes of the play. A favorite theme inherited from the Medieval Ages was that any high person, whether he be a king or a pope, was haunted by Death—the *Danse Macabre*. The idea of Death, often personified in unidentified and various shapes, reaping all men with the scythe, was still popular in Marlowe's days.[8] In Act Four Scene Two of *2 Tamburlaine* the protagonist feels himself suddenly distempered after the conquest of Babylon. In the subsequent scene where Tamburlaine enters, drawn in his chariot, he looks mortally exhausted by the disease. He raves and roars to illusory Death.

> See where my slave, the uglie monster death
> Shaking and quivering, pale and wan for feare,
> Stands aiming at me with his murthering dart,
> Who flies away at every glance I give,

And when I look away, comes stealing on:
Villaine away, and hie thee to the field,
I and myne armie come to lode thy barke
With soules of thousand mangled carkasses.
Looke where he goes, but see, he comes againe
Because I stay:

(II.V.iii. 67-76)

It is noteworthy that no one other than the protagonist can detect "the uglie monster death" in appearance. This may well remind us of the impressive banquet scene in *Macbeth*, where Macbeth roars to the invisible ghost of Banquo. In both cases the way of juxtaposing the image of Death with the seemingly deranged protagonist is dramatically effective.

The same sort of juxtaposition is reiterated in the following scene. In the very appalling scene where Tamburlaine talks of Death, the physicians step forward to the front of the stage so as to explain to Tamburlaine his physical condition. It is not until this moment that we recognize their presence on the stage, though they have been probably on the stage from the start of the scene.

Pleaseth your Majesty to drink this potion,
Which wil abate the furie of your fit,
And cause some milder spirits governe you.

(II.V.iii. 78-80)

Their presence in the foreground is significantly ominous throughout the *Tamburlaine* plays, for they are the same physicians that once treated Zenocrate in vain. In the previous scene where Zenocrate died, they acted as if they were prophets of her death:

> And if she passe this fit, the worst is past.
> (II.II.iv. 40)

This remark is repeated once again in the second play; when First Physician appears to see Tamburlaine's condition in the final act, he thus offers counsel:

> Yet if your majesty may escape this day,
> No doubt, but you shal soone recover all.
> (II.v.iii. 98-9)

In either case, the subjunctive "if" sounds ironic. As we have seen above, this irony is brought about in terms of visual presentations as well. Distempered Tamburlaine is here juxtaposed with the messenger of Death in the shape of the physician. Marlowe's ironic art reintroduces an emblem, the *danse macabre*, in this climactic scene in which the diseased old conqueror, and grim Death and its messenger physicians —whether visionary or symbolic— are arranged in juxtaposition.

The end of the second play involves the most enigmatic juxtaposition of a chariot with a hearse in it. Immediately after the mortally sick conqueror crowned Amyras his eldest son and set him on the imperial seat of the chariot, he fetches the hearse of his wife:

> Now fetch the hearse of faire *Zenocrate*,
> Let it be plac'd by this my fatall chaire,
> And serve as parcell of my funerall.
> (II.V.iii. 213-5)

The enigma of this contrasting images should be examined along with the significant question of how the idea of magnanimity was accepted in this period. Analyzing the contrast between the statues of Giuliano and Lorenzo in the Medici Chapel in his *Studies in Iconology*, Erwin Panofsky thus comments on the idea of "magnanimita"[9] (Fig. 16).

> Giuliano, on the other hand, holds a princely sceptre and with his open left he offers two coins. Both these motifs, symbolically contrasting him who "spends" himself in outward action with him who "shuts himself off" in self-centred contemplation, are described by Ripa under the heading "Magnanimità," and this is just as

much a Jovial trait as parsimony is a Saturnian one...

(Panofsky p.211)

This synthesis of activity with contemplation, represented by the two statues, aptly reminds us of Tamburlaine's speech of "conceiving and subduing both."

> Save onely that in Beauties just applause,
> With whose instinct the soule of man is toucht,
> And every warriour that is rapt with love
> Of fame, of valour, and of victory,
> Must needs have beauty beat on his conceites.
> I thus conceiving and subduing both:
> That which hath stoopt the tempest of the Gods,
> Even from the fiery spangled vaile of heaven,
> To feele the lovely warmth of shepheards flames,
> And martch in cottages of strowed weeds:
> Shall give the world to note, for all my byrth,
> That Vertue solely is the sum of glorie,
> And fashions men with true nobility.
>
> (my emphasis) (I.v.i. 178-190)

It is often pointed out that Tamburlaine is here torn asunder between love and honour, introspection and action, or between masculinity and femininity. But these kinds of binary

oppositions, though common to the modern readers, are not applicable to Renaissance thought, which was characterized by an irresistible attempt to synthesize all to one whole. Marlowe bestows magnanimity on his protagonist, by which he can "conceive and subdue both." It is reinforced by the final martial speech of Tamburlaine at the hearse of Zenocrate, the hearse that serves as an essential attribute for the person of magnanimity.

They bring in the hearse.

Now eies, injoy your latest benefite,
And when my soule hath vertue of your sight,
Pierce through the coffin and the sheet of gold,
And glut your longings with a heaven of joy.
So, reigne my sonne, scourge and controlle those slaves,
Guiding thy chariot with thy Fathers hand.

(II.v.iii. 224-229)

These lines, though there seems to be an incongruity between line 227 and 228, correspond with the juxtaposition of the hearse with the chariot. Here in the last scene magnanimity is represented successfully and ingeniously by the combination of two binaries: love/honour, introspection/action, femininity /masculinity, hearse/chariot and conceiving/subduing.

(2)The mosaic design

As many critics have pointed out, each of the two plays of *Tamburlaine* lacks unity of plot. In this sense it is, as Kimberly Benston states, an anti-dramatic play involving a marcher, whose "procession of battles forming by accumulation a catalogue of triumph reinforcing the underlying linguistic pulse and causing a kind of incantatory effect."[10] But we might add this to his statement, for Benston ignores Marlowe's strategy of assimilating the structure of emblem literature into his drama; Marlowe is enterprising, not only in "forming by accumulation a catalogue of triumph," but also in shaping fragmentary stage pictures into a design.

In Alciati's emblem under the motto of "the twelve labours of Hercules. allegorically," the twelve allegorical images of his deeds are scattered around a comparatively big portrait of the demigod majestically standing in its center (Fig.17). This emblem (138) is the epitome of the mosaic design of emblem literature, which underlies the structure of the *Tamburlaine* plays, the structure of fragmentary stage pictures loosely linked together to portray the gigantic protagonist.

Truly, a mass of emblems in each play of *Tamburlaine* are fragmentary in themselves; we might sense a rough sketch of the overall design, the design of visually representing Tamburlaine with valour and magnanimity. These two keywords are aptly presented as the attributes for Tamburlaine in a caesura during

his speech when he crowns his contributory kings in Act Four Scene Four of *1 Tamburlaine*.

> Deserve these tytles I endow you with,
> By valure and by magnanimity.
>
> (I.IV.iv. 125-126)

Though Marlowe's strategy of scene-making consists in linearly accumulating fragmentary emblems, it is also characterized as a design of shaping the fragments into one whole mosaic. Note that the term "mosaic" is the original meaning of Latin "emblema." Surely each part of *Tamburlaine* consists of a catalogue of stage pictures that are fragmentary or mutually irrelevant. However, there is a design by which we are required to see one whole picture, as the prologue of the first play entreats the audience to "view but his picture in this tragicke glasse." Thus, the design of emblem literature seems to enable fragmentary stage pictures to make up a barely synthetic whole under those key concepts. This sort of design leads us to conclude that the pictorial device in Alciati's Hercules' emblem underlies the two plays of *Tamburlaine*. If we take into account that these plays were the first embodiments of influential emblem literature on the Elizabethan stage, we must admit that it was an all-encompassing adaptation of the source of influence; not only did Marlowe transplant emblematic fragments (the icon, the motto and the

epigram of each emblem included) onto the stage but also assimilated into his plays the structural design of emblem literature.

V.

So far, we have examined Marlowe's adaptation of emblem literature into the two plays of *Tamburlaine*. Not only each stage picture but also the whole designs of the two plays demonstrate Marlowe's careful manipulation of the source. However, this way of adaptation reveals Marlowe's limitations as a recipient of influence. In *Tamburlaine* he assimilated the emblems of Alciati and Whitney into the texts so covertly that it requires privileged knowledge to interpret the stage pictures, which inevitably excluded the unprivileged from collaborating on the dramatic experience in the theatre. As a conclusion, there is no denying that it was still an academic rendering of the source, whether the majority of the audience of the age could identify his stage pictures with their sources or not. Nor can we deny the possibility that Marlowe made such a theatrically sensational success only through veiling (or concealing) the traces of influence in his play texts.

It is only in his later career that a totally different adaptation of emblem literature comes to be conspicuous, the adaptation of the source in order to reveal its hidden design. At this stage, Marlowe was inclined to bring the sources of influence to the surface, instead of concealing them beneath the structure of his drama by way of mistranslation and adaptation. The

adaptation of emblem literature in his later plays, however, illustrates this transition. Perhaps the most typical of this occurs in Act Two Scene Two of *Edward II*, where Edward holds a ceremony to welcome Gaveston, his minion from exile, while the barons protestingly bear the minion's presence. At the court Lancaster, a supporter of the sect opposing the King, brings in an emblematic shield by which he intends to mock Gaveston, though he insists that he is only offering an ornament to celebrate the occasion. This is how Lancaster explicates his emblematic device on the shield:

> My lord, mines more obscure than *Mortimers*.
> *Plinie* reports, there is a flying Fish,
> Which all the other fishes deadly hate,
> And therefore being pursued, it takes the aire:
> No sooner is it up, but thers a foule,
> That seaseth it: this fish my lord I beare,
> The motto this, *Undique mors est*.
>
> (*Edward II* II.ii.22-28)

It is highly possible that Marlowe applied emblem 170 of Alciati's *Emblemata* to the above scene. The original emblem shows a small fish bothered not only by other bigger fish in the sea but also by fouls in the air (Fig.18). Whitney translated its motto of "*undique debilitas*" as "Ah feeble state, on euerie side anoi'de,"

which sharply portends Gaveston's fate. Marlowe handles the genre of emblem literature itself in the marginal part of *Edward II*; Alciati's emblem 170 appears in a stage property, Lancaster's shield as a symbolic device with which to challenge Edward. In this way Marlowe highlights the genre itself by revealing the method of it. In other words, the tacit convention that works between any emblem picture and its seer is revealed, so that Marlowe can produce a new tacit relation between the audience and the scene where the design of the emblem is revealed. In the scene above only the protagonist Edward is ignorant of the meaning of the emblematic shield while both the opposing barons and the audience know. That he inserts the source of influence into the little stage property of the shield with the flyfish emblem is quite effective for that end.

We can find another example of his later adaptation of emblem literature in *The Jew of Malta*. As we have seen above, Barabas' final long monologue of intrigue was a verbalization of the ass emblem:

> For he that liveth in Authority,
> And neither gets him friends, nor fils his bags,
> Lives like the Asse that *AEsope* speaketh of,
> That labours with a load of bread and wine,
> And leaves it off to snap on Thistle tops:
>
> (*The Jew of Malta* V.ii.38-42)

It is very characteristic of Marlowe's later adaptation of emblem literature, for no sooner has Barabas been proclaimed a political trickster instead of an allegorical miser (or an ass) than he suffers the final retribution for avarice. In spite of his avowal that he would never be the avaricious ass, he is to fall into the cauldron that executes a man of avarice. The moment he purges himself of the stigma of avarice, he is destined to suffer the death for avarice. A certain ironic effect is produced here only because it is backed by the widespread emblem of the silly ass in the early 1590s. This sort of adaptation, we should admit, demonstrates mastery over emblem literature on the part of Marlowe. It is this way of revealing and foregrounding sources of influence that he is to take up when he casts as dramatic personae Giordano Bruno, Niccolo Machiavelli and Peter Ramus (which we will see in the following chapters.) However, it is, we should remember, only perceivable in one of the plays produced in his last years around 1592. In his earliest career he rather seems to have covertly interwoven into his plays, not only a collection of emblematic devices but also the designs from emblem literature which was booming in the late 1580s.

CHAPTER THREE

The New Actaeon's Fortune, A and B: Giordano Bruno in the Two Texts of *Doctor Faustus*

I.

It is characteristic of Marlowe's later plays that the sources of influence are produced as dramatic personae: Giordano Bruno in *Doctor Faustus*, Niccolo Machiavelli in *The Jew of Malta* and Peter Ramus in *The Massacre at Paris*. These personifications demonstrate a shift in the way Marlowe deals with the influential sources, the shift from veiling the sources to exposing or foregrounding them. *Doctor Faustus*, above all, exemplifies this tendency of exposing influences, for it was produced in the period when Marlowe began to reveal his sources of influence on the stage instead of concealing them.

The personification of Giordano Bruno named "Saxon Bruno" in *Doctor Faustus* is, however, problematic. While it is true that he tended to represent the influential persons of his age in his plays, it is doubtful whether it was Marlowe himself who introduced Bruno in *Doctor Faustus*. Though scholars agree that Marlowe must have read the works of Niccolo Machiavelli and Peter Ramus closely, we cannot discover much about the relationship between Giordano Bruno and Marlowe from their texts.

None the less, Giordano Bruno is a key figure for the understanding of the shadowy character named "Saxon Bruno." He was influential in England when *Doctor Faustus* was first produced

late in the 1580s. The assumption that Marlowe must have read or at least known of Giordano Bruno through Walter Ralegh or the Earl of Northumberland is compelling. By examining the influence of Bruno on *Doctor Faustus*, it is hoped that some of the crucial problems presented by the play can be brought into focus.

We cannot fail to notice that "Saxon Bruno" appears as one of the characters in the B-text (not in the A-text), where he plays the part of "the rival Pope" of Protestant Saxony in opposition to the Roman Pope triumphantly treading on the neck of "Saxon Bruno."

Pope. Cast down our footstool.
Raymond. Saxon Bruno, stoop,
Whilst on thy back his Holiness ascends
Saint Peter's chair and state pontifical.
Bruno. Proud Lucifer, that state belongs to me!
But thus I fall to Peter, not to thee.
[*He kneels in front of the throne.*]
Pope. To me and Peter shalt thou grovelling lie
And crouch before the papal dignity.
Sound trumpets, then, for thus Saint Peter's heir
From Bruno's back ascends Saint Peter's chair.
(B.III.i.88-97)

This episode can be traced back to John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (1583) where the humiliation of the rival Pope, Victor the Fourth,

is quite similar to that of "Saxon Bruno" in the B-text. The stage picture employed here reflects a more famous scene in *Tamburlaine*, where the protagonist sets a foot on Bajazeth, the defeated Turkish emperor. No less is it a reversed adaptation of the Protestant emblems in which the Satanic Roman Pope is struggling for release under the feet of the Protestant saint; they were portrayed in the same manner as the Saviour treading on Satan in the bronze engraving by Martin de Fosse (1585).

Recently, the critics like Bevington or Gatti have agreed that this episode with the scenic device is one of the additions made by revisers after Marlowe's death. Why, then, did the revisers of the B-text replace Victor the Fourth by "Saxon Bruno?" In the earliest discussion of Giordano Bruno's influence on Marlowe, E.G. Clark asserts that "Saxon Bruno" is none other than Giordano Bruno who was intellectually associated with the Saxon (or Wittenberg) academy around the end of the 1580s.[1] Though the name of Saxony etymologically goes back to the fifth and sixth century, only one line of the dynasty remained the name of Saxon in the early fifteenth century: that of Saxe-Wittenberg on the Middle Elbe. Since the Reformation in the sixteenth century, Wittenberg has become the center of Lutheranism. As Clark pointed out, Giordano Bruno was temporarily enrolled in the University of Wittenberg on August 20 in 1586, where he gave some lectures until he left there in 1588. Note here that Wittenberg is the very place where Marlowe begins and ends the story of his

Faustus. Thus the Prologue of *Doctor Faustus* (both the A- and B-texts) introduces Faustus onto the stage:

> Of riper years to Wittenberg he [Faustus] went,
> Whereas his kinsmen chiefly brought him up.
> So soon he profits in divinity,
> The fruitful plot of scholarism graced,
> That shortly he was graced with doctor's name,
> Excelling all whose sweet delight disputes
> In heavenly matters of theology;
> (The Prologue, 13-19)

Even for Bruno Wittenberg was something like a utopia, where his colleagues may have allowed him to survey and speak freely. Later he favourably looked back on the period and said that in those days the German scholars fully evaluated their intellectual power and applied it in higher fields of studies.

Yet, a more direct reference to Giordano Bruno can be seen in the middle part of the play. The B-text describes the fate of Bruno in the following dialogue:

> *Faustus*. . . . . .
> He shall be straight condemned of heresy
> And on a pile of faggots burnt to death.
> *Pope*. It is enough. Here, take him to your charge,

And bear him straight to Ponte Angelo,
And in the strongest tower enclose him fast.[2]
(B.III.i. 183-87)

Historically, Giordano Bruno was confined in the dungeon of St. Angelo Castle for eight years — from his arrest in 1592 to his execution in 1600. He was indeed burnt at the stake in February 1600. It is no surprise, then, that the revisers appropriated the event in the Roman Inquisition for one of the episodes in the B-text. They must have added the episode of the confinement and execution of "Saxon Bruno" to the extant text.

It is usual nowadays for bibliographers of *Doctor Faustus* to point out the absurdity of W.W. Greg's attempt to conflate the A- and B- texts into the authentic Marlovian text. The New Revels edition of *Doctor Faustus* (1993) reflects this bibliographical movement, for it offers readers both texts in full. The non-extant original of *Doctor Faustus* (most lines of which remain, in our view, in the A-text) appeared first on the stage around 1589. It was, at the earliest, after 1602 that the revisers added the Giordano Bruno affair to the original, for Phillip Henslowe, the owner of Lord Admiral's Men who performed *Doctor Faustus*, recorded in his diary his direction to revise the play on November 22, 1602. If these dates are correct, there is a more than ten-year lapse between the performances of the two versions of the play. During these years Elizabethan England became familiar with

Giordano Bruno and his ideas and knew of his horrible execution in Rome. It is probable that Giordano Bruno was important to the textual production of *Doctor Faustus*. In this chapter we will first look over the impact of Bruno on English intellectuals like Marlowe, observing their reaction for and against Bruno, and subsequently examine Marlowe's way of representing Bruno (one of the sources of influence), as well as the revision around 1602, by comparing the two texts of *Doctor Faustus*.

II.

In *De hominis dignitate* (1496), Pico della Mirandola distinguishes a magus from a juggler, saying that a magus is at once the interpreter and the propagator of truth. The Renaissance humanists (or magi) searched for and read a great variety of manuscripts from myths to heretical anecdotes. In their vision such an insatiable and endless effort would lead to the harmonious unity of Christianity with heretical philosophies, the unity called syncretism. Certainly, the writings of the humanists abound in confusion, incongruity and ambiguity to a very marked degree. Yet they are revealing a lot about the humanist belief that innumerable fragments could be conflated into wholeness through the comparative method. Giordano Bruno, dealing with Platonic metaphysics in the dialogue entitled *De la causa, principio et Uno* (Concerning the Cause, Principle, and One), makes this statement of belief:

> In the two extremes that are spoken of in the extremity of the ladder of nature, not two principles must be considered, but one; not two beings, but one; not two contrary and diverse principles, but one; concordant and identical. In it, height is depth; the abyss is the inaccessible light; obscurity is clarity; the great is the small; the confused is the distinct; strife is friendship; the divided is the indivisible; the atom is immense; and conversely.[3]

This represents the ideal of the theory of "oneness of contraries" that the humanists entertained. (The source of the theory can be traced back to Raymond Lull of the fourteenth century.) Though Frances Yates regarded Giordano Bruno as a propagator of hermeticism, a man who fervently opposed himself to the humanist movement (and this image still prevails among Renaissance scholars even today), he was another magus in the humanist movement.

What impact, then, did Giordano Bruno have on the English academy during his stay in England from 1583 to 1585? On arriving in England in July 1583, he started the well-known controversy with Oxford dons. Bruno himself remarks in *La cena dele ceneri* (The Ash Wednesday Supper) on his triumph over the dons in a series of discussions of metaphysical philosophy and cosmology.

> Go to Oxford, and have them tell you about things that befell the Nolan [Bruno], when he publicly disputed with those Doctors of Theology in the presence of Prince Albert Laski, the Polish nobleman, and other gentlemen of the English nobility. Have them tell you how we were able to answer their arguments, how that poor doctor on fifteen occasions, during the argumentation of fifteen syllogisms, remained confused like a chick caught in hemp fiber, that doctor whom they placed before us on that grave occasion as the coryphaeus of the Academy.[4]

However, there is an Oxford view of the event, which is far different from Bruno's. George Abbot, one of the audience to the debate, records "that Italian Didapper" told them "much of *chentrum & chirculus & circumferenchia* (after the pronunciation of his Country language)" with his sleeves stripped like a "juggler."[5] The comment suggests how Bruno's philosophy was received in England. Later, the English academy came to regard his cosmology as a mere repetition of Copernicus' theory, and his metaphysical philosophy a conceit of the "juggler." Bruno was condemned, not only on account of his radical view of the universe, which would later produce more scientific-minded descendants like Galileo and Kepler, but was damned for his metaphysical philosophy. This philosophy can be read in his

unique allegories of classical texts (The Old and New Testaments included).

It is in his unique allegory of the Actaeon myth that his metaphysical philosophy (for which Bruno risked his life) is best represented. This myth of a huntsman who suffers transformation into a stag and is torn into pieces by his own hounds for daring to watch Diana bathing was very popular as a story of "ingratitude." We will take a few examples from emblem literature which was fashionable in the same period on the Continent. In the first emblem book, entitled *Emblemata* (1531), Andrea Alciati emphasizes the retaliative destruction of Actaeon by his own dogs (Fig.19). This warns the reader not to show favour to murderers, because the ungrateful rogues may bring about ruin in return for the favour; and its motto is "*In receptatores sicariorum* (On harborers of murderers)."[6]

Influenced by this book, many emblem books published in Paris (1536), Lyon (1551) and elsewhere, portrayed Actaeon as a credulous man torn into pieces by those to whom he showed great favour.[7] *The Choice of Emblems*, the first English emblem book that Geffrey Whitney produced in 1586, seems to be free from such a cautionary interpretation. Introducing Actaeon's story from Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, Whitney warns the reader to abandon trivial love and to pursue something sublime.[8] This was representative of the climate of the humanist movement (that had affected English travelers, like Collet or Grossin, returning from the Continent

only fifty years before) in which Brunian allegories were published.

Bruno's allegory of Actaeon appears in one of the dialogues he wrote in 1585 in London, *De gli eroici furori* (The Heroic Frenzies). Bruno reads into the myth of Actaeon a hidden meaning of "the infinite Divinity" concerning salvation of souls. He writes:

> Actaeon, who with these thoughts, his dogs, searched for goodness, wisdom, beauty and the wild beast outside himself, attained them in this way. Once he was in their presence, ravished outside of himself by so much beauty, he became the prey of his thoughts and saw himself converted into the thing he was pursuing. Then he perceived that he himself had become the coveted prey of his own dogs, his thoughts, because having already tracked down the divinity within himself it was no longer necessary to hunt for it elsewhere.[9]

Here we cannot fail to recognize some allegorical meanings: Diana as the infinite divinity and the hounds as human discursive knowledge. As Actaeon is transformed from the chaser to the chased, so the man of wisdom finally realizes the infinite divinity hidden in himself after insatiable efforts to seek it elsewhere. This world was, in Bruno's view, not so much a garden

deserted by God as a "vessel" filled to plenitude with the Divinity. Therefore, what Bruno's allegory of Actaeon means is that one can perceive some traces of the Divinity immanent in his own mind only by sacrificing and casting himself off in the world, or the "vessel" in Bruno's term. (This emphasis on worldliness is remarkably common to other humanist writers such as Niccolo Machiavelli who attempted to deprive statecraft of holiness. Marlowe is to reconfirm the humanists' worldliness in the following play of *The Jew of Malta*.)

Such an interpretation of Actaeon, however, verges on being heretical. Bruno gives Actaeon's fate a heroical interpretation while Christian Orthodoxy regards him either as a harborer of murderers or as an impudent intruder into an inviolable sanctuary. By representing Actaeon as a hero, Bruno tries to develop his doctrine of metamorphosis, the doctrine which to a great extent he owes to Pythagoras' "metempsychosis." He states that the soul of man is destined to undergo infinite metamorphoses (or metempsychosis). This subversively diverges from Christian Orthodoxy which states that the soul of man returns to its body on the day of the Resurrection. By representing the Actaeon myth in this way, Bruno undermines the moral orthodoxy of the age, and no less orthodox Christianity itself.

Ⅲ.

Doctor Faustus is commonly received as the drama of transgression. It certainly is this, but it is also the drama of

metamorphosis. The scenes of metamorphoses are abundant in the play. With appropriate symbolism, Lucifer offers a book of metamorphosis to Faustus early in the play, saying:

> In meantime, take this book. Peruse
> it throughly,and thou shalt turn thyself into what shape thou wilt.
>
> (A. II. iii. 171-73)

Previous interpretations of *Doctor Faustus* have overemphasized the allegory of Icarus presented in the Prologue and the Epilogue. For example, Harry Levin's *The Overreacher* (1952) convincingly argued that the original image of Faustus was Icarus, whose concern is "of flying high, of falling from the loftiest height imaginable, of seeking illumination and finding more heat than light."[10] In his *Subversion through Transgression* (1984), Jonathan Dollimore, employing Michel Foucault's *Préface à la transgression* (1963), discussed the Icarian subversion embodied in the play; he asserts that "*Doctor Faustus* is best understood as: not an affirmation of Divine Law, or conversely of Renaissance Man, but an exploration of subversion through transgression."[11] The two critics share the same concern, regardless of their different critical positions. Such attitudes toward the play, however, have resulted in the underestimation of its middle section, enabling them to assert that it is disjoined from the

structure of the play. We can restore it to significance in the light of another allegory: that of Actaeon.

The direct reference to Actaeon in *Doctor Faustus* appears in the German Emperor Scene (Act Four), where Faustus sets horns on the Knight by magic:

> *Knight*. Do you hear, Master Doctor? You bring Alexander and his paramour before the Emperor?
>
> *Faustus*. How then, sir?
>
> *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. . .
>
> (A. IV. i. 59-64)

Not long after this dialogue and the subsequent exit of the Knight, he re-enters the stage with two horns sprouted. Bevington and others interpret the dialogue as "an ironic comment on Faustus's pride and enslavement to ungovernable desires that will prove his undoing."[12] Yet, is "undoing" (or, retaliation) really what awaits Faustus? Is Marlowe here seriously working out a plot of retaliation, the plot of the hunter hunted?

Before we discuss that matter, we had better examine the subplot of metamorphosis, which may be seen as a contrast to the main plot. For, not only Faustus but also Wagner (Faustus's disciple) and Robin (Wagner's page) concern themselves with the

magic of metamorphosis. Robin gets excited by the idea of metamorphosis when Wagner tells him what they can do with the necromantic book which he has stolen from his master.

> *Wagner*. I will teach thee to turn thyself to anything, to a dog, or a cat, or a mouse, or a rat, or anything.
>
> *Robin*. How? A Christian fellow to a dog or a cat, a mouse or a rat? No, no, sir. (My emphasis)
>
> (A. I. iv. 61-64)

Note the underlined part. Robin seems to be shocked by the idea of metamorphosis. What we know from Robin's exclamation is that the idea of metamorphosis is itself very dangerous to the Christian community he belongs to. In *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante* (The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast) Bruno presents a corresponding heretical idea:

> We are to believe that in them there is a vital principle through which, by virtue of the proximate past or proximate future mutations of bodies, they have been or are about to be pigs, horses, asses, eagles, or whatever else they indicate, unless by habit of continence, of study, of contemplation, and of other virtues or vices they change and dispose themselves otherwise.[13]

Bruno declares that man is rewarded with a shape appropriate to his conduct, and changes his shape perpetually. This is what awaits Robin, for he is rewarded with the shape of an ape and thus is punished for his apish folly of imitation.

> *Mephistopheles.* Well, villains, for your presumption I transform thee [*To Robin.*] into an ape and thee [*To Rafe.*] into a dog. And so, begone! *Exit.*
>
> *Robin.* How, into an ape? That's brave. I'll have fine sport with the boys; I'll get nuts and apples enough.
>
> (A. III. ii. 38-42)

Robin is never more dauntless than here in this scene; he is not at all threatened by the idea of metamorphosis, but amuses himself to expect "fine sport with the boys." Metamorphosis as a form of punishment seems to have no threatening effects on him.

Does the retaliation exacted on Faustus, who devised the Actaeon show (IV.i), occur in the finale as expected by Bevington? Unexpectedly, the retaliation implied in the Actaeon myth appears in the comic scene of the Horse-courser. When a magic steed which the Horse-courser bought from Faustus turns out to be a bundle of hay, he comes to see Faustus in order to demand reparation. He raises an earsplitting cry of complaint to awaken Faustus:

So-ho, ho! So-ho, ho!

No, will you not wake? I'll make you wake ere I go.

(A. IV.i. 173-74)

Finally he seizes Faustus' leg which comes off. "So-ho" is, according to *The OED*, "a call of huntsmen directing the dog or other hunters to the hare or to encourage them in the chase." In addition to his action of tearing Faustus' leg off, the strange call of the Horse-courser is appropriate to the Actaeon myth. Like Actaeon, Faustus has his limb torn off, yet he recovers it by magic immediately. That the retaliation on Actaeon is alluded to here is obvious, yet we also know that Marlowe presents it not in a serious but in a comic (or mocking) tone. Once this scene is over, we cannot find any reference to the Actaeon myth in the following scenes.

Closer to the ending, however, we come across the Brunian concept of metamorphosis again, that is, "Pythagoras' *metempsychosis*" (A.V.ii.107). In the following passage from Faustus' final monologue, the term is interwoven emphatically, though sceptically. (Note that "metempsychosis" in Faustus' speech is expressed in hypothetical syntax.)

Ah, Pythagoras' *metempsychosis*, were that true,

This soul should fly from me and I be changed

Unto some brutish beast.

All beasts are happy, for, when they die,
Their souls are soon dissolved in elements;
(A.V. ii. 107-111; B. V. ii. 175-79)

Pythagoras' philosophy had already become well known through folklore even in the Middle Ages. In a famous dialogue held between Malvolio and Feste in *Twelfth Night* (Act Four Scene Two), Pythagoras' philosophy — which Shakespeare undoubtedly borrowed from Ovid's *Metamorphosis* — is referred to with a heathen, gloomy tone:

FESTE What is the opinion of Pythagoras concerning wildfowl?
MALVOLIO That the soul of our grandam might haply inhabit a bird.
FESTE What think'st thou of his opinion?
MALVOLIO I think nobly of the soul, and no way approve his opinion.
FESTE Fare thee well. Remain thou still in darkness. Thou shalt hold th'opinion of Pythagoras ere I will allow of thy wits, and fear to kill a woodcock lest thou dispossess the soul of thy grandam. Fare thee well.[14]
(*Twelfth Night*, IV.ii.40-47)

It was, however, not all of the implications that the term of "metempsychosis" took on in the Renaissance. Through the rediscovery by humanists like Ficino and Bruno, it came to be regarded not as a heretical fantasy of immortality but as a new

kind of metaphysical philosophy. Hilary Gatti confidently traces the source of the passages above to the following lines in Bruno's *De la causa*.[15]

> Every production, of whatever sort it is, is an alteration, in which the substance remains the same; for it is only one, there is only one divine and immortal being. This is what Pythagoras meant, who does not fear death but expects a process of change.[16]

We are not trying to place Marlowe in hermetic or esoteric academies as the Yates' school did (and as Gatti does reservedly). Yet there must have been some intellectual background to account for Marlowe's knowledge of Pythagoras.

Noteworthy in connection with this is the term "metempsychosis," since *The OED* cites Marlowe's use in *Doctor Faustus* as the first instance of its usage in English. The third-century Plotinus, who intended to revive Pythagoras' philosophy, must have used the term in the second book of *Enneads*, for "metempsychosis" and its variant "metentomasosis" are abundant throughout the book.[17] In the fifteenth-century, Ficino translated all the books of *Enneads*. Consequently, the idea of "metempsychosis" was widely diffused and became a subject-matter in the discussion of metaphysical philosophy. Bruno's commitment to Pythagoras' philosophy is conspicuous. In the writings of

Cabala del cavallo Pegaseo, De gli eroici furori and *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante*— all written during his stay in London — Bruno notes "metampsicosi" here and there. Here is an example quoted from *Cabala*:

> Supplichiamolo che ne la nostra transfusione, o transito, o metampsicosi, ne dispense felici genii:[18]
> ("Let us beseech it that during our transfusion, or passage, or metempsychosis, it grants us happy spirits;")

We can assume that Marlowe, as another humanist, is likely to have introduced the term into English through Bruno. It is his esoteric rendering of Bruno's (originally, Pythagoras') metempsychosis that is differentiated from Shakespeare's vulgar usage of the idea. Yet as far as we know from the text, he at least on the surface seems to introduce Bruno's (or Pythagoras') philosophy in a vulgar manner that verges on Shakespeare's rendering of Pythagoras. However, we must admit that Marlowe contained somewhat subversive ideas of Bruno in the middle part of the text, which revisers in later years were requested to eliminate.

Presenting the tension between orthodox metaphysical philosophy and Bruno's heretical one on the stage, Marlowe leaves "Faustus' fortune" (or the new Actaeon's fortune) suspended in the

open ending of the A-text. What fate awaits Faustus, who exits with the outcry of "Ah, Mephistopheles!," is still a mystery. It is impossible to tell whether the new Actaeon suffers dismemberment of the body and subsequent damnation in Hell, or perpetually transforms himself into some other being.

IV.

In 1602 Philip Henslowe hired two playwrights — William Birde (1543-1623) and Samuel Rowley (d.?1624)— to revise the no longer fashionable text of *Doctor Faustus*. Birde was a composer and organist who acquired a patent to publish songs in 1587 and dedicated a considerable number of songs to the Queen. On the other hand, Rowley, an actor and playwright, was employed by Henslowe to produce some chronicle drama around 1602. In Henslowe's notes from November 22 in 1602, it reads:

> Lent unto the company the 22 of November 1602
> to pay unto William Birde & Samuel Rowley
> for their additions in doctor faustus the some of iiij[li]

So much so, critics now agree that the extant B-text is based on this Henslowe's revision, which greatly diverges from the A-text. We know from the revision that the idea of metamorphosis is differently represented throughout the middle section of the B-text. Robin's response to Wagner's temptation to necromantic metamorphosis is revised in this way:

Wagner. ...I'll teach thee to turn thyself to a dog, or a cat, or a mouse, or a rat, or anything.

Robin. A dog, or a cat, or a mouse, or a rat? O brave Wagner!

(B. I. iv. 43-45)

Note here that "a Christian fellow" is omitted from Robin's line in the A-text: "A Christian fellow to a dog, or a cat . . ." (A.I.iv.61-64). The revisers seem to wish to emphasize Robin's credulity rather than his shock at the idea of metamorphosis. The straightforward question (which Robin poses in the A-text) of whether a Christian fellow may turn himself into some other being or not, is muted.

The revisers successfully weakened one heretical factor in the A-text: Pythagoras' "metempsychosis." With the removal of this, the new text seems to be didactically more powerful. In *The Occult Philosophy* (1979), Frances Yates argued that the play of *Doctor Faustus* was introduced on the stage for propaganda purposes against the hermetic movement.[19] More recently, Simon Shepherd, writing from a cultural materialist point of view, claimed that the Elizabethan scholars represented in *Doctor Faustus* "were used to produce state propaganda."[20] In addition, he declared that his reading was "a provisional one based upon a text that is readily available in an edition that claims to be as authoritative as others." Subsequently, his is a reading of the B-text of *Doctor Faustus*. Is it just a coincidence that the two propaganda

theories of *Doctor Faustus* by Yates and Shepherd are based on the same source text, the revised B-text?

It is necessary to consider the way the events presenting metamorphosis in the middle section were revised, and how material from the older play by Marlowe was reintroduced as didactic propaganda in the revision.[21] We will return to the subject of *Doctor Faustus* as a new Actaeon, as represented in the B-text. As an economical way to get at the heart of this matter, we will take up an alternative reference to the Actaeon myth:

> *Benvolio.* . . .An thou bring Alexander and his paramour before the Emperor, I'll be Actaeon and turn myself to a stag.
>
> *Faustus.* [*Aside.*] And I'll play Diana and send you the horns presently.
>
> (B. IV. i. 98-102)

Compared with the corresponding scene in the A-text, in which Faustus only reported that Actaeon left the horns for the Knight (A.IV.i), it is clear that the revisers cast Faustus in the role of Diana here. Therefore, the series of actions concerning the Actaeon myth become a "play within the play" contrived with more elaborate theatricality. On the stage Faustus as Diana urges devil-dogs named Belimoth, Argiron and Ashtaroth toward the

Knight. (Note that this baiting is only mentioned but not performed in the A-text.)

> And therefore, my lord, so please your Majesty,
> I'll raise a kennel of hounds shall hunt him [the Knight] so
> As all his footmanship shall scarce prevail
> To keep his carcass from their bloody fangs.
> Ho, Belimoth, Argiron, Ashtaroth!
> (B. IV. i. 145-149)

This emphasis on the baiting is necessary so that the revisers may later reintroduce the Actaeon myth as a revenge action. If we turn our eyes to the B-text version of Faustus' catastrophe, we may see that Faustus is himself harrowed by his servant devils (or hound dogs) like Mephistopheles and Beelzebub, urged on by Lucifer. For this purpose, a revenge sequence was newly added to the latter part of Act Four cited above (B.IV.ii; iii), where Faustus plays Actaeon and the Knight Diana. Thus, the plot of the hunter hunted is interwoven in the latter part of the B-text.

It is, then, strange that the revisers removed the impressive reference to the Actaeon myth from the Horse-courser Scene in the A-text. Unlike the comic scene in the A-text where the Horse-courser pulls off one of Faustus' legs, crying "so-ho, ho!" the implication of retaliation in the Actaeon myth is erased from this comic scene. The Horse-courser makes an outcry of abuse:

Ho, sirrah doctor, you cozening scab! Master Doctor, awake, and rise . . .

(B. IV. iv. 34-35)

The removal of "so-ho, ho!" was, we assume, done with certain authorial intention. It may have been thought inappropriate by the revisers that retaliation overtakes Faustus too early and lightly. We no longer find any reference to the Actaeon myth in the revised leg-plucking scene.

Instead, there are some references to the Actaeon myth added in the scenes where the Knight plans to revenge himself on Faustus. In these additions, which Empson calls "sadistic," the revisers probably imply beforehand that Faustus would be inevitably torn into pieces as a new Actaeon.[22] In Act Four Scene Two Faustus enters the stage with a fake head, as if plotting a new revenge show by himself. Then the Knight successfully chops off the head and triumphantly brags of the dismemberment of Faustus' body. Here are some examples of his "sadistic" speech:

First, on his head, in quittance of my wrongs,
I'll nail huge forked horns . . .
We'll sell it [Faustus' beard] to a chimney-sweeper. It will wear out ten birchen brooms . . .
We'll put out his eyes, and they shall serve for

buttons to his lips . . .

(B. IV. ii. 55-64)

These references to dismemberment and the show of Faustus' fake head being chopped off, all work together to foreshadow Faustus' dismemberment in the finale. Though the Knight's revenge fails, Faustus does not escape his destiny. For, it is when this attempted revenge, echoing the Actaeon myth, ends that Faustus is to suffer the death of Actaeon, as retaliation comes from an unearthly power.

Seen in this light, the last picture projected by the B-text is theatrically appropriate to the motif. When Mephistopheles summons up all the devils to tear Faustus limb from limb, Lucifer the arch-devil thus begins the show of retaliation (which Marlowe's A-text never incorporated):

Thus from infernal Dis do we ascend
To view the subjects of our monarchy,
Those souls which sin seals the black sons of hell,
'Mong which as chief, Faustus, we come to thee,
Bringing with us lasting damnation
To wait upon thy soul. The time is come
Which makes it forfeit.

(B.V.ii.1-7)

Here the Actaeon retaliation is almost complete. Lucifer's "we come to thee"(B.V.ii.4) ironically corresponds with Faustus' final outcry of "Come not, Lucifer!"(B.V.ii.190). When Faustus' allotted time expires, Lucifer, Beelzebub and Mephistopheles all attack him, only to tear off his limbs, just as Actaeon's hound dogs did. After furious sounds, there on the stage remain the torn limbs of the second Actaeon. This would be made emphatically pictorial by the use of property-limbs. The following comment is added in the finale where Faustus' colleagues discover his corpse:

Second Scholar.

O, help us, heaven! See, here are Faustus' limbs,
All torn asunder by the hand of death.

(B. V. iii. 6-7)

V.

So far we have examined the difference between the A-text and the B-text. However, we do not intend to argue which text is superior as a literary text. Each of them has its inherent literary value. As was the usual case with humanist playwrights, Marlowe loosely interwove classical myths in the text. The Actaeon myth was incorporated only in the comic scenes in the earlier section of the play. Then, in 1602, a completely different version of *Doctor Faustus* was produced. This text is

theatrically more elaborate and structurally more organic. The revisers more carefully incorporated the Actaeon myth as a revenge motif into the play; Faustus here suffers Actaeon's death in return for his transgressive act of magic, just as mythical Actaeon's body was torn asunder because he stepped into the forbidden sanctuary of Diana.

The difference between the two texts can be seen in the light of metaphysical philosophy. Probably written in the crucial year of 1588, only three years after Bruno's departure from London, Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* reflects the furious controversy concerning religion or metaphysical philosophy. This version leaves undecided the battle of Bruno's heretical philosophy with Christian Orthodoxy. While such an ambiguous ending is itself very Marlovian, the revisers try to emphasize the didactic aspects of Faustus' damnation.

Marlowe and his drama have to be considered in the context of the humanist movement at the turn of the century. In *Renaissance Self-Fashioning from More to Shakespeare* (1980) Stephen Greenblatt points out the similarity between Marlowe's parodic art in *Doctor Faustus* and Bruno's ironic treatment of Christianity. He asserts that

> there are, in *Doctor Faustus* and throughout Marlowe's works, the elements of a radical critique of Christianity,

a critique similar to that made with suicidal daring in 1584 by Giordano Bruno's *Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast* (*Lo spaccio de la bestia trionfante*).[23]

Even though it is controversial whether Marlowe's drama and Bruno's dialogue possess the elements of "a radical critique of Christianity," they at least reflect important aspects of the humanist movement of the latter sixteenth-century.

Marlowe was killed in a tavern brawl at Deptford in 1593, when Bruno had been already arrested in the Pope's name. The coming era was moving away from these kinds of humanists. Just as Bruno was forced to abandon radical ideas in the years of imprisonment (1583-1600), so even in England, his views came to be branded as "necromancy" a short time after his departure. Strangely, however, he recovered his reputation in England by the time of his death. In 1602, two years after his execution (it was almost a decade since Marlowe was killed) Bruno came to life as "Saxon Bruno" on the stage. Paradoxically, Bruno, who had been branded as heretical, was restored in the revised *Doctor Faustus* as a Protestant martyr trodden under the feet of the Satanic Pope.

As far as we can assume from the limited records on the theatre, there seems to be no doubt that "Saxon Bruno" was not a creation of Marlowe himself but of the later revisers, Birde and Rowley. It is, none the less, worth arguing why they dared to

cast Bruno on the stage, while removing quite a few lines which are related to Giordano Bruno's philosophy by Marlowe's hand. Their intervention illustrates that there must have been subversive — whether metaphysically or politically— elements in the original. If they succeeded in formulating the stereotype of Giordano Bruno, it is no one other than Marlowe who offered a rough outline of the heathen humanist and his idea. As a matter of fact, Marlowe did not cast Giordano Bruno in his drama at this stage of his career. However, it must be admitted that Marlowe represented Bruno's rather subversive ideas in the middle farce scenes so conspicuously that the revisers were obliged to get rid of them later. This marked a turning-point in his conflict with his sources of influence; he was heading for a new way of disclosing them, instead of making them latent beneath the texts.

CHAPTER FOUR

Fake Machiavelli or "much-evil" Marlowe: The Case of *The Jew of Malta*

I.

Marlowe was never more the State's servant than when he chose the ghost of Machiavelli as a character in *The Jew of Malta*. In this chapter we will examine the way the influential source of Machiavelli was dealt with in parallel with the social and cultural formulation of Machiavellism in Elizabethan England. The Prologue to this play is spoken by "Machevil," who introduces Barabas as his disciple to the audience. This master-disciple pair of characters is the prototype for Machiavellian atheists in Elizabethan literature. Earlier critics have suggested how influential Marlowe's *Jew of Malta* was in formulating the Elizabethan response to Machiavelli, or English Machiavellism. This was the view of Edward Meyer, who argued that Marlowe drastically distorted Machiavelli's doctrines in order to insinuate vulgar Machiavellism into people's minds.[1] It was, as Catherine Minschull remarks, "to the authorities' advantage that a popular misconception of Machiavelli should flourish to obscure the import of Machiavelli's works as an analysis of statecraft."[2]

Seen from an ideological perspective, *The Jew of Malta* was nothing more than a propagandist pamphlet. It contributed not only to obscuring Machiavelli's analysis of statecraft but also to associating Machiavelli and his thoughts with Catholic intrigues.

The linkage of Machiavelli and the Catholic was made first through some political reports on the Massacre of St. Bartholomew Eve; in the reports Catherine de Medici was thought to have brought Machiavelli's works from Florence into France and to have massacred a great number of the Huguenots under Machiavelli's teachings. Marlowe was to take up this topic again when he wrote *The Massacre at Paris* (1592). If the date of production for *The Jew of Malta* was around 1591-2, it was another play produced under threat from Catholic-Machiavellian intrigues. Barabas frankly confessed where he learned Machiavellian unscrupulous villainies (II.iii.23-29). As well, the intrigue of the Borgia family is referred to twice in the play (Prologue 12, III.iv.99). It was only one year later that the Babington plot was discovered even in England, which was in no time reported as another Machiavellian Catholic intrigue.

Even if this is the case, there remain incongruity and inconsistency in Marlowe's borrowing from Machiavelli's works. This leads critics into concentrated attention to the matter of Marlowe's ironic way of dealing with the sources. Minschull suspects that "Marlowe was being intentionally ironic in presenting Barabas to the audience as an arch-Machiavellian," and argues that it is not Barabas but Ferneze that is the true Machiavellian.[3] Her reading underlines the irony of the false Machiavellian (Barabas) who eventually turns out to be not a

representative of Machiavelli but a loser in the dog-eat-dog Machiavellian society.

We can take one step farther and turn our attention to the master-disciple relationship between "Machevil" and Barabas. "Machevil" appears on the stage as a dead ghost and begins the Prologue with these lines:

> Albeit the world thinke *Machevill* is dead,
> Yet was his soule but flowne beyond the *Alpes*,
> And now the *Guize* is dead, is come from *France*
> To view this Land, and frolicke with his friends.
> (Prologue, 1-4)

This start by a ghost figure is no doubt an ingenious attraction but it is not peculiar to this play. We may be inclined to remember D'Andrea of *The Spanish Tragedy* as well as Father Hamlet. However, what differentiates "Machevil" from other ghost figures is that he never again reappears on the stage once he exits, whereas D'Andrea and Father Hamlet intervene more than once in each play. Marlowe produced "Machevil" only in the marginal Prologue, which illustrates his handling of the influential source of Machiavelli in a marginal manner. None the less, it seems that "Machevil's" marginal appearance keeps on wielding power not only on Barabas but also on the audience's psychology. We will attempt

to examine such a psychological effect by "Machevil" in the following sections.

"Machevil" is the introducer of Barabas, the protagonist. After introducing Barabas, he curtly leaves these words behind on the stage:

> I crave but this, Grace him as he deserves,
> And let him not be entertain'd the worse
> Because he favours me.
>
> (Prologue, 33-5)

This personal recommendation of Barabas to the audience is highly problematic. It is, as the final line shows, because Barabas favours "Machevil" that the Prologue craves the audience to grace his disciple. Yet, "favour" was the last word that the Elizabethan audience would expect Machiavelli to utter, for they must have been familiar with a Machiavellian motto of "fear rather than love" at least through Gentillet's *Contre-Machiavel* (1577), one of the most popular pamphlets that acrimoniously introduced Machiavelli.

The unintelligibility of the character of Barabas has much to do with the complex receptions of Machiavelli's thoughts in England. Marlowe's adaptations (or distortions) of Machiavelli's doctrines are not straightforward as well. Though earlier critics assumed that Marlowe (and the Elizabethan readers as well) must

have known of Machiavelli's thoughts only through Gentillet's pamphlet, more recent critics have questioned the assumption. Felix Raab is one of these critics. He argues that the illicit editions of *The Prince* and *The Discourses* were accessible to Elizabethan readers.[4] Irving Ribner is another critic who decisively regards *Tamburlaine* as a dramatized version of Machiavelli's politics.[5] N.W. Bawcutt seems rather eclectic in that he agrees to both direct and indirect indebtedness to Machiavelli's doctrines in Marlowe's drama.[6] The analysis in this chapter is basically indebted to Bawcutt's eclectic view. We assume that Marlowe was most possibly influenced by Machiavelli both directly and indirectly.

So far, the critics' interest in Machiavelli's influence on Marlowe is, whether it is direct or indirect, mainly limited to the two political texts of *The Prince* and *The Discourses*. Yet, other kinds of Machiavelli's texts had been already circulating in London before *The Jew of Malta* was produced around 1592. *The Art of War*, the first translated text of Machiavelli's works, was published as early as 1563; the original edition of *The History of Florence* in 1587. Besides, there remains a possibility that Machiavelli's literary works —*Mandoragola*, *Clizia* and *Belfagor*— may have been circulating either in French editions or in manuscripts. Neglecting this diametrically opposite side of Machiavelli's talent, critics have overemphasized Machiavelli's political works, when they analyze his influences on Marlowe.

However, influences of Machiavelli's comedies on some scenes in *The Jew of Malta* are, as some critics only imply, conspicuous. In this chapter we attempt to include Machiavelli's minor works in our critical scope and interpret the multiple influences Machiavelli (and Machiavellism) may have affected on Marlowe.

In line with these analyses on influences, a double master/disciple relationship will be taken into account, the relationship of "Machevil" with Barabas and that of Machiavelli with Marlowe. Joseph A. Porter is an interesting critic who analyzed the matter of influence in terms of Shakespeare's characterization of Mercutio.[7] Interpreting *Romeo and Juliet*, he speculates that Shakespeare identified himself with Romeo, while presenting Mercutio on the model of Marlowe. In view of this assumption Shakespeare, he continues, intended to get rid of his anxiety of influence (or Marlowe) by having Mercutio murdered halfway through the play. As far as *The Jew of Malta* is concerned, whether Marlowe identified himself with "Machevil" or with Barabas is outside the concern of this chapter. It is, none the less, significant to speculate on the matter of influence, using Porter's model. In this respect the master-disciple relationship between "Machevil" and Barabas seems to be a suitable index to the matter of Machiavelli's influence on Marlowe. For that purpose, attention should be paid to "Machevil's" role as the chorus at the Prologue, mediating not only between the audience and the play on the stage but also between Machiavelli's

"realpolitik" and its reception. Marlowe was, we may assume later, bound by the double influences, that is, the contemporary "ism" (Machiavellism) and Niccolo Machiavelli.

II.

First we will observe the sources of Machiavellism that Marlowe must have had at hand. As has been often pointed out, the formulation of Machiavellism, as well as receptions of Machiavelli's thoughts, had much to do with Gentillet's *Contre-Machiavel* (1577). It was, however, not the first influential writing that informed the Elizabethan readers of Machiavelli's doctrines. As early as 1528 Thomas Cromwell must have known of Machiavelli's ideas on politics and religion, for he recommended one of Machiavelli's works (which book is not identifiable) to Cardinal Pole, who later castigated it harshly. Besides, Roger Ascham, in his *Schoolmaster* (1541), gave a warning against Italian thinkers such as Machiavelli and Pygius:

> Yet though in Italie they may freely be of no Religion... commonlie they allie themselues with the worst Papistes, to whom they be wedded, and do well agree togither in three proper opinions: In open contempte of Goddes worde: in a secret securitie of sinne: and in a bloodie desire to haue all taken away, by sword or burning . . . .They that do read, with indifferent iudgement, *Pygius* and

Machiavel, two indifferent Patriarches of thies two Religions, do know full well that I say trewe.[8]

(*Scholemaster*, p.233-4)

Here in his introduction of Machiavelli, we can sense a germ of English antipathy to Machiavelli, which is to enable later writers to brand Machiavelli as an atheist.

Yet, English reactions were not always unfavorable to Machiavelli. As well as *The Prince*, Machiavelli's historical works such as *The Discourses* and *The History of Florence* were widely read by intellectuals in the middle sixteenth century. In *A Remedy for Sedition* (1536), Richard Morison referred to *The Discourses* and evaluated Machiavelli's insight as a historian elsewhere in his writings. Even *The History of Florence* was rather favourably introduced in England by William Thomas in 1549. Though it was enormously influential in the sixteenth century, Gentillet's *Contre-Machiavelli* has been regarded as the only source that formulated English Machiavellism. Recently, this view is being dismissed as "the myth of Gentillet," as Felix Raab terms it and more attention is being paid to such alternative aspects in Machiavelli as shown by Morison and Thomas.

Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* has not been exempt from "the myth of Gentillet." (The early critics, as Meyer[7] asserted that not a word of Machiavellian thoughts came from the original but from Gentillet.) Given that Marlowe must have been indebted not only

to his contemporary texts on Machiavelli but also to the originals, there is no denying that Marlowe was under the influence of Gentillet to some degree. There is, as N.W. Bawcutt pointed out, a direct verbal echo of Gentillet in the play; Barabas' doctrine as a usurer:

> A hundred for a hundred I have tane;
>
> (IV.i.54)

partakes of Gentillet's overemphasis on avarice of Machiavellians who

> often returne their money with the gaine of fiftie, yea often of an hundreth, for an hundreth.[9]

It is, then, highly plausible that Marlowe took sides with English Machiavellism based mainly on Gentillet, distorting Machiavelli's original texts. So much so, the influences on Marlowe by Machiavelli and (anti-)Machiavellians are so divergent that they elicit all kinds of critical comments on the matter of Machiavellism in *The Jew of Malta*. They range from Bawcutt's view to Minschull's; the former asserts that the "Machevil's" Prologue has little in common with Gentillet's while the latter maintains that Barabas rather looks like Gentillet's Machiavelli.

There is another key figure that contributed to formulation of English Machiavellism, and supposedly affected the "Machevil's" Prologue. Gabriel Harvey, in his *Gratulationum Valdinensium libri quattuor* (1578), inserted a twenty-six-line monologue which was spoken by "Machiavelli in person." Harvey's malicious adaptation of Machiavelli is conspicuous, for he was a rather radical Protestant and probable instigator against the Catholic Holy League which had, in Harvey's view, much in common with Machiavelli's unscrupulous policy. (And he is one of the fervent supporters of Ramism, the Protestant movement in rhetoric and logic, which we will see in the next chapter.)

Moreover, Harvey was engaged in a political campaign against the Catholic duke of Alençon who stayed in England to negotiate his marriage to Elizabeth around the summer of 1578. Thomas Jameson argued that Harvey —whose patron was the Earl of Leicester, a well-known Protestant nobleman— had a good reason to castigate the Catholic rival as a Machiavellian, for the duke was supposed to get access to the Queen successfully with some Machiavellian cunning. Harvey represented his Machiavelli as an alien emperor (though in the shape of the ghost) and gave a warning against his invasion into England:

> You ask me who might I be? The King of all Kings is my answer:
> On the tip of my finger I balance command of this wide world.
> Unfit for rule is the man who lacks knowledge of Machiavelli;

Set no store by his wisdom unless he is steeped in my dogmas.[10]

(*Epigrams*, 1-4)

Truly, the resemblance between those two monologues of "Machevil" and Harvey's Machiavelli is of too ample nature; unlike "Machevil," Harvey's Machiavelli speaks nothing more than imperial power, bloodshed, slaughter, or whatever is related to military matters. It is, however, noteworthy that Harvey's Machiavelli introduces Julius Caesar as a true Machiavellian (and so does Marlowe's "Machevil"), and claims that he is the very master of the well-known emperor:

My motto remains as it has been: "There is pleasure in high aspiration;
Be Caesar or nothing" — and he was a pupil of our school.

(Epigrams, 16-17)

Note the resemblance between the two Machiavellis. That the dead ghosts as mediators recommend their favorite disciples to readers (or the audience) is common to both. Admittedly, "Machevil" and Harvey's Machiavelli are completely different characters, but it is still plausible that Marlowe knew Harvey's passages, and employed not only the monologue style but also the way of presenting the master-disciple relationship for his Prologue in *The Jew of Malta*.

As far as we consider Marlowe's indebtedness to anti-Machiavellians such as Gentillet and Harvey, it seems to be undeniable that Marlowe himself contributed to the formulation of English Machiavellism. This was one of the reasons why Marlowe was regarded as a Machiavellian among his contemporaries. In his interpretation of *The Jew of Malta*, A. D'Andrea regards the following passage spoken by "Machevil":

> . . . o'th poore petty wites,
> Let me be envy'd and not pittied!
> (Prologue, 26-27)

as Marlowe's personal outcry. According to D'Andrea the phrase of "the poore petty wites" is an allusion to Robert Greene (1558-92), Thomas Nashe (1567-1601) and Thomas Brabine, who had envied Marlowe's success in *Tamburlaine* (1587-8).[11] This sort of reading needs more information to support it, but it is at least true that Marlowe's fame over his contemporary playwrights (especially Greene, who was six years older than Marlowe) elicited such deep-rooted resentment that he was called another Machiavelli after his death. That resentment can be sensed in Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit* (1593), where Greene reproaches Marlowe for his ungratefulness:

> Why should thy excellent wit, his gift, bee so blinded, that thou shouldst giue no glorie to the giuer? Is it pestilent Machiuilian pollicy thatt hou hast studied?[12]
>
> (*A Groatworth of Wit*, E4v-F1)

The dramatist who studied "pestilent Machiavilian pollicy" was himself involved in the self-perpetuating system of rival manipulation, the system of representing any given rival as another Machiavelli. The term of "Machiavellian" became just an epithet employed for castigating the policy or wiles by which any rival could sweep to power as a successful writer in the writing society. The Machiavellian society of dramatists, named "university wits," was, we may assume, another source of influence that was working in Marlowe's representation of Machiavelli.

III.

We have so far examined Marlowe's access to Machiavelli's thoughts from his surroundings. Even if it is the case with Marlowe that he used various kinds of (anti-)Machiavellian discourses in order to cast "Machevil" in his play, it by no means disproves the assumption that Marlowe must have read Machiavelli's original works through continental editions and translations. It is in 1584 that the Latin edition of Machiavelli's *Discourses* was first published in London by John Wolfe, though it was not translated until 1636. This thick descriptions of the Roman Republic are, as Machiavelli professed in its preface, the

commentaries on Livy's history, in which the annotator attempted to explain statecraft and politics in the ancient Roman Republic, reintroducing Livy's historical insights. We may suppose that Marlowe read this text quite closely, for there are more than a few direct echoes from it in his play. Minschull argues that one of the episodes "Machevil" presents may recall a passage from *The Discourses* (I.10[4]).[13] Indeed, "Machevil" takes up a few episodes in which Phalaris, a Sicilian ruler in the sixth century B.C., is portrayed as a silly king who did not follow Machiavelli's doctrines, while Caesar is introduced as a true Machiavellian.

> Hence comes it, that a strong built Citadell
> Commands much more then letters can import:
> Which maxime had *Phaleris* observ'd,
> H'had never bellowed in a brasen Bull
> Of great ones envy;
>
> (Prologue, 22-26)

Minschull points at the fact that Caesar and Phalaris are also mentioned in close proximity in a passage of *The Discourses* as in the above quotation and concludes that Marlowe was heavily indebted to the text in composing the Prologue.

These echoes between *The Discourses* and *The Jew of Malta* can be observed in the light of both terms and episodes. Truly it is Gentillet who intentionally linked Machiavelli's policy with

unscrupulous rapacity (there are only a few instances that Machiavelli refers to materialistic or capitalistic ideas in arguing the nature of the State.) Yet, a passage from Book Three in *The Discourses*, which analyzes the nature of avarice, recalls Barabas' rapacity when he is first introduced on the stage.

> It seems, however, that they are most frequently occasioned by those who possess; for the fear to lose stirs the same passions in men as the desire to gain, as men do not believe themselves sure of what they already possess except by acquiring still more; amd, moreover, these new acquisitions are so many means of strength and power for abuses;[14]
>
> (*Discourses*, cp 5, p.124)

After "Machevil" leaves the stage, Barabas is "discovered" in his counting house, wearing out his fingers by counting heaps of money. He is never more akin to those who "do not believe themselves sure of what they already possess except by acquiring still more" than when he confesses that:

> But he whose steele-bard coffers are cramb'd full,
> And all his life time hath bin tired,
> Wearyng his fingers ends with telling it,
> Would in his age be loath to labour so,

And for a pound to sweat himselfe to death:

(I.i.14-18)

For Barabas his coffers crammed full of money are not enough; he is rather possessed by the idea that he can possess and enclose "infinite riches in a little roome." (His desire to enclose can be seen, as Kuriyama speculates, in parallel with his imprisonment of Abigail, his only daughter, who is for Barabas a precious jewel: "Oh girle, oh gold, oh beauty, oh my blisse!") That Barabas is only absorbed in shipping abroad —for Persia, Spain, Greece, India and Egypt— at the opening scene shows that he is urged on not only by his own desire to enclose "infinite riches" but also by anxiety about loss, a point that Machiavelli articulates in the passage quoted above. Thus, Machiavelli's insight to human nature, that is, rapacity, is transplanted into the play out of its original context. There is another echo from *The Discourses* in the episode where Barabas exploits even religion for his rapacious ends. Even after he was confiscated by Ferneze, Barabas ventures to send Abigail to the nunnery which used to be his mansion before confiscated and makes her disguised as a Christian nun. Her mission is to retrieve gold coins, gems and jewels Barabas secretly hid underneath a floor plank in his former mansion. This religious dissembling slightly hints at Marlowe's indebtedness to Book Eleven of *The Discourses*, where there is a depiction of the authorities' success in statecraft through

religion: "and whoever reads Roman history attentively will see in how great a degree religion served in the command of the armies... and in covering the wicked with shame" (*The Discourses*, Bk. 11).[15]

Barabas is, however, not a representative of Machiavelli's doctrines articulated in *The Discourse*. As many critics observe, he seems to be rather a failure of Machiavelli's school. In Act Five he professes a policy by which he may justify his violation of promises with Turkish Calymath, the policy that involves:

> And he from whom my most advantage comes,
> Shall be my friend.
>
> (V.ii. 113-4)

Bawcutt and others ascribe this motto to Chapter Eighteen of *The Prince*, yet we cannot find the corresponding passage there.[16] On the contrary, Machiavelli tends to give warning against frivolous violations of promises and treaties lest any State should cause more serious hazards to herself. In Chapter Forty of *The Discourses*, written under the misleading title of "Deceit in the conduct of a war is meritorious," Machiavelli insists that we should not "confound such deceit with perfidy, which breaks pledged faith and treaties."[17] Therefore, Machiavelli never recommends frivolous violations of promises but, rather, disapproves of them. The motto of meritorious deceits should be

attributed to Gentillet who represents Machiavelli's policy as if it allowed any prince to observe his faith only for profit. Then it can be supposed that Marlowe distorted Machiavelli's idea on treaty into Gentillet's Machiavellism, given that the playwright was possibly familiar with it through *The Discourses*. This illustrates his way of dealing with the sources of influence, where Marlowe managed to take sides with English Machiavellism (one of his influences), at the same time, undermining the other source of influence, Machiavelli's thoughts on statecraft.

Machiavelli's works that deal with issues of statecraft (*The Prince* is prominent among them) have been the chief concern among critics who attempt to link Marlowe with Machiavelli. Those works affected Marlowe more or less, but they were not the entirety of the sources that Marlowe was indebted to in *The Jew of Malta*. We may suppose that a very different aspect of Machiavelli would emerge if we examined his Florentine dramas, above all *Mandragola*. This comedy was written probably in 1518 and published immediately. Since its first performance before Francesco Guicciardini (c.1518), it acquired many admirers not only in Italy but also in France; Voltaire wrote that it was "perhaps worth more than all the comedies of Aristophanes."[18] Although it was not translated into English until later, it may have been read through French editions in the Continent and even in England. Besides, it is agreed that Marlowe in the same years stayed at Rheims, where the delicate mission of getting information about the Jesuit

intrigue against the Queen was entrusted to Marlowe and other spies. There is, therefore, no denying the possibility that Marlowe was familiar with Machiavelli's comedy.

Mandrake, which is English for the title of the play *Mandragola*, is a key dramatic property; mandrake is a potion by which Callimaco, a Florentine youth, manages to seduce Lucrezia, the young wife of an old lawyer. The mandrake juice is presented as a mystic potion that causes pregnancy to women if properly used:

> there is nothing more certain to bring a woman to pregnancy than to give her a potion made from mandragola.[19]
>
> (*Mandragola* Act Two, p. 24)

It is, however, a toxic potion as well, for whoever is the first to sleep with a woman who has taken the potion dies:

> the man who first has to do with a woman who has taken this potion dies within eight days, and nothing in this world can save him.
>
> (*Mandragola* Act Two, p. 24)

There is a symbolic implication for mandrake when we notice that it activates a cycle of death and birth.

This mystic and symbolic potion is adopted in the resurrection scene of *The Jew of Malta* (V.i). Immediately after the "dead" body of Barabas —though he was only asphyxial— was discarded over the walls, he revives himself and says:

> I dranke of Poppy and cold mandrake juyce;
> And being asleepe, belike they thought me dead,
> And threw me o're the wals:
> (V.i. 80-82)

It is noteworthy that "cold mandrake juyce" brings about the same effects as in *Mandragola*, that is, death and rebirth. Though this kind of the potion trick soon became a dramatic cliché by being repeatedly taken up by later dramatists, it must have still been a brand-new technique at the time of production of this play.[20] We may suppose that Marlowe imported it from the Florentine comedy.

More direct echoes from *Mandragola* can be seen in Marlowe's characterization of the covetous Catholic monks. In the third Act of *Mandragola* a monk named Fra Timoteo appears, and he is so eager for a bribe from the conspirators that he, without hesitation, promises to ally with them and to persuade virtuous Lucrezia to take the potion:

> Tell me the name of the convent, give me the potion, and, if you like, give me the money too, so that I can start putting it to some good uses.
>
> (*Mandragola* Act Three, p. 33)

Obviously the monk recognizes that to participate in the scheme is to acquiesce to homicide, for "the man who first has to do with a woman who has taken this potion dies within eight days." Fra Timoteo, however, willingly swallows it in his greed. The two monks who appear in *The Jew of Malta* are of the same stock. Despite Barabas' heinous sin, the murder of Mathias and Lodowick, each of the two monks is willing to ritually purify his sin when Barabas offers a large reward to them, avowing that "all this [his property] I'le give to some religious house/ So I may be baptiz'd and live therin" (IV.i.75-6).

Again, in the same scene of *Mandragola* we can detect one more verbal influence on Marlowe. Fra Timoteo, before he leaves the stage, agrees to the motto of "what benefits and satisfies the majority is itself good" as an excuse for complicity.[21] This Machiavellian excuse for such acts as exploitation is taken up in Ferneze's speech when he extorts tributes to Turkish colonizers from Barabas:

> No, Jew, we take particularly thine
> To save the ruine of a multitude:

And better one want for a common good,

Then many perish for a private man:

(I.ii. 96-99)

As we have seen above, there are some conspicuous echoes of Machiavelli's phraseology and dramatic tricks in *The Jew of Malta* which may illustrate that Marlowe was fairly versed in Machiavelli's drama in addition to *The Prince and The Discourses*. Although Marlowe was under the influence of, or engaged in English Machiavellism in his time, he would never have been successful in the attempt in *The Jew of Malta* without his versatile manipulation of Machiavelli's original works, ranging from *The Prince* and *The Discourses* to *Mandragola*.

IV.

We will return to the fictional world again with an analysis of the master-disciple relationship between "Machevil" and Barabas.

Readers who know of the Freudian interpretation of Hamlet may notice another variation on Oedipal father/son complexes when they focus on the relationship between "Machevil" and Barabas. In his famous work, *Hamlet and Oedipus* (1949), Ernest Jones speculates that Hamlet's love for Father Hamlet is the most characteristic of his filial emotions, since he repressed his Oedipal wish to kill his father in adulthood.[22] The same model may well be applied to "Machevil" and Barabas. As "Machevil" recommends to the audience

Barabas who favours him, so Barabas introduces himself as "Machevil's" pupil, repeating what he learned from the master in Florence.

> I learn'd in *Florence* how to kisse my hand,
> Heave up my shoulders when they call me dogge,
> And ducke as low as any bare-foot Fryar,
> Hoping to see them starve upon a stall,
> Or else be gather'd for in our Synagogue;
> (II.iii.23-27)

To pretend to be base and servile to the Christian oppressors is the first policy that Barabas takes up for his revenge. At the closing of the above soliloquy he spots Lodowick (whose father confiscated Barabas' money) and pretends to be subservient to the youth's desire to marry Abigail. Through his servile behaviour to the Christians, Barabas is presented to be subservient to the master's discipline as well.

However, Marlowe's presentation of Barabas as a Machiavellian is ambiguous from the beginning. "Machevil" advocates Barabas only because the disciple favours him, while "Machevil" professes that "Admir'd I am of those that hate me most"(Prologue, 9). Among the Elizabethans in the sixteenth century Machiavelli was regarded as a demonic mentor who taught the magistracy the lesson that it is more convenient for rulers to be feared and hated than

to be loved by their subjects. Even in the play the references to the "fear over love" motto appear elsewhere (I.i.116-7; IV.ii.128). Here is a fundamental paradox; "Machevil" begs his pupil's filial love while he teaches Barabas that fear is more powerful than love.

As far as the father-figure of "Machevil" is underlined, there is an obstacle to our attempt to understand the character. *The Jew of Malta* is a play of incoherence that is never orderly in narrative or structural terms. This has led quite a few critics to assert that the Prologue is totally irrelevant to the whole structure of the play. As a matter of fact, the play begins with the Prologue by "Machevil," who is never to reappear on the stage, and it is followed by a serious declaration that the victimized Jew would revenge himself on the unscrupulous Christians, only to fall into a farce that has nothing to do with the former motif of revenge. Indeed, the latter two Acts run counter to the expectation of the audience, the expectation that Barabas would take his revenge by Machiavellian tricks. In view of this, the earlier critics assumed that the "Machevil's" Prologue was added by some other hands (the most plausible candidate was Thomas Heywood) when it was first printed in 1633. This assumption is now being rejected, though most of the critics agree on the irrelevancy of the Prologue to the main Acts. Instead of castigating such a marginal nature of the Prologue, we

should begin by accepting "the protean logic" that the elusive start of the play bears on as it does.

In his paper entitled "Endless Play: The False Starts of Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*," Thomas Cartelli speculates on effects of the play's protean logic on the audience. He argues that the audience are invited to throw away any prejudice against dramatic inconsistency and to indulge in the protean movements throughout the play. Therefore, the starts of the play (including the Prologue) are suggested to be false; "instead of establishing a set of expectations which the rest of play fails to fulfill, the opening scenes establish a pattern of discontinuity which disarms the audience of conventional expectations of logical development and accommodates it to the acquired freedom of the play's burlesque mode."[23]

That is, however, not all of the effects that the "false starts" bring about on the audience. They are provocative enough to appeal directly to the audience's psychology. This is obvious when "Machevil" comments on the relation between power and legitimacy of kings:

> What right had *Caesar* to the Empery?
> Might first made Kings, and Lawes were then most sure
> When like the *Dracos* they were writ in blood.
>
> (Prologue, 19-21)

"Machevil" invites the audience to throw away the normative idea of kingship (that kings are the "body politic" that will never die, but last for ever) and participate in worldly power-politics. None of the audience, as Cartelli argues, wish to be seen as being too naive to participate in the politics; none of them wish "to be left out of touch with the feeling of common conspiracy which informs the prologue."[24] Thus the start of "Machevil's" Prologue forcefully gets the audience to be engaged in the "common conspiracy" that "Machevil" incites in their minds.

The characterization of Barabas is worth examining in relation to "Machevil." Where Barabas is concerned, he turns out to be a fake Machiavellian, who cannot survive in a Machiavellian dog-eat-dog world, even if Barabas "favours" the father figure. This pseudo-Oedipal relationship derives responses from several psycho-analytical readers. In order to shed light on the complicated relationship, they start their speculations with an analysis of the nature of Barabas as a father. Throughout the play he is a notorious father-figure who victimizes his only daughter Abigail; he let Abigail be a "novice in nunnery" only to recover his property, both money and the girl ("Oh girle, oh gold, oh beauty, oh my blisse!"), and plots the death of Mathias, Abigail's lover, among others, and finally poisons her to death. He is seemingly a normative patriarchal figure, but most of the psycho-analytical critics argue that he is far from that. Here is another "false start" that baffles the audience.

Most of the psycho-analytical critics have been attempting to explain the unintelligible characterization of Barabas. Constance Kuriyama, pointing out Barabas' lack of physical strength, argues that his "renunciation of physical conflict... manifests itself as a kind of femininity or bisexuality."[25] She insists that Barabas is a failure who is not able to mature sexually, but only seeks "regressive substitution of anal objects" for sexual (or phallic) ones.[26] Thus, his murder of Abigail's lover is symptomatic of his disgust at heterosexual love. In Act Two Scene Three, Barabas persuades Abigail to show love not only to her lover but also to Lodowick (the governor's son) so that he can arrange a fatal duel between the two candidates. It is not so much revenge on the governor's son as removal of his daughter's lover. On hearing the word "love" from Abigail, Barabas "puts her in" a room where she is obliged to welcome Lodowick against her will:

> *Abigail*. I will have Don *Mathias*, he is my love.
> *Barabas*. Yes, you shall have him: Goe put her in.
> (II.iii.361-2)

Kuriyama senses that here is a perverted Oedipal conflict; Abigail must be punished by her father, because she indulges in a heterosexual pleasure that immature Barabas forbids her.

Barabas not only literally but also symbolically puts his daughter in a little room. This pseudo-claustrophobic symptom of his is further examined by Ian McAdam, who argues that "the Jew's countinghouse becomes itself a kind of womb, with the presiding Barabas a pregnant mother-figure."[27] The psychoanalytical assumption that Barabas fails to become a man is maintained in his argument, and is furthered when he asserts that Barabas is delighted to destroy those who are engaged in heterosexual activities. Why, then, couldn't Marlowe produce Barabas as a mature man? One of the reasons, McAdam suggests, is that Marlowe himself, recognizing his own growing bias toward homosexuality, was frightened of the heterosexually oriented society in his days.

Although it is controversial whether Marlowe was homosexual or not (sexuality and gender are beyond our concern in this chapter), his Barabas is first presented as a disciple who favours his master "Machevil." This may well support the assumption that Barabas is homosexually biased, as Kuriyama and McAdam maintains. In the course of events, however, Barabas turns out to be a fake Machiavellian. In this respect at least he seems to be far from a Freudian son-figure that attempts to fashion himself through struggles with "Machevil," the father-figure. That is why Kuriyama and McAdam manage to explain his perversity by asserting that he is never a "man" (who inevitably feels some Oedipal complex), but a cartoon villain who neither fights nor shows his

own feelings toward other figures. In their psychoanalytical interpretations Barabas is analyzed as too immature a boy to feel any Oedipal emotions for "Machevil," the father-figure. Even if it is the case, we should not ignore that Barabas is first presented as a pupil who favours his master "Machevil." From the beginning we can sense a strong union between "Machevil" and Barabas, the union that we might call affiliation. This might be another "false start" Marlowe invented at the opening Prologue. In the following section we will further examine the relationship among Barabas, "Machevil" and Machiavelli.

V.

Once "Machevil" exits, Barabas is supposed to be the representative of Machiavelli in the minds of the audience. However, this character seems to ignore or run counter to Machiavelli in the main Acts. In the second scene of the final Act he contributed as a spy to the victory of the Turks over Malta, so that he was appointed governor of Malta by the victor Calymath. He is, however, so negligent of Machiavelli's motto, "fear over love," that he throws the position away to Ferneze (the former governor of Malta) as soon as he gains it.

> I now am Governour of *Malta*; true,
> But *Malta* hates me, and in hating me
> My life's in danger, and what boots it thee
> Poore *Barabas*, to be the Governour,

When as thy life shall be at their command?

(V.ii.29-33)

One may well notice that there is an obvious difference between what they recognize as Machiavelli's motto and what his supposed disciple does in the course of events. It is characteristic of Marlowe's "false start" technique in this play to engross the audience in the sensational Prologue by "Machevil," and then to let them struggle to identify Barabas as a genuine Machiavellian in the course of actions. Barabas never follows the motto of "fear over love" but tends to purchase love and to avoid fear or hatred turned to him. As soon as he gains governorship of the land allying with Turkish power, he admits that it is impossible for him to maintain power by fear or hatred: "I now am Governour of *Malta*; ture, /But *Malta* hates me, and in hating me /My life's in danger . . . "(V.ii.29-31). His fear of being hated is so intense that he attempts to buy love from Ferneze, even after he has swept to power.

In the latter part of *The Jew of Malta*, it is more remarkable that Barabas is a fake Machiavellian who is opposed to what Machiavelli teaches. As far as *The Prince* and *The Discourses* are concerned, Machiavelli's main concern lies in the worldly way of maintaining the State (or the Republic) in face of internal discord and threats from abroad. On the other hand Barabas seems to be completely negligent in attending to his State's defense.

It should be remembered that even when he is informed of the Turks' invasion of Malta, Barabas seems to revel in the new situation, uttering his indifference to the event: "Why let'em enter, let'em take the Towne"(I.i.190). Moreover, the other face of Barabas' character offers an excuse for his negligence to statecraft, that is, his "Jewishness." As he himself says at his first appearance on the stage, he is presented as a member of "a scatter'd Nation" (I.i.121). We should notice that Barabas as a Jew lacks the notion of a nation-state which is politically defined by nationality. His own "scatter'd nation" partly explains his decision to invite foreign powers into his homeland without hesitation. On reviving himself from asphyxia caused by the mandrake potion, he sets about the revengeful devastation of Malta by drawing in Turkish power:

> I'le be reveng'd on this accursed Towne;
> For by my meanes *Calymath* shall enter in.
> I'le helpe to slay their children and their wives,
> To fire the Churches, pull their houses downe,
> Take my goods too, and seize upon my lands:
> (V.i.62-66)

This remark recalls what Machiavelli repetitiously emphasized concerning auxiliaries and national military powers in *The Prince* and *The Discourses*. For him it is the stupidest judgement to call

foreign auxiliaries for help, for "they are always dangerous" to the State that calls them in; "for if they lose you are defeated, and if they conquer you remain their prisoner"(*The Prince*, cp.13).[28] It is noteworthy that what Machiavelli precludes is performed by Barabas; though Barabas overcomes the Christian governor with the help of Turkish auxiliaries, he finds no other way but to be subordinate to the Turkish power. In other words, he is virtually a captive though nominally a governor, which Barabas himself admits when he says: "what boots it thee /Poore *Barabas*, to be the Governour, /When as thy life shall be at their command?" (V.ii.31-33) Where Barabas' words and deeds are concerned, they are either irrelevant to Machiavelli's doctrines or strongly run counter to them. If this is the case, it can be supposed that Barabas undermines Machiavelli's doctrines in order to show himself as a genuine Machiavellian with unscrupulous wiles.

Admittedly Barabas turns out to be a fake Machiavellian, but it never shows that Marlowe, as some critics assert, first attempted to introduce Barabas as "Machevil's" disciple and then to divert him into a totally different figure in the course of events. Nor does it seem that Marlowe intended to present "Machevil" as Niccolo Machiavelli from the starting point, for "Machevil" is no more Machiavelli than Barabas is. Anti-Machiavellian attitudes of "Machevil" are conspicuous from the beginning. Though "Machevil" says that

. . . a strong built Citadell
Commands much more then letters can import:
(Prologue 22-23)

this doctrine again runs counter to Machiavelli's own. Machiavelli disapproves of building a strong citadel in chapter 20 of *The Prince* and elsewhere in *The Discourses* because it may possibly bring about too much relief on the part of the defending soldiers. Hence it follows that there are no representatives of Machiavelli but distorted (or fake) would-be Machiavellians from the beginning. It is not too much to say that Marlowe is a genuine Machiavellian in that he involves his audience in his trick of starting falsely.

Machiavelli's ideas which possibly affected Marlowe are, on one hand, latent in the text of *The Jew of Malta*, on the other hand the false representatives of him —"Machevil" and Barabas— are strikingly impressive all along. It is not an "anxiety of influence," but a complicity that works between "Machevil" and Barabas, the complicity which drives the protagonist into a collection of villainies represented as Machiavellism. There is no Oedipal relationship but an affiliation that binds the two characters. Barabas' complicity with "Machevil" culminates in his penultimate soliloquy in which he takes the place of the chorus which "Machevil" (Barabas' master) first played at the opening. Stepping forward to the "worldlings"(or the audience), he directly

calls for their attention, thus speaking out his strategy in Machiavelli's epigram style:

> . . . Why, is not this
> A kingly kinde of trade to purchase Townes
> By treachery, and sell'em by deceit?
> Now tell me, worldlings, underneath the sunne,
> If greater falshood ever has bin done.
> (V.v.46-50)

Barabas pretends to be a genuine Machiavellian, but he is far from it. Note that it is foreign to Machiavelli that kings should "purchase Townes by treachery, and sell'em by deceit." This accomplice of "Machevil," in his privileged proximity to the audience (or worldlings), invites them into the complicity of falsifying Machiavelli. By way of the role of the chorus, the affiliated pair of "Machevil" and Barabas devote themselves to distort Machiavelli and his political thoughts.

How to represent Machiavelli was, we can suppose, Marlowe's main concern under the complicated pressure from the influential discourses on Machiavelli. Elsewhere Marlowe had only rehearsed the stereotype of Machiavelli in his creation of Machiavellian characters —Mortimer Junior, Isabella, Catherine de Medici and the Guise. Yet they reveal limitations on the part of Marlowe in formulating the stereotypes; their wiles and treachery are of a

similar nature to the degree that they can be all recognized as a collection of mere villainies. If any given deed under the principle of "the end justifies the means" is regarded as Machiavellian, repetitive depictions of those acts no longer contribute to the formulation of English Machiavellism. Marlowe must have fully recognized the limitations of this kind of repetition. Those ways of representing Machiavelli, that is, the worn-out presentations of wiles and betrayals were no longer effective. Even Marlowe himself was badly reputed as a "pestilent Machiavellian" by Greene. The dramatist who staged the dog-eat-dog world of Machiavelli was himself involved in the rival relations in his writing society. Marlowe, as the disciple of Machiavelli, was soon to suffer manipulation by his contemporaries like Greene. The repetition of the deeds under the motto of "the end justifies the means" is just a failure in the attempt at formulating Machiavellism. It is, we may suggest, this recognition on the part of Marlowe that made him represent fake Machiavellians like "Machevil" and Barabas as authentic, instead of just repeating the worn-out wiles and betrayals. This is what follows as a result of Marlowe's new handling of Machiavelli and Machiavellism; where the words and action of the fake Machia-vellians are furthest away from Machiavelli and his ideas, they seem to be closest to the influential Florentine.

VI.

In this chapter we have examined two critical problems in order to explain the influences of Machiavelli and Machiavellism on Marlowe. One of them is related to the controversial question of how profound we can assume Marlowe's knowledge of Machiavelli's original works was. There are some echoes of Machiavelli's phraseology, dramaturgy and creation of dramatic personae in *The Jew of Malta*, which may illustrate that Marlowe was plausibly familiar not only with *The Prince* but also with Machiavelli's minor works (*Mandragola* included). The other problem is of Marlowe's way of representing the sources of influence; it consists of representing Machiavelli by way of the master-disciple pair of characters who turn out to be fake Machiavellians and run counter to Machiavelli's own ideas. This way of representation verges on the formulation of English Machiavellism of the late sixteenth century.

That Marlowe cast the fake Machiavellians on the stage confirms the view that Marlowe contributed to formulating the Elizabethan response to Machiavelli, which was advantageous to the Elizabethan State's policy. Machiavelli's original texts were in themselves too radical to be received as a collection of analyses of statecraft by the Elizabethan court because they included "too accurate a picture of the world." Barabas' indifference to governorship helps obscure those subversive analyses that are only

latent in the play, and instead contributes to the formulation of English Machiavellism.

What is difficult for us to interpret is Marlowe's presentation of the relationship of Barabas with "Machevil." This tricky presentation consists of the strong tie between the two figures as master and disciple. Some may point at Barabas' digression from "Machevil" in order to illustrate Barabas' Oedipal complex to the father-figure. But it is not the case. "Machevil," the father-figure, is no more Machiavelli than Barabas is. At the end of the play "Machevil" and Barabas turn out to the affiliated pair of conspirators when Barabas steps forward to the audience and takes the place of the chorus that "Machevil" played at the Prologue. With this view in mind we should recall the pun on the name-word of "Machevil" which was pointed out by Harbage as an allusion to the allegorical character in the Moral Plays. Here lies Marlowe's "much evil" trickery of representing Machiavelli. After the play was in the possession of Queen Henrietta's company around 1632, Thomas Heywood (1574?-1641) added new prologues and epilogues to the extant manuscript and published the first printed text in 1633. He reintroduces the protagonist as an innocuous stock figure;

> . . . We pursue
> The story of a rich and famous Jew
> Who liv'd in Malta: you shall find him still,

In all his projects, a sound Machevill,
And that's his character.[29]

(*Prologue Spoken at Court*, 5-9)

As Barabas is described as "a sound Machevill," so he matches the cartoon villain who is literally "sound" enough to be tamed into the stereotype of English Machiavellism. This prologue by Heywood illustrates that the audience in the 1630s regarded Barabas as a perfect representative of Machiavelli. It is Marlowe himself who formulated this new stereotype, for his "Machevil" and his disciple successfully insinuated themselves into the minds of the Elizabethans with the "much evil" aim of distorting the influential source, with an aim more evil than historical Machiavelli intended.

Marlowe's secret purpose in the play is not only to satirize the old-fashioned presentations of Machiavelli, but also to ally with the State's policy which pursued a way to obscure Machiavelli's political ideas and to formulate new Machiavellism. This procedure is tangled; where the two Machiavellian figures are furthest away from Machiavelli and his ideas, they seem to be received as being the closest to the influential Florentine. Widely versed in Machiavelli, Marlowe manipulated his thoughts and expression to the State's advantage. Given that there was a double source of influence with regard to Machiavelli, that is, the Florentine's original thoughts on one hand and the popular

understanding of Machiavelli on the other, Marlowe must have recognized a rupture between them. During the period, when Machiavelli was repeatedly associated with unscrupulous wiles and tricks by his contemporaries' writings to the degree that it appeared to be too common an image, Marlowe perhaps exploited the rupture in order to produce new Machiavellism. This manipulation can be explained by two conspiracies working both within and beneath the play; within it is the conspiracy of "Machevil" and Barabas, and beneath it is that of Marlowe with the Elizabethan politics.

"Machevil" literally appears in the marginal Prologue never to turn up again, which makes the audience wonder who is a genuine representative of Machiavelli. However, we cannot but be at a loss as far as we concern ourselves with the question of who is a genuine Machiavellian. Throughout the play there is no such genuine Machiavellians, but only fake Machiavellians named "Machevil" and Barabas. We must admit that "Machevil's" marginal appearance at the beginning keeps on wielding power on the audience's psychology because the audience cannot but be obsessed by the misconception that "Machevil" and Barabas are true representatives of Machiavelli. Marlowe superseded the influential source of Machiavelli by marginalizing the source of influence in the Prologue. Moreover, with the fake Machiavellians like "Machevil" and Barabas, Marlowe superseded the current source of Machiavellism without reiterating its unfashionable way of

presentation. It is noteworthy, at the same time, that this way of manipulating the influential sources was inseparably tied up with the State's policy of blurring the impact of Machiavelli's works as analyses of statecraft.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Death of Ramus: Ramism in *The Massacre at Paris*

I.

Peter Ramus, who appears as a logician in *The Massacre at Paris* (1592), is the most eccentric character that Marlowe ever created. Critics on Marlowe in the twentieth century have mainly emphasized such "overreachers" as Tamburlaine, Faustus and Barabas, all of whom attempt to "stretch as far as doth the mind of man," and in excessive endeavour failed. However, Peter Ramus, a figure of the logician created in one of the dramatist's last works, *The Massacre at Paris*, questions that common sense criticism on Marlowe. Undoubtedly Ramus follows Faustus as a scholar figure, yet he is presented in a completely different way from his precursor. Faustus, as a type of the "overreacher," spreads his desire outward by devilish magic which he acquired under contract with Lucifer. Ramus, on the other hand, is here portrayed as an "anti-overreacher" who rather defends the boundary of scholarship and restricts his desire to a limited field.

In addition to Ramus' characterization, Scene Seven , the so-called Scene of Ramus, is remarkably different from the rest of the scenes from a structural viewpoint. Most scenes in *The Massacre at Paris* are set outdoors in streets of Paris, where the audience watch a lot of bloody religious conflicts. In contrast, the Scene of Ramus (Scene Seven) is exceptionally set indoors, where a controversy on logic between Ramus and Guise gives a

strange impression on the audience. As well as this unique figure of Ramus, this pedantic scene of the logical debate has got a bad reputation for its structural lapse, or digression, from a series of actions that represent strife in religion and power. Paul Kocher acrimoniously asserts that "the long discussion in the Ramus scene . . . defeats that purpose," the purpose on the side of the playwright of giving "the impression of swift action and constant effusion of blood."[1] Although this scene seems to be a structural lapse or digression from the new critical viewpoint, it at least reveals a cultural aspect that Marlowe awkwardly incorporated into the play. The main aim of this chapter is to look at the digression of Scene Seven in terms of social and cultural influences on Marlowe.

We will examine three different levels of influence (or rivalry) in our attempts. (1) First we will look over the reception of Ramism by Marlowe. "New logic" by Peter Ramus (1515-72) had a considerable influence on Europe during the late sixteenth century. It was, we suppose, assimilated into *Doctor Faustus* first, and subsequently into *The Massacre at Paris*. (2) Another interesting, relevant influence we are to argue is the so-called Harvey-Nashe Controversy, which was carried out through pamphlets from the late 1580s till the 1590s. It is obvious that these two discussants could not help referring to Ramism during this remarkable period when Ramism prevailed throughout English academies. (We should remember that the Controversy occurred at

the same time Marlowe was supposed to produce *The Massacre at Paris*.) It is, therefore, necessary to argue the relationships among these three intellects — Peter Ramus, Gabriel Harvey and Thomas Nashe. (3) The rivalry among Marlowe, Harvey and Nashe will be our final concern. Harvey and Nashe were two key figures in relation with Marlowe. Harvey was the most devoted adherent of Ramism at that period, while Nashe, who had once collaborated with Marlowe in the production of *Dido, the Queen of Carthage*, attacked Harvey as well as Ramism harshly. Where, then, should Marlowe be positioned in the literary circle and where can we recognize his own response to both of them? We are going to find out an answer to this question through an examination of the personification of Peter Ramus that Marlowe tried to produce in *The Massacre at Paris*.

II.

It is a well-known fact that Peter Ramus (Piérre de la Ramée), the Huguenot logician, was murdered in the Massacre of St. Bartholomew in August 1572. In 1555 Ramus published *Dialectic*, in which he attempted to thoroughly simplify Aristotelian logic by stressing on dichotomy and syllogism. Even in England this writing triggered quite a few controversies between the two schools of Ramists and Aristotelians. As far as extant texts in this period show, we can assume that the first appearance of the name of Ramus in English was around 1550; it appears in correspondence between Ramus and Ascham from 1550 to 1564. Their

correpondence had continued congenially as a whole until Ascham declared in *The Schoolmaster* (1568) that he had never ever been a Ramist.

> and so do *Ramus* and *Talaeus* euen at this day in *France* too. . . . For he, that can neither like *Aristotle* in Logicke and Philosophie, nor *Tullie* in Rhetoricke and Eloquence, will, from these steppes, likelie enough presume, by like pride, to mount hier, to the misliking of greater matters: that is either in Religion, to haue a dissentious head, or in the common wealth, to haue a factious hart:[2]
>
> (*Scholemaster*, II, pp.243-4)

We should pay attention to his assertion that none of us can tell those who attempt to undermine the Aristotelian logic from those who rebel against their nation and God. Interestingly enough, Ramus in the following speech in *The Massacre at Paris* offers an excuse, as if he had been directly criticized by Ascham:

> And this for *Aristotle* will I say,
> That he that despiseth him, can nere
> Be good in Logick or Philosophie.
>
> (scene vii, 408-410)

In Britain Ramism originated in the northern part of the island, mainly Scotland. In 1574, two years after Ramus was murdered in the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, Roland McKilmain, a Scotsman, published the original text of *Dialectic* and its English translation successively. Since its first translation in 1574, it had been a controversial bestseller to the degree that it was reprinted eleven times during a brief span of ten years in the 1580s. This fact indicates that in the 1580s a boom of Ramism caused an enormous sensation in all academies throughout Britain. A bitter controversy about logic, for an instance, occurred between William Temple, a Ramist (1555-1627) and anti-Ramist Everard Digby (1550?-1592) frequently in 1580 and 1581 at Cambridge. Thus we can suppose that people were more influenced by its aftermath than we now imagine. The simplicity of the Ramists' logic embodied by bold dichotomizing gained popularity among students of Oxford and Cambridge while it was attacked by the dons of the academies. Another Ramist, Abraham Fraunce, in his *The Lawyer's Logic* (1588) defends Ramism against what he describes as "the importunate exclamations of raging and firey-faced Aristotelians":

> Ramus rules abroade, Ramus at home, and who but Ramus? Antiquity is nothing but Dunsicality, & our forefathers inuentions vnprofitable trumpery.[3]

Here in these lines we can sense the controversial mood that the young Ramist provokes against the Aristotelian dons of the academy. J.W. Van Hook in his study on Marlowe's rhetoric points out the influence of Fraunce's *Arcadean Rhetorike* (1588) on Marlowe's style. It is a matter of controversy whether Marlowe was actually involved in a series of debates on rhetoric. None the less, we may assume that Marlowe must have experienced a vivid sensation of the controversy, for it was during the very stirring years of 1580-1587 that Marlowe was enrolled in Corpus Christi in Cambridge.

We are going to interpret the pamphlet controversy held between Gabriel Harvey and Thomas Nashe as being symptomatic of the boom of Ramism in England. Harvey not only introduced Ramist logic but also strongly supported it. As is recorded in his library catalogue, he had obtained Ramus' *Ciceroniamus* as early as around 1569 and in 1577 Harvey himself published a book with the same title *Ciceroniamus*, so that he could widely propagate the "new logic" of Ramus.[4] On the other hand, Nashe who was seventeen years junior to Harvey, was, so to speak, a latecomer to the boom. He had a tendency to take the negative side regarding any authority who was prevalent at any given time. In addition, Greene and Nashe, both of whom were controversial opponents of Harvey, were matriculated students at St. John College, in which anti-Ramist Digby was also enrolled. We cannot deny the possibility that Greene and Nashe may have been greatly influenced

by the academically conservative atmosphere at St. John. Yet, it should be remembered that materials picked up in the pamphlet controversy covered the manner of the world, astrological mountebanks by Richard Harvey (Gabriel's younger brother), the Martin-Marprelate Controversy, classical prosody and even their personal scandals. This is the reason why this (sometimes absurd) controversy continued for many years; it originated in 1589 and intermittently continued during the following ten years until Whitgift's ban on any satirical publication was issued in 1599. We may, therefore, assume that some kind of commercial strategy was at work, a strategy contrived by the writers and the publishers to sell the pamphlets. However, this matter of the pamphlets' market is not a concern of this chapter. We will focus on their debate on Ramism, which was picked up at the early stage of the controversy.

III.

Nashe's Preface to *Menaphon*, published by Greene in 1589, was the beginning of a series of controversies.[5] In the Preface Nashe condemned his contemporary academism over which a certain arrogant pedant (Harvey is undoubtedly implied) held power. Nashe harshly criticized such a pedant as devoting himself to "petty Ramus," pettier than great ancient logicians. (Nashe describes in the Preface that it took sixteen years for Peter Ramus to praise "his pettie Logique"). It was followed by a number of controversial pamphlets which were published in succession: *The Lamb of God*

(1590) by Richard Harvey and *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier* (1592) by Greene. In *A Quip* Greene mocked at aspirations of the Harvey brothers who were just "upstart" rope makers, only because their father had been engaged in the business; he writes that "this Ropemaker hunteth me here with his halters." Greene, moreover, warned them against the daring ambition to challenge great Aristotle. In August 1592, Nashe repeatedly criticized Gabriel's Ramism in his pamphlet, *Pierce Pennilesse*.

> Thou that hadst thy hood turnd ouer thy eares when thou wert a Batchelor, for abusing of *Aristotle*, & setting him vp on the Schoole gates, painted with Asses eares on his head:[6]
>
> (*Pierce Penilesse*, pp.195-6)

Opposed to this criticism, Harvey intentionally advocated the revisionary movement of the Ramists' "new logic" in *Four Letters* issued in winter, 1592.

> Rudolph Agricola, Philip Melancthon, Ludouike Viues, Peter Ramus, and diuerse excellent schollers, haue earnestly complained of Artes corrupted, and notably reformed many absurdities:[7]
>
> (*Four Letters*, p.229)

In the following year, 1593, Harvey published *Pierce Superero-gation* in which we can see the following description of Ramus;

> But alas silly men, simple Aristotle, more simple Ramus, most simple the rest, either ye neuer knew, what a sharpe-edged, & cutting Confutation meant: or the date of your stale oppositions is expired; and a new-found land of confuting commodities discouered, by this braue Columbus of tearmes, and this onely marchant venturer of quarrels; that detecteth new Indies of Inuention, & hath the winds of AEolus at commandement.[8]
>
> (*Pierce Supererogation*, p.45)

He introduces Ramus as a pioneer of the new field of logic by referring to Columbus. Here lies a very unique rhetoric of Harvey's; first he inscribes Aristotle's logic as a classical heritage in the old Continent, and subsequently positions Ramus above Aristotle without directly censoring the latter.

This kind of defense for Ramus is what we will see again in *The Massacre at Paris*. If we suppose that *The Massacre at Paris* was written and produced around 1592-93, we can assume that the pamphlet controversy over Ramus was in the minds of Elizabethan readers of the pamphlets, not to mention Marlowe's.

IV.

It still seems to be unsatisfactory to regard the dispute on Ramus between Harvey and Nashe as a mere background to the production of *The Massacre at Paris*. Just as the "new logic" by Ramus was appropriated into pamphlets in which Harvey and Nashe repeated bitter disputes, so Marlowe and his "high astounding words" were appropriated in their disputes. The term "appropriation" is a key word in this discussion. It stands in for a way of dealing with influences: adoptions of some other writer's rhetoric and subsequent incorporation of it into one's own rhetoric.[9]

It is reasonable that Nashe, who had once collaborated with Marlowe, used his precursor's words and phrases. In the Preface to *Menaphon* Nashe wrote a satire against his contemporary mediocre writers or scholars. In order to describe writers who could use nothing but commonplace rhyme in their poems, he adopted a passage from *Doctor Faustus*;

> for what can be hoped of those, that thrust *Elisium* into hell, and haue not learned so long as they haue liued in the spheares, the just measure of the Horizon without an hexameter.[10]
>
> (Preface, p.16)

Here the passage "thrust *Elisium* into Hell," was undoubtedly appropriated from Marlowe: "This word 'damnation' terrifies not him [Faustus],/ For he confounds hell in Ellysium" (*Faustus A* I.iii.60-1). There is one more example of appropriation; in *Pierce Penilesse* Nashe appropriated a well-known phrase from *Tamburlaine* ("Holla! ye pampered jades of Asia") into his censure:

> some tired Iade belonging to the Presse, whom I neuer wronged in my life, hath named me expressely in Print... and accused me of want of learning . . . [11]
>
> (*Pierce Penilesse*, p.195)

Again in *Strange News* (1592) Nashe assimilated Marlowe's dramatic style for his quarrel with Harvey so that he could introduce a character named Argumentum by way of stage direction: "Here enters Argumentum a *testimonio humano*, like *Tamburlaine* drawn in a Chariot by four Kings."[12]

For Gabriel Harvey, not only Nashe but also Marlowe, whose words Nashe appropriated into his pamphlet, must have been another opponent to refute. That is, pseudo-scholars such as Greene, Marlowe and Nashe, who earned their daily income by writing plays, were all regarded as a group of implied opponents in Harvey's pamphlet controversy. In *Pierce's Supererogation*, Harvey named four men as Nashe's friends or acquaintances: M. Apis Lapis, Greene, Marlowe and Henry Chettle (p.322).[13] Moreover, Nashe's

"gayest flourish" styles are, according to Harvey, characterized as:

> but Gascoignes weedes, or Tarletons Trickes, or Greenes crankes, or Marlowes brauados:[14]
>
> (*Pierce's Supererogation*, p.115)

This is not the only catalogue of his opponents; the similar examples are abundant. Harvey asserts that Nashe and his friends can find "no witt, but Tarletonisme . . . no Religion, but precise Marlowisme; no consideration, but meere Nashery" in the same book.[15] Note here that Marlowe and his writing are scripted as "Marlowisme" by Harvey. What Harvey aims at is to portray Nashe as a "precise" follower of this "ism."

Moreover, Harvey tends to link up this faction of pseudo-scholars with those notorious propagators of the Martin-Marprelate papers which contain subversive attacks against Whitgift's policy of ecclesiastical uniformity and royal supremacy:

> that new-created Spirite, whom double V. [Martins] like an other Doctour Faustus, threateneth to coniure-vpp at leysure[16]
>
> (*Pierce's Supererogation*, p.209)

As is the case with Nashe's appropriation of Marlowe, the figure of Doctor Faustus is assimilated into Harvey's rhetoric of debate as a stock figure who seduces people's minds with necromantic words and phrases.

It is noteworthy that Harvey branded Nashe as a tactless disciple of Marlowe, which is conspicuous in his sonnet appended in *New Letter* (1593).

> *Weepe Powles, thy* Tamburlaine *voutsafes to dye.*
>
> L'enuoy.
>
> The hugest miracle remaines behinde,
>
> *The second Shakerley Rash-swash to bind.*[17]
>
> (Sonnet in *New Letter*, p.295)

If it taken into account that *New Letter* was, we assume, written just after the death of Marlowe, it must have been intended as a mock elegy to Marlowe. Harvey made an intentional pun on Peter Shakerley, a notoriously silly disputant who was frequently mentioned as a laughing stock in London at the period, and called Nashe "the second Shakerley." In addition, it seems that Harvey amused himself with the similar sounds of "Nashe" and "Rash-Swash." Harvey continues his teasing, claiming that "the hugest miracle of Marlowe" (or his style of bombast) binds (enchants) Nashe who is as good as Shakerley. Thus we find that Marlowe and

his words were appropriated into the dispute between Harvey and Nashe.

However, it is strange that Marlowe himself remained reticent about the controversy, though he must have noticed it. Only through his plays we can get a glance at the way Marlowe reacted to/against both Ramism and the Harvey-Nashe Controversy.

V.

It was logic that Faustus first attacked in the opening soliloquy of *Doctor Faustus* (1589). (Subsequently, his attacks are levelled at the orthodox college curriculum which covers physics, jurisprudence, divinity and metaphysics.) In these lines, Marlowe made his first reference to the "new logic" by Ramus. After stating that he will "live and die in Aristotle's works" (*Faustus A*, I.i.5), Faustus quotes the following Latin Passage:

> Sweet *Analytics*, 'tis thou hast ravished me!
> [*He reads.*] *Bene disserere est finis logices.*
> Is to dispute well logic's chiefest end?[18]
> (*Faustus A* I.i.6-8)

As is often pointed out, it is agreed that Marlowe quoted line seven not from Aristotle but from Ramus. The line "*Bene disserere est finis logices*," is a slogan which Ramus repeatedly underlines in *Dialectic*, so that we can regard the slogan as the core of Ramism. Here are a few examples from *Dialectic:*

> Dialecticke otherwise called Logicke, is an arte which teacheths to dispute well.
>
> (*Dialectic*, p.17)

> The ende of Grammar is to speake congrouslie, Of Rethoricke, eloquentlie, and of Logicke to dispute well and orderlie. [19]
>
> (*Dialectic*, p.28)

So as "to dispute well," one is supposed to take two steps in Ramus' argumentation, that is, Invention and Disposition. After "inventing" (lining up) materials with which to prove a theorem, one is required to "dispose" (arrange) them to conclusion. Ramus thought that these two simplified procedures should be pragmatically applied to argumentation in any scholarly field. So far, logic had been considered an introductory study subordinate to higher studies such as law, physics and theology. Ramus attempted a frontal attack against this common definition of logic. Ramism, so to speak, was a revisionary movement for redefining logic as a pragmatic study for argumentation, and of empowering the discipline of logic.

Not only did Ramism emphasize the dichotomy (Invention and Disposition), but also simplified syllogism so drastically that it was redefined in the following way;

> The Sillogisme hathe two partes: one which goethe before, another that followethe, & maye be called, the antecedent and the consequent.
>
> (*Dialectic*, p.81)

Based on this daring simplification, he brought syllogisms into practice. These examples will properly demonstrate it:

> All men be sinners. Ergo Socrates. (p.82)
>
> Socrates is a man, Ergo hi is a sinner. (p.82)
>
> Socrates is a Philosopher:
> But Socrates is a man:
> Therfore some man is a Philosopher. (p.83)

The syllogism suggested by Ramus slightly differs from what is imagined today. It is a dichotomy that fundamentally backs up his logic. Even the syllogism, a variant for his dichotomy, consists of an antecedent ("which goes before") and the conclusion ("that follows"). The former is, moreover, divided into the two parts of argumentation: proposition and assumption. It follows that the way of dichotomization is always intended as a prototype for syllogism of proposition, assumption and conclusion. It is not

too much to say that it is sufficient to arrange two main sentences in order effectively.

Let us return to Marlowe's text to examine how Ramus' syllogism is incorporated into *Doctor Faustus*. It appears in Faustus' renunciation of Divinity, or Jerome's Bible.

> If we say that we have no sin,
> We deceive ourselves, and there's no truth in us.
> (*Faustus A* I.i.44-45)

Critics have very often pointed out imperfection of the syllogism quoted above.[20] Although he is indebted to verse eight in 1 John, New Testament while quoting the above verse, Faustus passes over the following verses 9-10, which read: "If we confess out sins, he is just, and may be trusted to forgive our sins and cleanse us from every kind of wrong." Faustus never repents, or literally cannot repent, because he is completely unable to recite any verses from The New Testament concerning human contrition and God's gratuitous mercy. It was perhaps symptomatic of Faustus' tragic flaw, yet this interpretation is not satisfactory enough to explain the imperfect syllogism.

Pauline Honderich, in her article "John Calvin and *Doctor Faustus*," argues that Calvinists' harsh doctrine regarding God's mercy underlies Faustus' inability to recite those verses about God's mercy, the doctrine that men cannot evade death since they

are sinful by nature.[21] The imperfection of Ramus' syllogism may symptomatically represent the anxiety of Protestants, given that Ramism, which was also invented under the influence of Huguenots (French Calvinists), is a concomitant of Calvinism. For it allows Faustus' argumentation to be conclusive enough in terms of the simplified mode of Ramus' syllogism. It is, therefore, possible that Marlowe inscribed such religio-social conditions of his age into his text by adopting Ramus' imperfect syllogism here.

If we assume that Ramus' new style of logic had been incorporated into the play of *Doctor Faustus*, it is never more conspicuous than when Wagner has an argument with scholars in Act One Scene Two. In the same scene, Wagner performs as a logician and baffles the scholars with the new logic of Ramus. To First Scholar, who asks if the boy knows of Faustus' whereabouts, Wagner answers: "God in heaven knows." When Second Scholar attempts to confirm what he heard from Wagner, asking: "Why, dost not thou know then?," then Wagner returns an odd reply: "Yes, I know, but that follows not."

> That follows not necessary by force of argument
> That you, being licentiate, should stand upon't. Therefore, acknowledge your error, and be attentive.
>
> (*Faustus A* I.ii.11-13)

The preceding proposition (antecedent) in Wagner's argument should be "God only knows," and then the following one (consequent) that "the humanity — Wagner included — never ever know" is supposed to arise. As a matter of fact, Wagner knows where his master is, but he is nevertheless able to insist that he does not know it "by force of argument." Based on Ramism, his logic definitely draws a conclusion from itself in an autonomous manner.

What is more interesting, Wagner, who brags of this kind of argument, is assigned the part of a Puritan. He proudly claims that he has refuted scholars, and then begins to perform a Puritan.

> . . . Thus, having triumphed over you, I will set my countenance like a precisian, and begins to speak thus: Truly, my dear brethren, my master is within at dinner with Valdes and Cornelius, as this wine, if it could speak, it would inform your worships. And so the Lord bless you, preserve you, and keep you, my dear brethren, my dear brethren.
>
> (*Faustus A* I.ii.26-32)

"Precisian" was in those days almost synonymous with Puritans. *The OED* defines it as "one who is precise in religious observance: in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. synonymous with *Puritans*." Wagner not only addressed to scholars "my dear

brethren" just as the "precisians" of the age greeted with each other, but also advised that they should not "come within forty foot of the place of execution." It must have been possible for the Elizabethan audience to associate Ramus' logic with Puritanism. This is understandable if we take into account that Ramism advertising the "new logic" was brought over into England along with the reports on the Massacre on the Eve of St. Bartholomew. Even Ramus himself never hesitates to confess his Puritan creed; elsewhere in *Dialectic* he avows that:

> God can no wise be knowen by any image or signe made by men. (p.49)

> Abraham was iustified by faythe, therfore man maye be iustified by faythe. (p.59)

This necessarily makes Wagner's performance tinged with a religio-social paradox. It is because Wagner was backed up by Ramus' self-conclusive theory of logic that he could refute the scholars. It is ironic, however, that the seemingly neutral academic theory was regarded not as a neutral "ism" but as suspicious Puritanism against the authorities. The more firmly Ramists defended their theory of logic, the more likely they were to be suspected as radical Protestants. This is the paradox which

Marlowe only implies in *Doctor Faustus*. Yet it will be almost complete in *The Massacre at Paris*.

VI.

It was around 1580 (after the Massacre on the Eve of St. Bartholomew) that the word "massacre" was introduced into English. *The OED* quotes as the first instance in English Sir Henry Savile's translation of Tacitus' *Histories* in 1581.[22] It was because the word not only meant "murder" or "carnage," but also was interpreted as referring to a special phenomenon of society that the word was received with a great impact. A cultural anthropologist Natalie Zemon Davis, in an essay "The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France," points out that Puritans must have been obsessed with the idea of "pollution" around 1570.

> The word "pollution" is often on the lips of the violent, and the concept serves well to sum up the dangers which rioters saw in the dirty and diabolic enemy.[23]

Davis pays great attention to the fact that the number of sermons by Huguenot pastors had begun to make a rapid increase several years before the Massacre broke out at Paris: "the specific trigger for the riots being more likely . . . the sudden upsurge in public Protestant preaching."[24] It should be remembered that it was not long before *The Massacre at Paris* was put on the stage

that the Martin-Marprelate Controversy, another radical Puritan propaganda, stirred the nation. "Massacre," therefore, partook of ritual "purification" of society contaminated by Puritans. Hence, the sense of Protestants' pollution caused slaughterers (Catholic agents for the purifying ritual) to be pathologically sensitive to the disposal of corpses of filthy Puritans (or Huguenots). The Catholic assassins in Marlowe's *Massacre at Paris* thus cautioned each other:

> *1.* Now sirra, what shall we doe with the Admirall?
> *2.* Why let us burne him for an heretick.
> *1.* O no, his bodye will infect the fire, and the fire the aire, and so we shall be poysoned with him.
> *2.* What shall we doe then?
> *1.* Lets throw him into the river.
> *2.* Oh twill corrupt the water, and the water the fish, and by the fish our selves when we eate them.
>
> (Sc.ix, 482-489)

This is mainly a serious concern of the Catholic side, whereas the Puritans paid little attention to dead corpses. This is, as Davis analyzes, related to their "rejection of Purgatory and prayers for the dead" under the Puritan doctrines.[25]

From the Catholics' political point of view, it was inevitable that Puritans should be symbolized as contaminators. Davis

argues that "the Protestants' sense of Catholic pollution also stemmed to some extent from their sexual uncleanness" of clergy, or sodomy.[26] If it was a common sense view on "Catholic pollution," Marlowe conversely arranged it for "the Catholic sense of Puritan pollution." This reversal occurred in Scene Seven in *The Massacre at Paris*. In the opening part of the scene, a character named Taleus appears at the study of Ramus and informs him of his impending hazard. Taleus was a historical rhetorician who collaborated with Ramus. (As a matter of fact, he died of disease in 1564, ten years before the Eve of the Massacre.) Taleus is, however, characterized as something more than just a fellow scholar of Ramus by the Catholic slaughterers in the following conversation:

> *Gonzago*. Who goes there?
> *Retes*. Tis *Taleus*, *Ramus* bedfellow.
> *Gonzago*. What art thou?
> *Taleus*. I am as *Ramus* is, a Christian.
> *Retes*. O let him goe, he is a catholick.
> (My emphasis) (Sc.vii, 371-375)

Note the underlined part. In order to execute Ramus, the murderers made a deliberate interpretation of him as a "filthy body" which could spoil society with sodomy. Historically speaking, Taleus was ambiguously linked with Ramus, for Pierre

Galland, one of the Aristotelian opponents to Ramus, described him as Ramus' "little twin brother." Yet, there is no other person but Marlowe that presents them as sodomites.

It is not only the dirty body of Ramus but also his words spreading the "new logic" and contaminating society that was purified in his execution. When he finds his study violated by the slaughterers and recognizes his inevitable death, Ramus, being worthy of a Puritan, refuses the Catholic rite of purification so that he may "purge himself" by his argumentation.

> Not for my life doe I desire this pause,
> But in my latter houre to purge my selfe,
> In that I know the things that I have wrote,
> Which as I heare one *Shekius* takes it ill,
> Because my places being but three, contains all his:
> I knew the Organon to be confusde,
> And I reduc'd it into better forme.
> And this for *Aristotle* will I say,
> That he that despiseth him, can nere
> Be good in Logick or Philosophie.
>
> (Sc.vii, 401-410)

In the middle of the speech, however, Ramus' argumentation in which he tries to purge himself is interrupted by violence permanently. Forced to stop his final speech of self-purification

at the half way point, Ramus is killed by Guise, who claims to purge the contamination of society. Ironically enough, Ramus is deprived of Ramists' logical magic that Wagner showed against the scholars in *Doctor Faustus*, and his logic proves to be definitely powerless against violence.

Ⅶ.

The death of Ramus was miserable because he never had a chance to understand why he himself was regarded as a target for social purification. No matter how consistently he may attempt to remain in the academic boundary, irrespective of political strife, Ramus, who is called "the Kings professor of Logick," cannot but depend on the Royal "stipend" for his daily life. No matter how devotedly he may advocate the boundary of his "new logic," it should be regarded as filthy Puritanism, subversive to society. Since around 1592 gigantic characters whose wills were absolute laws to their respective communities (like Tamburlaine) disappeared from Marlowe's drama, yet instead, we have come to see only such figures as those who act (or are forced to act) in some gigantic mechanism of ideology. The typical characters such as Guise and Henry take their actions with full knowledge of the "logic" of power relations. On the contrary Ramus is in his complete ignorance of the "logic" to the degree that he only adheres to the boundary of his logic, even if his creed leads to his death. This is why we can point out the paradox mentioned

above: the more firmly Ramus defends his boundary of logic, the more likely he draws intervention from outside.

It is worthwhile to examine the structural digression of the Scene of Ramus by directing our attention to the eccentric character of Ramus. This scene, being set in the indoor study, presents a different picture of the "hell on earth" of the Massacre which is at once on progress outdoors. We assume that in the scene there surely seems to be a scholarly sphere indifferent to the outside strife among religious sects and power struggles. In other words, we can catch a glimpse of Marlowe's attempt to momentarily create the non-political sphere in the scene of Ramus. In this respect, we can agree to J.R. Glenn's view that "the Ramus scene establishes through the person of Ramus an acceptable standard of humanity existing outside the two warring parties" of the Catholic and the Huguenots.[27] Harry Levin is another critic who argues that the scene represents "an affirmation of that scholarly ideal through Ramus."[28] However, it is, we should notice, only transitory. After the scene ended with Ramus' death, the play reverts to the plot of incessant slaughters and political strife. The execution of Ramus has resulted in the miserable conclusion which revealingly shows that the autonomous "new logic" turns out to be nothing but an illusion, and the utopia-like neutral study can never be a non-political sphere.

Why, then, did Marlowe incorporate the Scene of Ramus, which did not appear in any probable sources, at the risk of a

structural digression? François Hotman's *A True and Plain Report of the Furious Outrages of France* (1574), which is agreed to be one of the most influential sources for *The Massacre at Paris*, does not include the scene of Ramus.[29] The name of Ramus is, however, lightly mentioned as one of the martyrs of the Massacre in that report. Although another possible source, *De l'état de France sous Charles neuvième*, edited by Simon Goulart in 1576-7, describes the last moments of Ramus, they are totally different from those in the problematic scene written by Marlowe. In this source Ramus begs for his life by offering a large amount of money to the slaughterers; "But when he [Ramus] was discovered, he paid a large sum to save his live."[30] By contrast, Ramus characterized by Marlowe has got no money to offer to his assassins, and gives an ardent explanation for scholars' poverty:

> Alas I am a scholler, how should I have golde?
> All that I have is but my stipend from the King,
> Which is no sooner receiv'd but it is spent.
> (Sc.vii, 377-379)

When we examine this structural digression from the context, we should not miss the literary situation which Marlowe was involved in while he was writing this play. As we have seen in the previous sections, Marlowe was undoubtedly considered to be in the same literary group as Robert Greene and Thomas Nashe belonged

to. Behind Marlowe's intent of having changed Ramus' character from a wealthy king's professor to a poverty-stricken scholar, we can see only a shadow of Greene who, in poverty, died of malnutrition in 1589.

Finally, we are to attempt a closer examination of the dispute between Guise and Ramus in *The Massacre at Paris* from the social and cultural point of view. We will cite a longer criticism by Guise as it is.

Guise. Stab him.
Ramus. O good my Lord,
Wherein hath *Ramus* been so offencious?
Guise. Marry sir, in having a smack in all,
And yet didst never sound any thing to the depth.
Was it not thou that scoftes the Organon,
And said it was a heape of vanities?
He that will be a flat decotamest,
And seen in nothing but Epitomies:
Is in your judgment thought a learned man.
And he forsooth must goe and preach in *Germany*:
Excepting against Doctors axioms,
And *ipse dixi* with this quidditie,
Argumentum testimonii est inartificiale.
To contradict which, I say *Ramus* shall dye:
How answere you that? your *nego argumentum*

Cannot serve, sirra: Kill him.

(Sc.vii, 382-398)

Guise severely criticizes Ramus, stating that "He that will be a flat decotamest, /And seen in nothing but Epitomies: /Is in your judgement thought a learned man." We can find the similar criticism in the Preface to *Menaphon* by Nashe. He mocked at the epitome of Ramism:

> But those yeares, which shoulde bee employed in *Aristotle*, are expired in Epitomes:[31]
>
> (Preface, p.18)

Anti-Ramists consistently attacked Ramus' disrespect for Aristotle's *Organon*. (Criticism to Aristotle, as Ascham avows, always involves blasphemy against the Establishment and God.) Ramus explained against this criticism that all he had done was to offer a more lucid logic of Aristotle's, and that *Organon* was an essential text to those who wish to be logicians. This is an argument with historical accuracy. As Walter J. Ong discusses, all Ramus attempted was just to treat *Organon* as though it would fit into the practical exercises of his logic.[32] Whereas his opponents (Shekius included) violently attacked Ramus' appropriation of Aristotle into the service of the new logic. It also reminds us of Harvey's remarks in *Pierce Supererogation*; by the

phrase "simple Aristotle, more simple Ramus," he successfully positioned Ramus above Aristotle without direct criticism to the latter. The dispute between Guise and Ramus in this scene of the play overlaps with the real controversy held outside the theatre, that is, the Harvey-Nashe Controversy over Ramus.

We may suppose that Marlowe produced another story of the logical dispute between Ramus and Guise in his play, based on the Harvey-Nashe Controversy. That is why Scene Seven not only digresses from the structure of the play but also is loaded with the peculiar tension of his age. Finally let us suggest that the pedantic digression of Scene Seven should be a manifestation of Marlowe's defensive attitude. It is no doubt that Marlowe was much influenced by Ramism, which is echoed in some of his plays. (Moreover, Ong suggests that Ramus' pedagogical method of rhetoric would have affected the schooling that Marlowe and Shakespeare had experienced.) Yet, Marlowe seems to have noticed that any defense for Ramus could imply not only his supposed bias to Puritanism but also the assent to Harvey. It can be assumed that Marlowe incorporated the argument on Ramus' "new logic" as well as the Harvey-Nashe Controversy into Scene Seven with an intent to defend himself in order not to be positioned anywhere in his contemporary political sphere. The figure of Ramus produced in such a situation is assigned the role of a miserable sacrifice to power struggles, as well as a filthy body that contaminates society. As the producer of the figure of Ramus, Marlowe must have fully

recognized the difficulty of maintaining his neutrality in the influential literary network, including the Harvey-Nashe Controversy. That is why Marlowe suspended his position and evaded those influences by fabricating the controversy on Ramus in the brief, digressive scene and by characterizing Ramus both as the miserable sacrifice and as the filthy body in society. There seems to be a complicated correspondence between Marlowe's Ramus who shuts himself up in the neutral (as he at least believes) sphere of his study and the dramatist's indulgence in the pedantic digression.

Here we may notice Marlowe's theatrical technique of entrusting profound influences on him to those figures in his plays such as "Machevil" of *The Jew of Malta* and "Peter Ramus" in *The Massacre at Paris*. There is a remarkable break between Marlowe's later fictionalization (or personification) of his influences and his earlier rendition of them, mistranslation and adaptation. This illustrates not only the transition of his writing technique but also that of his handling of influences. Marlowe of his last years may have realized that it was no longer possible to incorporate the influential sources, most of which he had learned in the curriculum of humanist studies, into his writings, whether by mistranslation or by adaptation. Instead, he was perhaps faced with a new condition that any handling of influential sources was never fulfilled without some burdens from the complicated network of recipients. We may catch a glimpse of his desperate attempt; whatever he attempted to deal with

influence was never without mediation, much less neutral. He was inevitably conscious of the network of influence, whether it consisted of socio-political "isms" or of his literary circle. Writing under that double-bound condition, Marlowe was still obliged to perform as a playwright of "university wits." In this light his personification of Ramus in *The Massacre at Paris* can be regarded as his final performance within the complicated network of influence in the early 1590s.

CONCLUSION

With an aim to explore the protean workings of influence we have so far traced Marlowe's seven-year writing career. In *Lucan's First Book* and the two plays of *Tamburlaine*, Marlowe tended to veil the sources of influence and to inscribe his own voice by mistranslation and theatrical adaptation. At the end of the 1580s Marlowe reveals those sources to the audience in *Doctor Faustus*, *The Jew of Malta* and *The Massacre at Paris*. If we return to the first question of what makes Marlowe's texts distinct from Shakespeare's, here lies a clue to the answer: the incorporation of the sources by personification. This makes a striking contrast with Shakespeare's parody in *As You Like It* of Marlowe's famous phrase in *Hero and Leander*: "Who ever lov'd, that lov'd not at first sight?" (I.176).

> Dead shepherd, now I find thy saw of might,
> "Who ever lov'd that lov'd not at first sight?"[1]

It is very comical that Phebe, a shepherdess who speaks in that way, falls in love with Rosalind disguised as a young man. Interestingly, Shakespeare makes the shepherdess quote that phrase written by Marlowe, the author of *The Passionate Shepherd to His Love*. Shakespeare seems to have parodied the famous phrase when he quoted it in Phebe's avowal.

Marlowe hardly composed a parody of his sources but personified them. There are two remarkable features that can be seen in Marlowe's personification of the influential sources: (1) the development of the way with stereotypes and (2) the marginal handling of them.

First we must understand that Marlowe's personification of influence is fundamentally complicated in his desire to formulate stereotypes so that he may enclose and grasp "others" (or the sources of his anxiety). As Homi Bhabha, one of the most influential post-colonial literary critics points out, any desire to contain others by formulating stereotypes is frustrated at the end. For one's effort toward containment ends up in a recognition that he or she can no more formulate any appropriate stereotypes than contain others.[2] The same can be applied to other investigations outside of the post-colonial subject. Marlowe seems to have fully recognized the limitation of the stereotypes. That is why he attempted to represent Machiavelli in a different way. As we have seen in Chapter Four, it is worth observing that where "Machevil" and Barabas are furthest away from Machiavelli and his ideas, they seem to be closest to the real Florentine. Producing "Machevil" in the Prologue, Marlowe obscured the rupture between Machiavelli and his stereotypes in his attempt to formulate new English Machiavellism. Even the stereotype of Ramus cannot be a realistic representation of Peter Ramus; it is rather an amalgam of a complicated set of discourses and reports

surrounding the historical logician. In other words, various sorts of discourses are fit together in the stereotype of Ramus, the discourses that belong to Harvey, Nashe, Greene and such university wits. It seems that Marlowe developed the way with the stereotypes —the aim of producing them is to contain and fully know others— in his attempt of casting those influential figures on the stage.

In addition to the shift from concealing his sources to exposing them, there is one more remarkable shift if we follow Marlowe's writing career: a penchant for marginalization. If the way Marlowe assimilated emblems into the texts is considered, we can notice a characteristic example of it. In *Tamburlaine* he assimilated the emblems of Alciati and Whitney into the texts so covertly that it requires privileged knowledge to read the stage pictures. On the other hand he handles the genre of emblem literature itself in the marginal part of *Edward II*; Alciati's emblem 170 appears in a stage property, Lancaster's shield as a symbolic device with which to challenge Edward. This technique of assimilation at the same time reveals Marlowe's attempt to contain the genre of emblem literature.

It is also noteworthy that Marlowe incorporated Bruno's metaphysical idea of metempsychosis into a brief dialogue between bit-players —Robin and Wagner— in *Doctor Faustus*. Indeed it is a marginal phenomenon which shows one of Marlowe's characteristic uses of his influential source, yet the impact of the Brunian

scene is great enough to incite the later playing company of Henslowe to get rid of it. Further, this kind of marginalization of influence leads to the Prologue in *The Jew of Malta* and the digressive scene of Ramus in *The Massacre at Paris*. "Machevil" literally appears in the marginal Prologue never to turn up, which makes the audience wonder who is the genuine representative of Machiavelli. So much so, his marginal appearance keeps on wielding power on the audience's psychology.

The structurally marginal scene of Ramus, being set in the indoor study, presents a pedantic controversy on logic, different from the rest of the massacre happening outdoors. We can catch a glimpse of Marlowe's attempt to momentarily create a non-political and academic sphere in the scene of Ramus. In the production of the same scene Marlowe himself manages to maintain his neutrality in the network of the influential controversies on Ramus. If these phenomena are taken into account, it is not too much to say that the margins in Marlowe's texts are fertile enough to show what Marlowe managed to do with the sources of influence he had.

*

The only extant portrait of Marlowe, which was painted in 1585 and now hangs in the hall at Corpus Christi, has an inscription in its top left corner. It is a motto employed from emblem literature, saying "Quod me nvtrit me destrvit" (What nourishes me destroys me). The exact version of this can be found

in Whitney's emblem under the motto of "Qui me alit me extinguit" (Fig.20). Together with the picture of a burning torch with its flame directed downward, the description reads:

> Even as the waxe dothe feede, and quenche the flame,
> So, loue giues life; and loue, dispaire doth giue:
> The godlie loue, doth louers croune with fame:
> The wicked loue, in shame dothe make them liue.
> Then leaue to loue, or loue as reason will,
> For, louers lewde doe vainlie languishe still.[3]

In the symbolic image of wax which nourishes fire only to extinguish it, there is, we may suppose, an echo relevant to the subject throughout this paper. For it is the antithesis to the Actaeon myth— the story of poor Actaeon who is destined to be torn into pieces by his own hounds he nourished— which Marlowe incorporated into *Doctor Faustus* as a scheme of a chaser chased. Although it is another enigma why Marlowe chose the motto for the inscription of his own portrait, the idea of "Quod me nutrit me destruit" seems possibly appropriate for Marlowe, for he is entirely involved in a pseudo-Oedipal relationship through his handling of influence, whether he is a Father figure or a Son's.

When he made a début as a playwright with *Tamburlaine*, Marlowe attempted to displace the morbid theatrical entertainments, as his Prologue declares:

From jygging vaines of riming mother wits,
And such conceits as clownage keepes in pay,
Weele leade you to the stately tent of war . . .
(*1 Tamburlaine*, Prologue)

Indeed, Marlowe was successful in theatrical reformation, partly because he completely set himself free from the old-fashioned theatrical modes such as jig and nursery rhyme, and partly because he transported onto the Elizabethan stage new theatrical modes from the humanist tradition. Then, the young university wit continued to nourish new modes of drama, employing marvelously new humanist sources onto the stage, which stimulated other scholar playwrights like Greene, Kyd and Nashe to follow him. Yet, this seems to be a turning point at which the chaser turns himself to the chased. Marlowe came to be no longer exempt from the influence of the society of university writers. More often than or not, Greene and others reproduced the stereotypes and "high astounding terms" by which Marlowe had swept to fame, whether blind-mindedly or sardonically. Subsequently, under this new pressure from downward, that is, from the writing society of which he was one of the pioneers, Marlowe was obliged to produce even newer theatrical modes by way of marginal and digressive handling of his sources. It is, then, very interesting that Marlowe played the double role of the nourisher and the nourished (or the chaser and the chased). What is remarkable is that thus Marlowe

fashioned himself as a playwright in the course of a seven-year career, struggling with the twofold influences of the humanist movement. As far as we concern ourselves with the production of plays and playwrights in relation to their influences and sources, Marlowe will keep on wielding power over us, offering interesting research material of the make-up of any playwright who engaged in the society of the university wits.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

13. (a) From Alciati. Emblema 29, "Etiam ferocissimos domari."

(b) From Alciati. Emblema 106, "Potentissimus affectus amor."

14. (a) From Alciati. Emblema 177, "Pax."

(b) From Alciati. Emblema 178, "Ex bello pax."

15. From Alciati. Emblema 155, "De Morte et Amore."

16. Michelangelo, Statue of Lorenzo de' Medici. Florence, S. Lorenzo.

17. From Alciati. Emblema 138, "Duodecim certamina Herculis."

18. From Alciati. Emblema 170, "Obnoxia infirmitas."

19. From Alciati. Emblema 52, "In receptatores sicariorum."

20. From Whitney: *A Choice of Emblemes* 1586. "Qui me alit me extinguit." (p.183a)

(Bodleian Library, Oxford)

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Animi scrinium seruitus.

Ad ornatum virum, D. ELISEVM GRYFFITH.

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

132. Pope and Emperor.
From *La dance Macabre des Hommes*, printed by Antoine Vérard, Paris, 1486.

133. Doctor and lover.
From *La dance Macabre des Hommes*, printed by Guyot Marchant, Paris, 1486.

Fig. 5

In occasionem.

To my Kinsman M. GEFFREY WHITNEY.

Fig. 6

Festina lente.

Ad amplissimos viros Dn. FRANCISCVM WINDHAM,

& Dn. EDWARDVM FLOWERDEWE

Iudices integerrimos.

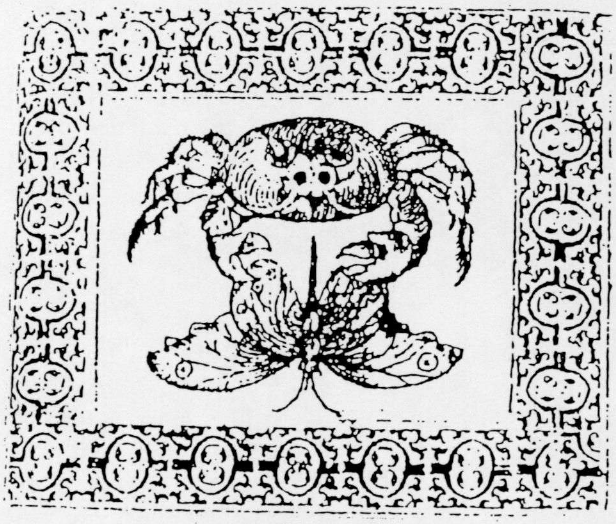


Fig. 7

In auaros.

Fig. 8

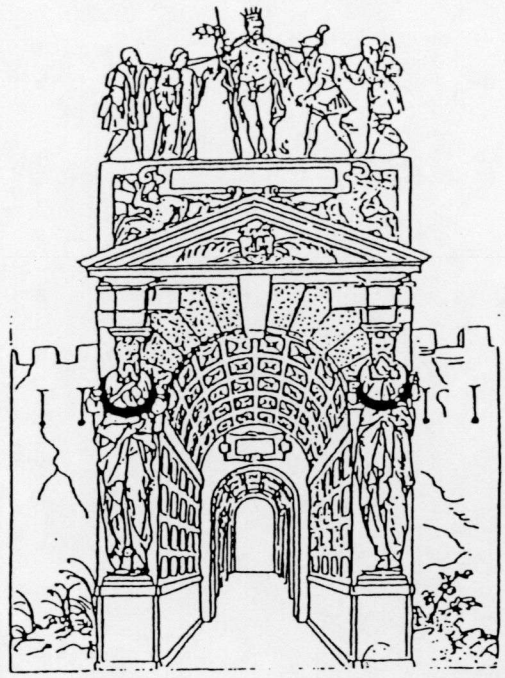


Fig. 9

Fig. 10

In colores.

TO EDWARDE PASTON *Esquier.*

THE dier, loe, in smoke, and heate doth toile,
Mennes tickle mindes to please, with sundrie hues:
And though hee learne newe collours still to boile,
Yet varijng men, woulde faine some newer choose:
And seeke for that, which arte can not deuise,
When that the ould, mighte verie well suffise.
And some of them, here briefflie to recite,.
And to declare, with whome they best agree:
For mourners, *blacke*. for the religious, *white*.
Which is a signe, of conscience pure, and free.
The *greene*, agrees with them in hope that liue:
And eeke to youthe, this colour wee do giue.
The *yelowe* next, vnto the couetous wighte.
And vnto those, whome ielousie doth fret.
The man refusd, in *Taunye* doth delite.
The collour *Redde*, let martiall captaine get.
And little boies, whome shamefastnes did grace,
The Romaines deckd, in *Scarlet* like their face.
The marriners, the *Blewe* becometh well.
Bicause it showes the colour of the sea:
And Prophettes, that of thinges deuine foretell,
The men content, like *Violet* arraie.
And laste, the poore and meaner sorte prouide,
The *medley*, *graye*, and *russet*, neuer dy de.

Fig. 11

Furor & rabies.

EMBLEMA LVII.

ORA gerit clypeus rabiesq; pictа leonis,
Et scriptum in summo margine carmen habet:
Hic hominum est terror, cuius possessor Atrida:
Talia magnanimum signa Agamemnonis erant.

Fig. 12

Etiam ferocissimos domari.

EMBLEMA XXIX.

ROMANVM postquam eloquium, Cicerone perempto,
Perdiderat patriæ pestis acerba suæ,
Inscendit currus victor, iunxitq́ leones,
Compulit & durum colla subire iugum:
Magnanimos cessisse suis Antonius armis,
Ambage hac cupiens significare duces.

Potentissimus affectus amor.

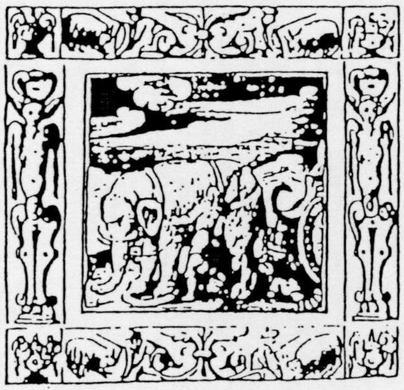
EMBLEMA CVI.

ASPICE vt inuictus vires auriga leonis,
Expressus gemma pusio vincat Amor?
Vtq́ manu hac scuticam tenet, hac vt flectit habenas;
Vtq́ est in pueri plurimus ore decor.
Dira lues procul esto: feram qui vincere talem
Est potis, à nobis temperet anne manus?

Fig. 13

Pax.

EMBLEMA CLXXVII.



TVRRIGERIS humeris, dentis quoque barrus eburni,
Qui superare ferox Martia bella solet,
Supposuit nunc colla iugo, stimulisq́ subactus,
Cæsareos currus ad pia templa vehit.
Vel fera cognoscit concordes vndique gentes,
Proiectisq́ armis munia pacis obit.

Ex bello pax.

EMBLEMA CLXXVIII.

EN galea, intrepidus quam miles gesserat, & quæ
Sæpius hostili sparsa cruore fuit:
Parta pace apibus tenuis concessit in vsum
Alueoli, atque fauos, grataq́ mella gerit.
Arma procul iaceant: fas sit tunc sumere bellum
Quando aliter pacis non potes arte frui.

Fig. 14

De Morte & Amore.

EMBLEMA CLV.

Fig. 15

Fig. 16

EMBLEMA CXXXVIII

Fig. 17

Obnoxia infirmitas.

EMBLEMA CLXX.

PISCICVLOS aurata rapit medio aquore fardus,
Ni fugiant pauida, summa marisq; petant.
Alt ibi sunt mergi fallacisq; voracibus esca.
Ebeu, intuta manent undique debilibus.

Fig. 18

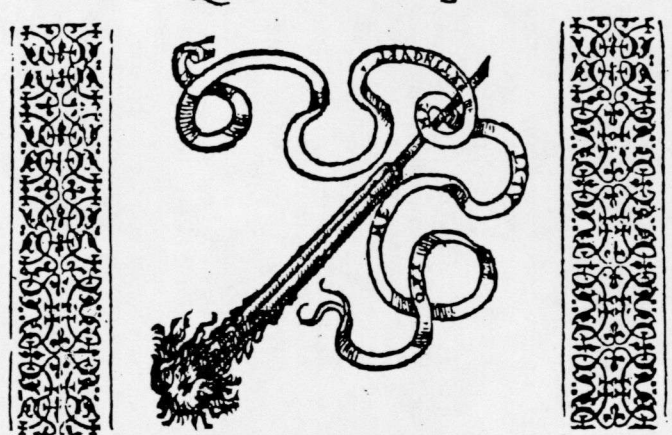
In receptatores ſicariorum.

EMBLEMA LII.

LATRONVM, furumq; manus tibi, Scæua, per vrbem
Ite comes, & diris cincta cohors gladijs:
Atque ita te mentis generoſum, prodige, cenſes,
Quòd tua complures allicis olla malos.
En nouus Actæon, qui poſtquàm cornua ſumpſit,
In prædam canibus ſe dedit ipſe ſuis.

Fig. 19

Qui me alit me extinguit.



EVEN as the waxe dothe feede, and quenche the flame,
So, loue giues life; and loue, diſpaire doth giue:
The godlie loue, doth louers croune with fame:
The wicked loue, in ſhame dothe make them liue.
Then leaue to loue, or loue as reaſon will,
For, louers lewde doe vainlie languiſhe ſtill.

Fig. 20

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

[1] Thomas Warton, *The History of English Poetry from the Close of the Eleventh to the Commencement of the Eighteenth Century* (1824). We will owe all of the 18th and 19th century comments to *Marlowe: The Critical Heritage*, ed. Millar Maclure (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979). The critical comment by Warton appears in p.59.

[2] Joseph Ritson, *Observations on the Three First Volumes of the History of English Poetry in a Familiar Letter to the Author* (1782), in Maclure, p.66.

[3] We owe this term to Harry Levin, who also attempted to interpret Marlowe and his characters as overreachers in his critical study on Marlowe.

[4] William Hazlitt, "From lectures chiefly on the Dramatic Literature of the Age of Elizabeth" (1829), in Maclure, p.78.

[5] M. C. Bradbrook, *Shakespeare: The Poet in His World* (Wiedenfeld and Nicolson, 1978), p.43.

[6] E. M. W. Tillyard, *Shakespeare's History Plays* (Chatto & Windus, 1948), p. 115.

[7] Irving Ribner, "Marlowe and Shakespeare," in *Shakespeare Quarterly* 15 (1964), p.41.

[8] *Ibid.*, p.51.

[9] *Ibid.*, p.53.

[10] Nicholas Brooke, "Marlowe as Provocative Agent in Shakespeare's Early Plays," in *Shakespeare Survey* 14 (1961), p.44.

[11] *Ibid.*, p.44.

[12] Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (Oxford U.P., 1973), p.11.

[13] *Ibid.*, p.11.

[14] J. A. Porter, *Shakespeare's Mercutio: His History and Drama* (North Carolina U.P., 1988), p.140.

[15] *Ibid.*, p.136.

[16] James Shapiro, *Rival Playwrights: Marlowe, Jonson, Shakespeare* (Columbia U.P., 1991), p.81.

[17] *Ibid.*, p.81.

[18] See Harold Bloom, *Poetry and Repression: Revisionism from Blake to Stevens* (New Haven: Yale U.P., 1976).

CHAPTER ONE

*Quotations from Marlowe's poems and plays (except for *Doctor Faustus*) are taken from *The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe*, ed. Fredson Bowers (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1973). Although references to *Pharsalia* are cited from the Frankfurt edition, we also refer to Jane Wilson Joyce's translation (Cornel U.P., 1993).

[1] Cited from James Shapiro, "'Meter Meete to Furnish Lucan's Style': Reconsidering Marlowe's *Lucan*," in *"A Poet and a filthy*

Play-maker": New Essays on Christopher Marlowe, ed. Kenneth Friedenreich et al (New York: AMS Press, 1988), p.318.

[2] Samuel Johnson, *Lives of the Poet*, in *The Works of Samuel Johnson*, vol.7 (Oxford U.P., 1970), p.141; The same passage is quoted in Shapiro(1988), p.320.

[3] For detail, see Shapiro (1988), p.324.

[4] William Blisett, "Lucan's Caesar and the Elizabethan Villain," in *Studies in Philology* 53 (1956), p.564.

[5] J.B.Steane, *Marlowe: A Critical Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1964), p.258.

[6] Roma Gill, "Marlowe, Lucan, and Sulpitius," in *Review of English Studies* n.s.24 (1973), pp. 401-13; see slso her introduction to *The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe*, vol.1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987).

[7] O.B.Hardison, "Blank Verse before Milton," in *Studies in Philology* 81 (1984), p.265.

[8] Gill (1973), p.402.

[9] *Ibid.*, p.407.

[10] Cited and translated from *M. Annei Lucani, de Bello Civili, libri decem. Cum Scholijs, integris quidem Ioannis Sulpitij Verulani, certis autem locis etiam Omniboni, Una cum Annotationibus quibusdam adiectis Jacobi Micylli* (Frankfurt 1551), Cambridge Central Libraty; The same line is also quoted in Gill (1973), p.407.

[11] Gill (1973), p.404.

[12] See "Introduction" in Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton U.P., 1957).

[13] The quotation from *Gorboduc* is taken from *Two Tudor Tragedies* (Penguin, 1992)

[14] See her note on the line in Gill (1987).

[15] The quotation from *3 Henry VI* is taken from the New Cambridge edition of Shakespeare ed. Michael Hattaway, (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1993)

[16] Gill (1973), p.405.

CHAPTER TWO

[1] Andrea Alciati, Emblem 121 under the motto of "Poverty hinders the greatest talents from advancing" in *Andrea Alciatus: The Latin Emblem*, ed. Peter M. Daly et al. (Toronto: U. of Toronto P., 1985). Further quotations from emblem literature are indicated in parentheses in the text.

[2] Judith Weil, *Christopher Marlowe: A Critical Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1977), p.84.

[3] Malcolm Kelsall, *Christopher Marlowe* (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1981), p.113.

[4] Clifford Leech, *Christopher Marlowe: Poet for Stage*, ed. Anne Lancashire (New York: AMS Press, 1986), p.82.

[5] David Bevington and James Shapiro, "'What are kings, when regiment is gone?': The Decay of Ceremony in *Edward II*," in Friedenreich (1988), pp. 263-278.

[6] See Jocelyn Godwin, *Robert Fludd: Hermetic Philosopher and Surveying of Two Worlds*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1970), chapter 4.

[7] David Daiches, "Language and Action in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*," in *Christopher Marlowe: Modern Critical View*, ed. Harold Bloom, (New York: Chelsea House, 1986), p.90.

[8] See the woodcut illustrations of *Danse Macabre* by Hans Holbein the Younger.

[9] Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance*, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), p.211.

[10] Kimberly Benston, "Beauty's Just Applause: Dramatic Form and the Tamburlanian Sublime," in Bloom (1986), p.216.

CHAPTER THREE

*As for *Doctor Faustus*, we will refer to the Manchester edition because it includes the A- and B-texts in full.

[1] E. G. Clark, *Ralegh and Marlowe: A Study in Elizabethan Fustian* (Russel & Russel, 1965), p. 350.

[2] Christopher Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* ed. David Bevington and E. Rasmussen (Manchester U.P., 1993). Subsequent references to

the two texts of *Doctor Faustus* will be given in the text within parenthesis.

[3] Giordano Bruno, *Concerning the Cause, Principle, and One*, trans. S. T. Greenburg, in S. T. Greenburg, *The Infinite in Giordano Bruno* (Octagon, 1978), p. 86.

[4] For details, see the introduction in Giordano Bruno, *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*, trans. A. D. Imerti (U. of Nebraska, 1992), p. 9.

[5] For Abbot's report, see Frences Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (U. of Chicago P., 1964), p. 208.

[6] *Andrea Alciatus: The Latin Emblems*, ed. Peter Daly et al. (U. of Toronto P., 1985), emblem 52.

[7] Cf. *Andrea Alciatus: Emblems in Translation*, ed. Peter Daly et al. (U. of Toronto P., 1985). The mottoes appended to the picture of Actaeon are as follows: "Those who give refuge to murderers" (Paris: the Lefevre edition, 1536), "Against those who give refuge to evil and murderous men."(Lyon: the Marquale edition, 1551).

[8] Geffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblems and Other Devises* in *The English Emblem Tradition*, ed. Peter Daly et al. (U. of Toronto P., 1985), p. 104.

[9] Giordano Bruno, *The Heroic Frenzies*, trans. P. E. Memmo (U. of North Carolina P., 1966), p. 125. See also Greenberg, p. 10.

[10] Harry Levin, *The Overreacher: A Study of Christopher Marlowe* (Harvard U.P., 1952), pp.133-134.

[11] Jonathan Dollimore, *Radical Tragedy* (Harvester, 1984). Excerpted from *Modern Critical Interpretations: Christopher Marlowe's* Doctor Faustus, ed. Harold Bloom (Chelsea House, 1988), p. 105.

[12] See Bevington's annotation to the corresponding lines in the New Revels' edition of *Doctor Faustus*, p. 175.

[13] *The Expulsion*, p. 78.

[14] William Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*, ed. Elizabeth Story Donno (Cambridge U.P., 1985), IV.ii.40-47.

[15] Hilary Gatti, *The Renaissance Drama of Knowledge: Giordano Bruno in England* (Routledge, 1989), p. 109.

[16] *De la causa*, p. 163.

[17] "Metempsychosis" and its variant "metentomasosis" are abundant in the second book of *Enneads*.

[18] See *The Expulsion*, p. 282. n. 13.

[19] See chapter 11, in Frances Yates, *The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age* (Routledge, 1979).

[20] Simon Shepherd, *Marlowe and the Politics of Elizabethan Theatre* (St. Martin, 1986), p. 135.

[21] In *Henslowe's Diary* no performance of *Doctor Faustus* was recorded during 1597-1602. Therefore, it was necessary for Henslowe to rewrite the play out of fashion.

[22] William Empson, *Faustus and the Censor* (Blackwell, 1987), pp. 165-84.

[23] Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning from More to Shakespeare* (U. of Chicago P., 1980), p. 293.

CHAPTER FOUR

[1] Edward Meyer, *Machiavelli and the Elizabethan Drama* (New York: Burt Franklin; orginally published at Weimer, 1897), pp.30-76.

[2] Catherine Minshull, "Marlowe's *Sound Machiavelli*," in *Renaissance Drama* n.s. 13 (1982), p.52.

[3] *Ibid.*, p.41.

[4] See Felix Raab, *The English Face of Machiavelli* (London and Toronto, 1964).

[5] Irving Ribner, "Marlowe and Machiavelli," in *Comparative Literature* 6 (1954), pp. 349-356.

[6] See the introduction by N. W. Bawcutt, in the Revel's edition of *The Jew of Malta* (Manchester: Manchester U.P., 1978).

[7] See Joseph A. Porter, *Shakespeare's Mercutio: His History and Drama* (North Carolina U.P., 1988).

[8] Roger Ascham, *English Works*, ed. W. A. Wright (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1904; rpt.1970), pp.233-4.

[9] Quoted from N. W. Bawcutt, "Machiavelli and Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*," in *Renaissance Drama* n.s.3 (1970), p.49.

[10] From *Christopher Marlowe: The Plays and Their Sources*, ed. Vivian Thomas et William Tydeman (New York: Routledge, 1994), p.335.

[11] Antonio D'Andrea, "Studies on Machiavelli and His Reputation in the Sixteenth Century: 1. Marlowe's Prologue to *The Jew of Malta*," in *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 5 (1961), pp.214-48.

[12] From MacLure, p.30.

[13] Minshull, pp.39-40.

[14] Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince and The Discourses*, ed. Max Lerner (New York: Random House, 1950), p.124.

[15] *Ibid.*, p.147.

[16] Bawcutt, p.34.

[17] Lerner, p. 526.

[18] Voltaire's commentary is quoted from the introduction by J.R. Hale, in *The Literary Works of Machiavelli* (Greenwood Press, 1979), p.xxiii.

[19] *The Literary Works of Machiavelli*, ed. and trans. J. R. Hale (Greenwood Press, 1979), p.24. Further quotations from this book will be indicated in parentheses in the text.

[20] Any reader of Elizabethan dramas will recall the most celebrated example of the mystic potion in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*.

[21] At the end of Scene Four, Fra Timoteo speaks to himself: "But my consolation is this: that when a thing concerns many, the responsiblity can't be left to anyone in particular." See Hale, p.48.

[22] See Ernest Jones, *Hamlet and Oedipus* (Norton, 1976).

[23] Thomas Cartelli, "Endless Play: The False Starts of Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*," in Friedenreich (1988), p.119.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

[25] C. B. Kuriyama, *Hammer or Anvil: Psychological Patterns in Christopher Marlowe's Plays* (New Brunswick: Rutgers U.P., 1980), p.154.

[26] *Ibid.*, p.144.

[27] Ian McAdam, "Carnal Identity in *The Jew of Malta*," in *English Literary Renaisssance* 20.1 (1996), p.54.

[28] Lerner, p.49.

[29] The Prologue is taken from the Penguin edition of Marlowe's complete plays, ed. J.B. Steane (London: Penguin, 1969), p.343.

CHAPTER FIVE

[1] Paul Kocher, "Francois Hotman and Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris*", *PMLA* 56, pp. 365-6; Michel Poirier, *Christopher Marlowe* (Chatto and Windus, 1951), p. 167.

[2] *English Works of Roger Ascham*, ed. William Aldis Wright (Cambridge U.P., 1970), pp. 243-4. Ascham's critical comment on Ramism is also examined in W. S. Howell, *Logic and Rhetoric in England 1500-1700* (Princeton U.P., 1956), p. 177.

[3] From Howell, pp.224-5.

[4] Howell, p.178.

[5] Thomas Nashe, "To the Gentlemen Students of both University," *The Life and Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Robert Greene* vol. 3, ed. Alexander B. Grosart, (Russell, 1964), p. 11.

[6] Thomas Nashe, *Pierce Pennilesse his Supplication to the Devell*, in *The Works of Thomas Nashe* vol. 1, ed. Ronald B. McKerrow (Blackwell, 1966), pp. 195-6.

[7] Gabriel Harvey, *Four Letters*, in *The Works of Gabriel Harvey* vol. 1, ed. Alexander B. Grosart (AMS, 1966), p. 229.

[8] Gabriel Harvey, *Pierce's Supererogation*, in *The Works of Gabriel Harvey* vol.2, ed. Alexander B.Grosart (AMS,1966), p. 45.

[9] This kind of appropriation is corresponding to "clinamen"— if we employ Bloom's terminology— which implies that the precursor's work swerves from the original by the late-comer's misprision.

[10] "To the Gentlemen Students," *The Life and Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Robert Greene*, ed. Alexander B. Grosart (Russell & Russell, 1964), p. 16.

[11] *Pierce Pennilesse*, McKerrow vol.1, p. 195.

[12] *Strange Newes*, McKerrow vol.1, p. 293.

[13] *Pierce's Supererogation*, Grosart vol. 2, p. 322.

[14] *Ibid.*, p.115.

[15] *Ibid.*, p.234.

[16] *Ibid.*, p.209.

[17] Harvey, *New Letter of Notable Contents* in Grosart (1966), vol.1, p. 295.

[18] All the quotations from *Doctor Faustus* are taken up from *Doctor Faustus A- and B-texts (1604, 1616)*, ed. David Bevington et Eric Rasmussen (Manchester U.P., 1993).

[19] Peter Ramus, *The Logike*, trans. R. McKilmain, rpt. (Scolar Press, 1966). Further quotations from Ramus are shown in parentheses in the text.

[20] See T. Pettitt, "Formulaic Dramaturgy in *Doctor Faustus*," in K. Friedenreich et al., *"A Poet and a filthy Play-maker": New Essays on Christopher Marlowe* (AMS Press, 1988), pp.167-191.

[21] Pauline Honderich, "John Calvin and *Doctor Faustus*," *Modern Language Review* 68 (1973), pp. 1-13.

[22] *The OED* difines "massacre" as "to kill indiscriminately (a number of human beings); to make a general slaughter or carnage of" (v.trans.1).

[23] N.Z. Davis, "The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France," *The Massacre of St. Bartholomew: Repraisals and Documents*, ed. Alfred Soman (Martinus Nijhoff, 1974), p. 209.

[24] *Ibid.*, p.223.

[25] *Ibid.*, p.233.

[26] *Ibid.*, p.210.

[27] J.R. Glenn, "The Martyrdom of Ramus in Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris.*" *Papers on Language and Literature* 9 (1973), pp. 365-379.

[28] See the brief chapter on *The Massacre at Paris* in Harry Levin, *Christopher Marlowe: The Overreacher* (London: Faber and Faber, 1952).

[29] *Christopher Marlowe: The Plays and Their Sources*, ed. V. Thomas and W. Tydeman (Routledge, 1994), pp. 261-273.

[30] *Ibid.*, p.277.

[31] "To the Gentlemen Students," p. 18.

[32] Cf. Walter J. Ong, *Ramus and Talon Inventory* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P., 1958); *Ramus: Method, and the Decay of Dialogue* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P., 1958).

CONCLUSION

[1] William Shakespeare, *As You Like It* III. v. 81-82, ed. Agnes Latham, *The Arden Shakespeare* (Methuen, 1975).

[2] See Homi Bhabha, "The Other Question: The Stereotype, discrimination and the discourse of colonialism," *The Location of Culture* (Routledge, 1994), pp. 66-84. Bhabha asserts that "the stereotype is ... an 'impossible' object because "the recognition and disavowal of 'difference' is always disturbed by the question of its re-presentation or construction" (p.81).

[3] Geffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes and other Devises* (1586), p. 183b, in *The English Emblem Tradition* vol. 1, ed. Peter M. Daly et al. (U. of Toronto P., 1988), p.283.

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