International Marlowe Conference 2013: Abstracts (alpha order)

Material Mistakes in Marlowe's *Massacre at Paris*
Emma Atwood, Boston College

In *Massacre at Paris*, a pair of poisoned gloves is mistakenly delivered to the wrong Queen, beginning the chain of bloody scenes that follow. In Marlowe's source text, however, this rumored event took place months before the massacre began. By dramaturgically collapsing the temporal plane, Marlowe emphasizes the importance of the mistaken poisoned gloves in the ensuing massacre. In this talk, I posit that this scene can help us understand Marlowe's approach to dramaturgy.

I argue that the glove is fatal not just because it is laced with poison, but moreover because it is a mistake. Specifically, Marlowe warns that mismanaged material objects can be fatal. Marlowe uses poisoned gloves to demonstrate the importance of skillful manipulation (literally, handling) of material objects.

Early modern gloves are loaded with cultural expectations about the individual's connection to the object. But theatrical players are expected to skillfully manipulate other peoples' material objects. Players use interchangeable props in order to evoke personal objects in fictional scenarios. In this way, the theatrical project impedes Marlowe's warning against material mistakes. If objects in the theater are always interchangeable, the fatal result of mistaken materials that Marlowe dramatizes in *Massacre at Paris* is a commentary on the skill needed to effectively manage a play. It also expresses the

paradoxical relationship between a material object in the theater and the material culture it represents.

Marlovian Machiavellianism in *Edward II*
Chrissie Auger, Eckerd College

In the remarkably scarce commentary concerning intersections of Christopher Marlowe, the Elizabethan Stage Machiavel, and Machiavelli's *The Prince,* many critics marginalize, and sometimes even neglect, any thoughtful consideration of the interrogative drama *Edward II* (c. 1592); instead, the criticism discusses Stage Machiavels in *The Jew of Malta* or the politics of *Tamburlaine*, defensible choices for such hermeneutics because of the dramas' characters and content. In *Edward II*, however, Christopher Marlowe depicts at least three intriguing (though incomplete) Stage Machiavels which also warrant critical attention. By unleashing Stage Machiavel tendencies in disparate characters like *Edward II*'s Mortimer Junior, Queen Isabella, Spencer Junior, and Baldock, Marlowe creates a litany of villains, some significantly more sympathetic—or evil—than others. Such is the strange case of the Stage Machiavel, an Elizabethan perversion of Nicollò Machiavelli's ideal prince. However, as Irving Ribner reveals in "Marlowe and Machiavelli," the Stage Machiavel "has little relation to Machiavelli's thought…and has a history and life of its own," one which nonetheless remains inextricable from its namesake (349).

Marlowe's treatment of "Machiavelli's thought," however, seems just as seductive as Marlowe's employment of the conventional Stage Machiavel, and so in this paper, I will balance my treatment of the character type with an exploration of Machiavellian techniques and ethics as exhibited in *Edward II*. Since King Edward II routinely exemplifies behavior more becoming of what I term Machiavelli's "anti-prince," he suffers the precise fate Machiavelli warns against in his "prince should not" lessons. Because of his anti-princely conduct, the peers depose, torture, and murder their King. When Edward II's son (notably known as *the prince*) assumes power, he mimics the efficient prince of Machiavelli's text, presumably gaining control and order as a result. Such subtle underpinnings, undeniably pro-Machiavellian, serve as Marlowe's mighty means to a conniving but certain end: his clandestine public endorsement of Machiavelli's princely ethics.

"Over-rul'd by fate": Does the Marlowe myth impede research?
Rosalind Barber University of Sussex

This paper will examine how a preconception of Marlowe as "the bad boy of Elizabethan theatre" slows the progress of academic research. It will focus on the possibility, first raised seventy-five years ago, that Marlowe may have been the "one Morley" who tutored Arbella Stuart and was dismissed in September 1592 on the Countess of Shrewsbury's "having some cause to be doubtful of his forwardness in religion" - days after Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit* publicly accused Marlowe of atheism. The idea that Marlowe may have tutored an heir to the throne has been dismissed by Marlowe's biographers without serious investigation, yet new research shows the evidence in

support of this identification is far stronger than has previously been imagined. This paper outlines the new research and posits that the near- unanimous rejection of the Morley theory which has led to it remaining unexplored for so long arises chiefly from an inability to separate Marlowe's sensationalised posthumous reputation from how Marlowe was regarded in his lifetime (specifically, prior to the various incidents of September 1592-May 1593). It explores how the power of the Marlowe myth has challenging implications not only for Marlowe biography but for Marlowe studies as a whole.

Making a Scene; Or, *Tamburlaine the Great* in Print
Claire M. L. Bourne, University of Pennsylvania

This paper takes Polonius' cryptic reference to "*scene individible*" in his exhaustive catalogue of dramatic genres as a starting point. I use playbook typography to track changes in English dramatic form across the sixteenth century, showing first how stationers used pieces of symbolic type (paraphs [¶], fleurons [▣], and manicules [☞]) to register on the page the formal means by which the early Tudor morality plays succeeded in "organizing theatrical experience," to borrow a phrase from Ruth Lunney. By tracing the features of dramatic *mise-en-page* that divided plays into parts, we can see a shift from plays organized around units of speech to plays organized around units of action. I suggest that this shift from a dialogic conception of drama to an episodic one paved the way for Christopher Marlowe to appropriate the unit of action to great theatrical effect in the *Tamburlaine* plays. After all, contemporary accounts of experiencing the *Tamburlaine* plays in performance accord with modern critical impressions that the plays were constructed as a "sequence"; "series"; "succession"; "procession"; and "progression" of discrete units. In fact, it seems that Marlowe used the cleared stage to circumscribe units of action with more frequency and regularity than any playwright before him. The scene divisions in Richard Jones's octavo edition of *Tamburlaine* (1590), which are misnumbered, have lead editors to treat them as signs of Jones's negligence. Instead, I put the octavo's scene divisions in the context of the earlier typographic methods for dividing plays in order to suggest that Jones purposefully deployed scene divisions to help readers register one of the plays' defining qualities in the theater—its success in compressing a series of discrete scenes from Tamburlaine's expansive military campaign into the limited time and space of performance. For Marlowe, it seems to have been through a *scene dividible* that Tamburlaine's relentless pursuit of power could actually be dramatized. I argue that Jones's attention to scene divisions in the octavo was designed to retain and emphasize this cumulative effect.

The Ecology of Remembrance: Memory, Place, and Affect in Marlowe's *Dido*
Andrew Bozio, University of Michigan

Shortly after his arrival upon the Carthaginian shore, Marlowe's Aeneas hesitates to name himself, claiming that the loss of his home has bereft him of identification: "Sometimes I was a Trojan, mighty Queen. / But Troy is not, what shall I say I am?" From this initial suggestion of a relationship between place and personhood, *Dido*

evolves into a complex meditation on the imbrication of embodiment and environment. Reading the play through the framework of cognitive ecology, I argue that Aeneas experiences memory as a profoundly spatial phenomenon. His remembrance of the fallen city of Troy subtly mirrors the arts of memory in using specific architectural features to navigate the ruined landscape. But whereas this indebtedness to the *ars memorativa* might imply a degree of mastery on Aeneas's part, his brief hallucination of Priam before the walls of Carthage shows that, even in the absence of volition, Aeneas's memory is driven by a tendency towards extension and spatialization. Locating these moments within the wider context of Marlowe's play, I argue that the deeply parodic tone of *Dido* empties Aeneas's ecological memory of significance. Diminishing the importance of the remembered Troy, the play disrupts the memorial connection between the city that Aeneas has lost and the imperial center that he intends to found, also figured as "Troy" throughout the play. And through Iarbus's brief allusion to Elizabeth, *Dido* extends this parodic denunciation of the ecology of remembrance to London, mocking the place of its first performance for figuring itself as Troynovant, or "New Troy." Placing Aeneas's memory in this way, I demonstrate the importance of location and embodied cognition for understanding what may be Marlowe's earliest play.

Shared Riches in a Little Room? Skepticism and Comedy in Kyd and Marlowe
Bruce Brandt, South Dakota State University

Famously, Thomas Kyd attributed ownership of the partial copy of *Fall of the Late Arian* found in his possession to Christopher Marlowe, saying that it had become mixed in with his papers at a time when they were writing together in the same room. It is hard to know precisely what to make of Kyd's statement—the actual context of the experience is lost to us—but papers being "shuffled" together without Kyd's awareness ("unknown to me") suggests that the workspace had been had been shared for a long enough time that papers had accumulated and been strewn about. This possibility leads to further speculation. Did their decision to share a writing space imply some compatibility or mutuality of interests? After Marlowe's death Kyd—desperate to reconnect with his patron Sir John Puckering—disparaged Marlowe's atheism and "cruel heart," but did he always feel this way? Did his opinion of Marlowe's character come from the time they had spent working in close proximity? Without new evidence, we will never know. However, their plays suggest certain similarities in philosophy and viewpoint, similarities that might have been conducive to sharing time and a writing space. In particular, I will suggest that both men evince a skeptical attitude and a dark sense of humor that might have drawn the two together, at least for a while. The skepticism is seen most clearly in *Tamburlaine* and in *The Spanish Tragedy*. My discussion of *Tamburlaine* will focus at greatest length on the burning of the Koran and the deaths of Bajazet and Zabina, moments at which it is demanded of Mahomet that he reveal himself and protect those who believe in him: "Now Mahomet, if thou have any power, / Come down thyself and work a miracle" (II: 5.1.187-88); "Then is there left no *Mahomet*, no God" (I: 5.1.239). "Mahomet" is not to be construed narrowly—the play addresses the human longing for God's manifest presence to give meaning to life and explores the consequences of not finding it. *The Spanish Tragedy* examines a different issue, concluding that the universe is epistemologically impenetrable. The actions of Pluto and Proserpine imply that divine

control is reasoned, but the reasons are beyond mortal grasp. Attempting to peer beneath the surface leads only to emptiness—ultimately symbolized by the emptiness of the box that Pedringano believes to hold his salvation. The comic side of this Kyd-Marlowe perspective will be treated primarily with reference to *The Jew of Malta* and *Solomon and Perseda* (the play, not Hieronimo's entertainment within *The Spanish Tragedy*). The comedy of *The Jew of Malta* has, of course, been much debated since Eliot proposed that its genre was tragic farce rather than tragedy. Performance has confirmed that scenes such as the poisoning of the nuns play effectively when treated humorously, and the discussion will focus on the play's ability to produce laughter. Similarly, that death upon death and betrayal upon betrayal can be funny is clearly manifest in *Solomon and Perseda*, where speed of performance and an over-the-top chain of events evoke laughter from an ostensibly tragic subject.

A Kit to *Massacre*-ing Marlowe, or the Complexities of Performing a "Bad" Text
James Byers, Mary Baldwin College and Michael M. Wagoner, Florida State University

This paper explores the staging of *The Massacre at Paris* at the Seventh International Marlowe Conference. Two members of the cast and crew, James Byers and Michael M. Wagoner, detail their experiences, along with insights from studying in preparation for the performance. They will examine the complications and challenges in performance that arise from this rarely produced play. In what ways does a lack of performance history free a production or hinder it? How does the "incomplete" status of the text affect the rehearsal process, especially in developing character. Working in tandem with the director, these presenters will explore the rehearsal process of performing this Early Modern play, with an eye toward both backstage and onstage work.

Marlowe's Murder: Christopher Marlowe's Understanding of Atrocity in *The Massacre at Paris*
Matthew Carter, University of North Carolina Greensboro

In *The Massacre at Paris,* Christopher Marlowe represents the martyrdom of French Huguenots at the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre. While the text is incomplete (Scholars suggest that it was probably a memorial reconstruction), the violence remains largely intact. In its extant state, the violence in the play is also highly realistic in its representations of atrocity. Using Lieutenant Colonel Dave Grossman's *On Killing: The Psychological Cost of Learning to Kill in War and Society* as a lens, I intend to demonstrate that Marlowe's representation of killing in *Massacre* is more than simply dramatic flair; it shows Marlowe had a deep understanding of the methods by which armies commit atrocities in war. Marlowe exhibits an understanding of the effects of proximity and group mentality on a soldier's ability to kill unarmed civilians, while his use of insults and jokes shows the real-world application of dehumanizing nicknames which soldiers in the modern world use to mentally and emotionally prepare themselves to take another life. Grossman's research demonstrates that it takes a large act of willful conditioning for a person to kill someone else at the close proximity required by Early Modern weaponry, and that in order to do so, a complex set of conditions is necessary, or else the soldier will suffer a psychological breakdown (known today as Post Traumatic

Stress Disorder). I intend to demonstrate Marlowe's deep understanding of this process by comparing the behavior of the French soldiers in *Massacre* to the conditioning given United States soldiers in Vietnam, as outlined in Grossman's book.

(Un)Learning Manly Fortitude from *Faustus*
Annalisa Castaldo, Widener University

Doctor Faustus is a play saturated with magic and scholars have debated the various magic acts of the two texts, how they were portrayed, and how they influence our understanding of the title character. This paper suggests that despite the undeniable power magic offers Faustus, using magic feminizes and thus queers him, placing him in an untenable position in regards to his own body and his interactions with other characters. The more Faustus uses magic in order to gain knowledge and control of his world, the more he displays characteristics that are linked to femininity, from the simple (a love of finery) to the complex (the gradual fragmentation and loss of control of his body). Magic was often seen as a female province in the early modern period, an attempt by women to gain unlawful power that allowed them to exceed the roles set for them by God and man, but which resulted only from total submission to another, unlawful authority. Marlowe deliberately links Faustus' power to this feminine desire for more, while presenting magic itself as a deeply destabilizing force.

Diplomatic Rhetoric and the King of Reason: Marlowe's Navarre and Neo-Stoicism
Hayley Coble, University of Minnesota

My presentation will examine Christopher Marlowe's character Navarre in *The Massacre at Paris* as a Neo-Stoic king; though Navarre is often dismissed as weak and uninteresting, current scholarship does not fully explore why he is perceived as such and whether Marlowe's characterization was intentional. While Marlowe penned *The Massacre at Paris*, the religious wars raged in France, where the rhetoric of Neo-Stoicism provided a way for Protestants and Catholics to transcend sectarian disagreements. Neo-Stoic rhetoric emphasized rationality and the providence of God as opposed to the emotionally charged rhetoric of religious zealotry that resulted in events like the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre. As scholars have observed, Navarre's actions and speeches in the play are not particularly heroic. Paul H. Kocher calls Navarre "Marlowe's worst failure in the entire play," and claims that he "has no character," probably due to Navarre's plain speeches and continual deference to God's will. If Navarre's seemingly poor characterization is considered purposeful, however, alternative readings of his unadorned rhetoric manifest, particularly in terms of contemporary political discourse and Neo-Stoicism. Through analysis of Navarre's speeches, I will show that Marlowe chose to make his hero rhetorically bland in order to reinforce the popular perception of the historical Henri IV of France (formerly Henri de Navarre) as a King of Reason.

With Henri IV increasingly leaning towards conversion to Catholicism as a means of uniting his war-torn country, Neo-Stoicism provided a diplomatic rhetoric grounded in reason that allowed England to maintain an alliance with their neighbors on the continent.

England could not let good relations with France falter in the face of enemies like Spain. Neo-Stoic philosophies trickled down from the diplomatic correspondence of monarchs to the streets of London, where everyone from noblemen to commoners read in news pamphlets of the heroic deeds of the King of Reason in France as he sought to win his country to the Protestant cause. Though Navarre's character in *The Massacre at Paris* is not emotionally riveting, his unadorned speech and calm assurance of God's support are in congruence with the actions and political portrayal of his real-life counterpart in contemporary propaganda. The speeches that best represent Navarre's Neo-Stoicism, while not pretty, are effective, but the king weakens significantly when he slips into highly emotional rhetoric. By including both aspects of Navarre's nature, Marlowe addresses the fear of the English people concerning Henri IV's likely conversion while never openly criticizing the king who had become a Protestant icon even in England. With the necessity for a shared diplomatic philosophy between England and France increasing, Marlowe's promotion of Neo-Stoic rhetoric in the play suggests a focus on reason as the best foreign policy in the current crisis.

"They know my custome": Tamburlaine's Strange Powerlessness and the Antinomian Question

Judith Coleman, University of Iowa

This paper takes as its starting point Tamburlaine's declaration in Christopher Marlowe's *Tamburlaine, Part I*, "I speak it, and my words are oracles" (3.3.102) to interrogate the source and depth of Tamburlaine's power in *Tamburlaine, Parts I and II*. I contend that we should take Tamburlaine literally here—his words determine the course of the future, and this course sometimes contradicts both Tamburlaine's will and the perceived will of God, whose Scourge Tamburlaine often purports to be. Throughout both plays, Tamburlaine's words exist outside of his person as a kind of inflexible law, and while some have used an examination of Tamburlaine and various kinds of "law" to label him "antinomian", the events of the play complicate any attempts to shoehorn Tamburlaine into such a category. Tamburlaine's actions—from the slaughter of Virgins to his own death—are determined by his utterances, and he must perform them to the letter even when his will evolves to contradict that utterance. Though to all appearances powerful, Tamburlaine is actually impotent to act according to his own will. For Tamburlaine to truly represent antinomianism, the referent for his actions would need to reside within his own conscience and/or will, and through that will, God; throughout the plays, however, Tamburlaine refers to his oaths or "customes" as though they are beyond his power to alter. By projecting his will outwards, Tamburlaine loses control over it and quickly becomes its slave. Instead of imagining himself to be Christ the Word—a charge often levied at actual antinomians—Tamburlaine must enact that which his words decree, even if that means reluctantly slaughtering Virgins or, even worse, dying himself. This paper will examine these two critically-contested scenes—Tamburlaine's interactions with the Virgins of Damascus in Part I and his own death at the end of Part II—to complicate the notion that Tamburlaine is entirely in control of his own fate, or even his own actions. At the center of antinomianism is confidence, an unshakeable faith that one's will aligns with the will of God, even if that will contradicts established religious doctrine. I contend that these two scenes represent a pattern of behavior that reveals

Tamburlaine's strange powerlessness, his position, not as God's weapon against his enemies or as a rogue agent guided by his own beliefs, but as an odd kind of pawn in a story masterminded by a power that originates with him but which he cannot control.

Rethinking Marlovian Allusion in Chapman's *Blind Beggar* and Shakespeare's *Merry Wives*.
Annaliese Connolly, Sheffield Hallam University

The influential status of Marlowe's pastoral lyric "The Passionate Shepherd to his Love" upon his contemporaries is now a critical commonplace. Critics have traced its impact through the response poems of Ralegh, Donne and Herrick and its pervasive presence in the literature of the period. More recently the poem featured in the opening sequence of Richard Loncraine's film *Richard III* (1995). This paper will focus upon two instances where Marlowe's poem is alluded to and re-fashioned in Elizabethan comedy: Chapman's *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria* (1598) and Shakespeare's *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1602). In each case critics have identified Marlowe's poem as the source for the lines in the play, but have either stopped short of suggesting why they have been included or have read the allusions to Marlowe in the context of a wider biographical narrative. On the face of it these two examples of Elizabethan comedy are very different and appear to be linked only by their allusion to Marlowe's poem, but this paper will argue that both plays are interested in methods of characterisation and engage with contemporary developments in theories of characterisation influenced by the rise of humours comedy.

Reconsidering Edmund: How Love Conquers All in Marlowe's *Edward II*
Dori Davis, University of South Florida

Sibling relationships in the early modern drama tend toward the dysfunctional, and love and respect among siblings appear quite rarely. Far more commonly, if we are shown sibling relationships at all, we see casual disdain or out-and-out dysfunctional cruelty. This makes the relationship between King Edward II and his half-brother Edmund, the Earl of Kent, in Christopher Marlowe's *Edward II* especially poignant and moving. While critics tend to position Edward as simply a choral figure, suggesting that his primary, or even sole, function in the play is to guide the audience in how to react emotionally to each development in the plot, I believe Edmund's function goes far beyond that of choral figure or moral compass. Indeed, along with creating an emblematic character to whom we can turn for emotional guidance during Edward's downward spiral, Christopher Marlowe has also forged a fully-rounded, fully-developed illusionist human man, along with a complex and singularly discerning sibling dynamic.

This essay seeks to prove that Marlowe provides us in *Edward II* a uniquely believable and extraordinarily compelling sibling relationship. By shifting the historical facts culled from Holinshed's Chronicles to create a more significant sibling bond, he shapes Edmund as a powerfully relevant person in Edward's life—far more powerful than the source material gives us any reason to imagine—and in the relationship between the two he builds a family unit that transcends considerations of right and wrong in the same way

that Edward's love for Gaveston also transcends considerations of right and wrong. This relationship affords Marlowe the opportunity to explore the many shadings of family love, pitting that love against political necessity in order to examine it against a background of dissonance and conflict. Ultimately, as we witness the struggle between Edmund's duty to his nation and his duty to his brother, and as he wrestles with these two conflicting duties, we as readers cannot help but be reminded of all the other brothers and sisters in early modern drama who experience no such conflict.

Doctor Faustus: **A History of Controversy**
Sara Munson Deats, University of South Florida

Critical consensus identifies Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, probably written sometime between 1588 and 1593, as the first great tragedy in the English language, a provocative drama that ushered in 30 years of unparalleled creativity on the English stage. However, Marlowe's most often read and most frequently performed play also offers the ultimate scholarly conundrum. Almost every aspect of the play has been questioned: the correct text has been disputed; the date has been contested; the authorship of the comic sections has been challenged; and, most significant of all, the meaning of the play has been vigorously debated. However, since I have been asked to pack the infinite riches of 450 years of scholarship on *Doctor Faustus* into the little—indeed miniscule—room of a fifteen-minute paper, in my presentation I shall not discuss the controversies surrounding the date, authorship, or even the text of the play, but instead will focus on the controversial ethos of the drama, seeking to clarify the issues that have achieved critical consensus and those that have not. Moreover, I will briefly survey contemporary approaches to the play, attempting to identify the aspects of the drama that have received thorough treatment and those that have been neglected. Finally, I hope to suggest new and productive areas for scholarly exegesis on this most popular and most problematic of Marlowe's plays.

Marlowe, Sidney, and the Poverty of Aesthetics
Joel M. Dodson, Southern Connecticut State University

This paper examines poverty as an alternative lens for reading Marlowe's aesthetics, drawing upon Sidney's *Defence of Poesy* and the recent work of Jacques Ranciere in relation to the horse-courser scene in Act Four of *Doctor Faustus*. Recent discussions of Marlowe's aesthetics have struggled to point beyond the restrictive language of the Baines note and its perverted messianic logic. Seizing on the prospect of a playwright who purportedly scoffed at the right to coin and the "prodigal child's portion," these critics have embraced the subversive materialism of the Marlovian stage – pointing to the filthy lucre at the heart of Christian *mimesis* (Parker), or the ethical conflict that trumps aesthetic representation itself (Gallagher). In this essay, I argue that Marlowe stages in his poor a more positive vision of what Ranciere terms the "dissensus," or forms of division, on which the aesthetic re-distribution of the material world rests. Marlowe's Horse-Courser may seem like the merely comic victim of Faustus's theatrical abuse, a concrete instance of the thievery at the heart of its messianic overreach (see A-Text, 4.1.130-1); yet his plight also alludes to the framework of Elizabethan aesthetics by

which Marlowe's stage perpetually assumes its counter or oppositional position. In *The Defence of Poesy*, Sidney's refutation of Plato involved not only lauding the golden virtues of poetic *mimesis* but divorcing it from those servile professions that "labor to tell what is" rather than what "should be" – a move that preserved the ethical and religious value of dramatic representation, even as it condemned its prodigal and servile practitioners, who write for laughs. Marlowe's Horse-Courser, I suggest, discloses this conflictual basis at the heart of Sidneyan aesthetics. In his haste to ride Faustus's horse into water, the Horse-Courser embodies the urgency of the poor artisan whose work cannot wait – the social conflict of the Platonic world from which Sidney attempts to liberate the poet – while also exposing the utter pointlessness of Faustus's stage antics, for which no ethical or religious purpose can be inferred. Rather than a sympathetic voice of the poor, Marlowe thus stages in the Horse-Courser what Ranciere calls a purely "aesthetic dimension." His appearance in the fourth act of *Doctor Faustus* makes insistently visible not only the material world of Marlowe's stage but the social and vocational order that renders Marlovian aesthetics a site of conflict in the first place.

The Publication of *The Jew of Malta*
Richard Dutton, Ohio State University

The much-belated (1633) publication of *The Jew of Malta* has long been discussed in relation to the quality of the text it reproduces and whether all of it is by Marlowe. Only recently have critics begun to examine it as a cultural event in its own, Caroline, context. Farmer and Lesser have located it within a 1630s wave of newly published or republished "classics", and Lesser alone has related it to the particular publishing practices of Nicholas Vavasour. Similarly Lucy Munro has discussed the play's revival in the context of Marlowe's fluctuating 17th century reputation, and John Parker has related it to Caroline politics. I want to add to this a consideration of the role of Thomas Heywood, who wrote prologues and epilogues for both the 1632 Cockpit and court performances of the play, which were printed in Vavasour's text. To all appearances Heywood virtually severed his connections with the theatre after Queen Anne's Men folded in 1619. Only one play, *The Captives* (1624), can confidently be assigned to him between then and the 1631, when both parts of *The Fair Maid of the West* are published – part one apparently late Elizabethan, part two Caroline – both fresh from production at court. In 1632 both parts of *The Iron Age* were published for the first time, having first been performed c. 1612-13. These two volumes shared a dedicatee: the *Second Part* of the *Fair Maid of the West* and the *First Part of the Iron Age* were dedicated to one Thomas Hammon. And so was *The Jew of Malta*. Which suggests that Heywood had more to do with the publication than simply supply the paratexts. The paper explores this in the context of Heywood's continuing attempts to write himself into the pantheon of newly canonized Elizabethan "classics."

Bookish Play: Imitation and Authority in *Dido, Queene of Carthage*
Christine Edwards, University of Queensland

When the intertextual borrowings of a work are recognised, questions of originality or indebtedness inevitably rise. Following the humanist technique of *imitatio*, Renaissance

writers commonly mined ancient or well-established texts as a source of eloquence and inspiration, and yet similar anxieties of originality surface even among celebrated writers. Jonson's theorising on the subject served to not only categorise correct imitation against the "scurrile scoffing" of the ancients, but to justify his own imitative style. Marlowe writes no such justification, and it is perhaps for this reason that traditionally *Dido, Queene of Carthage* has been regarded as a piece of juvenile imitation that lacks the sophistication of his later works. *Dido* reworks books one, two, and four of Virgil's *Aeneid*, at times paraphrasing, translating, or even directly quoting the original Latin. Despite this close textual relationship, *Dido* retains a playful and deeply satiric tone. In the past this has attracted criticism, with critics arguing it is a poor imitation that is both too close to Virgil and yet fails to properly mimic his eloquence and emotional range. Yet increasingly studies are recognising different, and often conflicting, intertextual voices within the play. This has revealed that while Marlowe draws most of his material from Virgil, he was not seeking to imitate the *Aeneid* in the way that traditional theories of imitation would suggest. Critics such as Mary E. Smith, Patrick Cheney, and Timothy D. Crowley have led investigations into this intertextual dimension and have argued that despite drawing material from Virgil, the spirit of the play is Ovidian. While this scholarship is immensely valuable, it obscures what I see to be his radical take on the imitative mode. For Marlowe imitation is more than an academic exercise in eloquence: instead of seeking to carefully mimic the voice of a literary master, or even write the definitive account of Dido's myth, the play reflects on the authorities behind mythmaking itself. The metatextual play that emerges is as much about the authority of Virgil and Ovid to dictate this myth as it is about Dido and Aeneas's part in it. In this paper I argue that Marlowe restructures intertextual exchange into a mode that interrogates systems of literary authority, even as it imitates them. To understand what he is doing with his array of intertexts, we first need to recognise his own quite radical agency in this "bookish" play.

Enlarging Tamburlaine's Stage
Darlene Farabee, University of South Dakota

When Tamburlaine declares that he "Will first subdue the Turk, and then enlarge / Those Christian captives which you keep as slaves" (3.3.46-7), he relies on the meaning of "enlarge" as "to release from confinement or bondage" (*OED* v.II.6a.). The concurrent meaning "To render more spacious or extensive; to extend the limits of (a territory, enclosure, etc.); to widen (boundaries)," clearly resonates with the conquering attributes of the play (*OED* v.I1a). Zabina also uses "enlarge" with both meanings intact: "Let us live in spite of them,/ Looking some happy power will pity and enlarge us" (4.4.97-8). Many scholars have pointed out the importance of geography and spatial measurement in the play. Recently, Emrys Jones has explored some of the implications of terrestrial space in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* plays, including the plays' structural divisions and the plays' connections to contemporaneous innovations in painting. Garrett Sullivan has pointed out that the "the measured language of Tamburlaine coincides with both the actor's measured strides and the character's measurement of the lands he conquers." This paper takes up Sullivan's point about the stage and argues that the entrances and exits, the numbers of actors necessary on stage, and the development of stage images are substantially

responsible for the visual support of Tamburlaine's rhetorical insistence on domain enlargement.

Aeneas' Regressive Sense of Place in *Dido, Queen of Carthage*
Alexandra Ferretti, University of Alabama

When Aeneas arrives at Carthage's gates in Act Two, Scene One of *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, he envisions the places of Carthage as the lost places of Troy: "Methinks that town there should be Troy, yon Ida's hill, / There Xanthus' stream" (2.1.7-8). When Dido asks for his name, Aeneas is at a loss; without Troy, he cannot even identify himself: "Sometime I was a Trojan, mighty Queen, / But Troy is not. What shall I say I am?" (75-76). Projecting Troy onto Carthage, and conceiving his identity in terms of Troy, Aeneas remains in his homeland.

Later in the play, Aeneas moves from projecting Trojan places onto Carthaginian places to actually planning how to create Troy from Carthage: "Here will Aeneas build a statelier Troy / Than that which grim Atrides overthrew" (5.1.2-3). Yet, just as earlier he was unsure of his identity without Troy, now he cannot decide the name of his new city. Ilioneus inquires, "But what shall it be called? 'Troy,' as before?" (5.1.18). Deciding to name it after his father—"Nay, I will have it called 'Anchisaeon,' / Of my old father's name" (22-23)—he nominally places it in his past life in Troy, even if he doesn't name the city Troy. Although Carthage may exist as a city, Aeneas, still trapped in Troy, cannot view it independently or objectively.

Following philosopher J.E. Malpas' argument that place produces an individual's subjectivity and objectivity, this paper will explore how Marlowe and Nashe's Aeneas views physical places within Carthage through the places of Troy and how his roots in Troy define his identity. Instead of presenting Carthage as the locus of Aeneas' relationship with Dido, Marlowe and Nashe depict an Aeneas who is less of a conqueror, or even a lover, and more a man who remains trapped in the past and a past place.

While an epic Aeneas would think ahead to his future role as founder of Italy, the dramatic Aeneas remains regressively in the lost places of Troy for most of the play's action. As the subjunctive of his question, "Where am I now? These should be Carthage walls" (2.1.1), suggests, he cannot view Carthage objectively without thinking of his past home.

Marlowe's Passionate Shepherd: Appropriation and Pedagogy
Jennifer Flaherty, Georgia College and State University

Marlowe's poem "The Passionate Shepherd to His Love" provides an opportunity to teach undergraduates about the rich legacy of appropriation in (and of) the English Renaissance. The poem is reworked and transformed by Ralegh and Donne in their own response poems, and it is even adapted by Marlowe himself in *The Jew of Malta*. The legacy of the poem has continued to evolve in the 20th and 21st centuries, and my lessons always include references to how the poem has been reworked and used in Shakespeare

productions and films, with particular emphasis on productions that have set the poem to music. I have taught Marlowe's poem (as well as the Renaissance response texts) in my Renaissance Literature and Major British Writers courses, and my paper will discuss some of the strategies I use to make the poem and its influence accessible to undergraduates.

In my paper, I will explain how I use the poems to teach students the difference between appropriation and plagiarism, as well as how appropriation has changed from the Renaissance to today. In my classes, we explore the connections between the poems and the pastoral or the metaphysical, and we think critically about the ways that Marlowe's poem has been used to augment or authenticate Shakespeare productions. Once students are confident in their ability to analyze the poems, I incorporate an assignment in which students can discover new adaptations or write their own. My paper will include samples of student writing (both creative and analytical), as well as film clips of important productions (if the technology to view them is available). My emphasis will be on the pedagogical approaches to the texts, exploring how students can learn about the texts themselves and the legacy of appropriation.

Residual Conjurations: Faustian Traces in Shakespeare's Plays
Brett Foster, Wheaton College

This paper will explore Shakespeare's continuing use and adaptation in various plays of dramatic situations and general references to Marlowe's tragedy *Doctor Faustus*. Topics such as the contemporary popularity and influence of *Faustus* or Shakespeare's borrowing from his fellow playwright are hardly new critical territories, and I will make a conscious effort first to acknowledge some of this existing work in these areas (such as James Biester's recent article on echoes of *Faustus* in *The Tempest* or Robert Logan's more extended study of Marlowe's effects upon Shakespeare), but then to work toward more specific, more theorized readings of Faustian traces in typically less noted passages and plays.

I will begin by treating "our exorcisms" of Bolingbroke and the priests in *2 Henry VI*, which immediately raises questions of collaboration, dating, and which work influenced which. With that caveat aside, the scene also serves as usual contrasting scene in at least two ways. First, regarding *Faustus*, this scene in an early history play is striking in how it breaks open and complicates Marlowe's single-minded focus on his singular tragic protagonist— the act of conjuration is a solo affair, and stems from his personal engagements with issues such as identity, ambition, and desire. *2 Henry VI's* scene is bluntly social in dimension and attention. First, there is a polity, so to speak of participants, with Bolingbroke, the priests, and the host, and then the authorities breaking up the ritual. The dramatic attention likewise focuses on political and also religious issues; it is less a dramatic action defining a character, as with Faustus, and more a secondary social scene that contributes to the composition of a conflicted, medieval world viewed through an Elizabethan lens.

The second contrast will lead to the central, slightly more extended readings of scenes or figural uses in later plays. I will argue that from this rather simplified early adoption of conjuration in *2 Henry VI*, Shakespeare henceforth follows Marlowe in applying the themes and metaphors of conjuration to specific characters and certain situations. In another significant difference, Shakespeare becomes more interested in exploring what conjuration can signify in a post-*Faustus* working space. For example, in *Romeo and Juliet* the conjurer's circle and the raising of spirits lend themselves to sexualized applications, in a world where enchantments are of an instant, romantic kind, and, similar to the magician's work, perhaps can never be trusted as a fully real, substantive thing. In *1 Henry IV*, Falstaff repeatedly if subtly employs the language of conjuration to make pointed comments about the fiction-making powers of both speech and theater. Falstaff is, we might say, a social magician who raises himself at the end of *1 Henry IV*, but who eventually must face his own reckoning. Finally, I intend to offer a reading of a different Faustian trace in a different theatrical context—Shakespeare's revivifying of Helen of Troy in a seemingly more realistic setting of *Troilus and Cressida*. I will ground this reading in a recent production of the play I was able to attend at the American Players' Theater, in Spring Glen, WI, where the entrance and ongoing characterization of Helen was clearly referring to Marlowe's play, and even certain stage directions in *Doctor Faustus*.

Profit and Delight: Marlowe's *Dr Faustus* and the New Science
Edward Gieskes, University of South Carolina

In *The Advancement of Learning*, Francis Bacon describes what he sees as a proper relation between the human knower and knowledge:

> First, That we do not so place our felicity in knowledge as we forget our mortality: the second, That we make application of our knowledge, to give ourselves repose and contentment, and not distaste or repining: the third, That we do not presume by contemplation of nature to attain to the mysteries of God

Marlowe's Faustus fails to heed all three of these maxims and that failure contributes to his downfall. This paper will argue that Bacon's scientific project and Marlowe's theatrical one have common ground in an exploration and critique of contemporary modes of knowledge. It will also suggest that both resonate with Horkheimer and Adorno's critique of enlightenment in *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. Bacon's optimism about the eventual fruits of knowledge contrasts Marlowe's apparent pessimism about those fruits. Ends, the purpose and trajectory of knowledge, are the central questions in these works. For Bacon, purpose governs ends—if a work begins in the intent to serve humanity, it is likely to be good or at least not harmful. Marlowe's play suggests that this is a far less certain outcome. Using Bacon as a touchstone, Horkheimer and Adorno point out how the very project of enlightenment contains the potential for destruction within it from the start. This paper takes Faustus' quest for knowledge seriously— arguing that he is to be understood as a scholar in the process of developing or acquiring new knowledge and that that process is one problem that Marlowe's play explores. If the play stages the alienation of theatrical labor, as Richard Halpern has recently argued, it is

also staging the dangers of an alienable knowledge that possesses the knower rather than the other way around.

"Strangers that do inhabit this land": Rendering the Other in *Tamburlaine* on Stage
Laura Grace Godwin, Christopher Newport University

One of the great controversies surrounding Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* centers on a contested understanding of the play's hero. Critics are divided over the question of whether he is admirable or awful; whether, in the succinct summary of Anthony B. Dawson, he is a "bloodthirsty tyrant, or a marvellous, conquering hero." Much of any answer will depend on the medium through which *Tamburlaine* is encountered: a reader, a radio audience, and a theatre spectator will almost certainly react differently to a Tamburlaine conjured from the written word, the human voice, or a visual world. The relative paucity of revivals throughout the work's four-and-a-quarter centuries of existence ensures that most engagements with Tamburlaine have been textual, but the last sixty years have seen a series of staged revivals wherein Marlowe's characters again achieved three-dimensional form. This paper will examine the ways major revivals have visually, vocally, and kinetically embodied Tamburlaine and the civilizations he encounters to influence conceptions of the title figure in ways that consistently re-Orient him within an Anglophone context and position him as Other.

Though important work has already been published on the Tyrone Guthrie, Peter Hall, and Terry Hands productions of *Tamburlaine*, notably by Dawson and David Fuller, this paper will explicitly compare the ways each director utilized acting and design to distance spectators from the conqueror rather than encouraging audiences to identify with him. Guthrie's "emphasis…on blood-lust" and Hall's Orientalizing elegance set Tamburlaine and his world at a spectacular remove from audiences in 1951 and 1976, respectively. In Hands' 1992 RSC revival, the director drew extensively upon circus technique and imagery in ways that aligned Tamburlaine and cohort with the bestial. Guthrie demonized through violence, Hall elevated through verse-speaking, and Hands juxtaposed spectacular physical feats with feral vocalizations, but all three offered a Tamburlaine who was distinctly Other.

Two recent productions remain relatively unexplored yet merit consideration in their own right as well as for the ways they resonate within the context of *Tamburlaine*'s stage history. The bulk of this paper will focus on David Farr's 2005 production for the Bristol Old Vic/BITE Festival and Michael Kahn's 2008 revival for the Shakespeare Theatre Company in Washington, D.C. The two productions shared some key similarities; namely, eclectic design concepts that mixed periods (Farr) or cultures (Kahn) and leading actors known for distinctive vocal delivery who, paradoxically, underplayed Marlowe's mighty lines. On the surface these maneuvers suggested a "universalizing" approach that might open the door to an audience identification with Tamburlaine in a multi-cultural age, but in practice review discourse suggests both productions reiterated the presentation of Tamburlaine as Other in ways potentially disturbing to the pluralistic Anglophone societies in which the productions were presented. In the context of heated ideological

clashes between the West & the Islamic World—Farr's revival opened days after the controversy surrounding cartoons of Muhammad in a Danish newspaper while Kahn's coincided with a reassessment of the American troop "surge" in Iraq—both productions risked widening the rift between audience and Other.

"They that shall be actors in this massacre": Staging Marlowe's Worst Play
Hannah Goreing, King's College London

The Massacre at Paris was the sixteenth-century equivalent of a blockbuster: a financial triumph for Lord Strange's Men in 1593-94, repeatedly revived by the Admiral's Men between 1594 and 1601. Following this, however, the play seems to vanish from the stage for nearly 340 years. Surviving in print only as a short and aesthetically questionable text, it has been described by critics and editors as "mangled," "confused," "Marlowe's worst play." "I doubt," wrote Sara Munson Deats in 2004, that "in its present corrupt form it could be successfully performed today." But is textual corruption a problem in the theatre, or can it be an invitation? Is some form of adaptation or modernisation necessary, in order to make Marlowe's sixteenth-century representation of sectarian violence and civil war relevant to a modern audience?

Several recent productions of *The Massacre at Paris* have modernised Marlowe's text, or used modern dress, to relate the play to present-day religious conflict. Studying these performances can offer insights into the play's characterisation, moral ambiguities, and unsettling combinations of horror and humour, propaganda and irony. Drawing on extensive research into the play's performance history, as well as my own experience of directing the play at the University of Sussex in 2011, this paper will re-assess the theatrical potential of Marlowe's neglected play, and provide context for the production of *The Massacre at Paris* taking place at this conference.

Marlowe's Queer Jew
Judith Haber, Tufts University

In earlier work, I investigated Marlowe's (and Marlowe's characters') involvement in what I termed "pointless play," an aestheticism that is (as far as possible, which is never entirely) pure, lacking any point, sexual, intellectual, or textual. One of the prime examples this is of course, Edward II; the play that bears his name relies on traditional (and anti-theatrical) definitions of sodomy as the principle of indefinition itself, as a metaphor, in effect, for metaphoricity. In this paper, I argue that Marlowe's presentation of Barabas in *The Jew of Malta* operates similarly on many levels. It depends, in part, on the common perception in Protestant England that Judaism (and by extension Catholicism) invests itself in the "letter" rather than the "spirit," in surface rather than depth. That investment is shared by Marlowe's texts, which evidence an extreme distrust of inwardness and depth, a distrust that is succinctly expressed in ironic praise of Catholicism in the Baines libel: "That if there be any god or any good Religion, then it is in the papistes because the service of god is performed with more Cerimonies, as Elevation of the mass, organs, singing men, Shaven Crowns, & cta. That all protestantes are Hypocriticall asses." This famous passage itself seems to echo one of the central

statements in *The Jew*—"A counterfeit profession is better / Than unseen hypocrisy"--a statement that manages to suggest, beyond its first meaning, that any claim to "unseen" substance is itself hypocritical; all that exists is counterfeit show.

While developing work by Greenblatt and Deats and Starks work to demonstrate Barabas's--and the play's--investment in the letter rather than the spirit, I take this idea further by considering how both are involved in other, interconnected forms of pointless play. The word "spirit" is itself punned upon to associate Christians not only (hypocritically) with the unseen spirit, but also with semen--and the pun is not, I would assert, merely incidental. Barabas' distance from one type of spirit is paralleled by (is identical to) his distance from the other: despite the presence of his daughter, he is systematically removed from the processes of biological reproduction. His manic search for and destruction of "heirs" throughout the play both call up and undermine what has come to be known as "reproductive futurism." Here, I draw upon Lee Edelman's seminal work in *No Future*, as well as my own ongoing exploration of the motif of the adopted son in Renaissance texts. I consider Barabas's relation to Abigail (who in contrast to Jessica in *The Merchant of Venice* seems to have materialized through paternal parthenogenesis, and who, despite being trumpeted as Barabas's "heir," is cut off from reproductive possibilities and repeatedly associated with images of sacrificial death), as well as to Ithamore, who replaces her as "heir," to Ferneze, and ultimately to himself. Together, these self-consuming relations form a creative/destructive process that Jonson understood well when he had his title character in *Volpone* (a play dependent on this one in so many respects) declare: "I have no [family]. . . / To give my substance to; but whom I make/ Must be mine heir." And they help to define Barabas (and *The Jew* in general) as intensely queer.

Welles' *Faustus*
Pierre Hecker, Carleton College

Orson Welles' 1937 Federal Theatre Project production of *Doctor Faustus* has for the most part been treated as a curiosity, an interesting footnote in the career of a director/actor who, at the ripe old age of 26, would go on to Hollywood to direct *Citizen Kane* and from there become one of the most famous and influential filmmakers in history. Even for Marlovians, the production has been eclipsed by any number of others which, for one reason or another, have been seen as richer veins to mine for academic study – Neville Coghill's Burton/Taylor Oxford University Dramatic Society production (mostly for its star power and the fact that it was then filmed) or Clifford Williams' 1968 RSC production (mostly for Maggie Wright's then-shocking nudity in the role of Helen) are just two examples of productions that have garnered a great deal of scholarly attention.

What I propose to offer for the Marlowe Society of America conference is a reminder of how and why Welles' interpretation of *Doctor Faustus* was so radical, so astounding, so influential at the time, and remains so underestimated today. At the height of the Great Depression, Welles and his "Project 891" decisively changed the game. The things Welles would become known for in his film work – the everything-but-the-kitchen-sink approach to visual tricks and effects, complex lighting schemes with extreme light and

dark contrasts (which were so important to the show that Welles was involved in inventing new technology to deploy them), intricate sound design – were already in evidence here. My ambition for the conference is not only to offer an account and reading of Welles' most essential choices, but to give the conference attendees a sensory experience of some of them, including the music (which has not been heard since then), the costume design, and a visual demonstration of the radical lighting system.

Marlowe's Machevill: Rational Detachment, Diagnostic Psychology, and the Rise of the Arch-Villain
David Hershinow, Johns Hopkins University

In this paper, I use Christopher Marlowe's *Jew of Malta* as a lens through which to examine the cultural work that gets routed (in early modernity and beyond) through the figure of the arch-villain. Alongside an emerging Humanist discourse in which rational detachment correlates with the broader social good, a counter-discourse develops that views the exercise of dispassionate reason as decisive evidence of an individual's malevolent disposition; as the contestatory discourses of rational detachment and diagnostic psychology co-develop, the figure of the arch-villain increasingly emerges as a cite of intense cultural cathexis. In the *Jew of Malta*, Marlowe demonstrates a keen insight into the interplay of these two discourses, especially as they converge in the reception of Nicollò Machiavelli's political philosophy in sixteenth-century England. Whereas Barabas presents English viewers with an opportunity to reject the Machiavellian stance as foreign and pathalogically Other, Ferneze (the Christian governor of Malta) practices a subtler and more authentic Machiavellianism that restores Malta to a state of political and religious integrity. By situating a pathologized depiction of Machiavellianism alongside a positive portrayal of Machiavellian rational action, Marlowe makes it harder for his English audience to ignore the fact that they are dealing with two faces of the same coin (and that it is a currency already in circulation.)

Marlowe's Mortography Once Again
Michael J. Hirrel

Marlowe's death generates so much speculation in part because the surviving documents genuinely are intriguing. They lend themselves to speculation. In this paper I plan to look at the documents again with a more practical objective, as I would documents that might come up at trial. I want to know what they would prove, beyond what is already obvious, if I or the other side introduced them as evidence. I shall use the standard of proof in civil law cases: "More probably true than not."

That method leads me to conclude that Marlowe's death did not result from any prior conspiracy. No such conspiracy could have counted on the cooperation of an English Coroner's Jury. Nor is the Jury's inquest report in fact a product of their participation in any conspiracy. It apparently was supported by evidence in addition to the testimony of the men in the room. If, more importantly, the Jury intended to return a report exonerating Frizer, they would have returned a report very different from the one they did. They indicted Frizer for homicide, as the facts they found required them to do. That

indictment meant that Frizer was to be publicly tried on the charge, a trial which could in theory have resulted in his hanging.

Nevertheless, the Privy Council must have been involved in obtaining a pardon for Frizer. A writ of certiorari from the Queen in chancery to a coroner was extraordinary. Frizer would ordinarily have been tried, on the indictment for a homicide committed in Kent County, in the Home Circuit Court of Assizes. A successful plea of self-defense there should have resulted either in Frizer's acquittal or his post-trial pardon as a matter of course. Thus the Privy Council's concern must have been the public nature of the trial; there was no need for the Royal government to intervene at this early stage if justice had been the only concern.

Affective Witnessing: Marlowe's Massacre at Paris and English Identity
Robin Hizme, CUNY

My analysis of Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris with the Death of the Duke of Guise*, aims to assess the dynamics of performance, affect, and communal identity, particularly with regard to the staging of collective violence. Considering the relationship between plays and audiences to be dialectical, I will explore how Marlowe's play is influenced by both his imaginary audience and the playgoers in early modern London, while also addressing the potential affective power exerted by the play on the spectators, particularly with regard to their sense of collective English identity. Acknowledging the potency of the stage in shaping the cultural imaginary, I will examine how the affective intensities induced by the play, particularly the repeated interpellation of the English audience in the final scenes, participate in the developing psyche of the English nation.

Many scholars approach Marlowe's *Massacre* assuming that the slaughter on St. Bartholomew's Day in 1572 was, in the words of Shona McIntosh, "to English public opinion, one of the most heinous crimes of recent history," when, in fact, there is much evidence to suggest that the English imaginary was not so easily unified in that regard. Ever since Julia Briggs' crucial reassessment of the play demonstrated its use of sources from both the Huguenot and League viewpoints, critics have attempted to account for the parallels Marlowe draws between the massacre and the murder of the Guise, but their conclusions as to why the play aims to elicit sympathy for the villain obviates the messy question of audience response. Assertions that the play critiques religious justification of violence (Briggs 1983), supports hereditary monarchy (Kingdon 1988), or warns against the Catholic threat (Loftis 1987), et. al, offer interesting and valid readings, but fail to engage with the complex attitudes towards St. Bartholomew's Day held by Marlowe's audience or with the more immediate affective potential of the performance to notions of collective identity. Clearly the English responded to the historical massacre with fascination; Paul J. Voss has demonstrated that the French religious wars were the top news item over any other event during Elizabeth's reign and Marlowe's play was the highest grossing play of the season for the Lord Strange's Men. Yet, whether the fascination was motivated by sympathy, horror, fear, or even pleasure, is much more challenging to determine and seems to be contingent upon subordinate spheres of identity. Historical evidence in the form of letters and sermons suggest that divergent responses to

the massacre existed, depending on one's geographic location, religious affinities, and class status. Marlowe's text must have resonated with Londoners who had potential cross-national and cross-religious affiliations because it denies sustained sympathetic identification with any character or group of characters. I aim to explore how Marlowe's dramaturgy, particularly the spectacle of violence visited upon – or resisted by – abject bodies and groups, provides an exemplary model for considering the performative force of collective violence on communal identities and cultural narratives.

Privy to Violence: Display and Concealment in the Assassination of *Edward II*
Randy Holmes, Virginia State University.

The murder of Edward II is one of the most horrific spectacles to survive from the 16th c. London theatre, and it remains much parsed and poured over as readers and spectators strive to come to grips with its implications and with Marlowe's methods. I'd like to look at this murder in terms of the interplay between display and concealment, a pattern that figures prominently in the play in general and in the assassination in particular, and which I believe increasingly informs the last plays in Marlowe's brief dramatic corpus. Much of *Edward II* is concerned with rituals of authority, control over shows of power, and the seductive appeal and manipulative ability of theatrical presentation. Pervasive in the play is an interest in display—the form and content of political presentation, as well as who has and what constitutes authority over the choices that determine the presentations and over subsequent interpretation of these performances. There is also a countercurrent of concealment, however, part of which is implicit in the nature of theatre. The submergence of the player in the role drew the ire of anti-theatrical writers who were disturbed not only by boys dressed as women and commoners attired as their betters, but by the duplicity inherent in assuming a false identity. Theatre had the potential, they feared, for glamorizing the arts of deception, fraud, and equivocation, which could lead to individual and national ruin. This tense interplay of revelation and false-seeming, of public and private, of display and concealment is writ large in the scene set in the dark dungeon of Berkeley Castle.

"Do ye hear?" Extemporal Clowning in the A-Text of *Doctor Faustus*
Bob Hornback, Oglethorpe University

Whereas the scenes of comic horseplay in the A-text of *Doctor Faustus* have sometimes been said to bear the purported stigmata of a so-called "reported" (memorially reconstructed) text, they may actually signal the continued influence of extemporal performance modes among stage clowns. In fact, the very traces of residual oral culture, improvisation, and scribal transcription found in the Clown's part in the near-contemporary manuscript of The Book of Sir Thomas More (ca. 1592-3) also appear in these A-text clown scenes in *Doctor Faustus*. Consistent with the claim elsewhere (in *Tamburlaine*) that "poets" left "clownage" to paid professional improvisers, the clowning conceits in the *Faustus* A-Text do seem to have been extemporized. Implicit in this account is a call for a long overdue appreciation of early professional clowns' collaborative efforts in planned improvisation. The affinity of their clowning with the main plot suggests that early clowns were given significant topics, words, and themes

upon which they were expected to construct their extemporal parodies. Far from being what moderns sometimes like to characterize dismissively as digressive "comic relief," the frequent repetition of key topics and words in clown scenes may instead have served the function of focusing audience attention on key themes in a culture in which literacy rates remained very low by modern standards and in which orality was thus still dominant. The best early clowns, then, seem to have aimed, ironically enough, "to set on some quantity of … spectators to laugh" while simultaneously playing meaningfully upon "some necessary question of the play" (Hamlet, 3.2. 38 ff.). Indeed, this paper will argue, such extemporized clowning as that preserved in the A-text of *Doctor Faustus* could be anything but "unmeet for the matter."

Taking Office for Granted in Christopher Marlowe's *Edward II*
Helen Hull, Queens University of Charlotte

Criticism of Christopher Marlowe's *Edward II* has often noted Marlowe's exploration of the division—and collision—of public and private spheres in the play. Edward II's personal attachment to Gaveston impedes his ability to govern the realm, according to the barons, and the peers attempt to enforce a separation of the two (never mind their own—or at least, Mortimer's—personal motives for undermining Edward II's position). This paper will provide another context for this concern with the monarch's rule—the early modern discourse of civic officeholding. Prose tracts and manuals for officeholders, such as William Lambard's *Eirenarcha*, a manual explaining the duties of the Justice of the Peace, began to circulate frequently in the sixteenth century; these tracts employ various rhetorical strategies to legitimize the officeholders and to construct the officeholders' roles in the polity. In clarifying the *officium* or duty of the officeholder as he negotiated the expectations of crown and subject, a new position of authority was being inscribed in the officeholders of the commonwealth.

In *Edward II*, Marlowe's political players take office for granted. But in doing so, they point to the very importance of holding office itself. Marlowe develops his source material to depict a monarch who takes the titles and offices of the realm as his personal property, to be dispensed with as he wishes. But it's not just Edward II who claims prerogative over the subject's offices; Queen Isabella and Mortimer simply assume that the Mayor of Bristol will carry out what he knows to be their wishes. Documents of office, with their authorizing signatures, are represented as the products of bullying and bribery. Signifiers of the authority of office, such as the Great Seal, are also freely dispensed and claimed. The characters' abuse of the prerogatives of office calls attention to those very prerogatives and their importance in the polity. Indeed, Marlowe even constructs the monarch's position or role itself as an office, one with attending duties and responsibilities. Ultimately, dramatic representations of such aspects of office were central to early modern reconceptualizing of political authority and conceptualizing of political representation.

**"Every ones price is written on his backe": The Spectacle of the
        Slave Market in Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta***
Jared Johnson, Thiel College

When the officers of Christopher Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* herded captive slaves upon the stage of The Rose Theater in 1592, most English audiences would have witnessed the enactment of a marketplace they had not yet encountered. Though the play's staging of the slave market constituted the exception rather than the rule for dramatic representations of marketplaces, Marlowe's vision of a Maltese commercial setting in which human lives are bought and sold squares firmly with English attitudes toward commerce at this time. While stage representations of commodity markets in general reflect the complexity of ongoing debates about the place of commerce in early modern society, the depiction of the slave market in this play reveals deeply felt anxieties engendered by England's ongoing transition to a commercial economy. Marlowe's play presents a world in which the market determines not only the price of goods but also that of humanity.

Historically speaking, *The Jew of Malta* attests to the growing awareness of the capture and enslavement of prisoners in the Mediterranean as well as the Iberian slaving activities in the New World. Holding the slave trade at a safe distance, Marlowe taps into Renaissance fears associated with markets and merchants in his characterization of the play's major slave dealers: the Spanish vice-admiral, Martin Del Bosco, the Christian governor of Malta, Ferneze, and, of course, the play's title character, Barabas, a Jewish trader. Through these characters, Marlowe mocks early modern business concepts of credit, trust, and honor by associating the merchants of the tragedy with the slave trade, thus debasing their reputations as honest dealers. Through the play's depiction of the slave market, *The Jew of Malta* gives voice to English concerns about the ability of commercial markets to determine value. Marlowe's play imagines the power of commerce as a seductive force seeking to ensnare and enslave the early modern world in a state of economic bondage.

The Legacy of Mephistopheles: Marlowe's Magical Influence on
        The Late Lancashire Witches
Bronwyn Johnston, Keble College, Oxford

This paper explores the influence of *Doctor Faustus* on other early modern English devil dramas, focussing on the ways in which magic is used and the restrictions that govern this magic. In *Faustus* the workings of Mephistopheles's spirit magic are exposed and carefully explained to the audience; Mephistopheles's power and skill, like those of humans, must operate within the laws of nature, a means to an end, not the end itself. This brand of magic is distinct from the more fantastic magic of other plays such as *Old Fortunatus* or *The Old Wives Tale*, grounded in a greater degree of realism than its marvelous counterparts. The pneumatological assumptions of *Doctor Faustus* are apparent in the devil dramas that followed including *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, *If This Be Not a Good Play the Devil is In It*, *The Witch of Edmonton* and even *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

This paper will compare the magic of Mephistopheles with the staged witchcraft in Heywood and Brome's *The Late Lancashire Witches*. While at first glance the two plays

seem a world apart – the first a tragedy about an unsuccessful magician from the early 1590s, the latter a rollicking comedy from the 1630s about four very powerful women – the magic itself is surprisingly similar. The magic in each play is governed by the same limitations and used for the same purposes. Both feature the summoning of food from great distances, transformations into animals, social disruption caused by invisible spirits, and copulation with a devil. In each play a devil is called upon to assist in public humiliation, summon up demonic spirits for the amusement or horror of onlookers, and to harass those characters who exhibit scathing skepticism about the existence of magic. Despite its markedly different tone, subject matter, and reception, Heywood and Brome's play is undeniably Mephistophelean.

"A Great Reckoning in a Little Room": *Tamburlaine the Great, Part I* in the Blackfriars Playhouse
James Keegan, University of Delaware

This paper will discuss the joys and challenges of playing the lead role in *Tamburlaine*, a play written with a larger outdoor playhouse in mind in a relatively small indoor playhouse in a time and place in which the title did not draw full houses and in which, on many occasions, we were playing to fewer than a hundred patrons in an OP venue where the lights are famously on. There were real joys--theatrical advantages--to performing a play that incorporated pageantry and spectacle not usual to the Blackfriars (white, red, and black, costumes and siege banners) and larger set pieces (Bajazeth's cage, banquet table) on what is usually a bare stage. There were also real theatrical challenges: playing "Part 1," as opposed to the "mash-up" of the two parts that most theaters today attempt; playing a character who does not change appreciably throughout the course of the play; delivering lengthy, if beautiful, speeches that trace a world that no longer seems as exotic and vast as it did to Marlowe's audience; and delivering those speeches to the same people repeatedly while being able to see those people in the OP lighting of the Blackfriars. The ultimate question I'll be addressing is does/can *Tamburlaine, Part 1* "work" theatrically anymore, and secondarily, is it too big a play, too decided a character, for a little, well-lit room.

Playbooks in Repertory: A Study
Roslyn L. Knutson, University of Arkansas at Little Rock

Many scholars have relied on arguments concerning memorial reconstruction and inter-play borrowings to add plays to the repertory of Pembroke's men in 1592-3. Pembroke's is a company that fascinates Marlovians and theater historians. It came out of nowhere in the fall of 1592 to give two court performances during Christmas; while touring in the late summer of 1593, it apparently collapsed as mysteriously. Yet it had a dynamite repertory, if title-page attributions to it are any measure: for example, Marlowe's *Edward II*. The temptation to expand that repertory has been irresistible. The purpose here is to review one vein of the expansionist scholarship and argue that both memorial reconstruction and inter-play borrowings are so flawed as textual principles that neither is useful now as evidence of additional playbooks in Pembroke's repertory.

Fathoming the Aesthetic of Ambiguity in *Edward II*

Robert A. Logan, University of Hartford

The year 2014 marks the 450th year since Christopher Marlowe's birth. In contributing to the observance of this milestone, the following paper, "Fathoming the Aesthetic of Ambiguity in *Edward II*," takes a brief look at what scholarship on the play has covered, what it has not, and what the focus of scholars will or should be next. For the most part, the essay will concentrate on one direction future criticism might take. Critics have tended to overlook the degree to which an aesthetic of ambiguity appears to pervade the play and, consequently, the implications of this dramaturgical strategy. Twentieth-century critics had of course noticed how multiple ambiguities prevent us from coming to clear and definite views about content, actions, and characterizations in the play. But they did not consider the extent to which ambiguity is and is not an aesthetic choice. Nor did they examine how and why throughout the play ambiguity helps to obscure a clear perspective on personal and sociopolitical moral issues. To the extent that ambiguity *is* a dramaturgical strategy, we need to ask whether it suggests that Marlowe sees a division between theatre as entertainment and theatre as a moral instrument and whether, ultimately, the play entertains without making or even wanting to make a moral imprint on its audiences? I hope to examine Marlowe's ambiguity in the play in an effort to come to some conclusions about the link between ambiguity and his aesthetic inclinations.

Doctor Faustus' Leg

Genevieve Love, Colorado College

Toward the end of the long middle section of *Doctor Faustus*, a horse-courser to whom Faustus has sold a horse returns to ask for his money back after the horse turns into a "bottle of hay." In making his demand, he yanks on Faustus' leg, and is horrified when he seems to have pulled the leg clean off. The horse-courser scene records a concern with corporeal integrity and wholeness—a concern powerfully echoed in the play's bibliographical history. Indeed, I will argue that the problem of *Faustus'* two texts is negotiated in particular ways through the horse-courser episode, an episode that itself dramatizes some of the fantasies of loss and augmentation that structure the critical tradition. The power of corporeal models to our ways of talking about *Faustus'* textual problem suggests the degree to which our conception of early modern textual forms is powerfully bound up with our investment in whole, coherent bodies. I will suggest that the two versions of *Faustus* we attribute to Marlowe offer particular versions of bodily compromise and coherence, in relation to which we may read the fantasies embedded in our scholarship and editing of the A- and B- texts, and in our shifting conceptions of the relationship between the texts. The complex forms of embodiment in the horse-courser scene, and in that scene's continuation and elaboration in the B-text, stage more than simply bodily dismemberment and corporeal coherence. The sequence of scenes featuring the horse-courser and Faustus' missing or third leg complicate the shared diegetic and editorial concern with bodily integrity and wholeness by introducing amputation and prosthesis: rather than just wholeness or fragmentation, we are given to consider loss and subtraction, substitution and augmentation, and, ultimately, the ways in which wholeness is an effect, not a casualty, of both. The play of amputation and

prosthesis in the horse-courser episode is a figure for—and is figured by—the dynamics of truncation and augmentation that shape *Faustus*' textual history.

"An action bloody and tyrannical": The Massacre(s) in *The Massacre at Paris*
Georgina Lucas, Shakespeare Institute

Heralded by a bitter, thirty-year prologue, the "First" French War of Religion erupted with a massacre: Vassy, 1562. Supplied with the same rhetorical stamp as the first named massacre – the extirpation of Waldensian Protestants at Mérindol in 1545 – politico-religious historiography tells us that Vassy marked the beginning of a series of conflicts that would distort the already frail boundaries between popular and military violence; soldiery and butchery; domestic, sectarian warfare and international intervention; and the limits of kingship and constitutional resistance. Yet, as this paper will argue, the imaginative power of these conflicts, the frontier that bridges the gap between the creative process and cultural reality, is harnessed not by Vassy, nor by its antecedent Mérindol, but by the bloody horrors of the 1572 St Bartholomew's Day Massacre.

The subject of Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris* (1593), Bartholomew was a foundational event, responsible for the migration of the word from its new found context in France's civil wars, into the English language and cultural consciousness. Pamphlets by Huguenot writers like François Hotman, Jean de Serres, and Philippe du Plessis-Mornay, competed with libellous accusations by, for example, Jean du Tillet, detailing Huguenot tendencies towards the orgiastic, ritual murder of children, and the more temperate, but no less inflammatory, justification by Charles IX that Bartholomew**,** as a preventative measure, guarded against Huguenot insurrection following the attempted assassination of the Admiral Coligny. Flooding London printers, such tracts provided extensive, and thoroughly partisan, "histories" of the Massacre. Paradoxically aligned with the preceding violence seen at Mérindol and Vassy, just as it was heralded as an outrage so furiously infamous as to be peerless, or, antithetically, as a proportional response to Huguenot heresy and sedition, Bartholomew became the common axis on which conflicting notions of massacre and its attendant consequences turned.

It is this combination of Bartholomew's cultural centrality, and the schismatic responses it incited, that anchor and motivate Marlowe's drama. Qualifying King Charles declaration that Bartholomew "will be noted through the world/An action bloody and tyrannical" (iv.5-6), *The Massacre at Paris* presents massacre, as a word and act, heterogeneously: used to define both the purgation of Parisian Huguenots, the assassination of Admiral Coligny, and Queen Margaret's declaration that her soul is massacred (iii.26), "massacre" implies a plurality of meanings both physical and metaphysical. This paper, then, seeks to explore this plurality alongside the tracts and pamphlets that helped shape an English understanding of massacre to gauge the means by which Marlowe manipulates contemporary notions of massacre for the playhouse, noting the continuities and gaps between historiography and drama. In doing so, the paper seeks to re-orientate critical attention away from the play's supposed, and oft-reported,

deficiencies in favour of an exploration of the play's dramatic engagement with its political stimulus: it places massacre at the heart of *The Massacre at Paris.*

The Massacre at Paris and Its Early Playhouse Audiences
Ruth Lunney, University of Newcastle, Australia

What made Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris* so distinctive that its influence lasted for at least ten years—despite repertories crowded with plays—and resulted in several revivals, assorted offspring, and robust memories of its action if not always its words?

Most approaches to *The Massacre at Paris* have been through sources and/or subject matter, seeking ironies and ambiguities, with some attention to the play's rhetoric of violence. Most studies agree that the *Massacre* was topical and sensational, a parade of murder and massacre that catered to anxieties about foreigners and politicians, to preoccupations with royal power and revenge, with war and civil dissension. But, while these descriptions may account for the impact of the *Massacre* in general terms, they do not explain the play's distinctiveness. Such qualities and concerns were, after all, typical of many plays that survive from the early 1590s.

This paper approaches the *Massacre* through its theatrical context, an aspect rarely considered in any detail elsewhere. It looks to the expectations and theatrical experiences of the play's early audiences and the shaping of these by other contemporary plays. It is this context—the experiences generated by other plays—that offers a measure of the Massacre's distinctiveness.

The first performance of the *Massacre* at the Rose in January 1593 was followed within days by ones of *The Jew of Malta* and *1 Henry 6*; it had been preceded in a brief five-week season by multiple performances of these as well as *The Spanish Tragedy* and Peele's *The Battle of Alcazar*. At much the same time, or shortly thereafter, playgoers could flock to the Theatre perhaps for the early versions of *Henry 6, Parts 2 and 3*, for *Richard 3*, or to the Rose for *Titus Andronicus*. Their recent memories might well include the Queen's Men's *The Troublesome Reign of King John* or, for that matter, the two Parts of *Tamburlaine*, soon to be revived at the Rose, in 1594-1595.

The field of reference is indeed rich. This paper will explore the distinctiveness of the *Massacre* through the theatrical experience of its early audiences, with particular attention to the emotional dimension of that experience and its cognitive implications.

Rewriting a History of the English Play Collection: Serials, Part-Plays, and *Tamburlaine* (1590)
Tara L. Lyons, University of Massachusetts at Dartmouth

After the overwhelming success of Christopher Marlowe's two-part *Tamburlaine* (performed 1587-1588), serial plays became all the rage in London theaters. The number of prequels, sequels, and spinoffs during the 1590s and early 1600s— Nicholas Grene estimates that there were over forty-one part-plays in performance before 1616— confirms that theater companies were keen to reproduce plots, reintroduce characters, or

compose a whole sequence to keep audiences coming back for more. The strategy of marketing a play based on its serial relationship to another, however, was not limited to the stage. Publishers in the London book trade found some playbooks amenable to sale in small two-play collections or serial sets. For instance, in 1590, when London stationer Richard Jones published *Tamburlaine*, he joined the playbook with its sequel and sold the pair in a single octavo edition. While enticing readers with a sequel and prequel in one volume was not a new innovation in English dramatic publishing, *Tamburlaine* 1&2 (1590) was unique, for it was the first edition to unify commercial plays—and thus the first collection of professional drama printed in England.

By positioning Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* 1&2 as a pivotal moment in a history of the English play collection, my paper departs from current critical models that prioritize authorial collected editions like the Jonson (1616) and Shakespeare (1623) Folios. While these authorial volumes are commonly figured as the first to compile plays from the professional stage, they are not representative of the forms of collection nor the wide variety of principles that guided the accumulation of plays in the period. Indeed, my paper asks, what would a history of the English play collection look like if it focused not on these multi-text folios but on two-play octavos, emphasized not authorship as unifying principle but seriality, and began not in 1616 but in 1590?

Calvinist Theology and "Country Divinity" in *Doctor Faustus*
James Macdonald, Yale University

This paper examines the devils of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, a play that maps a disputed religious boundary between diabolic temptation and human sin. John Calvin made a significant break with even Protestant predecessors by positing a devil who tempted the elect and reprobate alike but lacked any coercive power, since his autonomy was wholly circumscribed by divine permission. In Elizabethan popular belief, however, independent diabolic agency was often blamed for bodily diseases, destructive weather, or other apparently unmotivated evils in the material world, a perspective mockingly termed "countrie divinitie" by Calvinist divines. There was, of course, no absolute contradiction between these alternative perspectives, but estimates of human sinfulness and diabolic power would seem to be inversely correlated; that is, the greater the depravity of human nature, the less instrumental the devil must seem in fomenting evil, and vice versa. Following Fredric Jameson's insight that "religious figures become the symbolic space in which the collectivity thinks itself," I argue that Faustus's interactions with Mephistophiles and the low-comedy subplots which run in parallel with his damnation evoke but refuse to resolve these divergent views of the devil's power.

The paper begins by exploring the different viewpoints emerging in the 1604 A-text. Faustus himself expresses ideas about the devil that seems bewildering and incoherent, but this essay shows that it is Calvinist concurrentism, in which divine, diabolic and human wills are simultaneously implicated in the commission of action, that lends consistency to Faustus's own experience of diabolic temptation. Thus far the argument has some affinity with the viewpoint of Leah Marcus, who identifies "militant Protestantism" as the hallmark of the A-text's religious orientation. But where Marcus

draws a contrast between the A-text and "less committedly Calvinist, more theologically conservative and ceremonial milieu" of the 1616 B-text, this paper argues that the misadventures of Robin and Rafe present theological hybridity within the A-text itself. By contrasting the Calvinist presentation of the devil as a mental tempter in Faustus's interactions with Mephistophilis with a "popular" conception of him as a physical tormenter which characterize the low-comedy subplots, the A-text instantiates diverging views of diabolic agency. This ambiguity, in turn, evokes fear and uncertainty by obscuring the nature of the diabolic threat to Faustus, to the lower-class characters and even to the audience itself – and several recorded stories of unexpected appearances by the devil during performances of the play are a powerful testimony to the success of this effort. Finally, the paper concludes by examining the B-text not as an ideological counterpoint to the A-text, but as a pragmatic response to the challenge of containing the original's destabilizing hybridity: as Rowley and Bird, Marlowe's apparent revisers, worked to deploy a heightened spectacle of Protestant triumphalism, they were forced to grapple with the challenge of presenting Faustus winning victories over Rome without implying that the devil is allied to or favors the Protestant cause.

Marlowe's Friars: A Study
Christopher Matusiak, Ithaca College

Friars and monks in Elizabethan drama, like their pharisaical ancestors in late medieval satire and theatrical polemic, tend to signify hypocrisy, excessive materiality, and spiritual blindness. The grasping Jacomo and lascivious Barnardine in *The Jew of Malta* are obvious examples, invoking anti-fraternal discourses particularly common in commercial repertories of the 1580s and 90s. However, two late Marlovian cases of this *fratris imagine* trope stand intriguingly apart from their contemporary stage brethren: the hospitable Cistercians in Pembroke's *Edward II*, and the zealous Dominican assassin in Strange's *The Massacre at Paris*. The complexity of these depictions invites explanation, and this paper considers key factors underlying their design and potential staging, including popular perceptions of counter-Reformation, the political and religious experience of Marlowe's noble patrons, and pressures imposed by reportorial commerce.

Reason of State in *The Massacre at Paris*
Simon May, Oxford University

Focusing on *The Massacre at Paris*, this paper reconsiders Marlowe's interest in the moral and practical issues surrounding contemporary theories of statecraft. A great deal of scholarship has centred on the relative Machiavellianism of Marlowe's characters, but the playwright's engagement with the theory of Reason of State has not been discussed in detail. As a result, some of the political subtleties of *The Massacre* have gone unnoticed. Previously disregarded as crude Protestant propaganda, more recently the play has been seen as an ambiguous text designed to reveal the capacity for evil on both sides of the confessional divide. It has been argued that Marlowe highlights the bad behaviour of Protestant and Catholic alike – that he shows the future Henry IV to be just as reprehensible as the dastardly Duke of Guise, a noted Machiavel. This reading rests, of course, on the assumption that only evil characters employ unsavoury tactics. But when

we take into account the advent of a more open acknowledgement of Reason of State as the most effective style of government, it becomes difficult to conclude that Marlowe's intention was not to do something more than highlight the equivalence of Protestant and Catholic guilt. In this paper, I suggest that the play functions rather as a complex interrogation of the circumstances that justify a leader's decision to deviate from the path of princely virtue. By placing *The Massacre* within the immediate context of its first performance on 26th January 1593, I further argue that Marlowe wrote the play in response to current concerns about English foreign policy. The offer of assistance to Henry IV was to be debated in Parliament the following month, and it is likely that pro-interventionists would have welcomed a play that refuted the accusations of Catholic polemic. But rather than assert the Protestant line as straightforwardly as possible, it is noticeable that Marlowe uses *The Massacre* to pursue another interest – in the theory of Reason of State – and thereby complicate the unqualified opposition of good and evil on which political argument tended to rest. That is to say, in *The Massacre* we find a dramatist whose work can support a policy position without sacrificing the subtlety of art. I conclude, therefore, that recognizing the complexity of *The Massacre* should be enough to discourage us from assuming that Renaissance drama can do nothing else but criticize or endorse, undermine or reinforce the policies of the Elizabethan regime. My argument contributes to the understanding that the political positions of Renaissance literature cannot be reduced to the simple formula of power and subversion.

"And now themselves shall make our pageants": Marlowe's Popular Stagecraft
Jeanne McCarthy, Georgia Gwinnett College

Marlowe's stagecraft has sometimes been characterized as offering an ironic advance upon the conventional morality play in which the allegory is more subtly "presented" than that of its predecessors; that his similarly subtle advance upon another early mode of performance, the pageant, informs the structure of *Doctor Faustus* and Marlowe's other adult company plays has also been noted. As David Lawton observes, *Doctor Faustus* "reads more easily as a series of scenes rather than as a five-act structure," an inference that points to its affinity with this popular pageant-like mode of performance in which the plot advances through self-narration within a dramatization of key, well-known moments in a narrative or history, yielding a succession of iconic scenes and lengthy speeches that require one to three characters and a chorus. Significantly, however, such a narrative technique is less evident in the full-scale, classically-structured dramatic form that informs *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, the product of Marlowe's early collaboration with Thomas Nashe, and the only play Marlowe wrote for child players. This Children of Her Majesty's Chapel play (printed in quarto 1594), thought to be either his first or second dramatic work, more closely resembles, not only in structure but in its characterization, those plays aligned with either Lyly's children's players or, later, Shakespeare's adult companies than it does Marlowe's other plays. In his adult company works, by contrast, Marlowe embraces the pageant-like structure appropriate for what has been characterized as the formal "medley" associated with the Queen's Men and other early popular troupes. By abandoning the more neoclassically-inspired form still associated with the schools evident in the early play he had written with Nashe, Marlowe displays both restraint and a willingness to adapt his writing, style, and formal structure to a traditional and popular

performance mode. In this paper, then, I propose reading Marlowe's adult company works as reflecting the popular playing troupes' repertory and style as they embarked on an era of professionalization in order to uncover traces of traditional popular modes of performance in Marlowe's dramatic form and technique.

"No son of Fortune, but her slave": Dekker's *Old Fortunatus* and the Influence of Marlowe
David McInnis. University of Melbourne

The German legend of Fortunatus—the Cypriot whose pact with Lady Fortune supplies him with an inexhaustible purse, and whose theft of a magical wishing cap from an Eastern Sultan provides him with instantaneous transportation—was popular on the London stage of the 1590s. Appearing in Henslowe's diary without the enigmatic "ne" marker in the spring season of 1596, a lost play or two-part play drawn from the *volksbuch* probably existed as early as 1594. In 1599, Dekker was paid for a new play on the subject, *Old Fortunatus*, which was played at Richmond that Christmas, and which enjoyed a healthy afterlife on the Continent. The supernatural bargain, the morality play inheritance and the magical transportation in Dekker's play have encouraged critics to draw comparisons between Fortunatus and Faustus as "fortunate" men. Sidney R. Homan, Jr. has attempted to establish that "*Faustus* is a source for *Old Fortunatus*" and to show the "strong morality influence in Dekker's play," and Martin Wiggins has based his attribution of the lost "1 Fortunatus" play to Greene on the assumption that Greene frequently imitated Marlowe and that a lost Fortunatus play would have echoed *Faustus*. Although there is evidence to support the association between the two legends in the early modern popular imagination, is this the sufficient to infer Marlovian influence? This paper assesses the relationship between Marlowe's *Faustus* and the Fortunatus plays of the Admiral's repertory.

"There's No Dancing in Marlowe!"
Linda McJannet, Bentley University

The place of dance in Marlowe's work would seem to be a small one. While Clayton G. MacKenzie has published two articles on the influence of the *danse macabre* or dance of death on the action of *The Massacre of Paris* and of *Tamburlaine, Parts One and Two,* there appears to be only one place in the plays where a stage direction calls for a dance, namely in the deed scene of *Doctor Faustus*, when Mephistopheles decides to bring in devils to "delight [Faustus's wavering] mind." He exits, and reenters "*with* DEVILS, *giving crowns and rich apparel to FAUSTUS; they dance and then depart*" (sc. 5.82 SD). In "Recreating the Eye of the Beholder: Dancing and Spectacular Display in Early Modern English Theatre" (*Dance Research Journal,* 43.1 [2011]), Erika T. Lin uses this moment as a case study of the "referential and performative" functions of spectacle generally and of the early modern association of dancing (whether beheld or performed) with seduction.

I am persuaded by Lin's analysis that Marlowe's insertion of a dance at this point is indeed significant, and my paper will seek to discover how classic and recent realizations

of the play have handled this scene. My findings to date are that earlier productions, such as the (in)famous film starring Richard Burton and Elizabeth Taylor, omit the dance sequence altogether, but later productions retain it in fascinating ways. Further, some of them introduce other moments of dance and choreographed group movement to music or percussion so as to capture and highlight important aspects of the play. I hope to show that, as in the film *A League Of Their Own* (in which the exasperated team manager, played by Tom Hanks, asserts "There's no crying in baseball!"), there is indeed dancing in Marlowe and that its presence in *Doctor Faustus,* whether textual or directorial, can enhance emotional effect and contribute to thematic clarity. My study will be based as much as possible on DVDs of the performances in question, including that at Shakespeare's Globe in 2011, and on video trailers and reviews where DVDs or archival footage are not available.

Doctor Faustus at the Great North Door of St. Pauls (1601-1604)
Kirk Melnikoff, University of North Carolina at Charlotte

My contribution to this panel will revisit the early print history of *Doctor Faustus*. Specifically, it will correlate the first quarto's publication with the early seventeenth-century activities of the publishing house at "the great north doore of Paules," a shop run by the stationers Thomas Bushell and Geoffrey Charlton. Bushell had apprenticed with the bookseller Nicholas Ling between 1591 and 1599, and he published *The tragicall history of D. Faustus* in 1604, three years after he first entered the playtext in the Stationers Register in 1601. For five years after 1599, Bushell participated energetically in what was a burgeoning print market for satirical writing, financing a number of quartos like *Micro-cynicon. Sixe snarling satyres*; Weever's *Epigrammes in the oldest cut, and newest fashion*; and *Pasquils mad-cap*. Charlton apprenticed with the draper bookseller Thomas Wight until he was admitted a freeman of the Stationer's Company in 1603. While no record remains documenting his involvement with *Doctor Faustus'* first quarto, we do know that Charlton was working that same year with Bushell at the north door of St. Paul's, the pair co-publishing the satire *Platoes cap*.

Tamburlaine Queen of Scots: Marlowe's Quasi-Alchemical Celebration of Elizabeth I's Most Dangerous Victim
Abigail Montgomery, Blue Ridge Community College

Lisa Hopkins has recently identified "an interest in the question of the succession to the English crown" as a present and major concern in the plays of Christopher Marlowe; her article goes on to note various known and speculated connections Marlowe held to espionage at the Scottish court. This emphasis turns particular attention toward the *Tamburlaine* plays. *Tamburlaine The Great, Part I* debuted on English stages within a year of Mary Stuart's execution, and several key moments in the *Tamburlaine* plays suggest a link between Tamburlaine and Mary. Politically and personally, Tamburlaine becomes a successful Mary, an outsider by birth and faith who acquires more and more empires, establishes an effective dynastic marriage, and wins every major battle he fights.

Marlowe offers evidence for this reading from the play's earliest moments. In the first scene, Meander's description of Tamburlaine as "rob[bing] your merchants of Persepolis / Trading by land unto the Western Isles" (1.1.37-38), echoes one of Mary's styles, "queen of Scotland and the Isles." The audience member or reader who bears this link in mind throughout the play will find other intriguing resonances that would have let English audiences entertain a decidedly counter-patriotic vision of the recently executed Queen of Scots. Tamburlaine's successive conquering of Persia, Africa, and Turkey recalls Mary's insistence on presenting herself as Queen of Scotland, France, and England, yet his power grows with each step while Mary's dwindled at every major juncture. His apparently happy and mutually politically beneficial union with Zenocrate makes a stark contrast to Mary's young widowhood in France and catastrophic attempt at another dynastic marriage, to Darnley. Tamburlaine-the-invader's mocking-laden imprisonment of Bajazeth recalls and neatly inverts Elizabeth I's long imprisonment of Mary-the-invader on her own soil. Tamburlaine's use of white, then red, then black clothing, tents, and livery to indicate his increasing implacability on campaign in Egypt disrupts the traditional, purifying alchemical progression from black to white to red—he becomes less pure and merciful as he becomes more successful and powerful. Act 4's focus on these colors also recalls Mary's famous pre-execution discarding of a dark cloak to reveal defiantly Catholic red clothing beneath.

In *Tamburlaine The Great, Part I*, Marlowe invites his audience—including Catholics and their sympathizers, anyone who had ever favored Mary's claim to the English throne, anyone frustrated with Elizabeth, anyone concerned with the still unsettled succession—to ask "What if history had gone the other way?" about Mary Stuart. What if any of her attempts to press her claim to the English throne had been successful? What if she had been the imprisoner, not the imprisoned? What if her marriage to Darnley, instead of ending in disaster, had solidified and advanced her claim to England's throne? *Tamburlaine* would have allowed audiences to consider these and other subversive questions from a safe double remove, *Tamburlaine* being both a play and a fictionalized history of a man from another continent. The ever-daring, ever-controversial Marlowe, likely aware of the highest-level machinations of the whole Mary-Elizabeth affair, creates a foreign hero whose adventures in many ways parallel Mary's. While Mary was born a queen and ended her days the powerless prisoner of England's own queen, Tamburlaine begins as an upstart and ends his first play bestriding the world. Marlowe's insertion of a Mary-like-figure into this history creates a space for his audience to ask—at least imaginatively—every subversive question they might ever have had about Elizabeth, the monarchy, and the succession.

The Jew of Malta **and the Maccabees**
Stephanie Moss, University of South Florida

In the Prologue to Christopher Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*, the Machiavel suggests that religion is a "toy." In this paper, I will argue that religion functions not merely as a toy but also as a chess piece in the very serious "game" of post-Reformation politics. My argument rests on Barabbas' reference to the Maccabees in act one two scene one of the play.

In this scene, Barabbas cites the Maccabees to manipulate Katherine and cover his separate manipulation of her son, Mathias. When the Jew tells Katherine that the conversation with her son was merely a discussion about the Maccabees, he does so to assure her that the exchange was biblical rather than heretical. However because the Old Testament that Barabbas ostensibly represents as a Jew rejects the books of Maccabee as non-canonical, Barabbas here uses religion to toy with Katherine.

The reference to the Maccabees also represents an important cultural coordinate for the post-Reformation melee between the Protestants and the Catholics. Between 1545 and 1563, the Council of Trent added the books of Maccabee to editions of the Catholic bible while the 1560 edition of the Reformation Geneva bible, the one used by Marlowe, excluded them. Thus, the Maccabees can be seen as one point of departure for the battle between the Protestant and Catholic religions that consumed the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Significantly, Barabbas' reference to the Maccabees also implicates the legacy of medieval morality plays; *Everyman* offers the name of Judas Maccabee as an emblem of loyalty. As David Bevington points out in *Tudor Drama and Politics*, *Everyman* praises priests as above the angels but also exposes cracks in the pre-Reformation Catholic Church. On one hand *Everyman* celebrates priests; on the other the play criticizes priests as corrupt. Thus according to Bevington, *Everyman* subtly expresses distain toward future cleric/courtiers that would represent a vital power in the Tudor court. Barabbas' use of the Maccabees, therefore, also implicates Elizabethan court politics.

Barabbas may be toying with religion when he convinces Katherine that the Maccabees represent the biblical canon, and Marlowe's may indeed be winking at the educated in his audience who knew that the Old Testament rejected the books of Maccabees, but the deadly serious aspect of the fleetingly reference can be interpreted as a metaphor for the life and death encounter between two religions that would as easily eliminate each other as Barabbas would blow up the island of Malta.

Marlowe and the Amphitheatre
Lucy Munro, Keele University

In an exposé of astrologers and fortune-tellers published in 1620, *Astrologaster, or, The Figure-Caster*, John Melton takes a brief detour into the contemporary theatre:
> Another [astrologer] will fore-tell of Lightening and Thunder that shall happen such a day, when there are no such Inflamations seene, except men goe to the Fortune in Golding-Lane, to see the Tragedie of Doctor *Faustus.* There indeede a man may behold shagge-hayr'd Deuills runne roaring ouer the Stage with Squibs in their mouthes, while Drummers make Thunder in the Tyring-house, and the twelue-penny Hirelings make artificiall Lightning in their Heauens.

When Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* and *Doctor Faustus* were first performed in the late 1580s, they helped to define the character of performance and dramaturgy in London's

amphitheatres. This paper reappraises Marlowe's amphitheatre dramaturgy and its enduring impact on early modern drama. In doing so, it focuses on its renewed prominence in the late Jacobean period and its influence on the staging, diction and special effects deployed in plays staged at amphitheatres such as the Fortune, Red Bull, Curtain and Globe. Standard theatre histories tend to see the late 1610s and early 1620s as a time at which the most successful companies were moving away from the amphitheatres; moreover, the revival of plays such as *Doctor Faustus* is generally interpreted as the product of nostalgia or cultural conservatism. Plays such as *The Two Noble Ladies* (1619-22), Dekker and Massinger's *The Virgin Martyr* (1620) and Fletcher's *The Prophetess* (1622) suggest, in contrast, both the rude health of these playing spaces and the theatrical impact that Marlovian structures continued to exercise.

**Poisoning Deeply: the Form and Function of Poison in *The Jew of Malta* and
*The Massacre at Paris***
Helen Osborne, Shakespeare Institute

Barabas and the Duke of Guise conform to a number of stereotypes that attach to the figure of the poisoner on the Renaissance stage. This paper will begin with a brief examination of both characters' roles as a poisoners and the interaction of *The Jew of Malta* and *The Massacre at Paris* with contemporary cultural fantasies of poison. It will then go on to discuss the ways in which the poisons used are administered to their victims, and their function as fast-acting or time-delayed weapons. The ways in which the poisoned posy of flowers given to Ithamore, Pilia-Borza and Ithamore, and the poisoned gloves given to the Old Queen take their effects will be examined in relation to an on-going concern in Marlowe's work with ideas of the body's vulnerability, which will be illustrated by making brief reference to *Tamburlaine* (Parts One and Two). Building on the work of Tanya Pollard and Jonathan Gil Harris, it will compare and contrast the political effects of the poisons in these plays in order to suggest the potential for a Paracelsian cure in their action, and the ways in which this cure is a problematic one.

Playing Prisoner's Base in Marlowe's *Edward II*
Bethany Packard, Transylvania University

When Sir John of Hainualt intervenes in Act IV of Marlowe's *Edward II* to offer Isabella and Mortimer refuge and assistance, he briefly refers to the popular early modern game prisoner's base. He seems to figure King Edward as a player on a losing team and then asks young Prince Edward what he thinks: "We will find comfort, money, men and friends / Ere long, to bid the English king a base. / How say, young prince? What think you of the match?" (IV.ii.65-67). The prince enthusiastically backs his father, which creates some confusion and embarrassment among those whose ostensible aim is to make him king. These lines may serve to belittle father and son and to depict them as game playing innocents lacking authority. However, I argue that Sir John's pronoun, "we," makes all of the characters players. Instead of using prisoner's base as a means of separation, Marlowe blurs the boundaries between the game and political and military maneuvers, between the game and the drama. Some plot events echo rules of prisoner's base, and these connections enable my use of this game as a lens for reading the

paradoxical character of Prince Edward. Both game and drama construct conditions that enable contingency. In prisoner's base players are simultaneously chasing an opponent and being chased themselves. The players' roles in the game can change in an instant, just as the prince swiftly transitions from political puppet to king holding Mortimer's severed head. The future Edward III's contradictory, sometimes naïve, sometimes precocious behavior reflects the contingencies of prisoner's base. Further, approaching Prince Edward and the end of the play in terms of the game helps to underscore the extent to which Edward II's transgressive rule alters the social fabric of Marlowe's England.

Confession in *The Jew of Malta* and *Romeo and Juliet*
John Parker, University of Virginia

People have long recognized that Shakespeare explicitly borrowed from Marlowe in writing *Romeo and Juliet*. My paper will argue that this indebtedness extends beyond the obvious verbal echoes to Shakespeare's handling of the Catholic clergy as well -- more specifically, to his treatment of auricular confession. My main contention is that Shakespeare follows Marlowe's lead in deploying confession as an analogue for the commercial theater. The stage, like the confessional, operates for both playwrights as a sanctuary for the discursive representation of sinful behavior. When confession lost its sacramental status after the Reformation, in other words, the dramas of Marlowe and Shakespeare stepped into its place with a kindred promise of impunity.

Medieval Marlowe: Faustus and the Harrowing of Hell
Christina Romanelli, University of North Carolina at Greensboro

Christopher Marlowe's characters are infamously over-reaching, as Harry Levin terms it, a theme that fits in well with the values of renaissance humanism's focus on learning and self-improvement; however, attending to the earlier traditions on which Marlowe draws reveals previously unexamined connections to pre-reformation beliefs. For example, in a turning point in *Doctor Faustus*, Lucifer tells Faustus, "Christ cannot save thy soul, for he is just, There's none but I have int'rest in the same." That Faustus cannot be saved is not surprising given the affiliation with the Calvinist doctrine of predestination, but that Christ is *just* in forsaking Faustus's soul does not seem to have a referent in the Protestant theology often drawn upon in most interpretations of the late sixteenth-century play. Lucifer makes a similar claim in a literary work written two centuries prior to Marlowe's tragedy: William Langland's *Piers Plowman* –an allegorical poem still circulating in England throughout the sixteenth century. "If he reve me my righte he robbeth me by maistrye," Lucifer says, and then a few lines later, he emphasizes, "I leve that lawe nil naughte lete hym the leest." Lucifer believes that Christ follows previously agreed upon laws that provide the devil with rights, and Faustus's behavior indicates he shares these beliefs. In Langland's text, Lucifer is mistaken; Christ easily destroys the gates to hell, releasing the souls contained therein. Perhaps this is why Faustus holds out hope for so long that Christ may save his soul as well? The triangular relationship between Christ and Faustus and Lucifer that exists by the end of Marlowe's tragedy may be best explained in the context of this Harrowing of Hell. As Heather Anne Hirschfeld has recently argued, Faustus "fashions himself as the conqueror of hell." Hirschfeld argues that the

demonology in *Doctor Faustus* draws upon the sixteenth-century debate about Christ's descent into hell after the Crucifixion, and this paper extends her argument by reading Faustus's trafficking with demons as part of a medieval literary and ritual tradition of garnering agency through the emulation of Christ.

Scholars of *Doctor Faustus* have recently debated the theological issues at stake in Marlowe's depiction of demonology and hell as they respond to Protestant theology, but this fails to account for the legal power Faustus wields during the play. Reading Faustus's interactions with Mephistopheles and Lucifer through the lens of the medieval doctrine of the Harrowing of Hell shows that Faustus's agency and power over demons arises from the emulation of Christ. By entering into legal agreements with demonic powers, continually testing the boundaries of those agreements, and finally asking for a temporal determination for his damnation, Faustus invokes the power of Christ to nullify the devil's right to sinner's souls. Examining Langland's text beside Marlowe's gives us the opportunity to see continuity between pre-reformation ideology and renaissance humanism that seems to have been overlooked in scholarship of this play.

Tamburlaine at War
Tom Rutter, University of Sheffield

In his recent bibliographical survey (published in the inaugural edition of *Marlowe Studies: An Annual*), Bruce Brandt identifies critical interest in the depiction of war in *Tamburlaine* as one of the most "significant trends" in Marlowe studies between 2000 and 2009. Although this interest was already in evidence by the late 1990s, since 2001 a number of critics have suggested that the two plays gain a new relevance in an era characterised both by anxiety about terrorist violence in western nations and by large-scale military action in territories that formed part of the historical Timur's empire. The current paper will examine whether a comparable sense of the plays' renewed currency prevailed during an earlier period characterised by global warfare, namely that of 1939-45. Did critics of *Tamburlaine* during and after the Second World War connect the plays' depictions of violence and warfare with the events of their own time? And did the experience of World War II have an identifiable effect on critical approaches to *Tamburlaine*?

Refiguring the Usurer's Body in *The Jew of Malta* and *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria"*
Bradley Ryner, Arizona State University

The popular image of the usurer in late-Elizabethan England combined allegorical depictions of Avarice (represented as thin and ragged) with xenophobic caricatures of Jewishness (represented as red-haired and bottle-nosed). The reasoning behind representing the usurer as thin and ragged was that the avaricious person hoards money rather than spending it on food or clothes. Marlowe stages Barabas as the antithesis of the avaricious hoarder, to whom he his explicitly contrasted: Barabas is well fed, sumptuously clothed and willing to spend opulently on his desires. Marlowe's self-reflexive interrogation of the logic that underlies representations of the usurer's body

draws attention the inadequacy of such representation for explaining mercantile capitalism, but stops short of presenting a different figuration that is able to do so. Such a figuration, however, is available in Chapman's *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria*. Something between a parody and a loving imitation of Marlovian drama, Chapman's play offers an implicit reading and a conceptual extension of *The Jew of Malta*. The play's usurer, Leon is one of several disguises adopted by the eponymous character. Leon is given the immediately recognizable trappings of the miserly stage usurer. His miserliness, though, is a theatrical fiction that prevents the other characters from recognizing that his accumulated wealth is not the result of hoarding but of stagecraft. The play reveals the body that is actually able to capitalize on this investment to be not that of the usurer (who is only a façade here) but that of the actor whose rapid shifts between playing Leon and playing other outsized Marlovian character types reiterates the proto-capitalist investor's oscillation between accumulation and expenditure.

Recent Reckonings: Marlowe in the Wake of 7/7 and 9/11
Robert Sawyer, East Tennessee State University

While much has been written about the effects of 7/7 and 9/11 on artistic production in the U.S. and the U.K., no one has focused on the way these terrorist attacks may have affected productions of Marlowe's works. By considering one version of *Tamburlaine* in London in 2005, as well as one production of *The Jew of Malta* first performed in New York in 2007, I will show how Marlowe has been re-shaped by historical pressures, particularly when directors try to reckon with recent historical events.

In a production of *Tamburlaine* at the Barbican, just months after the London subway bombings on 7/7, David Farr's decision to combine Part One and Part Two was "praised by most critics," according to Lisa Hopkins. Yet Farr's depiction of the burning of the Koran in Act Five of Part Two became a flashpoint of controversy. In this scene, Tamburlaine stalks the stage, while daring Mahomet out of heaven. Demanding the "Turkish Alcaron" (Koran) be brought to him, as well as other "superstitious books" from the "temples of Mahomet," he orders them to "be burnt" (5.1.172-175). Farr's interpretation of this scene offended some critics, for he altered the text slightly so that Tamburlaine is burning instead "the works of [all] the prophets," including, but not limited to, the Koran. Dalye Alberge, writing in *The Times* (London) protested that "[a]udiences at the Barbican in London did not see the Koran being burnt, as Marlowe intended," because the director, "feared that it would inflame passions in the light of the London bombings." The anonymous lead editorial in the same issue of the *Times* agreed: "to rewrite 400-year-old texts" in order to "protect Islamic sensibilities" set a "dangerous precedent." When Farr defended his action the following day in the more liberal *Guardian*, it was obvious that the performance and the ensuing debate were influenced by historical events, a clear instance of context shaping text.

Two years later, another Marlowe play would also be shaped by contextual pressures. This alternating performance of *The Merchant of Venice* and *The Jew of Malta* (starring F. Murray Abraham in both lead roles), also resonated with contemporary events. Marlowe's work, however, seemed much timelier. Not only did it feature a protagonist

named after a terrorist assassin from the Gospels, but the final scene in Malta clearly conjured up images of the 9/11 tragedy. Although the more traditional opening scene portrayed Barabas luxuriating in his pile of gold and jewels, while gloating over his "fiery opals [and] sapphires," at the conclusion of the drama, David Herskovits directed that the "fiery pit," where Barabas would die, should "occup[y] the same spot as the cache of gold" at the play's opening.

It is not difficult to see the image of Barabas's former "counting-house," the one filled with "infinite riches," reflected in that other symbol of the "Capital of Capital," the World Trade Center; nor is it difficult to imagine the fiery pit as similar to the smoldering rubble remains of the Twin Towers following the assault. As Abraham's Barabas takes down the hypocritical Christian world with him, we may also hear in his speech the final reckoning of the 9/11 hijackers, cursing the "[d]amned Christian dogs," and vowing to bring "confusion on [them] all" (85; 79; 84).

The Marginalization of Edward II: Christopher Marlowe and the Boundaries of Identity
Carolyn F. Scott, National Cheng Kung University

The paradox of Edward II in Marlowe's play of the same name is that although he is protagonist and king, he also undergoes a series of movements from the center to the margins of both his play and his society. These movements force him to negotiate within himself and with others to construct his identity. Physicist Shirley Jackson in *Scientific American* describes a particle called a polaron, which is "any kind of charged particle that distorts the structure that it is moving through." Edward functions as a polaron, distorting the world around him and drawing others into the same cycle. Gaveston and Lightborn experience similar movements between the center and the margins. The three characters participate in what Jackson refers to as "intersecting vulnerabilities," wherein their strengths and weaknesses feed off of each other. The tension created by the movement between their subject and object positions and the crossing of the boundaries placed around them leads to a marginalization that becomes a source of identity and power even as it contributes to their destruction. An examination of these characters will lead to a clearer understanding of Marlowe's own struggles with the boundaries of identity.

"A Speaking Eye": Lording Barry reads *Hero and Leander*
Sarah K. Scott, Mount St. Mary's University

Lording Barry's city comedy *The Family of Love* alludes specifically to numerous passages from Marlowe's works as well as those of many other playwrights. However, there seems to be an unusually large number of references to Marlowe, over a dozen, according to Simon Shepherd in his edition of the play (1979), including *Doctor Faustus*, *Tamburlaine I and II*, *The Jew of Malta*, and *Hero and Leander*. It seems unusual that a playwright in the first decade of the seventeenth century would allude so frequently to the works of a long-dead playwright in order to satirize a somewhat obscure religious group, Henry Nicolas's Familist religious sect. How, then, might this shape our understanding of Marlowe's reception in the early seventeenth century? The passages that Barry

employs seem to follow a general but studied pattern in which he uses his theatrical predecessor to critique the morays of a London milieu. This act of imitation suggests a type of kinship between the playwrights and to some extent validates the idea of Marlowe as a creator of city comedy.

"O, spare me, Lucifer": The Horror of Irresistible Grace in Marlowe and Herbert
Jesse David Sharpe, University of Bridgeport, Connecticut

Though there is little direct evidence of Christopher Marlowe's influence on the poetry of George Herbert, there is without question evidence that both writers were influenced by Calvinism. As we know, there was not really any aspect of Early Modern Britain that was not touched by the fundamental shift in the understanding of believers' relationship to God. Whether or not an individual believed in predestination or became a Protestant, there was no escaping the theological concept's movement through society, and so it is no wonder that writers would take advantage of this in their creative endeavours. This paper looks at how two very different writers used the concept of predestination in their writings; however, not in the regular fashion of endorsing or refuting the belief, rather they use some of the darker implications of predestination as a means to explore the tragedy of realising just what forced devotion may be in a religion of irresistible grace.

While this paper will make no claims regarding the personal beliefs of Marlowe and Herbert, it will explore the darker representations of Calvinism in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* and Herbert's "Affliction (I)". Though these works enact public performance and personal devotion, they show the anxiety that existed in the horror of being unable to save oneself or being able to damn oneself. For as the audience sees the terror that exists in Faustus wanting to cry out for his "Christ," but only being able to yell "O, spare me, Lucifer," so too the devout would be deeply troubled by Herbert's realisation that irresistible grace could force him to love God against his will and his declaration to God "Let me not love thee, if I love thee not." It is within these instances, as well as others, that the influence of the doctrine of predestination can be seen touching quite diverse and chronologically separate works of literature, and also shows its potentially tragic and terrifying implications.

François Portus, Isaac Casaubon, and Marlowe's Reading of Greek Poetry
Tetsuro Shimizu, Ochanomizu University

This paper examines how Marlowe read Greek poetry, and proposes a hypothesis about the possible sources for his works in imitation of classical and post-classical Greek poets. Gordon Braden demonstrated that Marlowe read some Greek and used a Greek-Latin edition of Musaeus when he was writing his *Hero and Leander*. This paper examines a series of Genevan editions of Greek poems in the sextodecimo format, and poses a hypothesis about the influence of two classical scholars, François Portus and Isaac Casaubon, on Marlowe's reading of Greek poetry. Special attention will be paid to Portus' contribution, as a translator and editor, to the 1570 and 1580 editions of the *Iliad,* and to Casaubon's as a critic on Theocritus and Musaeus Grammaticus. My source study is also related to Marlowe's song, "Come live with me and be my love," and what was

reported as his translation of Colluthus' short epic. Small books in the sextodecimo or duodecimo format are especially important when we study the reading conditions of students and graduate students of Marlowe's times. Access to college libraries was limited to Fellows, so students, whether graduate or undergraduate, had to acquire their own copies either by purchasing or by receiving what their senior friends gave away after their use. Therefore it was crucial that student editions were handy and of affordable prices and contained materials which would meet their need and taste, at the same time. When I examine the texts of what I assume to have been Marlowe's likely source editions, I will especially pay attention to the following two points. How far was Marlowe aware of the fact that Musaeus was not really an ancient poet? How far did Marlowe owe his poetic and rhetorical styles to traditional styles of classical and post-classical Greek poets. My study critically appreciates what Gordon Braden's important study on *Hero and Leander* has demonstrated and suggested, and owes a lot to the bibliographical studies by Jean-François Gilmont, Philip Ford and others.

Tamburlaine's English DNA
Meredith Skura, Rice University

Scythian Tamburlaine is marked as an unruly foreigner and Marlowe created him not from English chronicle and legend but from foreign histories and geographies. Yet in one of *Tamburlaine'*s most barbaric interludes (the banquet in 1.4), Marlowe leaves foreign and classical sources behind. Instead he is influenced by a very English romance, *Richard Coeur de Lion*, with a national hero whose notorious cannibalism supplies home-grown barbarities of its own.

Ovid as Playwright: *The Massacre at Paris*
M. L. Stapleton, Indiana University-Purdue University, Fort Wayne

Marlowe's apparent delight in presenting emotionally bizarre perspectives in his works sometimes obscures a vein of traditional morality that those who enjoy presenting him as a rebel and transgressor do not generally examine. W. L. Godshalk said of him forty years ago, "His vision is radical in its criticism, conservative in its nature. He is never a preacher but always a seer, and his moral vision of the insanely aggressive world is turned into art." Though this observation may now seem overstated, its core implications are worth consideration when applied to the plays. Perhaps it is, in a word, wrong to practice necromancy, or to alienate one's barons by granting authoritative powers to an incompetent favorite, or to murder one's children although they have committed egregious offenses such as military cowardice or conversion to a religion one finds abhorrent. Fornication, even if sanctioned by ancient authorities such as Musaeus and Ovid, is still fornication. Perhaps, then, the macabre humor of a play such as *The Massacre at Paris* should be regarded as suspect, as well as the visions and comments of its amoral characters, none of whose opinions Marlowe was likely to have endorsed, even at his most subversive, transgressive, and rebellious. He may have honed these skills as a moralist while engaging in what may have been his first work of literary production, his rendition of Ovid's *Amores* into closed English couplets, which appears in two forms, *Certaine of* and *All Ovids Elegies* (c. 1595). At several junctures, he appears to allude to

this translation or recreate tableaux from its narrative in order to comment on the depravities in *Massacre*, especially the scene in which the anonymous Soldier guards the Guise's household from the cuckolding Mugeroun, the favorite of his deadly enemy, Henri III. In this frenetic world, the Ovidian narrator of the *Elegies* replicates himself repeatedly, in allusion, in diverse tableaux, and especially in the Guise, as well as in the implied figure of the playwright that Marlowe projects, guided by his own judicious and sardonic master direction.

Transforming Ovid: Marlowe's Dido and Shakespeare's Perverse Astraea in *Titus Andronicus*
Lisa S. Starks-Estes, University of South Florida St. Petersburg

Before shooting arrows at the gods for justice, Titus in Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* cites Astraea in a quotation from Ovid: "*Terras Astraea reliquit*." Tamora is the recipient of the message, retrieving the arrows from her servant (4.3.4), thereby linking her to the constellation of goddesses surrounding the image of Elizabeth I. Throughout his bloody revenge play, Shakespeare explores the dark side of Astraea, associating her image indirectly with Anatomia, the goddess of reduction—a dominating queen who requires acts of submission and dissection/dismemberment from her male court; and directly (via both Lavinia and Aaron) with the Semiramis, the Assyrian queen of legend, a femme-fatale who brings the walls of Rome crashing down. Shakespeare evokes these "perverse Astraeas" on various levels in *Titus Andronicus* and connects them directly to Tamora— an Amazonian figure who, although ultimately demonized in the play, dominates much of it.

In creating this portrait of a perverse Astraea, Shakespeare follows Marlowe's lead instigated in *Dido, Queen of Carthage* by employing Ovid to satirize the Elizabethan court and its cult of love. And, most importantly, like Marlowe, Shakespeare uses Ovidian strategies to parody the high seriousness of the Virgilian epic and to undercut the ideal of *virtus* it upholds. As many critics—including Sara Munson Deats, Jonathan Bate, and Timothy D. Crowley—have pointed out, Marlowe's treatment of Virgil's *Aeneid* is richly inflected with Ovid. Not only does Marlowe draw from Ovid's *Heroides* in providing Dido's perspective, but also he incorporates an Ovidian method of "metamorphosis" in his transformation of sources and genre, irreverent attitude toward the gods, fluidity of desire and gendered positions.

As a poet/playwright also caught up in the Ovid craze of the 1590's, Shakespeare takes up Marlowe's challenge by remaking Virgil as dark, grotesque parody in *Titus Andronicus*, which I deal with in this presentation; and as revisionary appropriation in *Antony and Cleopatra*, which I discuss elsewhere. Although Shakespeare develops his savage parody of Virgil throughout *Titus Andronicus* on various levels, he foregrounds it in his portrayal of the perverse Astraea, creating the empress Tamora as an inverted version of Marlowe's Dido, an image that plays on the indirect associations between her and the iconic figure of Elizabeth I. For instance, Shakespeare parodies Virgil in 2.3, a scene that is reminiscent of the wicked, brutal woods of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Taking leave from the chase, the empress and her Moor slip away for an intimate encounter,

which Tamora herself compares to the amorous union of Dido and Aeneas when they take refuge from the storm to a cave in Book 4 of Virgil's *Aeneid*, a scene that is dramatized in Marlowe's play (3.4). Here, employing Ovid's own technique via Marlowe, Shakespeare overturns Virgil and remakes his epic into Ovidian myth as revenge play, paving the way for a reinvention of the perverse Astraea via Isis in his later tragedy, *Antony and Cleopatra*.

"These are the blessings promised to the Jews": Material Goods and Universal
"Jewishness" in *The Jew of Malta*
Adriana Streifer, University of Virginia

"These are the blessings promised to the Jews, / And herein was old Abram's happiness," says Barabas, as he luxuriates amongst his material possessions (1.1.104-105). In designating as God's blessings "these" worldly goods, Barabas discards the genetic restrictions of God's covenant with the Jews in favor of wealth as the primary criterion for Jewishness. Barabas' redefinition of Abraham's blessing de-particularizes it, potentially including under the umbrella of Jewishness anyone who has as many material possessions or values them as much as he does. Why does *The Jew of Malta* contest the prevailing assumption of intrinsic Jewish difference? And why does the play pose that challenge in terms of the Jews' relationship to both religion and material goods? One contemporary work, Nicolas de Nicolay's *The Navigations into Turkie* (1585), claims that "the shops and warehouses the best furnished of all riche sortes of merchandises, which are in Constantinople are those of the Iewes." Just as the Jews in Nicolay's report conduct the same business as many others in Constantinople, but to a striking, more productive effect, Marlowe's contemporaries not only accepted that Jews differed fundamentally from them, but that Jewish difference was distinct from other kinds of difference.

I suggest that one of the chief impulses of *The Jew of Malta* is to reassess the presumption of Jewish particularity, especially within the context of Mediterranean commerce. Whereas the Christian rulers of Malta believe that Jewish difference inheres in both commercial and religious practices—thus Ferneze opts to tax Malta's Jews "like infidels" (1.2.62)—Barabas consistently demonstrates that his practices and the Christians' are identical, and that Christian theology itself depends upon forms of commercial exchange. In short, Barabas functions as a hypocrisy detector. Through him, *The Jew of Malta* creates a definition of Jewishness which is based upon Christian stereotypes of Jews as materialists and literalists, but which, in reality, is almost universally applicable throughout Malta.

I argue that *The Jew of Malta* aligns Jews with the tendencies both to concretize spiritual meanings and to add a spiritual dimension to material goods in order to expose the fundamentally economic logic of religion. In doing so, the play critiques the belief that the worlds of religion and money are distinct and unrelated, and corrects the prevalent attitude that Christians are (or that they even could be) morally superior when operating in an international commercial milieu. Overall, I believe that Jews, whom early modern authors and critics alike so often study because of their racial, ethnic, and religious

differences, should be read, at least within *The Jew of Malta*, as factors of similarity and homogenization.

Uncovering the Poetic Genius of *Dido, Queen of Carthage*
Tony Tambasco, University of Delaware Resident Ensemble Players

Critics have long regarded Christopher Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage* as a crude satire of Vergil's *Aeneid* on the one hand, and a banal stage adaptation of it on the other; in their formulations, Marlowe attempts to subvert Aeneas as hero of his story, and Vergil as poet laureate of the early modern academy. These critics, however, generally fail to account for two vital considerations: the first, that Marlowe, in adapting the material to a different medium, substitutes the dramatic story telling conventions of the early modern stage for the conventions of epic verse that Vergil wrote for. These same scholars also generally fail to account for the *Aeneid*'s incompleteness, and Vergil's sometime ambiguous treatment of his eponymous hero. If modern audiences are ever to appreciate the full range of dramatic possibilities, from tragic to comic, within *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, scholars and practitioners alike must learn to be better readers of both Marlowe's play and his source material.

In this paper, I will examine the development of critical attitudes in recent scholarship towards *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, and will show that most scholars who find Marlowe's Aeneas a faulted hero have ignored either the performative possibilities afforded by early modern stagecraft, corresponding moments in Vergil's epic where Aeneas falls somewhat short of the heroic ideals of Augustan Rome, or both, as is often the case. By reading Marlowe's play in the context of other vernacular adaptations of the *Aeneid* from the medieval period through the Renaissance, I will show that Marlowe was participating in a well-established program of adaptation that both honors and re-appropriates the work of Vergil. By reading *Dido, Queen of Carthage* as the early work of an emerging playwright trying both to honor his source material, and adapt it to a radically different form, I propose that the play is worthy of more serious approaches than recent scholarship would suggest.

In his study: **a study**
Leslie Thomson, University of Toronto

In about twenty-four plays, a character appears "*in his study.*" This paper will survey the common characteristics of such scenes and consider what these shared elements might tell us about the study scene as a staging and dramatic convention. Specific matters to be considered will include: the relationship between real-world studies and those on stage, and between pictorial and theatrical study scenes; magicians in studies; *Doctor Faustus* as example and influence; possible study scenes in lost plays.

"I must speak fair": Speech and Modality in Marlowe's *Edward II*
Rikita Tyson, Harvard University

My paper will examine the connections between characters' perceived ability to speak or command and their use of subjectivity-encoding modal verbs. I posit that utterances like Edward's "I must speak fair" are crucial to the underlying linguistic drama of Edward II, a drama that echoes and even creates the drama of the play's narrative. Characters indicate their senses of speech as a pressing necessity, an impossibility, or a forced requirement by means of their deployment of modals, revealing their understandings of their selves as commanding or under threat from the outside world. Paradoxically, it is the king himself who is most prone to seeing his speech as controlled by others, himself as enforced to "speak fair" and flatter his rebellious nobles, as he gives away his linguistic authority in the attempt to save his crown.

The *Pharsalia* and Marlowe's Sibyl
Sarah Wall-Randell, Wellesley College

In his translation of Book I of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, Marlowe makes an interesting change to the original's account of the various portents of doom that appear to the inhabitants of Rome in advance of civil war. Lucan describes the prophecies of the oracle of Cumae being repeated by the Romans, while the Galli, the priests of Cybele, "whirling their gory hair, cried disaster." Marlowe, however, omits the Galli and transposes the reference to Cumae into their place, making it the "Sibils priests" who "Curling their bloudy lockes, howle dreadfull things" (564-65). Such a revision, placing extra emphasis on the Sibyl, is striking in light of the complex associations sibyls carried for sixteenth-century English readers. For early moderns, the classical sibyls are persistently identified with the ephemerality and untrustworthiness of texts, both in their materiality and as they are transmitted across history—we might think here of the Cumean sibyl, who, in the *Aeneid*, writes her prophecies on leaves that are blown and scattered by the wind, and in Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*, burns her priceless books of prophecy before the astonished Tarquin. The *Oracula Sibyllina* familiar to early modern readers, furthermore, were not those ancient texts at all, which, too, had been lost, but medieval and contemporary reconstructions written with a marked eye toward the present, "foretelling" historical, political and religious events with suspicious accuracy; at the end of the sixteenth century, thanks to new and more rigorous techniques of textual analysis, the Sybilline Oracles were being discredited. Marlowe's choice in the translation subverts some of what we think we know both about his tastes and about the attitudes of educated early modern English readers toward the Classical past. By replacing the colorful, even salacious Galli (transvestite eunuch-priests who ritually castrated themselves in devotion to their goddess) with a potent marker of doubt in the validity and accessibility of ancient texts to Renaissance readers, Marlowe writes not to thrill and titillate but to caution, and his translation becomes less a representation of the way in which Latin poetry was like a second mother tongue to university-educated Englishmen, and more of an emblem of early modern awareness of what a treacherous gulf separated the Classical past from present understanding.

Marlowe's Astrology
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While Ben Jonson famously teased in Shakespeare's First Folio that Shakespeare had "small Latine, and lesse Greeke," the auto-didact Jonson prided himself on his own deep learning, which is obvious in his extensive use of allusion in his dramatic works. In a similar vein, Christopher Marlowe often displayed his Cambridge education in his plays, as he touched upon various intellectual debates of his day. While Shakespeare makes reference to the concept of astrological influence in broad terms (as with the "star-cross'd" Romeo and Juliet), and Ben Jonson humorously depicts London astrologers and frauds and rogues, Marlowe takes a more detailed and intellectual approach to the subjects of astronomy and astrology--the scientific and the mystical--in plays such as *1 Tamburlaine the Great* and *Doctor Faustus*. This paper will examine the extent of Marlowe's apparent knowledge of both fields, the definitions of which were in transition and hotly debated in his day.