The Year's Work in Marlowe Studies: 2021

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Scholars continued to produce thought-provoking and rich studies of Marlowe's works in 2021, although the numbers of book chapters and articles declined from previous years. Last year saw renewed scholarly interest in Marlowe's *The Massacre of Paris*, perhaps prompted by the 450th anniversary of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre (1572). *The Jew of Malta* and *Doctor Faustus* dominated published scholarly considerations of Marlowe's plays. The publication of two new editions of *The Jew* as well as two articles focusing on the treatment of economics within the play reveal the continued relevance of the work and its ability to inspire questions about race, trade, and religious belief. Numerous critics tackled *Doctor Faustus*, exploring not only how medieval works influenced Marlowe's writing of crucial scenes, but also how the work resonates with posthumanist theories and video games. A significant number of studies also considered Ovid's influence on Marlowe's poetry and drama.

The Massacre at Paris

Mathew R. Martin's recent Revels edition of the play demonstrates continuing engagement with *The Massacre* and highlights the work's potential to speak to modern audiences. In his substantial introduction, Martin provides an historical overview of the French Wars of Religion, the assassinations of French nobility on both sides of the religious divide, and the Massacre, which resulted in the deaths of around 3,000 people in Paris alone. Martin also offers a useful summary of the sources Marlowe most likely consulted as well as an overview of scholarship concerning the play. Critical treatment of *The Massacre*, Martin notes, has often "singled out the play's dramatic structure as a major flaw."[1] For Martin, however, the seeming lack of a coherent narrative functions not as a weakness but instead showcases Marlowe's ability to effectively stage trauma and the subsequent willful amnesia required to move forward following horrific

The author wishes to thank Rob Bauer and Darryl Rainbolt for their assistance in facilitating this study.

[1] Christopher Marlowe, *The Massacre at Paris*, ed. Mathew R. Martin, Revels Plays Series (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021), 15.

DOI: 10.7190/jms.3.2023.140-156

events. Martin also discusses early modern religious tolerance as it played out in Marlowe's works and in sixteenth century Europe. He points out that religious toleration at this time was deemed dangerous due to contemporary conceptions of government, which "conflated political and religious unity and authority."[2] *The Massacre*, however, through its subtle critique of political and religious language, revealed the perpetuation of brutality when religious intolerance was used to assert national unity. Martin's introduction furthermore details the play's performance history, including coverage of twenty-first century productions. Substantial footnotes accompany the text, providing useful information about word usage and detailing when Marlowe's text differs from historical sources.

In addition to Martin's Revels edition, two book chapters and an article focused on *The Massacre*. Christopher Archibald examines the Elizabethan response to the 1572 slaughter of French Protestants through a comparison of prose writings, poetry, theological tracts, and dramatic works written in the wake of the Massacre. Noting that most scholarship about English reactions to the event have focused solely on Marlowe's play, Archibald's piece attempts to recover "the rich and complex body of English Protestant texts responding" to the massacre.[3] English Protestant authors, he contends, expressed both sympathy for the murdered Huguenots and fear of their more radical religious viewpoints. In his survey of literary responses to the Massacre, Archibald finds that many English Protestants used pathetic appeals to create a sense of unity with the victims while simultaneously asserting the unique position of England as religiously superior to its European reformed neighbors. Marlowe's play, Archibald argues, challenges earlier textual responses by showing religious language as a rhetorical tool rather than proof of divine providence, distancing viewers from Huguenot suffering, and questioning "nationalized memory by presenting the entangled interests and threats of international relations."[4]

In his monograph exploring antimonarchical thought in early modern England (*Majesty and the Masses in Shakespeare and Marlowe*), Christopher Fitter devotes one chapter to a comparison of *The Massacre* and Shakespeare's *Richard III*. Noting that "trust in monarchy … was generally on the wane by the late sixteenth century and spurred by religious grievances born

[2] Marlowe, *The Massacre*, ed. Martin, 31.
[3] Christopher Archibald, "Remembering the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre in Elizabethan England," *Studies in Philology* 118, no. 2 (2021): 243.
[4] Archibald, "Remembering the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre," 273.

of royal persecution of faith on all sides," Fitter argues that Marlowe's play, while on the surface supportive of royalist aims, subtly critiques the Protestant hero Navarre just as Shakespeare's play deflates the character of Richmond (Henry VII).[5] Although Navarre was popular in England "as a Protestant military champion," in *The Massacre*, Marlowe depicts the French aristocrat as "weepy and weak-spirited" and unready for battle.[6] According to Fitter, Navarre's less than heroic representation in Marlowe stems from the playwright's disdain for England's propagandistic use of the French Wars of religion and unquestioning heroization of Navarre. Indeed, Fitter argues that Marlowe's plays are consistently framed by their "deconsecration of kingship and contempt for piety," which is evidenced most convincingly through Navarre's weak character in *The Massacre*.[7]

Jonathan Patterson also investigates Marlowe's *The Massacre* in a chapter of his monograph, *Villainy in France (1463–1610): A Transcultural Study of Law and Literature*. Focusing on the assassination of King Henri III, which makes up the final scene of Marlowe's play, Patterson argues that while Marlowe "exhibits signs of a subtle engagement with pamphlet polemic" and supports the Protestant position in his play, the ending of the drama highlights Navarre's failure to repair the "weak Valois sovereignty."[8] Marlowe suggests that Paris itself has no hope of peace and that the religious disunity of France will continue despite Navarre's lawful succession.

Edward II

Marlowe's *Edward II* was underrepresented in 2021, although one author did assess Marlowe's depiction of Queen Isabella and his reliance on contemporary historical chronicles to create her character. Allison Machlis Meyer devotes a chapter to Isabella in her monograph, *Telltale Women: Chronicling Gender in Early Modern Historiography*. In it, she argues that Marlowe's queen "emerges as the product of a skillful navigation of available intertexts that is strongly invested in prescribing appropriate queenly behavior as removed from politics, and in censuring

[5] Christopher Fitter, *Majesty and the Masses in Shakespeare and Marlowe: Western Anti-Monarchism, the Earl of Essex Challenge, and Political Stagecraft* (New York: Routledge, 2021), 135.
[6] Fitter, *Majesty and the Masses*, 157.
[7] Fitter, *Majesty and the Masses*, 138
[8] Jonathan Patterson, *Villainy in France (1463-1610): A Transcultural Study of Law and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 216-17.

queenly attempts at civic participation."[9] Marlowe deviates from and strategically uses chronicle sources in his interpretation of the queen. Richard Grafton's *Chronicle*, for instance, valorizes Isabella as a politically active and virtuous queen with justifiable reasons for rebelling against Edward. In Grafton's account not only is Mortimer solely responsible for the death of Edward II, but also the English lords welcome Isabella's interventions and view her as a "victorious rescuer of her people."[10]

The accounts of Raphael Holinshed and John Stow, however, offered a more gender-biased depiction of Isabella, which scholars typically interpret as "negative or neglected."[11] In Holinshed's *Chronicles*, Isabella is consistently depicted as a typical woman who is easily manipulated by others and driven by female whims rather than political goals. Although Isabella suffers under Edward's misgovernment and is manipulated by Mortimer, ultimately Holinshed holds her accountable for her husband's murder. Stow's account likewise depicts Isabella as a licentious woman ruled by personal vengeance and hatred for her husband. Meyers argues that Marlowe selected details from these different accounts of Isabella, making her first a sympathetic victim and then an unnatural and villainous queen. By manipulating the historical narrative, Marlowe effectively provides Isabella with personal and selfish motivations for her actions and showcases how Mortimer controls and manipulates her to his advantage. In short, according to Meyer, Marlowe's version of Isabella serves to remind audiences of the dangers of women's political influence and the hazards of the personal impacting the political.

Tamburlaine

The *Tamburlaine* plays attracted less scholarly interest than usual. In her book chapter in the edited collection *The Literature of Hell*, Laura Seymour explores how the myth of Tantalus influenced three early modern authors: Marlowe, Thomas Dekker, and John Milton. Focusing on the depictions of sensory punishments in hell, Seymour looks closely at Orcanes' curse of Sigismond in Act 2, scene 3 of *Tamburlaine 2*, in which the Muslim king imagines the Christian

[9] Allison Machlis Meyer, *Telltale Women: Chronicling Gender in Early Modern Historiography* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2021), 124.
[10] Meyer, *Telltale Women*, 131.
[11] Meyer, *Telltale Women*, 137.

ruler in hell feeding upon the Zoacum tree.[12] By referring to this tree, Marlowe uses "early modern source materials on Islam and Turkey to present Zoacum as confusingly both delightfully abundant and disgusting."[13] Seymour interprets the inclusion of the tree and its fruit as evoking "the rhythm of Tantalus's torment" through "dual attraction and repulsion."[14] Literary allusions to the Tantalus myth, Seymour suggests, demonstrate that writers imagined hell as filled with not only spiritual torment but also never-ending sensory punishments.

Richard Snyder also considers the *Tamburlaine* plays, arguing that in these works Marlowe highlights an important link between the visual and the performance of political power. Drawing on a range of early modern understandings of "looks," Snyder suggests that the visual signifiers of power relied on both the gaze of the onlooker and the appearance of the individual being looked at. Indeed, for Snyder, "looks and looking function as a framework in which power is gained and maintained."[15] Throughout the two plays, Tamburlaine consistently cultivates looks that motivate his followers, strike fear in his enemies, and perpetuate violence. The importance of his looks, Snyder contends, are further demonstrated by the desires of his enemies to shroud Tamburlaine's looks in order to weaken the ruler's control. Yet, while the titular ruler exemplifies the connections between looks and power through his expert understanding of visuality, Snyder notes that other characters also rely on looks to exercise authority.

The Jew of Malta

During the last year, two single-volume editions of *The Jew of Malta* were published—Frank Kermode's Norton edition and William H. Sherman and Chloe Preedy's Arden edition. Adam Hansen provided an excellent review of these two works in the last volume of the *Journal of Marlowe Studies*, emphasizing the timeliness of the play and the ways that the editors engage with postcolonial theory and early modern understandings of Jewishness.[16]

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[12] Seymour points out that *The Qur'an* describes Zoacum, a tree growing in hell, "as having devils' heads for fruit." Laura Seymour, "The Taste of Food in Hell: Cognition and the Buried Myth of Tantalus in Early Modern English Texts," in *The Literature of Hell*, ed. Margaret Kean (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2021), 80

[13] Seymour, "The Taste of Food in Hell," 80.

[14] Seymour, "The Taste of Food in Hell," 80.

[15] Richard Snyder, "'Looks' as a Framework for princely Power in *Tamburlaine*," *Journal of Marlowe Studies* 2 (2021): 32.

[16] Adam Hansen, review of *The Jew of Malta*, ed. William H. Sherman and Chloe Preedy and *The Jew of Malta*, ed. Lloyd Edward Kermode, Journal of Marlowe Studies 2 (2021): 60–62.

In addition to these new editions, two articles examined the play's treatment of economic relationships and early capitalism. Robert Tinkle argues that "an economics of play" is the central driving force of *The Jew of Malta*.[17] Barabas, rather than exemplifying the stereotypical Jewish merchant is, for Tinkle, a figure of risk who blurs "the boundaries between work and play" and engages in multiple types of labor, both of which reflect nascent mercantile capitalism.[18] Tinkle finds Barabas' playful and risk-taking attitude towards the marketplace similar to the rhetoric used by the speaker of Marlowe's "The Passionate Shepherd." The poem, Tinkle points out, is not just about the speaker's rhetorical power, but also the material goods he offers his beloved. In short, the shepherd tries to seduce the nymph through "a mode of invitation shaped by the appeals (and pressures) of circulating merchandise."[19] Differentiating his argument from Stephen Greenblatt's reading of Barabas as embracing a spirit of "absolute play" that ultimately annihilates the Jew's sense of self, Tinkle interprets Barabas as an active agent who "finds new, albeit illicit, means of reenriching himself after the expropriation of his wealth."[20]

James Marino, in contrast, reads Barabas as "a shockingly bad merchant," who loses interest in making a profit halfway through the play.[21] Although initially consumed by greed, Barabas, rather than amassing wealth, wastes and hoards his monies. Ultimately, Marino suggests that Barabas is best understood via George Bataille's theory of pure expenditure, or "the drive toward loss and waste as ends in themselves."[22] Indeed, Barabas's actions throughout most of the play, Marino argues, are not meant to provide him with profit, but instead to hurt others not only physically but economically. Finally, while recognizing some marked differences in genre and treatment of the Christian protagonists, Marino argues that Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*, through its portrayal of Shylock's desire for revenge above profit, echoes Marlowe's play.

[17] Robert Tinkle, "'To Cast with Cunning'; or, Marlowe's Market Players," *Renaissance Drama* 49, no. 1 (Spring 2021): 1
[18] Tinkle, "'To Cast with Cunning,'" 2.
[19] Tinkle, "'To Cast with Cunning,'" 10.
[20] Tinkle, "'To Cast with Cunning,'" 17. See also Stephen Greenblatt, "Marlowe, Marx, and Anti-Semitism," *Critical Inquiry* 5, no. 2 (1978): 305–306.
[21] James J. Marino, "Stranger to Profit: Waste, Loss, and Sacrifice in *The Jew of Malta*," *English Literary Renaissance* 51, no. 2 (2021): 243.
[22] Marino, "Stranger to Profit," 245.

Doctor Faustus

Doctor Faustus garnered a great deal of critical attention this last year. Dustin Lovett approaches the play by comparing it to a 2015 videogame, *The Witcher 3: Wild Hunt—Hearts of Stone*. Marlowe, Lovett notes, complicated the moral status of Faustus by making him sympathetic, not innately evil, and more interested in carrying out pranks than committing diabolical crimes. Marlowe's Mephistopheles, likewise, is less fiendish than the demon in the original narrative as he continually warns Faustus of the dangers awaiting him. What is most threatening about Mephistopheles, for Lovett, is his ability to know Faustus's inner mind. The neomedieval game *The Witcher 3* offers a story expansion edition called *Hearts of Stone*, which "bears explicit thematic similarities to *Doctor Faustus*" as it includes a man who gave his soul to a demonic being in exchange for eternal life.[23] Both narratives, Lovett points out, have similar plot points, including humans making foolish bargains, demons' ability to predict human behavior, and warnings about the dangers of making deals with devils. Ultimately, the main protagonists of both stories are transformed because they sold their souls; Faustus becomes "a creature of immediate satisfaction" and loses sight of his dreams and ambitions and Olgierd loses his ability to feel love.[24]

In his article Robert Sawyer offered a posthumanist reading of *Faustus* and Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, arguing that both plays introduce audiences to scientists who believe they control their worlds but are actually "on the same ontological level with other objects" or "actants."[25] In Faustus, the protagonist may initially act as the agent by summoning Mephistopheles, but eventually he becomes entangled with the devils. For Sawyer, Faustus's speech act that conjures Mephistopheles with its references to lines and circles bears similarities to today's algorithmic coding processes. Furthermore, Sawyer argues that Faustus' agency after signing a pact with Lucifer "becomes distributed through the network of beings in the play," much like the modern power grid described by Jane Bennett as an "assemblage."[26] In short,

[23] Lovett, Dustin. "If You Only Knew: Mephistopheles, Master Mirror, and the Experience of Evil," in *Performativity of Villainy and Evil in Anglophone Literature and Media*, ed. Nizar Zouidi (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), 16.
[24] Lovett, "If You Only Knew," 32.
[25] Sawyer, Robert. "'Forward and Backward': Actants and Agency in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* and Shakespeare's *The Tempest*," *Multicultural Shakespeare: Translation, Appropriation and Performance* 24, no. 39 (2021): 106.
[26] Sawyer, "'Forward and Backward,'" 110–11. Bennett defines assemblages as "ad hoc groupings of diverse elements, of vibrant materials of all sorts. Assemblages are living, throbbing confederations that are able to function despite the persistent of energies that confound them from within." See Jane Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 23–24.

Faustus, and even Mephistopheles, become "ensnared in a network" as they are continually controlled by a system beyond their understanding.[27]

Both Darragh Greene and Kathryn Walls explored Marlowe's allusions to and reliance on medieval works in *Doctor Faustus*. Greene, in his article, notes the probability of Marlowe's use of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, arguing that Marlowe's Mephistopheles bears similarities to the yeoman-devil in *The Friar's Tale* while Faustus is akin to the Pardoner. In *The Friar's Tale* the summoner asks the yeoman-devil a number of questions about the location of hell and the appearance of devils, which Greene views as a possible model for Faustus' analogous questions to Mephistopheles. Additionally, like the Pardoner, Faustus participates in a "partial reading of the Bible," which allows both men to manipulate scripture for their own ends.[28] Marlowe's work differs from Chaucer's, though, in terms of theology because Chaucer focuses on the possibility of salvation while Marlowe offers audiences "a tragic vision of spiritual life."[29]

Walls also sees links to medieval works in *Doctor Faustus* and argues that the Chester Corpus Christi Play, "The Last Judgement," may have been a model for the final scene of Marlowe's play. Arguing that the mysteries rather than the moralities served as the basis of Marlowe's medievalism, Walls reads Faustus's final consideration whether to ask God for mercy and his vision of Christ's blood "streaming in the firmament" as an echo of "The Last Judgement," which vividly depicted Jesus' blood flowing from his side. Additionally, Walls points to Faustus's statements in this final act, noting their similarity to the words of Christ in this section of the Corpus Christi Play, which, like Faustus, note that it is too late to repent.[30]

In their book chapter from the edited collection *Visions and Voice-Hearing in Medieval and Early Modern Contexts*, Laurie Maguire and Aleksandra Thostrup explore how the different texts of *Faustus* represent the main character's internal mind and ability to hear voices. Arguing that the B-text's "revisions cut down Faustus' interiority, reduce his agency and transfer that agency to external forces," the authors note that only in the A-text does Faustus answer the

[27] Sawyer, "'Forward and Backward,'" 111.
[28] Darragh Greene, "'Thou shalt known of oure privetee / Moore than a maister of dyvynytee': Devils and Damnation in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*," *Comparative Drama* 55, nos. 2–3 (Summer & Fall 2021): 174.
[29] Greene, "'Thou shalt known,'" 168.
[30] Kathryn Walls, "'See, See, Where Christ's Blood Streams in the Firmament': Marlowe's Recollection of a Corpus Christi Doomsday Pageant," *Notes and Queries* 68, no. 1 (March 2021): 84–87.

voices he hears in his head.[31] The A-text, Maguire and Thostrup show, includes Faustus's responses to his own inward voice, which is missing from the B-text in which "the devils are more vocal and interactive."[32] Additionally, the B-text includes an eighteen-line scene before the epilogue, which explicitly tells the audience that Faustus is the one responsible for his own damnation. Thus, the authors read the A-text as providing the audience with the ability to determine their own spiritual interpretation of the play, while the B-text's revisions guide the reader to a specific (and more conservative) theological understanding of *Faustus*.

Katherine Walker focuses on how early modern concepts of demonic time play out in *Faustus*. The play, she suggests "dwells on the hubris of attempting to align demonic temporality with human expectations."[33] Exploring demonological texts as well as the *ars moriendi* tradition, Walker reveals that for Marlowe's contemporaries Satan and his minions operated both within and outside of the framework of human linear time and had the ability to insert themselves directly into human affairs. Within the play, however, Faustus fails to fully comprehend demonic time and instead deludes himself that he commands time. Thus, although Mephistopheles continually warns Faustus of human mortality and even demonic temporality's subjugation to divine edicts, the doctor fails to comprehend and continually desires distractions to avoid contemplation of eternity. For Walker, the end of the play exposes "the implications of what aligning human and preternatural times means," as Faustus at last understands that he is now subject to an eternity of damnation.[34]

Dido, Queen of Carthage

Only one article in 2021 concentrated solely on *Dido, Queen of Carthage*. Andrew McCarthy attended to male mourning in his exploration of *Dido* which, he contends, "stages a well-known account of remembering and negotiating traumatic loss" through its focus on Aeneas's laments.[35] Early modern grief, McCarthy notes, was controlled by ritual and often performative with many

[31] Laurie Maguire and Aleksandra Thostrup, "'Fearful Echoes Thunder in Mine Ears': Hearing Voices in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*," in *Visions and Voice-Hearing in Medieval and Early Modern Contexts* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), 257.
[32] Maguire and Thostrup, "'Fearful Echoes,'" 265.
[33] Katherine Walker, "Demonic Temporality in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*," *Journal of Marlowe Studies* 2 (2021): 3.
[34] Walker, "Demonic Temporality," 19.
[35] Andrew D. McCarthy, "Reforming Grief, Christopher Marlowe, and the Masculine Lament," *Reformation* 26, no. 2 (2021): 135.

reformed theologians advising male grievers to practice self-control and avoid overt public displays of mourning. Marlowe's works, however, "feature prolonged scenes of mourning," often performed by men, showing that Marlowe was interested in contemporary debates about the role of public male grief.[36] Within *Dido*, Aeneas's tears and sighs, which the character frequently highlights, are contrasted not with those of other men, but of women. Because of his communal outpouring of grief, Aeneas is frequently judged by other characters as less masculine and estranged from himself. Dido, in particular, pleads with Aeneas to remember who he is and to compose himself. Only after Aeneas recounts the tragic events of the Trojan War is he able to regain control and assert his masculine identity. Ultimately, for McCarthy, Marlowe's decision to present Aeneas as a mourning figure questions "attempts at reforming the moment of death from a ritualistic outpouring of grief to a carefully controlled expression of Protestant belief."[37]

In his article, Christopher Murray considers both *Dido* and the *Tamburlaine* plays in relation to the Promethean imagination. Relying on Denis Donoghue's understanding of the term, which views Prometheus's gift to human society as a subversive self-consciousness, Murray argues that Marlowe's plays defy orthodox belief systems and complicate the responses of viewers and readers through their often ambiguous portrayals of motivation, belief, and authority. Indeed, Marlowe's concept of Prometheus as "a rebel against orthodoxy," Murray argues, "powered his characterization, form and language, amounting to an attack both on contemporary notions of allegory … and of dramatic theory."[38] In *Dido*, for instance, Marlowe reworks Virgil's epic, crafting a tragedy focused on the betrayal of the Carthaginian queen, which works to destabilize the heroic narrative of Aeneas as honorable founder of Rome and honor the subversive and overpowering passion of Dido. Likewise, Murray reads Marlowe's depiction of Tamburlaine as a sublime but amoral hero as Promethean. Readers and viewers alike, he suggests, admire Tamburlaine's energy, ambition, and prowess, while struggling with his blasphemy and violence.

[36] McCarthy, "Reforming Grief," 129.
[37] McCarthy, "Reforming Grief," 144.
[38] Christopher Murray, "Playing with Promethean Fire: *Dido, Queen of Carthage* and *Tamburlaine the Great*," *Journal of Marlowe Studies* 2 (2021): 44–45.

Lucan's First Book

In a brief piece on *Lucan's First Book*, Cristiano Ragni closely examines Marlowe's word choices in the translation, suggesting that the work may have engaged with contemporary French religious and political issues. Usually viewed by scholars as immature juvenilia, *Lucan's First Book*, Ragni notes, was registered in 1593 and shows linguistic similarities to *The Massacre at Paris*. Indeed, Ragni finds that "numerous lines in *Lucan's First Book* seem to echo passages from some of the pamphlets on the French wars of religions that Marlowe likely used as sources for his *Massacre*."[39] Marlowe's use of the word "rampire" is a case in point—a word imported from the French and found in one of the most prominent accounts of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre. Consideration of *Lucan's First Book* as a later work with connections to *The Massacre*, Ragni proposes, may provide useful future avenues for research.

Hero and Leander

Abdulhamit Arvas explores Marlowe's use of the classical trope of the abducted boy in *Hero and Leander*, asking why, in a heteronormative poem, Marlowe included a queer subplot and why the narrative is set in the Hellespont, which was known for piracy and trade during the early modern era. Abducted boys, or those "who were forcibly dislocated from their native lands through enslavement, captivity, recruitment, or kidnapping, and often eroticized as sexually available beautiful boys or Ganymedes," were not just figures of myth or history.[40] Instead, abductions and trade in boys occurred frequently in the Ottoman Mediterranean during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which Marlowe likely read about in travelogues. These beautiful boys or Ganymedes were not just tropes in Ottoman literature, but instead "a distinct social class of boys who were objects of love in homosocially structured early modern Istanbul."[41] Arvas argues that Marlowe mentions the Ganymede figure in both *Dido* and *Edward II*, but his use of Ganymede in *Hero and Leander* is not incidental, instead reflecting real-life events in the Mediterranean world. Marlowe, Arvas suggests, provides Leander with an agency often denied these boys as he

[39] Cristiano Ragni, "Finding the Sources for Marlowe's Lucan: A Lexicographical Proposal," *Notes and Queries* 68, no. 1 (March 2021): 82.
[40] Abdulhamit Arvas, "Leander in the Ottoman Mediterranean: The Homoerotics of Abduction in the Global Renaissance." *English Literary Renaissance* 51, no. 1 (Winter 2021): 32.
[41] Arvas, "Leander in the Ottoman Mediterranean," 39–40.

is able to "resist the adult male appropriation, providing not a fully submissive Ganymede, but merely a Ganymede-effect."[42]

Marlowe as Playwright

Questions concerning Marlowe's biography, literary output, and posthumous reputation continue to interest scholars. Lukas Erne, in his article, "Disintegrating Marlowe," argues that Marlowe's works are often collaborative, sometimes unfinished, and even possibly misattributed to Marlowe, even though critics usually view his works as unified and the output of one individual. While modern scholars tend to recognize the collaborative writings of Shakespeare, Erne finds that "the force of mythography still prevents the establishment of a similarly complex view of Marlowe."[43] Therefore, in order to "disintegrate" Marlowe, or question the attribution of parts of his plays and poems, Erne examines each surviving work currently acknowledged as Marlowe's. *Doctor Faustus*, he finds, has been identified by scholars as written with a collaborator, possibly Thomas Nashe or Samuel Rowley. The *Tamburlaine* plays, although alluded to as Marlowe's work by his contemporaries, were published without attribution until 1632. Likewise, many scholars doubt Marlowe's sole authorship of *The Jew of Malta*, some arguing that Thomas Kyd penned sections. Erne notes that *Dido, Queen of Carthage*'s original title page attributes the work to Marlowe and Nashe and that the extant text of *The Massacre at Paris* "bears obvious signs of corruption."[44] *Edward II*, though, he admits, is most likely "a sole-authored dramatic text, preserved essentially in its entirety."[45] Erne also contends that Marlowe may have written or contributed to a number of other plays beyond the accepted seven works, including *The Maiden's Holiday*, and *Lust's Dominion*, and is now widely regarded as the partial author of the *Henry VI* plays. Thus, Marlowe, Erne insists, "is more collaborative" and his works "have much rougher edges than Marlowe studies have liked to believe."[46] Erne extends his examination to Marlowe's poetry and translations, finding many of these texts fragmentary or not consistently recognized as Marlowe's work by his contemporaries. Thus, Erne concludes that "the impression of a well-defined and well-delimited Marlowe corpus may be an illusion."[47]

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[42] Arvas, "Leander in the Ottoman Mediterranean," 60.
[43] Lukas Erne, "Disintegrating Marlowe," *Studies in Philology* 119, no. 2 (Spring 2021): 274.
[44] Erne, "Disintegrating Marlowe," 286.
[45] Erne, "Disintegrating Marlowe," 287.
[46] Erne, "Disintegrating Marlowe," 290.
[47] Erne, "Disintegrating Marlowe," 295

Andrew Hadfield also explores the possibility of Marlowe's collaborative writing, arguing that the relationship between Marlowe and Nashe "did much to establish the nature of literary writing in the latter years of Elizabeth's reign."[48] Although scholars typically remember Nashe as a prose writer, Hadfield contends that Nashe was a significant playwright. He either co-wrote or played a substantial role in the publication of *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, wrote the first act of Shakespeare's *Henry VI, Part One*, and most likely co-authored with Jonson the lost play, *The Isle of Dogs*. His working relationship with Marlowe, Hadfield believes, is key to understanding early modern literary collaboration. Both men shared literary interests and attended colleges in the same town. Nashe may also have written an epitaph to Marlowe "that was attached to editions of *Dido*, but which has now been unfortunately lost."[49] Nashe also paid tribute to Marlowe in a number of his prose works, including *Lenten Stuff* and *The Unfortunate Traveller*. While it is possible that Nashe exaggerated the relationship in order to garner publicity for his works, Hadfield notes that Nashe consistently and publicly linked himself to Marlowe. Difficulties lie, though, in establishing Nashe's co-authorship of plays, despite his name's inclusion on the initial publication of *Dido*. Only one sample of his dramatic work remains, and recent stylometric analyses have cast doubt on Nashe's involvement in the composition of *Dido*. Yet, for Hadfield, the connection between the two men is evident: "Even if we think that there is no surviving trace of evidence which definitely links Nashe to Marlowe in life, we surely need to acknowledge the younger writer's efforts to claim literary kinship with the dead poet."[50]

Marlowe and Ovid

Attending to Ovid's influence on Marlowe's poetry and dramatic works remained a rich area of scholarship this last year. In *Wit's Treasury: Renaissance England and the Classics*, Stephen Orgel argues that Marlowe "modeled his career on the transgressive Ovid."[51] Marlowe's translation of Ovid's *Amores*, *All Ovid's Elegies*, chronicled extramarital sexual desire and the morally questionable pursuit of pleasure. Likewise, *Hero and Leander* offers readers a depiction

[48] Andrew Hadfield, "Marlowe and Nashe," *English Literary Renaissance* 51, no. 2 (2021): 190.
[49] Hadfield, "Marlowe and Nashe," 196.
[50] Hadfield, "Marlowe and Nashe," 216.
[51] Stephen Orgel, *Wit's Treasury: Renaissance England and the Classics* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021), 29.

of blatant sexuality that Orgel reads as subversive in its sympathetic celebration of illicit love—both hetero- and homosexual. While adapted from a work of the Greek poet Musaeus, the epyllion echoes Ovid's style and, for Orgel, represents "the best expression of the Ovidian world view in English."[52] Marlowe's life, like that of Ovid, was popularly characterized as subversive and immoral, and his writing, Orgel contends, contained similar elements, but with a passion and beauty that made them both acceptable and influential.

Heather James, in her monograph, *Ovid and the Liberty of Speech in Shakespeare's England*, also explores the Roman poet's impact on Marlowe's work, contending that not only in his translations and poetic works, but also in his plays, Marlowe fashioned Ovidian narratives. For James, "the stories and desires of such historical and legendary figures as Tamburlaine, Edward II, Doctor Faustus, Dido, and Leander" are connected to an erotic desire "worth dying for."[53] From Tamburlaine's erotic elegies to Zenocrate's power over his martial yearnings to Gaveston's imaginative and sensual description of a masque based on the tale of Actaeon, Marlowe's adherence to an Ovidian model of erotic freedom is evident. James, though, reads *Doctor Faustus* as the most Ovidian of Marlowe's works. In the final act of the play, Faustus, she notes, has put aside his necromantic books and instead alludes to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which "casts human experience as a perpetual and often creative struggle to elude the power of arbitrary and destructive gods."[54] Rather than allow himself to despair, Faustus spends his final hours trying to fashion his own identity by having Mephistopheles conjure up Helen of Troy. James argues that the image of Helen, rather than allowing Faustus to stall time, lets Faustus experience liberty from the constraints of human experience. Indeed, James notes, from the beginning of the play, Faustus "has been framed by … three Ovidian figures of invention, aspiration, and punishment that Ovid in his exile poetry uses to describe himself."[55]

In his article, A. D. Olson attends to the influence of Ovid's *Heroides* and the school exercises, *ethopoeia*, on Marlowe's plays. *Ethopoeia*, Olson explains "required students to write and perform first-person speeches and letters from the perspective of historical or literary characters"; these exercises, often modeled on Ovid's *Heroides*, were meant to explore the

[52] Orgel, *Wit's Treasury*, 27.
[53] Heather James, *Ovid and the Liberty of Speech in Shakespeare's England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 73.
[54] James, *Ovid and the Liberty of Speech*, 86.
[55] James, *Ovid and the Liberty of Speech*, 94.

interiority and desires of the speakers rather than judge their decisions.[56] Olson contends that *ethopoeia* allowed the young Marlowe to practice creating fictional characters with rich inner lives, which he then used in his plays to generate audience sympathy for tragic figures such as Dido and Faustus. To make these characters' speeches moving to audiences, Marlowe also used *ethopoetic tria tempora*, a technique used by Ovid, to explore the characters' pasts through memories, presents through a moment of decision, and futures through their desires and fears.[57]

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[56] A. D. Olson, "Elegiac Ethopoeia in Marlowe's *Dido Queene of Carthage* and *Doctor Faustus*," *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 21, no. 2 (Spring 2021): 85.
[57] Olson, "Elegiac Ethopoeia," 87.

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