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“Tragical History” and “Tragedy” as Inquisitive Vehicles: Examining the Implications of Marlowe’s Two Faustus Texts

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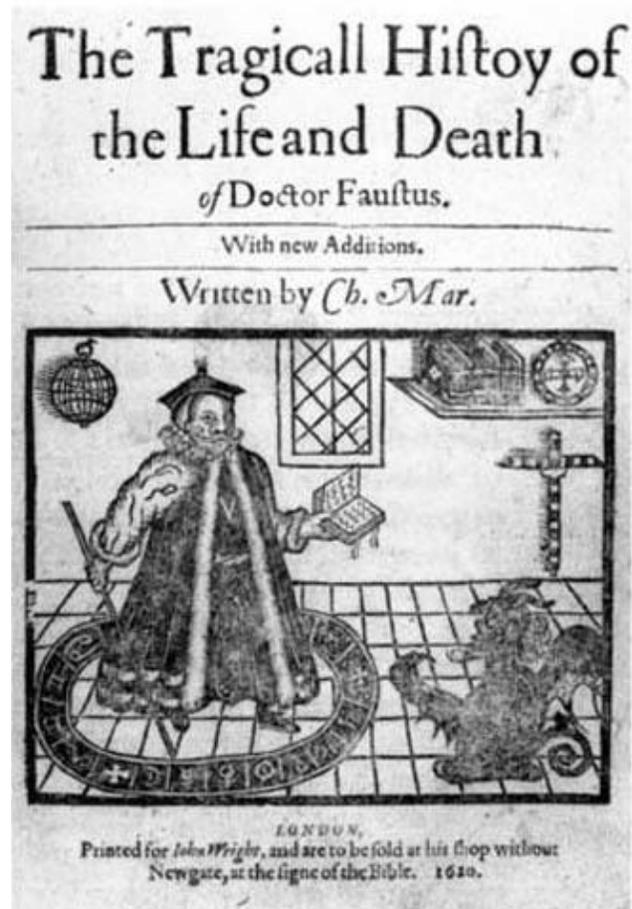
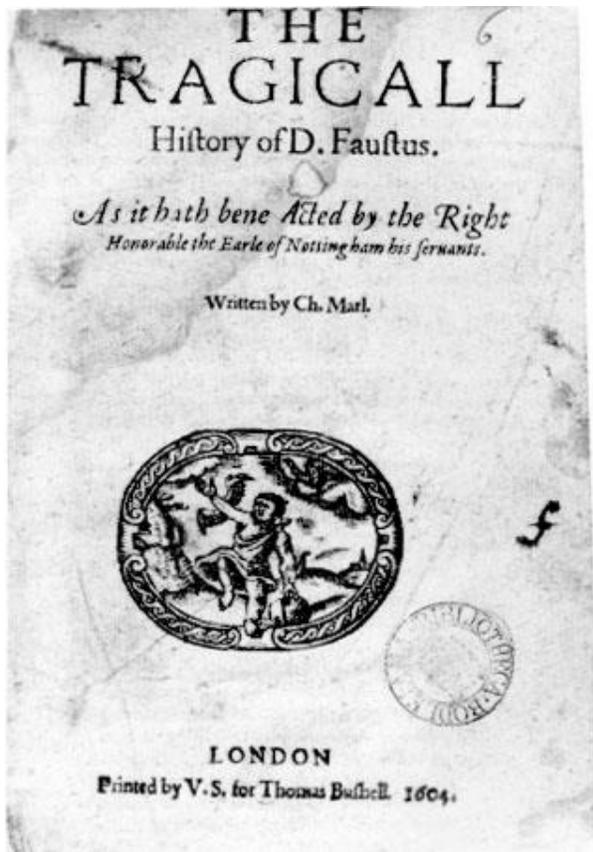
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“Tragical History” and “Tragedy” as Inquisitive Vehicles: Examining the Implications of Marlowe’s Two *Faustus* Texts



Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* has presented critics with much to debate. The play, a retelling of the Faust legend in which a man sells his soul to the devil in exchange for twenty-four years of satanic assistance in all his endeavors, remains controversial to this day. Furthermore, there are two immensely different versions of the play: the "A-Text," first published in 1604 (over a decade after Marlowe's death), and the "B-Text," published in 1616 (over two decades after the author's death). Several questions have risen regarding the two texts, the most prominent of which center on authenticity: either one of the two is the "true" or "more authentic" version, or that the two texts are based on a lost original, then both are mere fragments of the same whole and each fleshed out into full stories. These debates account for a considerable amount of the critical discussion regarding *Doctor Faustus*. I argue that neither of these questions are appropriate. Instead, I offer a simple critical fiction: what if Christopher Marlowe did, in fact, author both the A-Text and the B-Text?¹ What would be the implications of two different, yet equally "authentic," plays penned by the same hand? Proceeding with this fiction, I argue that Christopher Marlowe authored two distinct versions of the same tale to explore various questions and uncertainties on humanity and the afterlife contemporary to his time. I refer to these equally authentic texts as "inquisitive vehicles."

I am not suggesting that Marlowe maintained supreme authorial control over the two texts, especially considering that events in each version refer to occurrences that postdate the playwright's death. The all-too-common occurrences of plagiarism and censorship in Elizabethan drama would further weaken such a claim. Though the play company known as the Admiral's Men possessed a "fair" copy of the text(s), the mere act of performing the play shaped and reshaped the text(s), just as Marlowe's writing shaped and reshaped the performance. Thus,

details were naturally added, omitted, and altered; similar arguments are made regarding William Shakespeare's plays.

Theorists such as David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen further suggest that “the A-text was . . . set in type from an original authorial manuscript composed of interleaved scenes written by Marlowe and a collaborating playwright, and . . . the B-text represents a version of the play that had been extensively revised more than a decade after Marlowe's death.”² This theory is strengthened when one considers that the B-Text was “advertised in 1619 as ‘With new Additions’”³ Yet, this is but one theory. There are many others which support it, but also those (such as the one held by W.W. Greg) which suggest that the A-Text is too far beneath Marlowe to actually be his.

However, I see no contradiction between this common practice of redesigning old texts and my theory. Theorists such as W.W. Greg suggest that both versions may have been performed almost simultaneously, suggesting that the alternative versions existed side-by-side as plays. I also direct attention to *Tamburlaine* Parts I and II. Christopher Marlowe saw an opportunity to capitalize on a popular production (*Tamburlaine*) with a sequel, thereby creating *Tamburlaine Part II*. It is not unreasonable to suppose that such a man would not shy away from the opportunity to “remake” one of his most successful plays. (There is certainly no way to create a “*Faustus Part II*.”) Finally, one must ask the simple question: out of all the “conflated texts” of every Elizabethan play ever written in more than one form, why have we yet to combine the existing texts into a functioning, credible composite version? The texts have unquestionably been altered, but (as I will discuss in my first chapter) these alterations were often made to preserve Marlowe's distinct style of both writing and theatre. Indeed, I believe that any past alterations

support my critical fiction: Marlowe's inquisitive vehicles were not produced to conduct his own views alone, but to facilitate discussion among all the skeptics and faithful.⁴

My thesis involves much more than simply a side-by-side comparison of the two *Faustus* texts. I will begin by recounting and examining the ongoing debates over Christopher Marlowe and *Doctor Faustus*. This will entail viewing and discussing different critics who have previously debated (and still debate) the possible interpretations and implications of the two texts; in particular, I will focus on the debate over which is the "better"/"truer"/"more authentic" text and the belief that the two texts are actually remnants of the true original. This examination of preexisting criticism will account for my first chapter, and will conclude with my tentative placement of this thesis within the ongoing *Faustus* debates according to its relationship with the preexisting theories and a more concise definition of what an inquisitive vehicle is and does.

For my second chapter, I will provide an in-depth examination of how skepticism and "political religion" granted Christopher Marlowe the desire and ability to create inquisitive vehicles.⁵ Again, I am not arguing that Christopher Marlowe's life and lifestyle directly influenced *Doctor Faustus*, but that Marlowe's life experiences (especially his time at Cambridge) directly acquainted him with skepticism and thereby affected his handling of the Faust legend.⁶ This examination will begin with Marlowe's father moving to Canterbury, reference Christopher Marlowe's childhood, examine his time at Cambridge, and discuss his time as a spy. This chapter will also include an examination of the ways in which religion and atheism were viewed and defined during Christopher Marlowe's lifetime.

Finally, my third chapter will be devoted exclusively to *Doctor Faustus*. Having examined the current state of the debate(s) over the texts and placed the author's skeptical mentality in its

proper context, I will offer my comparison of certain parts of the A-Text and B-Text. By no means will this be a full analysis: rather than going through both texts and indicating every difference (a task which cannot be properly completed within the confines of my thesis), I will focus on a few key differences which present the greatest ideological variation. For example, I will focus on the infamous “never too late, if Faustus [*can* in the A-Text, but *will* in the B-Text] repent” rather than the sanitization of Robin’s jokes; the former offers a question of predestination in contrast to a sinner’s willingness to forgive, while the latter could simply be censorship.

Thus, I now begin my examination of “[t]he form of Faustus’ fortunes, good or bad.”⁷

Chapter One: The Authenticity Argument, the Conflation Debate, and a New Theory

I cannot begin with an examination of the two *Faustus* texts, or even an examination of Christopher Marlowe's life. Like the eponymous doctor, I must first "settle [my] studies" (A and B 1.1.1). This is undeniably necessary, as my thesis stems from the ongoing debates over the two texts. It is a new theory which I offer. To properly ground and present it, I must briefly recount and examine some aspects of the ongoing debates.

In my introduction, I mentioned the two main debates over the *Faustus* texts which I will examine: the "authenticity argument" and the "conflation debate." Interestingly, both arguments rely on one major aspect of the texts: authenticity. For my purposes, *authenticity* refers to the extent to which the two *Faustus* texts can still be considered Christopher Marlowe's works.⁸ It is also a major aspect of the two texts which theorists refer to in the debate over authorship: "Marlowe's authorship of this text is stronger/weaker than the other text, therefore this version is more/less authentic."

This quest for authenticity in the *Faustus* texts leads directly to the "authenticity argument." In the past, critics have compared the two texts in hopes of determining one to be "superior." If and when it is discovered, the superior version is often said to be more Marlovian. This is the authenticity argument's tragic flaw: what is Marlovian?⁹ Despite the brevity of his career and the obsessiveness of his interest in certain topics, Christopher Marlowe is (at the very least) a talented writer. A theorist *can*, to some extent, identify different aspects of the playwright's works as "Marlovian" or "not Marlovian": reoccurring themes, sentence structure, rhyme scheme, specific imagery, and so on. However, doing so might lead the theorist to reject certain parts of the text as "non-Marlovian" when they were in fact instances of the credited author experimenting with a new

style.¹⁰ Indeed, Marlowe's style cannot be properly condensed into a formula against which texts can be tested to check how "Marlowian" (as Greg says) they are.¹¹ No comparison can be identified without a "control" of sorts, and no control can be identified without several deeply subjective judgements.

A question: would the true Marlovian *Doctor Faustus* contain neat, precise blank verse, or would errors "throw off" the blank verse in places? If one were to believe the former theory, he/she could argue that a poet of Marlowe's status would have no trouble constructing proper blank verse and complex stage directions in order to create a grandiose spectacle of a play (or, as critics such as Leah Marcus call it, "the Marlowe effect.")¹² He would not struggle with broken stanzas, which the A-Text boasts in abundance. Yet, it is equally valid to assume that Christopher Marlowe wrote only a rough draft (the "bad quarto") of the play: one could even argue that Marlowe lacked the time to edit and "repair" his work while completing his B.A. in three years and working as a spy for the English crown. (As I will discuss in the next chapter, he would not have received his M.A. had it not been for the Privy Council's intervention.)

What I have just done is constructed two sample "Marlovian standards." If applied to the overall debate, the first standard would suggest that the original is a "neat" text: thus, the B-Text is considered superior. However, the second standard favors a deeply meaningful "bad quarto" as the original and thereby touts the A-Text as superior. To demonstrate how subjective Marlovian standards can hamper debate over the *Faustus* texts, I will examine the downfall of the two critical arguments.

W.W. Greg and the B-Text: "And Melting [Dogmas] Conspired His Overthrow"

In 1950, W.W. Greg published *Marlowe's Doctor Faustus: 1604-1616*. Though no longer

current, it is exemplary in presenting the now-defunct argument for the A-Text's lack of authenticity (and, by extension, the B-Text's supremacy). W.W. Greg presents a discussion of the two texts, then the two texts side-by-side. In addition to restoring the two texts to their original Elizabethan forms (Greg even preserves the printer's choice of occasionally using two "V" blocks in place of a capital "W"), he provides his own painstaking commentary on the two dramas. Through this meticulous researching, he concludes that the A-Text is "a reported text of the type . . . commonly known as 'bad quartos.'"13

After careful analysis of the A-Text, W.W. Greg offers a "fair deduction from the evidence gathered" that it

appears to be a version prepared for the less critical and exigent audiences of provincial towns, and prepared, not in an orderly manner by making cuts and alterations in the authorized prompt-book, but by memorial reconstruction from the [original] London performance . . . This report or reproduction serves as a new prompt-book for provincial performance, and in the course of its use as such it suffered further degeneration, partially by the insertion of bits of gag, sometimes of a topical sometimes of an unseemly character, that had proved attractive to a vulgar audience, but also by provision for further shortening and simplification as time or the dwindling resources of the company demanded. (Greg 60)¹⁴

This is, unquestionably, a strong theory. All differences between the two texts (the A-Text's shorter length, frequency of obscene jokes, simplified stage directions, decidedly less polished dialogue, anachronistic cultural references, and instances of slight variations in diction) are taken into account. Furthermore, Greg declares that "if [his] conjecture is wrong, or if the reader is

disinclined to accept it, no harm will be done, for [he] build[s] nothing upon it” (60). In short, W.W. Greg offers this hypothetical birth of the A-Text, not as dogma, but as proof that such a process was possible and reasonable. I cannot criticize Greg for his critical fiction, but I must point out the problematic information on which it is based.

Unfortunately, W.W. Greg’s impressive research has come under much attack since it was first published. Critics such as Michael Warren note that Greg’s theory (like any theory of authenticity, I would argue) “reflect matters of judgement rather than scientific observation.”¹⁵ This is to be expected when “a hypothetical Marlovian perfection” (Warren 143) has been established by the theorist. Warren goes on to note “the extent to which criticism of details of A is often unfounded” (144). For the sake of clarity and brevity, I divide the criticism of Greg’s research into two categories: favoritism and oversimplification.

Warren directly attacks W.W. Greg’s favoring of the B-Text. He notes Greg’s statement that “once revision in the prompt-book is established it is possible to see other instances [of the A-Text’s inferiority]” (Greg 81) and counters that “the contrary is equally true and equally valid: “when someone recognizes that a line may not be corrupt, many others cease to look corrupt”” (Warren 143). W.W. Greg conducted his research according to a distinct Marlovian standard of his own design: namely, a New Critical format which strongly favors the B-Text.¹⁶ What if W.W. Greg examined the two texts through a different standard, one which favored Marlowe’s ability to write internalized scenes and a “creative” approach to religious dogma?¹⁷ Even if this shift would not lead him to favor the A-Text, Greg would certainly be less certain of the B-Text’s supremacy.

Once Greg began “listen[ing] to the siren-call of [his] own hypotheses” (Warren 143), it should be expected that he would simplify in his analysis of the two texts. Simplification is not

inherently wrong (I have simplified, and will continue to simplify, many ideas and arguments in my thesis “for the sake of clarity and brevity”), but it can be dangerous. Many of Greg’s simplifications reflect variations in diction between the two texts, and his favoring of the B-Text naturally leads him to simplify these variations in the A-Text as mistakes. In doing so, he ignores the radically different messages present in the two texts, which are actually of such great importance that I will devote a sizable portion of my third chapter to examining and discussing them.

Again, Warren draws attention to several instances of Greg’s oversimplification. In one instance, he focuses on Greg’s criticism of a line near the end of the play, in which Faustus declares (in the B-Text) that “this is the time, and [Lucifer] will fetch mee” (W.B. line 1962); the A-Text presents the line as “the time wil come, and [Lucifer] wil fetch mee” (W.A. line 1428). W.W. Greg criticizes the A-Text’s version, stating that “[o]bviously, if the date was expired, the time had come” (45). Warren counters: “[e]qually obviously, one might reply, even if the “date” has “expired,” Faustus still awaits Lucifer’s arrival” (147).¹⁸ Warren goes on to clarify that “[b]oth texts betray Faustus’ confused, hysterical anticipation of the awful event by the clash of present and future tenses” (147). When faced with Michael Warren’s criticism, W.W. Greg’s argument quickly crumbles.

The Conflation Argument: “Glutted Now With Learning’s Golden Gifts”

While W.W. Greg is still widely praised for his contributions to research in general (and rightfully so), the conclusions he draws from his analysis of the two *Faustus* texts have suffered a fall from favor of Luciferean proportions. It is no surprise then that the authenticity argument has diminished in popularity. This marked the rise of the conflation debate. Leah Marcus provides a

particularly colorful visualization of the frustration inherent in “the scholarly industry devoted to the recovery or reconstruction of a lost Marlovian “original” for *Doctor Faustus*” in her essay, “Textual Instabilities and Ideological Difference: The Case of Doctor Faustus” (38). She discusses a dream of a construction site yielding “an autograph copy of *The Tragical Historie of Doctor Faustus* inscribed at the end “as written by me, Christofer Marly, 1592. Terminat hora diem, terminat Author opus.”” (Marcus 38). Indeed, such a discovery would “resolve [us] of all ambiguities” (A 1.1.80, B 1.1.76) regarding *Doctor Faustus*.

Interestingly, Marcus also advocates that we “step back from the fantasy of recovering Marlowe as the mighty, controlling source of textual production” (41). This too should be expected in the wake of the authenticity argument’s decrease in popularity: often (and this is certainly true of W.W. Greg), the Marlovian standards constructed in authenticity arguments are bound to form rather than content. If one concedes that Christopher Marlowe played a diminished role in the two texts’ creation, new theories can be promoted. This leads to theories such as mine, but also to the conflation debate. While this debate is undoubtedly a step forward from the authenticity argument (the two texts are no longer pitted against each other) it is still deeply flawed.

Though they differ in their thoughts on its authenticity, Michael Warren and W.W. Greg agree that the B-Text is potentially a “reported text” copied from an original manuscript. Warren also notes that the “original” manuscript for *Doctor Faustus* “may never have been complete” (153). Leah Marcus, like Warren, advocates “a separation of the two texts of *Doctor Faustus*” (41), but dangerously goes on to note that “the precise cause of Faustus’s damnation becomes much clearer if one conflates A and B” (52). In such conflated editions, “Faustus’s kiss of Helen of Troy [is the] single experience that seals his hellish fate” (52).¹⁹ However, this illustrates the

two largest problems of the conflation debate: the initiation of “line battles” and the creation of a new text.

By “line battle,” I refer to the process by which conflated texts must be constructed. Certainly, there are characters and events in the B-Text which do not exist in the A-Text (such as Benvolio, the B-Text’s counterpart to the A-Text’s knight, and his ill-fated attempt on Faustus’s life). The reverse is true as well (i.e., Robin becomes a much more lascivious character, though this is more likely due to censorship in the B-Text). The vast majority of lines are accounted for in each text, but minor differences abound. How does one decide which line should come from which text?²⁰ The choice cannot be left to chance. A Marlovian standard would be needed, and the end product might be more a reflection of this standard than either of the original texts: the same two texts could be used to create countless different conflated editions simply by changing the Marlovian paradigm.

The “line battle issue” leads to the second, and infinitely more pressing problem: a conflated text is a new text. One of Leah Marcus’s criticisms of the “authenticity argument” is that it seeks to restore “Marlowe’s “original” version of the play—a version assumed to be unencumbered by infelicities and ambiguities that mar the surviving printed playbooks” (39): such a task is absurd, as anything as old as Marlowe’s plays has undoubtedly undergone some level of alteration and corruption. I must also harken back to the idea of plays evolving through “conversation” between playwright and performance. This hypothetical “Marlovian original” might have little, if anything, to do with either the A-Text or the B-Text. Using the two texts to create a conflated edition is yet another alteration to the supposed original, taking it one step farther away from the supposed “Marlovian original” for which theorists long. Such a combination cannot

avoid marring the more subtle details of the two texts. In chapter three, I will devote a section (titled “A Few Key Binaries”) to some of the radically different ideas in the texts which are promoted through seemingly inconsequential variations in diction.

For all its potential pitfalls, though, the conflation debate might potentially be the “next step forward” in examining and understanding texts. In the case of *Doctor Faustus*, one must not view the texts as opponents or remnants, nor can he/she fixate on Marlowe’s connection. I believe that my inquisitive vehicle theory accomplishes this.

My Theory: Two Texts as Inquisitive Vehicles

As I have demonstrated, the two major arguments over the *Faustus* texts are flawed at best. We do not know if one text is “real” and one is “fake,” or if they are two halves of the same original play that have been fleshed out into two full texts. What we do know, free from any possible counterexample or contradiction, is that we possess two texts of *Faustus*. Rather than trying to eliminate one of the texts (through the authenticity argument) or mash them together (through the conflation debate), why not simply proceed from this fact? It is my intention to do so with my theory of inquisitive vehicles.

This concept is not new. At its core, a text examined as an “inquisitive vehicle” is examined for its heuristic functions. However, I feel that the concept of an inquisitive vehicle is still unique enough to warrant an original definition. Thus, with some trepidation, I offer my own definition: an inquisitive vehicle is *any work which serves to raise awareness and/or curiosity about a particular topic or topics*. Admittedly, this is such a broad category that an author will likely find the task of creating something that does *not* comply with this definition more difficult than creating something that does; however, there is a considerably smaller number of authors

whose works truly exemplify the inquisitive vehicle. Christopher Marlowe is one of those authors, and *Doctor Faustus* goes to great lengths to focus the reader's attention on questions of humanity and the afterlife. Marlowe's inquisitive vehicle extends far beyond the mere use of writing as rabble-rousing: for the skilled playwright, Elizabethan theatre was nothing short of another form of rhetoric in the most literal sense, that is to say, debate and persuasion.²¹

One cannot discuss any religious concepts in the free and probing manner which Marlowe does through *Doctor Faustus* without generating great controversy. Marlowe was able to "get away with" this by employing theatre. One need only look at the Prologue of either *Faustus* text, in which the audience is informed that the tale to follow is about a destitute student, to see how Marlowe is able to disguise his true message: his vehicle takes the form of a play for the masses disguised with bombastic soliloquies, Latin dialogue, and grandiose characters as a play for the elite.²² If the two versions of the play on which the two texts were based were indeed performed at the same time (a possible theory which I will discuss in the next chapter) they could be alternated depending on the audience. This is not a matter of avoiding controversy, but a realization that no single text could be sufficient for all the questions and curiosities Marlowe wished to voice through verse; the opportunity to compare and contrast religions by instituting different dogmas in each text (a theory I will discuss in my third chapter) exists as well. If anything, the existence of two texts would be a way to increase controversy, or at least preserve the "Marlowe effect."²³

I must also note how the opening Chorus declares that the play will "perform/[t]he form of Faustus' fortunes, good or bad"(A and B Prologue.7-8). With this setup, "Marlowe retains the rhetorical framework of [the typical] trial narrative [of the Faust legend], but suspends judgement about the defendant's guilt or innocence" (Riggs 237). This "calls attention to the imaginative

license of theatrical productions” (Riggs 237): even though the story has “already been determined . . . the details remain subject to reinterpretation in performance” (Riggs 237). This is the purpose (and perhaps also the end result) of an inquisitive vehicle: reinterpretation.

If my critical fiction is to be believed, Christopher Marlowe set off a chain of reinterpretation. He reinterpreted the Faust legend twice, suspending the protagonist’s ultimate fate in each. The play was then performed, and the “conversation” between text and performance reinterpreted both. The general masses viewed the play, then eventually had the opportunity to purchase copies of the script; in doing so, they were invited to view and interpret (perhaps reinterpret) their understanding of both the play and the legend. From there, the public is incited to reinterpret its own beliefs on life, humanity, and the afterlife. To this day, theorists (myself included) continue this train of reinterpretation by proposing and debating different interpretations of the texts.

With this as my thesis, I must compare the differences between the two *Faustus* texts (this will take place in my third chapter). What were once dismissed as errors, imperfections, corruptions, or just generally “non-Marlovian” lines might in fact be deliberate variations to convey different messages. However, I realize that I am forced to construct my own (albeit vague) Marlovian standard to accomplish this. For my argument, the Marlovian standard is simply one of conceptual daring.²⁴ He was not afraid to make blasphemous statements in his writing or disturb his audience. Likewise, he is more concerned with asking questions (even if not his own) than providing answers: the audience is deliberately forced to draw its own conclusions. I will further expand on this Marlovian standard with my next chapter, in which I examine Christopher Marlowe’s life. While it is foolish to assume that Marlowe’s writing can be directly linked to

specific events in his life, it is even more foolish to assume that his life experiences had no effect on his writing.

Chapter Two: Inquisitive Vehicles and Marlowe's Life

An inquisitive vehicle cannot exist without inquisition. To determine possible ways in which Christopher Marlowe gained the ideas in the *Faustus* inquisitive vehicle (and how he gained the ability to accomplish such a literary feat) I will discuss his life, life experiences, and beliefs. Obviously, no method exists to fully ascertain what the dramatist believed, but an examination of Marlowe's life and lifestyle can serve as a "window" of sorts. The ideas expressed in *Doctor Faustus* are not Marlowe's alone (I prefer to think of them as general concerns and skepticism of the time, as transmitted through Marlowe but further shaped by performance and printing), so I will be able to examine potential sources of his inquisition and potential catalysts for his creating the two texts as inquisitive vehicles through events of his life and his era.

Marlowe's Life: Scholarship, "Political Religion," and Atheism

The above subtitle is deliberately controversial, but true: Christopher Marlowe was indeed an atheist. However, one must consider what constituted atheism back in England during the late sixteenth century. While "modern atheism" implies a disbelief or rejection of divine agency (i.e., God or gods), sixteenth century atheism more closely resembles skepticism or heresy. David Riggs, author of *The World of Christopher Marlowe*, notes that during Marlowe's life, "anyone who rejected the immortality of the soul, the existence of heaven and hell (especially the latter) and[/or] the operations of Providence qualified as an atheist."²⁵ Religious belief was quite literally all-or-nothing: either one accepted a religion's doctrine and dogma wholesale, or one risked being considered an atheist by the more fanatic members of each faith. Furthermore, one needed to accept (or at least publicly conform to) the *approved* doctrine and dogma of the religion to avoid being denounced as an atheist.²⁶ An example of this paradox occurs in Richard Bains's infamous

letter to the Privy Council, in which the Elizabethan spy testifies against fellow spy Christopher Marlowe. In the letter, Marlowe was said to declare “[t]hat all the apostles were fishermen and base fellows neyther [sic] of wit nor worth.”²⁷ A scandalous accusation indeed, but David Riggs reminds us that “the apostles were *supposed* to be base fellows[; t]hat was why Jesus chose them for his ministry” (Riggs 41). Amusingly, Rigg’s accurate explanation of the apostles coincided with the contemporary dogma, so he would be judged an atheist as well!

As I continue my examination of Marlowe’s life, I once again reflect on the nuanced way in which I approach what is generally dismissed as mere biological information. An author may serve as the creator of his/her text and nothing more, with no connection or investment in the beliefs expressed in the story. William Shakespeare, another Elizabethan dramatist and Marlowe’s contemporary, serves as a prime example of this distance between an author and his work. Shakespeare is credited with creating 36 plays on topics ranging from romance to regicide to witchcraft, and with a far less blistering approach to the political. However, Christopher Marlowe is not William Shakespeare.²⁸ He did not enjoy a long life throughout which he could create plays: Ingram Frizer’s dagger, “plunged . . . into Marlowe’s face, just above the right eye” (Riggs 333), made certain of this. The Cambridge scholar was only 29, young even according to his era’s life expectancy (it is estimated that Shakespeare died at 59 years of age). Likewise, Marlowe constructed a comparatively minuscule eight plays before his death (counting each *Faustus* text as a separate play). An examination of the author’s life is necessary to provide an explanation for why the two inquisitive vehicles may have been written.²⁹ I will focus on three experiences which I believe to correspond strongly to his “atheism” and, consequently, his two *Faustus* texts: his childhood, his time at Cambridge, and his time as a spy.³⁰

Christopher Marlowe was born “base of stock” (A and B Prologue, line 11) in Canterbury. His father John moved there in hopes of finding a job, as an influenza pandemic in the early 1550s had recently claimed roughly a fourth of the city’s population. John gained rapid entrance to the shoemaker’s guild after his master died from the bubonic plague (Riggs 16). His first son Christopher was baptized at St. George the Martyr (an Anglican Church) on February 26, 1564. He grew up by Oaten Hill, near a local butcher and the gallows. David Riggs notes how “the pervasive odor of blood [from the butcher] were among the infant’s earliest sensations” (14) and how “the sight of condemned men being carted past his home . . . to the gallows” (14) would become a normal part of the dramatist-to-be’s youth. Did these unpleasant images and sensations have a lasting effect on Marlowe which can be seen through his works? Possibly: Riggs remarks that “[w]hen the adult Marlowe thinks of closure, he thinks of dismemberment, drowning and mass destruction” (33). Indeed, many of Marlowe’s plays feature scenes of shocking violence, from Tamburlaine’s barbarism to Faustus’s pranks (especially in the B-Text).³¹ However, this is not my reason for examining the dramatist’s childhood.

Christopher Marlowe was born into, and lived during, a time of continuous religious turmoil. His life was characterized by repeated experiences of “the godless creed of ‘political religion.’”³² Indeed, Marlowe’s father John recognized that remaining in favor of the (currently) victorious side of a religious debate was more important than the salvation offered by any of the combatants. John “avoid[ed] long-term commitments and [went] along with whichever faction held power at the time . . . ke[eping] a prudent distance from the ideological struggles that set long-time residents [of Canterbury] in ruinous conflict with one another” (Riggs 16). His father’s noncommittal, pragmatic approach to religion offered the first “inkling of [Christopher’s] ironic,

noncommitted stance on questions of religious belief” (Riggs 16). This sort of debate manifests itself in *Doctor Faustus*, possibly through the Good and Bad/Evil Angels, but most noticeably through Faustus’s pondering in the opening act. To a scholar such as Faustus, divinity (representative of heaven) and necromancy (representative of hell) are but fields of research: they do not belong to a supreme dichotomy of salvation and perdition, but are placed alongside other potential study topics such as logic, medicine, and law.

Christopher Marlowe’s sense of political religion continued during (and expanded due to) his time at Cambridge. He enrolled in Corpus Christi, Cambridge in December 1580. It was common for the less affluent students (such as Marlowe, who essentially was there on scholarship) to begin and end their studies as soon as possible to avoid accruing what is now known as student debt. G.M. Pinciss writes of “the growing debate among Protestants . . . [and how] Cambridge during the late 1580s [during Marlowe’s time of enrollment] was the battlefield on which the Calvinist and anti-Calvinist advocates played out their strategies.”³³ Christopher Marlowe completed his B.A. in Divinity in 1587 and applied for his M.A. in March 1587. (It must be noted that Marlowe’s career as a graduate student was rife with “periods of absence.”)³⁴ Research in the field of Divinity may have strengthened Marlowe’s sense of political religion, confirming that religion is not a way to salvation but a topic of fierce debate.

Riggs explains how such study may introduce a diligent student to “speculative atheism” (Quarrel 132). The B.A. course included studies in both rhetoric and the Bible (both the Old and New Testaments). The Biblical studies in particular, as Riggs notes, “exposed inconsistencies . . . and subjected individual texts to contradictory interpretations” (Quarrel 132). (Notice how Marlowe is already acquainted with the idea of a single tale offering radically different messages in

the process of earning his B.A.) The M.A. course continued in this vein of research, and “introduced Marlowe to the ancient sources for modern atheism: Aristototele’s *de Anima*, Pliny, Lucretius, and Lucian” (Quarrel 132). Clearly, the course was adhering to the adage that one who can argue his opponent’s position better than his opponent will undoubtedly win the debate; however, this requires that the divine in training not take up his opponent’s argument. For a skeptic such as Christopher Marlowe, such a course would provide him with all the necessary information, if not to build a respectable counterpoint to contemporary religion, to at least gain awareness of various questions for which his studies lacked satisfying answers. These questions might have festered within the scholar before finally resurfacing in works such as *Doctor Faustus*.

But would a scholar be able to complete seven (six for Marlowe) years of studying and discussing such topics in which he did not believe? Certainly: religion during Marlowe’s time not only encouraged this, but also instructed such scholars in becoming “closet atheist[s]” (Quarrel 131). True belief was not something that could be taught: someone either possessed it or did not. Those without true belief (a large number indeed, due to different religions potentially viewing the followers of other religions as atheists) were thought by Calvinists to be predestined to sin and had no hope of entrance into heaven, though religion deemed it “perfectly acceptable to pretend otherwise” (Quarrel 132). Such scholars were required to have a “generall [sic]” or “dead” faith in God, despite their assured perdition.³⁵ Riggs indicates how this “all-embracing criterion of conformity made it exceedingly easy to carry on as a hypocrite in the establishment” (Quarrel 132). It also demonstrates that the doomed not only derived their fate from predestination, but also the hypocrisy of “ever Handling Holy Things, but without feeling.”³⁶ For such action, regardless of predestination or human free will, the perpetrator must “be cauterized in the End.”³⁷

Then came Christopher Marlowe's time as a spy. Or, to be more precise, Christopher Marlowe became a spy during his time at Cambridge (this is the generally accepted explanation for his prolonged absences during his time as an M.A. student) and is believed to have continued working as one for much of his remaining life. His work mainly involved spying on "dissident Catholics" (Quarrel 133), an occupation which can be considered the embodiment of political religion. The Elizabethan spy system filled its ranks by "turning" individuals who already associated with the "Catholic underground" (Quarrel 133); thus, the state calling for Marlowe to serve as a spy was a backhanded compliment at best. Spies received preferential treatment from the government, as seen through the Privy Council's interference to debunk rumors that Marlowe was planning to join the English seminary at Rheims (an accusation of heresy) and ensure that Marlowe received his M.A. despite his long unexplained absences from Cambridge. The Privy Council merely needed to send a letter which said that Marlowe "had no such intent," and the accusations (temporarily) ceased.

Because the spies tasked with focusing on the Catholic Church were often taken from Catholicism itself, their loyalty was always in question (Quarrel 133). The men endured a sort of double skepticism: they were considered of questionable character for their past Catholicism, but also perceived with cynicism for the ease with which they betrayed their past religion and began espionage work. The spy was forced to alternate between two opposite roles: "loyal servant and subversive other" (Riggs 184). As a loyal servant, the spy reported all the information he could gather to the crown and work to justify the crown's action(s) against potential opposition. This was an impossible task, unless the spy acted as a subversive other. In his work for the government, like any double-agent, he was supposed to "create the enemies which justified the

exercise of state power” (Riggs 184) by any means necessary. The crown expected the spy to “voice what it regarded as sedition[, atheism,] and heresy” (Riggs 184). In short, the government “licensed [him] to perform the role of the outlaw, [but] shrewdly suspect[ed him] of being the part he enacted” (Riggs 184). This meant that, paradoxically, the better a spy he was the less he was trusted by his superiors. An ineffective spy might be regarded as an upstanding citizen (albeit one whose loyalty was constantly in question due to his occupation), whereas a skilled spy might be demonized as a “rakehell.”

Yet, the government had to protect the double agent. Such protection came in the form of periodic pardons for the agent’s seemingly inexcusable behavior. This is why the Privy Council defended Marlowe when he was besieged with rumors of heresy and questions by his alma mater. The Council’s note declared that Marlowe’s controversial statements were not his true nature, but simply his playing of a part assigned to him by the government. In theory, this could explain away all the rumors of Marlowe’s atheism as listed in Bains’s letter. However, it does not: the Elizabethan spy is never to be viewed as a man lying about his beliefs to gain information for the crown. I must stress the spy’s initial (and eternal) status as a “turned” member of the opposition. Perhaps the crown was right in viewing their spies with caution. If a heretic or atheist was able to become a spy for the government, he would be free to vocalize his controversial views with virtually no repercussions. This may have been Marlowe’s case.

So what does this imply about Christopher Marlowe? He was born into steep poverty, something he never forgot and was never allowed to forget. Due to location and coincidence, he was desensitized to some of the more brutal, unsavory aspects of the human condition at a very young age. Religion may have meant little more to him than an ongoing earthly struggle in which

sides were chosen out of a desire for survival, not a desire for a particular path to (or form of) paradise after death. He studied at Cambridge, receiving a Bachelors and Masters degree in Divinity, but became a “divine in show” (A and B 1.1.3) when he was called to be a spy on behalf of the Queen’s Privy Council. Then, when he was 23 years old, he first assembled *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus*. For over two decades, Christopher Marlowe endured political religion, unanswered “big” questions, and (quite possibly) the status of a reprobate. His time at Cambridge shaped this skepticism, and in the process gave him both the courage and ability to create an inquisitive vehicle. This vehicle, the two *Doctor Faustus* texts, provided something of an outlet for the frustration and curiosity he shared with many during his era.

Chapter Three: A Few Key Comparisons of the Two Texts

My two previous chapters have led up to this chapter. I have developed my critical fiction, examined the ongoing debate over the two texts of *Faustus*, offered my own theory as to what the existence of two texts signifies, briefly examined Marlowe's life, and suggested why he used the Faust legend to create the two *Doctor Faustus* inquisitive vehicles. All that remains is to examine the two texts. The greatest frustration I face is the need to limit my examination. Both texts offer much in the way of discussion and inquisition without comparison; however, it is not my purpose to examine the two texts individually. Thus, I will try to avoid examining parts of the texts which are the same in both versions.

In addition, I will further thin my selection to three key topics. Thus, I divide this chapter into three sections: "The Nature of Hell," "A Few Key Binaries," and "Faustus's Final Fate." In "The Nature of Hell," I will discuss how the A-Text's portrayal of Hell is deeply rooted in psychological aspects, whereas the B-Text's portrayal of hell focuses heavily on the physical. In the next section, "A Few Key Binaries," I will discuss a few seemingly minor differences between the two texts: at first, these variations might be dismissed as accidental (perhaps due to a copying accident) or inconsequential, but I will show how even the alternation of a single word might have been a deliberate attempt to offer a different meaning. Finally, "Faustus's Final Fate" will examine the very end of the plays, in which John Faustus is dragged off to Hell; I will also return to matter from the two previous sections to discuss a possible overall meaning in each text in this section.

Doctor Faustus fiercely resists being broken down into categories. I could begin by calling the A-Text a Calvinist text which views the afterlife through psychological terms and the B-Text an Anglican text which views the afterlife through physical terms; however, this is inaccurate. The

themes and concepts are deeply interwoven (sometimes outright “muddled”) between the two texts, though even this might be a deliberate part of the Marlowe Effect: without any obvious path to follow, the viewer (or reader) is forced to examine and discuss each to interpret meaning and potentially reinterpret his/her own beliefs.

The Nature of Hell

I begin with a particularly interesting difference between the two texts. Soon after meeting Mephistopheles for the first time, John Faustus asks the demon several questions about hell and the demon’s fate. He concludes this inquiry by asking how Mephistopheles was able to leave hell to visit Faustus. “[T]his is hell” (A 1.3.76, B 1.3.74) Mephistopheles replies, then elaborates:

Think’st thou that I, who saw the face of God
And tasted the eternal joys of heaven,
Am not tormented with ten thousand hells
In being deprived of everlasting bliss? (A 1.3.77-80, B 1.3.75-78)

Later on, Faustus resumes his inquiry on the nature of hell, asking Mephistopheles where hell is located. “Under the heavens” (A 2.1.113, B 2.1.112) the demon responds, then explains that “Hell hath no limits, nor is circumscribed/In one self place, for where we are is hell/And where hell is, there must we ever be” (A 2.1.117-122, B 2.1.116-121). Despite Faustus’s obliviousness to the implications of this information, they explain much about the nature of hell within the A-Text.

With these two passages, Marlowe presents not only a distinct image of hell, but one greatly at odds with nearly all the contemporary religions of his time. Hell was, as it often still is, envisioned as a place in which the damned are “cauterized” (Quarrel 132) for eternity. (Even if one does not subscribe to Dante’s image of hell, as detailed in *The Inferno*, Francis Bacon’s mention of cauterization [literally, burning with hot iron] suggests that hell was still synonymous with fire and physical anguish.) Mephistopheles, a quintessential reprobate, rejects this depiction

of the physical boundaries and sensations associated with hell. Indeed, his statement that he is “tormented with ten thousand hells/In being deprived of everlasting bliss” (A 1.3.79-80, B 1.3.77-78) is an outright jab at this preconceived notion. Hell is, as described by one of its inhabitants, “a state of mind” more excruciating than any torture imaginable.³⁸ Thus, it is not bound to one location, not limited to any place, and able to stay with its denizens at all times.

Rather than being a place of fire and torture, hell is treated as a state of psychological anguish. It is my assertion that Mephistopheles is suggesting that the physical torments generally associated with hell, amplified ten thousand times, only begin to equal the psychological torment of being denied eternal paradise with God in heaven. This concept of hell’s psychological torture is repeated again in the A-Text after Faustus orders Mephistopheles to torture the Old Man as viciously as hell will allow him to. In both texts, Mephistopheles replies that he “cannot touch [the Old Man’s] soul” (A 5.1.78, B 5.1.81) and is limited to physical torture, followed by the demon’s outright admission that physical torture “is but little worth” (A 5.1.80, B 5.1.83). However, the psychological torment of being deprived eternal paradise with the Almighty, rather than any bodily harm, is the “greatest tormen[t] that [the play’s] hell affords” (A 5.1.77, B 5.1.80) in the A-Text. This is confirmed when (in the A-Text) the Old Man briefly returns to declare that the devil’s torments do not sway his faith and that he draws strength from heaven (the implication here is, again, that hell’s greatest torment does not lie in physical abuse).

However, the B Text’s Act 5 contradicts Mephistopheles’s description of an existential hell, beginning with Act 5, Scene 2’s opening line: Lucifer enters with Beelzebub and Mephistopheles and declares “[t]hus from infernal Dis do we ascend” (B 1 5.2). In Virgil’s *Aeneid*, which Marlowe undoubtedly read, Dis is a city in the traditional (fixed location, physically

experienced) hell. The mere mention of this area refutes Mephistopheles's earlier statements about hell being a state of being not reliant on any set location or physical sensations. The refutation is completed when "*Hell is discovered*" (as listed in the stage directions). Faustus stares in horror at the *physical* torments awaiting him, which the Bad Angel narrates for the audience:

There are Furies tossing damnèd souls
on burning forks. Their bodies boil in lead.
There are live quarter[ed bodies] broiling on the coals,
That ne'er can die. This ever-burning chair
Is for o'er-tortured souls to rest them in.
These that are fed with sops of flaming fire
Were gluttons, and loved only delicates,
and laughed to see the poor starve at their gates.
But yet all these are nothing. Thou shalt see
Ten thousand tortures that more horrid be. (B 5.2.118-127)

This graphic description of nightmarish torture, coupled with the final scene in which "the scholars . . . find Faustus's fragmented body" (Marcus 51) clearly shift the emphasis from the psychological to the physical. But why?

Surprisingly, I have found little during my research to directly account for this fixation on the physical in the B-Text over the A-Text's psychological motif. However, I submit that this difference is made in reference to religion. I obviously agree with critics such as Leah Marcus who suggest that "[t]he different versions of the play carry different ideological freight" (42). Initially I agreed wholesale that "the A text could be described as more . . . Calvinist . . . [and] the B text as more Anglo-Catholic" (42) and argued that predestination figures much more strongly in the A-Text, whereas the B-Text adopts many tropes of Anglicanism and Catholicism.³⁹ However, I amend that theory to state that both texts offer Calvinist and Anglican elements, though the A-Text maintains a theme of psychological/existential harm and the B-Text maintains one of physical harm.

A Few Key Binaries

For purposes of my discussion, “binaries” refer to any situation in which a line in both texts is the same except for a few words. Indeed, many of the binaries I will examine focus on passages that are identical except for one word.⁴⁰ Such a difference might seem minor, but these small variations often lead to radical differences in implications. Though the possibility exists that, as critics such as W.W. Greg suggest, some of these binaries exist due to minor mistakes in transcribing lines from one text to the other (or from the “conversations” and alterations that Elizabethan texts undergo), I argue that the two text’s different “lenses” manifest through these seemingly inconsequential variations in form or diction.

I referenced this first binary near the end of my thesis’s introduction. “Never too late, if Faustus *can* repent” (emphasis added) is spoken by the Good Angel in line 76, Scene 3, of Act 2 in the A-Text. The B-Text counterpart occurs in line 80 of Act 2, Scene 3: “[n]ever too late, if Faustus *will* repent.” Critics who subscribe to the authenticity argument (such as W.W. Greg), as well as critics who support the conflation debate, might simply dismiss the A Text’s line as “wrong, [because it] mak[es] the [Good] Angel doubt Faustus ability to repent if he has the will to do so” (45). Greg’s interpretation of this line is perfectly acceptable, but his denouncing it as “wrong” is a gross oversimplification. The Good Angel is right to question Faustus’s ability to repent: if the doctor is predestined to hell, it does not matter how badly he wishes to repent. The B-Text replaces the word “can” and its Calvinist implications with “will.” The new meaning offers a less dire situation for Faustus: it is implied that he *can*, should he choose to do so, but will he? In short, the difference between “can” and “will” in the Good Angel’s line is the difference between ability and desire; in this case, it is also the difference between Calvinism’s emphasis on

predestination and Catholicism's emphasis on volition. The lines could be seen as "never too late, if Faustus [is not a reprobate]" in the A-Text and "never too late, [whenever] Faustus [chooses to repent]" in the B-Text.⁴¹ With just the change of a single word, the sentence signifies a shift from a paradigm of Calvinism to one of Catholicism (and by extension, Anglicanism).

One might also wonder why the A-Text's angel is not aware of the status of Faustus's soul. This could simply be an oversight in editing, or an indication that all the denizens of heaven are not fully attuned to humanity's condition. The possibility also exists that the angels are a figment of Faustus's imagination: a "physical" manifestation of Faustus's conscience, not unlike the tiny angel and devil used in cartoons to symbolize a character's conscience. If this is indeed the case, then Faustus is forced to supply his own psychological representatives from the afterlife in the A-Text; however, Faustus might not know if he is or is not a reprobate, and his ignorance of this is reflected in the angel's dialogue. The same assumption might be made about the angels in the B-Text, though the angel would not need to know anything about the doctor to recognize his volition and could therefore be "real."⁴²

The next binary I examine further garbles together the ideas of Calvinism, Anglicanism, a psychological/existential afterlife, and a traditional/physical afterlife. "I go, sweet Faustus, but with heavy cheer,/*Fearing the ruin of thy hopeless soul*" is spoken by the Old Man as he makes his first exit from the play in lines 61-62 of the A Text's Act 5, Scene 1. In the B Text, the Old Man's line before his (only) exit is "Faustus, I leave thee, but with grief of heart,/*Fearing the ruin of thy hapless soul*" in lines 62-63 of Act 5, Scene 1. Again, the difference is but a single word: "hopeless" and "hapless," but the implications suggest that the former version reveals a Calvinist belief while the latter reveals an Anglican belief. This binary derives two alternate meanings

through the words' literal definition. In the context, to be *hapless* is to be unfortunate, whereas hopeless suggests that Faustus is literally without hope of redemption. This clear-cut binary is then muddled when one questions how accurate the Old Man actually is in his describing the state of Faustus's soul.

The Old Man's speech to and exchange with Faustus lead up to this line in both texts, but the actual speech is radically different in each version as well. Marcus notes how in the A-Text "the Old Man . . . does not quite preach a doctrine of Calvinist predestination in that he describes heaven as a[n attainable goal]" (48) in which Faustus still might partake. This ambiguity could be no different than the Good Angel's hope that Faustus is not a reprobate and does in fact possess the ability to repent (implying that this deviation from a pure Calvinist declaration in the Old Man's speech as little more than wishful thinking on the Old Man's part), or it could simply be a muddling of the play's Calvinist and Anglican elements. I agree with Marcus that the Old Man is perfectly clear that "everything depends on Faustus's inner condition" (48), but this could refer to reprobate status or willingness to act on his volition. Faustus's question of "where is mercy now?" (A 5.1.62) only furthers this ambiguity: either the divine mercy he knew of has vanished, or only now on his last night alive does he realize that it never really existed.

Conversely, the Old Man's speech in the B-Text suggests that "Faustus's sin[ful nature] is not an inborn condition, but a bad habit which is gradually becoming ingrained" (Marcus 48): Faustus "hast an amiable soul [still],/If sin by custom grown not into nature" (B 5.1.39-40). Here, as Marcus notes, the Old Man's speech is "more on love than punishment" (48) with the hope that "his words . . . may have almost sacramental efficacy" (48). If Faustus is not a reprobate, then his soul can still be saved even in the last two hours of his life; this assumes that the Old Man is

correct is assuming that Faustus is not a reprobate. The doctor's question, "wretch, what hast thou done?" (B 5.1.64), reflects this (perhaps unwarranted) assumption of volition over predestination, but when Faustus is dragged off and mangled by demons, is it because he never repented or because he is a reprobate?

In continuing my speculation on the shift from the psychological to the physical, I am curious as to why it is the Old Man who provides this final plea for Faustus's salvation instead of the Good Angel. This might affirm the Good Angel's status as a manifestation of Faustus's conscience. Indeed, the Good and Bad/Evil Angels say nothing that a man who "excel[s] all" (A Prologue 18, B Prologue 17) could not deduce on his own, and do not describe anything that he cannot see. In place of a divine entity, an old man is sent to aid Faustus. However, the A-Text suggests that the Old Man may in fact be linked to the ethereal when he resolves to "fly unto [his] God" (A 5.2.118) in a line absent from the B-Text: even if he is merely *fleeing*, he still is able to gain contact with the almighty.

Even the town in which John Faustus received his B.A. and M.A. in divinity is a binary; in fact, it is the most frequently repeated significant binary in the play.⁴³ The A-Text places the doctor's place of study in "Wertenberg" (A Prologue, line 13), whereas the B-Text changes the location to "Wittenberg" (B Prologue, line 13). Many experts, such as W.W. Greg, are quick to reject the A Text's location as "an oral or memorial blunder" (Greg 39): the historical Doctor Faustus, on which Marlowe based the text, is unanimously placed in Wittenberg. Likewise, "Wittenberg" was known for its conservative ideology (even by sixteenth century standards) despite its diminished belief in predestination, thereby making the idea of a divine selling his soul and pursuing necromancy all the more heinous in such an overwhelmingly conservative town and

university. However, Wertenberg is not as insignificant a location as many theorists suggest.

Marcus notes that this relocation “places [Faustus] in the context of militant Protestantism” with an emphasis on predestination (41).⁴⁴ Aside from toggling between a location which strongly favors predestination (Wertenberg) and a location which favors volition (Wittenberg), this enhances the Marlowe Effect by playing directly on political religion: the doctor’s implied faith can be altered to maintain his status as “seductive antagonist.”

I conclude this section with a few binaries scattered throughout Faustus’s final speech. In the A-Text, God is mentioned by name several times; however, the B-Text often replaces this with heaven.⁴⁵ This is especially noticeable in lines 78-79 of Act 5, Scene 2 in the A-Text: “[a]nd see, where God/Stretcheth out his arm and bends his ireful brows!” The B-Text contains, in its place, “[a]nd see, a threatening arm, an angry brow” (B 5.2.149).⁴⁶ While both binaries are almost certainly the result of censorship in the B-Text, I must note how shifting the emphasis from God to heaven alters Faustus’s predicament. In the A-Text, if Faustus is a reprobate, then his ensured damnation is simply the will of God. In the B-Text Faustus addresses heaven, a place to which he could go if he would simply repent (assuming he is not a reprobate). While this binary was almost unquestionably not constructed by Marlowe, it still contributes to the dramatic logic of the two texts. If nothing else, it serves as a binary created through alterations which still further the Marlowe Effect and the inquisitive vehicle’s functionality.

Faustus’s Final Fate

Finally, I examine the last scenes of the two *Faustus* texts. Here the two texts veer in greatly different directions (though one could note that the entire finale, from the Old Man’s speech to Faustus’s death [and the B-Text’s aftermath] differ immensely). For the purpose of my

examination, I begin one line after Act 5, Scene 2, Line 85 of the B-Text; the corresponding A-Text line is Act 5, Scene 2, Line 61. From this point, the texts diverge.⁴⁷ The A-Text immediately introduces a clock striking eleven (as listed in the stage directions), and begins Faustus's final monologue. Conversely, the B-Text includes several passages which solidify the differences between the two texts.⁴⁸

Rather than immediately introducing the clock striking eleven, the B-Text offers Mephistopheles's mocking speech that he was directly responsible for Faustus's damnation, gleefully admitting that he "Dammed up [Faustus's] passages" (B 5.2.94) and that he "turned the leaves/And led [Faustus's] eye" (B 5.2.94-95) when the doctor attempted to view the Scriptures and repent. After this speech, "[t]he Good and Bad Angels orchestrate a pageant of heavenly throne and hell mouth that shows Faustus his infernal destiny in hideously graphic form" (Marcus 51). As I discussed in **The Nature of Hell**, this variation serves two immediate purposes: it refutes the central theme of hell that Mephistopheles presented to Faustus and reveals Mephistopheles to be a far more sinister character than previously suggested, thereby offering the viewer/reader more to interpret. After the pageant, the B-Text returns to the same moment of the A-Text: Faustus has but one hour left to live, and begins his final soliloquy. The texts diverge again after Faustus's final words ("I'll burn my books! Ah [B-Text: O], Mephistopheles!" [A 5.2.115, B 5.2.185]). The A-Text immediately presents the epilogue, whereas the B-Text offers an additional scene set the morning after Faustus's demise. In the scene, the scholars return to Faustus's room, discover his "limbs/[a]ll torn asunder by the hand of death" (B 5.3.7), and vow to gather up the doctor's remnants so that a proper funeral may be held.

These variations provide a hearty garbling of the different religious topics discussed

throughout the two texts.⁴⁹ The A-Text maintains its affirmation of hell as an abstract concept of psychological torture, and deprives the audience of a dramatic conclusion: no limbs are discovered, and for all we know from reading the play today Faustus may have simply vanished body and soul. The A-Text simply ends with the Epilogue, a section which can be viewed in either text as another interpretation of “[t]he form of Faustus’ [fate]” (A and B Prologue.7-8), provided by the Chorus. The B-Text uses all of Act 5 to steadily revert back to a more traditional view of hell, with Mephistopheles’s admission of deceit and the pageant as a perfect refutation of the psychological aspect of hell. Instead, the B-Text’s hell reveals itself as a place of (traditional) torture and incineration, the demon admits to being evil, the scholars discover a mangled corpse, and the arrangements of a funeral are discussed as a sort of final attempt to save the doctor’s soul: more visually stunning, perhaps, but arguably what an Elizabethan audience would expect of a blasphemer’s demise. Any feelings of there being an anticlimax are deliberate, and the viewer/reader is left to interpret why.

If the B-Text seems to present a more optimistic (or at least more traditional) conclusion, this is a result of the play’s traditional “lens.” If predestination plays no role (or at least an incredibly diminished one) in the scene, God appears more merciful and the denizens of hell appear more malicious: Faustus’s demise is either his failure to repent when faced with the powers of hell, or the result of demons inevitably triumphing over his non-existent free will. The implications change if a psychological lens is applied: predestination signifies God’s will, and the failure of volition is due to an intrinsic inability to take advantage of God’s mercy. Interestingly, the psychological lens means that the denizens of hell need not be cunning or malicious: they are guaranteed Faustus’s soul in the end, as per God’s will. (This suggests that Mephistopheles’s

increased cunning and malice in the B-Text stems from a greater emphasis on a physical lens.)

Thus, I suggest that the A-Text generally favors a psychological view of the divine and the afterlife, whereas the B-Text generally favors a physical one. (Note that the two are still deeply muddled; there is more than enough information available to counter my statement.) As Robert Ornstein notes of the A-Text, “Marlowe chose . . . to make Lucifer merely a spectator to the final agony of his victim, who shrinks more from the wrath of God than from the terror of hell.”⁵⁰

Conversely, the B-Text does not operate under a system of existentialism and psychology.

Because of this, “mercy is infinite” (B 5.2.40) if Faustus is not a reprobate, and the hell beings must keep Faustus too distraught to repent until midnight. The devils must continuously “dam up” Faustus’s path to heaven until the contract is fulfilled; notice the emphasis placed on the physical book which begins Faustus’s undoing, as well as the portrayal of Faustus’s possible predestination as a physical path to a set location on which the demons must construct (for lack of a better phrase) a road block.

One sees how Marlowe uses two texts as inquisitive vehicles to express widely different views on humanity and the afterlife. The two texts provide innumerable interpretations.

Conclusion

The two versions of *Doctor Faustus* offer much when viewed as their own independent works, regardless of who was responsible for creating or altering the current texts. What could easily be dismissed as slight variations in diction or clerical errors review the A-Text's often psychological nature and the B-Text's heavily physical nature. Of course, as Leah Marcus notes, "the degree of Faustus's responsibility for his fate is [not] altogether clear in either A or B, or that either text delivers an unequivocal doctrinal message" (51). As I have stated, it is my belief that this "muddling" of religious ideologies was deliberate, not only to avoid censorship but avoid a blatant message. An inquisitive vehicle cannot achieve its purpose of reinterpretation if it leaves the audience no room to apply its own beliefs and convictions. While I may have made the existence of a psychological/existential lens and a physical lens painfully obvious, this is due in part to my Marlovian standard of conceptual daring: any theory, including my own, can be challenged when viewed through a different paradigm.

Interestingly, the A-Text's psychological lens offers a portrayal of God which would be rejected as "too monstrous" by today's standards. But this is merely a message implied through Marlowe's inquisitive vehicle: if predestination exists and the afterlife is grounded in the psychological, then God does not need to justify the eternal damnation of certain people. It is a part of divine will. Likewise, those seeking salvation must utilize the divine; volition alone is insufficient for salvation. The B-Text's God, a divine being whose "mercy is infinite" (B 5.2.40) is not directly responsible for the fates of reprobates. Instead, it is Lucifer's force of devils (as represented by Mephistopheles) who seek out reprobates and take advantage of their souls' weakness through bribery, threats, and outright deception. Likewise, God's dominion may be

accessed with only minimal involvement with the divine. The B-Text also introduces a vision of hell which is (as noted by many critics) anticlimactic, especially in comparison to the A-Text's abstract realm of eternal existential torture. One could argue that the A-Text suggests the monstrous nature of divinity, whereas the B-Text suggests the disappointingly insubstantial state of religion. Yet the rejection of these conclusions causes no harm to my thesis: the conclusions are but two possible interpretations which arise from Marlowe's inquisitive vehicles.

Going Further: Inquisitive Vehicles Beyond *Faustus* and Marlowe

It is absurd to think that Christopher Marlowe is the only author to foster discussion and reinterpretation of topics through written works. Any work explicitly designed with a message, or rather, a clear attempt at raising inquiry and discussion over a topic, is an inquisitive vehicle. Some authors in particular make great use of the rhetorical devices at their disposal to foster interpretation and/or reinterpretation.

Before I begin examining other authors' works through my inquisitive vehicle paradigm, I would like to view a few more plays by Christopher Marlowe in this manner. *Tamburlaine* Parts I and II are ideal for examination as inquisitive vehicles. Like the two *Faustus* texts, the *Tamburlaine* plays focus on humanity and the afterlife; they also have the similar benefit of existing as two (strongly related, yet separate) texts which discuss conflicting curiosities and possibilities. The eponymous *Tamburlaine* of *Part I* begins as a "base-born" shepherd, but rises to become a mighty emperor. In his quest for power, he declares himself "the scourge and wrath of God."⁵¹ Quite literally, the Scythian shepherd means that he is God's wrath incarnate. However, *Tamburlaine* is not punished in any way for his fiercely blasphemous statement. In fact, he seems to be rewarded. By the end of the play, he possesses a sprawling empire, a massive standing army,

several devoted generals of considerable skill, and the woman he desires. Could Marlowe be suggesting that Tamburlaine is rewarded for carrying out God's (startlingly gruesome) will? It is not until *Part II*, when Tamburlaine must fight to both expand his empire and defend what he already possesses that the fates turn against him. By the end of *Part II*, he has lost his beloved wife, murdered one of his sons, and died of a mysterious illness. (The play heavily implies that the illness is a sort of plague cast upon him by God for burning a Koran and challenging Mohammad.) Unfortunately, this analysis of the two texts of Tamburlaine is beyond the scope of my thesis.

Final Thoughts

The inquisitive vehicle paradigm can be applied to many works. *Doctor Faustus* was an ideal subject for its application, as its author perfectly exemplifies the writer who goes out of his/her way to promote inquiry and discussion through the story. However, the paradigm is not limited to Christopher Marlowe, Elizabethan drama, or even works which exist in two unique recognized forms. A finished text and one of its "bad quartos" could be compared (some critics might argue that my thesis proves this), or a work could be examined by itself for its inquisitive value. I hope this method of examination is employed for the reinterpretation of texts, so that new information (or at least curiosity) might be fostered. The "inquisitive vehicle paradigm" is invaluable as it acts as both a catalyst to seek greater insight and wisdom (especially on human nature and humanity in general) and a method to obtain and spread insight and wisdom.

Notes

1. I must confess how attractive I find this theory. Unfortunately, it cannot be adequately defended (especially not within the confines of my thesis). Thus, I present it as a critical fiction to redirect one's attention regarding the two texts, rather than a "true possibility." I will go on to clarify exactly what my critical fiction entails, since (as I will explain) there is a natural tendency to overemphasize an Elizabethan dramatist's role in his plays.

2. Marlowe, Christopher. *Doctor Faustus and Other Plays*. ed. Bevington, David and Eric Rasmussen. New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1995. Print. Page xxvii.

3. Ibid. Page xxviii.

4. I am tempted to go even further and suggest that he would *want* his text altered after his death, so that the skeptical questions remained current and relevant; unfortunately, I lack sufficient evidence to support this extension to my theory.

5. I suspect that "political theology" is a more accurate term than "political religion"; however, I prefer to borrow the latter term from David Riggs. Within the confines of my thesis, "political religion" and "political theology" are synonymous.

6. This is perhaps the greatest risk of my thesis, as I might seem to stress that Marlowe does not play both the role of author and narrator, then immediately contradict this principle. (Different descriptions of the author and the character are virtually interchangeably [i.e., both are noted for their "overreaching," "blasphemies," and so on].) However, such is not my thesis. A close relationship is to be expected of this author and his protagonists for two reasons. First, it is a "critical commonplace" that Marlowe was known to retread certain themes (such as social advancement and political religion, both of which I will examine in chapter two) throughout his brief career as a playwright. Indeed, social mobility, power in various forms, overreaching, and/or forbidden knowledge can be found in some form in all of his plays. Second, Marlowe goes to great lengths to create similarities between the author and the protagonist John Faustus. Whether this was projection or the playwright slyly identifying himself as a world-renown conjuror laureate is not my concern; I will refrain from such risky psychoanalysis. However, it is my firm belief that Christopher Marlowe was in some way acting on behalf of skeptics at large when he first created *Doctor Faustus*. By placing various skeptical theories within his play, he drew attention to such thinking via a highly public and popular medium. Thus, the views expressed in either versions of *Faustus* are not the author's alone, but a collection of beliefs, opinions, and curiosities common to skepticism.

7. Marlowe, Christopher. *Doctor Faustus*. ed. Kastan, David. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2005. Print. Henceforth, all references to this source will be cited in-text, as "A" for the A-Text and "B" for the B-Text, with the appropriate information.

8. At times, it may seem that I am confusing the term "authenticity" with "authorship." For the

purposes of my argument, the terms represent the same idea. While “authorship” refers to who wrote a specific text, it fits neatly within “authenticity.” “Authenticity” refers to the text’s current state: the more degradations, alterations, and outside writers (i.e., writers that made additions without the author’s direct consent) a work contains, the less authentic it is. Likewise, the work has “low authorship” because less of it can be traced back to the original author. Thus, one sees that authorship and authenticity are proportionate.

9. Ornstein, Robert. “Marlowe and God: The Tragic Theology of Dr. Faustus.” *PMLA*. 83.5. 1968: 1378-1485. Print. Page 1378 illustrates a crushing example of this problem, as Ornstein argues that “[t]he artistic jumble and anticlimax [at the play’s end] is a consequence . . . not of textual corruption but of the fundamental incapacities and limitations of Marlowe’s imagination.” This would suggest great authenticity, whereas the view of this “artistic jumble and anticlimax” as a sign of corruption would suggest a less authentic text. Either interpretation is reasonable (I will not even bother to begin debating the interpretation itself just yet), but neither theory can effectively disprove or override the other. Likewise, either theory could be properly supported or attacked to make the other appear more or less likely.

10. I would argue that a discussion of what is or is not Marlovian is more appropriate for examining potential instances in which other playwrights plagiarized Marlowe’s words or writing style. For example, David Riggs notes in *The World of Christopher Marlowe* how “Marlowe’s mighty line” (207) was (as one would expect of a successful playwright) imitated with varying levels of failure. One such instance is Robert Greene’s *Alphonsus King of Aragon*. Riggs notes how “Greene’s plot is a thinly disguised rewrite of *Tamburlaine*, with corresponding roles for all the major characters” (222). Consider one of Alphonsus’s bombastic declarations: “I clap up fortune with a cage of gold,/ To make her turn her wheel as I think best” (222). The similarity between one of *Tamburlaine*’s early declarations in Act I, Scene II, lines 174-175 (“I hold the fates bound fast in iron chains/and with my hand turn Fortune’s wheel about”) is unmistakable and beyond the possibility of coincidence. Because the discussion and examination of Marlowe’s works and style as they exist outside of his texts play no role in my thesis, I will avoid the use or discussion of “Marlovian” without proper context.

11. This theory further suffers if Bevington and Rasmussen are correct in their assertion that the A-Text was in fact a collaboration between Marlowe and another playwright. This would imply that *Doctor Faustus* never was a “pure” example of Marlowe’s work. Such is already true, given the “conversation” between text and performance that alters both, but a second author would all but negate the purpose of viewing either text through a Marlovian paradigm.

12. Marcus, Leah. “Textual Instability and Ideological Difference: The Case of Doctor Faustus.” *Unediting the Renaissance: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Milton*. New York: Routledge, 1996. Print. Page 42. Henceforth, all references to this source will be cited in-text as “Marcus” and the appropriate page number.

13. Greg, W.W. *Marlowe’s Doctor Faustus: 1604~1616*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950. Print. Page 29. Henceforth, all references to this source’s version of *Doctor Faustus* will be cited in-text

as “W.A” for the A-Text and “W.B” for the B-Text with the appropriate information, and all references to Greg’s original writing in this work will be cited in-text as “Greg” and the appropriate page number.

14. Amusingly, Bevington and Rasmussen might make similar accusations *against* the B-Text.

15. Warren, Michael. *Doctor Faustus: A Norton Critical Edition*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2005. Print. Page 143. Henceforth, all references to this source will be cited in-text as “Warren” and the appropriate page number.

16. It is with some trepidation that I attempt to describe W.W. Greg’s Marlovian standard. I will try to avoid making any grand or absolute claims (as doing so would be pure conjecture), but I feel it is safe to say that Greg’s Marlovian standard involves virtuosic pentameter, complex sets, and (perhaps a consequence of favoring the B-Text, which I will discuss later) an emphasis on the more traditional Anglican religious customs. Is it possible that Greg based his Marlovian standard on the *Tamburlaine* plays? The idea is attractive, albeit unsupportable.

17. Perhaps this is an improper analogy, as W.W. Greg places a strong emphasis on form over content in his analysis. (He often dismisses variations in diction as errors, rather than deliberate attempts to change a text’s themes.) Such is customary for a critical tradition which values unity and completion. One must remember, however, that Greg made the conscientious decision to construct his Marlovian standard as such.

18. I am quite surprised by Greg’s oversimplification here. As I came across the line in question in the two texts, I immediately assumed that the A-Text referred to midnight, the hour at which Lucifer will claim his soul (as in, “the [hour of my damnation] will come, and [Lucifer] will fetch me”), and that the B-Text referred to the literal day (as in, quite literally, “this is the [day that Lucifer will claim my soul], and he will fetch me”).

19. The assumption is that by kissing Helen of Troy, Faustus has committed the grave sin of demonality (relations with a demon).

20. Here, I am assuming that there would be no difficulties in deciding which scenes unique to one version of the text should be included or left out. This issue in itself might be enough to greatly diminish a conflated text’s attempt at authenticity.

21. I will go into greater detail on Marlowe’s understanding and use of rhetoric in my second chapter.

22. Indeed, social advancement (or at least social status) play a role in all of Marlowe’s plays. Both *Faustus* texts and *Tamburlaine* Parts I and II feature a “base-born” protagonist and his social advancement. *Tamburlaine*’s advancement leads him into continuous conflict with kings and emperors, whereas Faustus performs for monarchs and mocks the papacy. *The Jew of Malta*’s Barabas begins with immeasurable wealth, but is stripped of all he has near the beginning of the play (arguably making him “base” rather than “base-born”) and is driven by revenge and

reacquiring his former status. *The Massacre at Paris* features a poor scholar. *Edward II* features the king's affair with a "base-born" commoner. Royalty (arguably the highest social class possible) and commoners figure prominently in *Dido Queen of Carthage* as well.

23. In the interest of exposing one of my deepest biases, I will offer a brief critical fiction on how the Marlowe Effect may have been achieved. Leah Marcus discusses how the play was probably altered to "situat[e] the magician as the seductive antagonist of the style of belief that a given audience predominantly favored, particularly during a period when issues of doctrine and ceremony were highly inflammatory and at the center of public debate, the theatrical company would be insuring the highest possible pitch of "ravishment" and horror in terms of audience response" (54). Stemming from this theory, I personally do not doubt that there never was a single original, but several plays (or at least an original with multiple alternate scenes) which the actors combined in different ways to achievement and maintain the Marlowe Effect.

24. By leaving my Marlovian standard unshackled by any particular form or style of writing, I hope to avoid the usual pitfalls of standard-based analyses by including brief discussion of theories which conflict with my primary standard. (I realize already that my standard may "favor" the A-Text, so I will proceed accordingly to "balance" this bias.)

25. Riggs, David. *The World of Christopher Marlowe*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, LLC, 2004. Print. Page 333. Henceforth, to be cited in-text as "Riggs" and the appropriate page number.

26. Amusingly, one could argue that a staunch believer in one religion could qualify as an atheist according to the doctrine and dogma of another. This is but one incongruity which Christopher Marlowe may have noticed and may have referenced in his writing. I am tempted to cite Mephistopheles's taking the shape of a Franciscan friar as an example of this, but the evidence is insufficient.

27. Bains, Richard. "Letter". *A Norton Critical Edition: Doctor Faustus*. Ed. David Scott Kastan. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2005. 127-129. Print. Page 128.

28. I refuse to devote any substantial discussion to any potential alternatives to this statement. In his review of Park Honan's *Christopher Marlowe: Poet and Spy*, titled "Street-Fighting Man," Michael Feingold notes the fact "[t]hat [Marlowe] can't be equated with Shakespeare (and could not possibly have written Shakespeare's plays) is self-evident precisely because his own sensibility is so distinctive."

29. I would also like to elaborate on how, even though Marlowe may have intentionally put certain themes in the two *Faustus* texts, the themes present are not necessarily "his own." Rather than viewing the two texts as inquisitive vehicles for his beliefs and curiosities in particular, I view them as vehicles for preexisting skeptical beliefs to which Marlowe subscribed. In short, he creates the inquisitive vehicles "on behalf" of skepticism of his time.

30. Obviously, these are only three possible topics which may have shaped Marlowe's beliefs. I do not argue that these are the true defining events (such a claim would be impossible to verify), but that these events bear a strong connection to the *Faustus* texts.

31. Tamburlaine's "barbarism" can be seen throughout both *Part I* and *Part II*, however, I will limit my example to two incidents. I direct the reader's attention to Tamburlaine commanding that his soldiers slaughter the virgin escort sent to plead for his mercy in *Part I* and Tamburlaine's murder of his own son and burning of a Koran in *Part II*. The B-Text of *Doctor Faustus* also boasts an extravagant scene which features both Faustus's own beheading and the knights' torment by devils, as well as the ending in which scholars consider gathering up Faustus's mangled remnants so that he might have a proper funeral. Clearly Marlowe is fascinated by, or at least desensitized to, brutality. His view of violence seems to reflect John Faustus's view of necromancy: something to be examined rather than feared or avoided.

32. Riggs, David. "Marlowe's Quarrel with God." *Doctor Faustus: A Norton Critical Edition*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2005. Print. Page 133. Henceforth, all references to this source will be cited in-text as "Quarrel" and the appropriate page number.

33. Pinciss, G.M. "Marlowe's Cambridge Years and the Writing of *Doctor Faustus*." *Studies in English Literature*. 33.2 1993: 249-264. Print. Page 149.

34. Ibid. Page 252.

35. Bacon, Francis. "Of Atheism." ed. Kiernan, Michael. *The Essays or Counsels, Civil or Moral*. Page 23 as quoted in "Marlowe's Quarrel with God" page 132. Francis Bacon was an influential politician and philosopher who rose to prominence during Christopher Marlowe's lifetime. Here he is noted for his discussions on faith and humanity. (He is known for the Baconian method of inductive reasoning.) Bacon was not considered an atheist: his discussions of religion, humanity, and the afterlife were all well within the (Anglican) church's doctrines and dogma. However, he provides a useful "outside" look into contemporary sixteenth century faith), as an "outsider" (though he discussed religious matters, he never rose beyond the position of an ordinary faithful in the Anglican church). In this instance, his reasoning (or, to be specific, the conclusions of his reasoning) can be used as an example of a layman's (accurate) portrayal of church doctrine and dogma.

36. Bacon, Francis. "Of Atheism." ed. Kiernan, Michael. *The Essays or Counsels, Civil or Moral*. Page 47 as quoted in "Marlowe's Quarrel with God" page 132.

37. Ibid.

38. Fletcher, Angus. "Doctor Faustus and the Lutheran Aesthetic." *English Literary Renaissance*. 35.2 2005: 185-209. Print. Page 205.

39. Calvinism (like Anglicanism) can be viewed through either a psychological/existential "lens" or a physical "lens" as its main tenet dictates that some people will go to hell no matter what. Thus,

there is no need for a Calvinist God to show a reprobate Faustus any mercy (note how in the A-Text, even at his last half hour of life, it is God Faustus fears rather than the devil or hell); this might be an example of “psychological predestination.” The B-Text then might display “physical predestination”: hell and its denizens become far more cunning and malicious to override Faustus’s supposed free destiny (with the assumption that their endeavor would be impossible unless Faustus was already doomed). The B-Text portrays Mephistopheles as an undeniably crueller character: the demon lies to Faustus about the nature of hell and mocks the doctor on his final hour. More importantly, however, Mephistopheles admits to “damm[ing] up” (B 5.2.94) Faustus’s passage to heaven and “le[ading his] eye” (B 5.2.96) to the text which began his path to ruin. It does not matter if this is true or merely an attempt by Mephistopheles to further demoralize Faustus: the act suggests a level of monstrosity not present in the A-Text’s Mephistopheles. (I am not suggesting that either text is governed purely by Calvinism, but that Calvinism fits perfectly in both a psychological lens and a physical lens.)

40. An example of a binary is line 1435 of W.W. Greg’s rendition of the A Text, in which the scholar says “O what shal we do to Faustus?” in comparison to line 1971 of Greg’s B Text, in which the scholar says “O what shal we do to saue Faustus?” (The implication might be that the A Text scholar is considering some sort of punishment for Faustus, whereas the B Text scholar is purely concerned with some method of saving Faustus. It is also possible that the scholar in the A-Text is too terrified to form precise sentences. Both are acceptable conclusions.) However, this is not one of the binaries I will examine.

41. The B-Text’s binary also alludes to volition, one of the core principles of Catholicism and, by extension, one of the principles of Anglicanism.

42. I could go on to discuss how the B-Text’s Good Angel might not know Faustus’s soul’s condition for the same reason his A-Text counterpart would not. However, I fear that this theory has already grown too far from fact-based analysis and too close to pure conjecture.

43. The B Text’s use of “O” in place of the A Text’s “Ah” is repeated more frequently than this Wertenberg/Wittenberg binary, but I doubt that the O/Ah binary contains any deeper meaning. Perhaps the O/Ah binary can serve as an example of an unintended binary: endlessly repeated, but without deeper meaning.

44. I must affirm that predestination played a role in Protestantism contemporary in Marlowe’s time. While the idea of reprobates was not held as forcefully as in Calvinism, sixteenth century Protestantism can still be viewed as a religion in which predestination plays a major role.

45. An example: “I’ll leap up to my God” (A 5.2.73) and “I’ll leap up to heaven” (B 5.2.144).

46. I cannot help but note how clever a binary this is, even if it was created unintentionally through censorship. The B-Text’s variation fits perfectly with the pageant: consider the terrified doctor, after seeing the horrific fate he must soon endure, now beholds a vengeful being (presumably a demon of some sort, if one is to consider the removal of references to God here to be a full removal

of God from the scene) of tremendous proportions. The censor's quill unintentionally created another physical representation of hell.

47. Several divergences occur earlier in the texts, such as the extended episode with the Pope and Benvolio's ill-fated attack on Faustus. However, I feel that this divergence provides the greatest insight into the two texts' different themes.

48. Many of the variations here are connected to the nature of hell, as I discussed in the eponymous section of my thesis. Because I already introduced many of the ideas in that section, my examination here will be somewhat streamlined.

49. I feel the need to clarify that the "garbling" or "muddling" of ideologies and concepts is not a sign of Marlowe's ineptitude as a writer, but his refusal to provide any easy, obviously identified facts to interpret within the play. Though (virtually) nothing is affirmed, "everything" is suggested. It is up to the reader to think and interpret, not simply follow a clear path set by either text.

50. Ornstein, Robert. "Marlowe and God: The Tragic Theology of Dr. Faustus." *PMLA*. 83.5. 1968: 1378-1485. Print. Page 1383.

51. Marlowe, Christopher. "Tamburlaine the Great." *Tamburlaine the Great Parts I and II*. Ed. John D. Jump. Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1967. 3-98. Print. Act III, Scene III, line 44.