



Endnotes

INTRODUCTION: SWEETER THAN THE MUSE'S SONG

1. Henry James, Letter to Violet Hunt, August 26, 1903.
2. Sigmund Freud, Letter to Arnold Zweig, April 2, 1937.
3. Brian Vickers, *Shakespeare Co-Author*, 44–134.
4. Jonathan Bate, "In the Script Factory: It is time to stop worrying about Shakespeare's collaborators, and to start appreciating them," *Times Literary Supplement*, April 18, 2003, 3–4.
5. Laurie E. Maguire, "Marlovian Texts and Authorship." Ed. Patrick Cheney, *The Cambridge Companion to Marlowe*, 52.
6. David Riggs, "Marlowe's Life," Ed. Patrick Cheney, *The Cambridge Companion to Marlowe*, 38.
7. *The New Yorker*, June 6 and 23, 2003.
8. William S. Niederkorn, "To Be or Not to Be . . . Shakespeare," *New York Times*, August 21, 2004.
9. Cited in Sir Sidney Lee, "John Whitgift," *Dictionary of National Biography*, 21.129–137.

HECATE'S BAN: THE COMICAL HISTORY OF CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE, CLOWN PRINCE OF ENGLAND

INTRODUCTION: THE JEWEL INESTIMABLE

1. See Marilyn Yalom, *Birth of the Chess Queen*.
2. Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, 4.162-67.
3. The saying became so famous that a memorial coin was struck with this inscription.
4. Cited in Sidney Lee, "John Whitgift," *Dictionary of National Biography*, 21.129–137.
5. See Patrick Cheney, *Marlowe's Counterfeit Profession: Ovid, Spenser, Counter-Nationhood*.
6. Cited in Donna B. Hamilton, *Shakespeare and the Politics of Protestant England*, 55.
7. Antonia Fraser, *Mary, Queen of Scots*, 507.

MARLOWE'S GHOST

1. Ben Jonson, "To the memory of my beloved, The Avthor," *First Folio*, 9–10.
2. Most biographers and historians agree that Marlowe served as an intelligencer for the Crown, though Constance Brown Kuriyama is the most circumspect.
3. Cited in Donna B. Hamilton, *Shakespeare and the Politics of Protestant England*, 49.
4. Cited in Hotson, *The Death of Christopher Marlowe*, 58–59.
5. Cited in William Urry, *Christopher Marlowe and Canterbury*, 43. Biographers generally assume that he studied earlier in the public schools.
6. A. D. Wraight, *The Story That the Sonnets Tell*, 87.
7. For a discussion of the Droeshout engraving and other iconography of Shakespeare, see Alex Jack, *Profiles in Oriental Diagnosis*, 1.105–109.
8. Shakespeare, *Sonnets*, 1609.
9. Robert Greene, *Greene's Groatsworth of Wit*, 1592.
10. Francis Bacon, *The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon*. Spedding, J., Ed. 1.98.
11. A facsimile appears in Wraight and Stern, *In Search of Christopher Marlowe*, 284.
12. See Eleanor Grace Clark, *The Pembroke Plays: A Study in the Marlowe Canon*, which attributes five plays performed by the Earl of Pembroke's Company and printed in quarto before 1595 to Marlowe, including *The Taming of a Shrew* (a major source for Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*); *The First Part of the Contention* (the source for Shakespeare's *2 Henry VI*); *The True Tragedy of Richard of Yorke* (the source for Shakespeare's *3 Henry VI*); *Edward II* (Marlowe's acknowledged play); and *Titus Andronicus* (Shakespeare's first tragedy).
13. Cited in Constance Brown Kuriyama, *Christopher Marlowe: A Renaissance Life*, 218.
14. Sir George Paule, *The Life of John Whitgift*, 3.
15. Paule, 4.
16. Cited in Anne Somerset, *Elizabeth I*, 131.
17. John Whitgift, *The Works of John Whitgift*, 2.188.
18. Whitgift, 3.588.
19. Powel Mills Dawley, *John Whitgift and the English Reformation*, 129.
20. Cited in Pierce, *An Introduction to the Martin Marprelate Tracts*, 121.
21. Pierce, *Introduction*, 123.
22. Somerset, 492.
23. John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, 3.104–107.
24. Somerset, 493.
25. Sir Sidney Lee, "John Whitgift," *Dictionary of National Biography*, 21.129–137.
26. Lee, 21.134.
27. Martin Marprelate, *The Just Censure and Reproofe of Martin Junior*, 1589.
28. Anonymous, *A countercuff given to Martin junior by the venturous hardie and renowned Pasquil of England*, 1589.
29. Martin Marprelate, *The Epistle*, 1586.
30. Lee, 21.134.
31. Paule, 37–38.
32. Jasper Ridley, *Elizabeth I: The Shrewdness of Virtue*, 152.
33. Cited in Ridley, 301.

34. Cited in Hamilton, 8.

35. Cited in Hamilton, 41. See also the attack on the archbishop by Robert Beal, the clerk of the Privy Council, and a protege of Burghley in 1592: “That these encroachments were against Magna Charta, and sundry other statutes of the realm . . . the ancient and greatest part of the common law of England . . . the custom of the land.” For his outspokenness, the queen banished Beal from Parliament and the court (Styrpe, *Whitgift*, 2.137).

36. Cited in Pierce, *Introduction*, 83.

37. Styrpe, *Annals*, 4.186–187.

38. Cited in Ridley, 302.

39. Cited in Ridley, 302.

40. Elizabeth’s statute cited by Riggs, *The World of Christopher Marlowe*, 318.

41. Cited in Hamilton, 55.

42. Cited in Louis Montrose, *The Purpose of Playing*, 25.

43. Montrose, 28.

44. For a history of the Rose theatre, see A. D. Wraight, *Christopher Marlowe and Edward Alleyn. Henry VI and Titus Andronicus* also premiered in this theater.

45. Cited in Wraight and Stern, 33.

46. William Urry, *Christopher Marlowe and Canterbury*, 13.

47. Urey, 33.

48. In keeping with modern scholarship, the term “Anglican” will usually not be used to refer to the established Elizabethan church, since it did not come into general usage until the nineteenth century. Originally “Puritan” was a pejorative term for those who wished to purify the church of popish or hypocritical elements. But there was no separate sect known by that name. Within the Church of England, those who were dubbed Puritans by their detractors called themselves “the godly.” However, historians have generally used the term “Puritan” in a positive or neutral vein, because of its later historic associations with the founding of New England and the English Civil War under Cromwell in the seventeenth century.

49. Styrpe, *Annals*, 4.235–36.

50. Jeffrey Knapp, *Shakespeare’s Tribe: Church, Nation, and Theater in Renaissance England*, 149.

51. England’s most famous Arian, Isaac Newton, lived in the next century. He studied at Cambridge, took holy orders, and for thirty years posed as an Anglican divine, confiding his anti-Trinitarian views to only a few trusted colleagues.

52. Whitgift, 3.525.

53. Charles Read Baskerville, “Christopher Marlowe,” *Elizabethan and Stuart Plays*, 307–308.

54. Cited in Kuriyama, 220.

55. Cited in Kuriyama, 221.

56. Cited in Kuriyama, 221.

57. Cited in Kuriyama, 221.

58. See Whitgift, 3.587: “If this charge were made by the apostles, when the magistrate was an infidel, and in the time of Nero, a cruel persecutor,” Whitgift said on that occasion, “how much more ought obedience be commanded now by us, and yielded by you to a Christian magistrate that saveth you from persecution.” Marlowe’s opinion smacked of sedition, a capital offense that less doctrinaire Privy Council members would be likely to support even if they countenanced the dramatist’s theological views. *Hamlet*’s representation of Whitgift as Claudius, whose name

derives from the Roman tyrant, and reference to Nero may allude to this speech.

59. Curiously, *The Jew of Malta* was performed seventeen times between Feb. 26, 1592 and Feb. 1, 1593, beginning the month after Marlowe was arrested and returned to England. It was performed by Lord Strange's Men, whose patron Marlowe had given as a reference.

60. Cited in Kuriyama, 221.

61. Cited in Kuriyama, 222.

62. Cited in Kuriyama, 215.

63. William Empson, *Faustus and the Censor*, 53.

64. Cited in Hamilton, 15.

65. Urry, 81.

66. Robert Greene, *The Epistle to Parmenides*, 1592.

67. Cited in Collinson, 393.

68. John Dover Wilson, "The Marprelate Controversy," *The Cambridge History of English and American Literature*. Vol. 3.

69. John Dover Wilson.

70. Michael Dobson and Stanley Wells, *The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare*, 433.

71. John Dover Wilson.

72. Frances Meres, *Palladia Tamia*, 1598, and Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis*, 1691–1692.

73. John Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, 1669–1696.

74. Thomas Beard, *Theatre of Gods Judgments*, 1597.

75. Cited in Kuriyama, 170.

76. William Vaughan, *Golden Grove*, 1600.

77. Cited in Lee.

78. Cited in Mark Thornton Burnett, *Christopher Marlowe: The Plays*, 615.

79. Nathan Dews, II, *The History of Deptford*, 214–215.

80. Leslie Hotson, *The Death of Christopher Marlowe*, 22–23.

81. Cited in Hotson, *Death*, 31–34.

82. Cited in Hotson, *Death*, 31–34.

83. Cited in Hotson, *Death*, 39–40.

84. Cited in Hotson, *Death*, 39–40.

85. G. L. Kittredge, introduction, Hotson, *Death*, 7.

86. Samuel Tannenbaum, M.D., *The Assassination of Christopher Marlowe*.

87. Eugenia de Kalb, "The Death of Marlowe," *Times Literary Supplement*, May 1925.

88. Bakeless, *The Tragicall History*, 1.182–83.

89. Riggs, *The World of Christopher Marlowe*, 334–335.

90. Ziegler, 201.

91. Calvin Hoffman, *The Murder of the Man Who Was 'Shakespeare,'* 3–25 passim.

92. Hoffman, 94.

93. Hoffman, frontispiece.

94. Rev. David Rhys Williams, *Shakespeare, Thy Name Is Marlowe*, 27.

95. Williams, 40.

96. Williams, 47.

97. Williams, 42.

98. Cited in Frederick S. Boas, *Marlowe and His Circle*, 105.

99. According to some historians, the entire Babington Plot was nurtured, if not conceived, by Burghley and Walsingham, incriminating letters were forged, and Mary was duped into participating in the affair. See Alan Gordon Smith, *Burghley*:

The Power Behind Elizabeth.

100. Nicholl, *The Reckoning*, 287, 288.
101. Cited in Kuriyama, 214.
102. Cited in Kuriyama, 215.
103. Cited in Kuriyama, 231.
104. Haynes, 120–121.
105. Charles Nicholl, *The Reckoning: The Murder of Christopher Marlowe*, 297. In her new book, *My Just Desire: The Life of Bess Raleigh, Wife to Sir Walter*, Anna Beer shows that in 1592 Essex helped conceal Sir Walter's secret marriage to Bess Throkmorton. If the earl had wanted to bring Raleigh down, he could easily have done so. Essex and Raleigh were rivals for the queen's affection, but as other historians have observed, Nicholl's view of their personal animosity is exaggerated.
106. Nicholl, *The Reckoning*, 315.
107. Nicholl, *The Reckoning*, 321.
108. Nicholl, *The Reckoning*, 323.
109. Nicholl, *The Reckoning*, 325.
110. Nicholl, *The Reckoning*, 85.
111. John Bakeless, 1.161.
112. "The Man Who Wasn't There," *The Guardian*, October 12, 2002.
113. Charles Nicholl, "At Middleborough," 46.
114. Cited by John Baker, "The Case for the Christopher Marlowe's Authorship of the Works attributed to William Shakespeare."
115. Wraight and Stern, 250–251.
116. Wraight, *Sonnets*, 113.
117. Urry, 86.
118. More.
119. John Baker, "Was Christopher Marlowe the Writer William Shakespeare?"
120. Sarah Gristwood, *Arbella: England's Lost Queen*, 371.
121. Gristwood, 371.
122. Conyers Read, *Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth*, 484.
123. Baker, "The Case for the Christopher Marlowe Authorship," 11.
124. Charles Nicholl, *A Cup of News*, 181.
125. Nicholl, *A Cup*, 250.
126. Cited in Roy Kendall, *Christopher Marlowe and Richard Baines*, 26.
127. Kendall, 40. Note that Nicholl also mentions the similarity but not in as much detail or depth as Kendall.
128. Kendall, 225.
129. Kendall, 219.
130. Cited in Kendall, 332–333.
131. Cited in Kendall, 230.
132. Kendall, 257.
133. Kendall, 258.
134. Kendall, 301.
135. Kendall, 149.
136. Kaufman, 81.
137. Nicholl, *The Reckoning*, 316. Cf. Stanford scholar David Riggs' observation: "Biographers assume that Marlowe was in Sir Francis Walsingham's employ; but the Council's letter to Cambridge was signed by Lord Treasurer Burleigh, the queen's closest adviser, and members of his faction, the 'peace party' who were nego-

tiating with the Spanish army headquartered in Brussels. When Marlowe subsequently appears in government documents, he is dealing with Burleigh or his agents” (David Riggs, “Marlowe’s Life,” in Patrick Cheney, *The Cambridge Companion to Christopher Marlowe*, 29).

138. Kendall, 419. For David Riggs’ views on Deptford, see HG, 226.

139. Richard Wilson, “Visible Bullets: Tamburlaine the Great and Ivan the Terrible,” *Christopher Marlowe and Elizabethan Renaissance Culture*, 52.

140. Wilson, “Visible Bullets,” 52.

141. Wilson, “Visible Bullets,” 53.

142. P. M. Handover, *The Second Cecil: The Rise to Power 1563–1604*, 10.

143. A. L. Rowse, *Christopher Marlowe: His Life and Work*, 69.

144. Rowse, *Christopher Marlowe*, 63.

145. Bakeless, 1.141–42.

146. T. S., Willan, *The Early History of the Russia Company 1553–1603*, 28.

147. Willan, 41.

148. Willan, 49.

149. Curiously, both ends of Marlowe’s natural life may have been bracketed by the Muscovy Company. Kit was christened on February 26, 1564, the anniversary of the chartering of the Muscovy Company nine years earlier on February 26, 1555. Whether possible family connections originally played a part in selecting that date, the anniversary steered him in the direction of reading about Scanderbeg, Tamburlaine, and other heroes in the greater Russian imperial sphere, or it played some other symbolic role in his future destiny remains to be determined. Like many contemporaries (including William Shakespeare of Stratford), Marlowe’s original birthday is unknown. But it was customary to baptize infants within a few days of their birth.

150. Willan, 101.

151. Willan, 227.

152. M. W. Douglas, “Lord Oxford and the Shakespeare Group,” cited in Willan, 27.

153. Cited in Leland H. Carlson, *The Writings of John Greenwood and Henry Barrow 1591–1593*, 375–376.

154. Cited in Carlson, *Greenwood and Barrow*, 447.

155. “While Udal lay thus a long time in prison, certain merchants that traded to Turkey offered to send him into some factory of theirs abroad, to officiate as Minister there, in case he might obtain liberty and leave. To which the Archbishop did freely condescend: herein the Lord Keeper and Earl of Essex gave their assistance also. Nothing was wanting but the Queen’s favour to release and pardon him. Which occasioned Udal to write to the Lord Treasurer (who was as forward, no doubt, as the rest in this work of mercy) . . .” Strype, *Whitgift*, 2.98–102. The mercantile association between Russia and Persia was also the backdrop to *The Travailes of the Three English Brothers*, a play by John Day about several Englishmen who unsuccessfully prevailed upon Elizabeth and Burghley to back their scheme to support an alliance through Moscow with the Shah and the Persian League against the Turks.

156. Cf. Urry, 105, and John Baker, “The Case for the Christopher Marlowe’s Authorship.”

157. Marlowe’s early literary career appears to be engaged in an intense rivalry with Edmund Spenser, author of *The Faerie Queene*, to be England’s poet laureate. Kit’s *The Passionate Shepherd to His Love*, one of the most quoted poems of the

Elizabethan age, opens with the famous lines: “Come live with me, and be my love, / And we will all the pleasures prove” (1–2). Marlowe’s poem may have been addressed allegorically to Queen Elizabeth, as Patrick Cheney observes in *Marlowe’s Counterfeit Profession*. As for metatheater, in *Dr. Faustus*, Mephistopheles orchestrates shows and masques, such as the Pageant of the Seven Deadly Sins, while the magus bedevils the pope, the German emperor, and his faculty colleagues with skits and magic demonstrations. The conjuring illuminates the role of the stage itself in fashioning illusions and holds a mirror to the broader conjuring of Church and State within society. In *Edward II*, Gaveston plans “Italian masques by night, / Sweet speeches, comedies, and pleasing shows” (1.1.54–55). An ambush is performed by a company of soldiers under a noble named Pembroke. The brief appearance of Pembroke’s Company on stage wittily inscribes the Pembroke’s Men whose theatrical company was performing the actual play. In *The Massacre at Paris*, the Duke of Guise approaches his infernal task like a stage manager preparing his production. “Now come thou forth and play thy tragic part” (2.25) he instructs an entering soldier and with Queen Catherine composes the playscript for “They that shall be actors in this massacre” (4.29).

158. Luna Sea, “Hekate’s Supper,” June 16, 1999. May 30 was also the day on which Joan of Arc, a main character in *1 Henry VI*, was burned at the stake. In the play, she is portrayed as a witch and linked with Hecate, while Margaret of Anjou dabbles in the black arts. Curiously, Margaret is crowned queen of England on May 30 in the same play, subtly linking both women as witches and devotees of the Greek goddess of sorcery.

159. John Baker, “On the Trail of Registration Dates.” The First Quarto of *Hamlet* was registered at the Stationers’ Company in London on July 26, 1602. St. Christopher’s Day was celebrated on July 25. According to Baker, since the saint’s day fell on a Sunday that year when the office was closed, the play was registered on the following Monday. In his stimulating article, he further shows that several other plays were registered on the day after the anniversary they honor. He attributes this to observing the same day of the week, e.g., an event that takes place on a Tuesday one year will take place on a Wednesday the next year. A poetic explanation for the discrepancy is the parallel afforded with the ending to *Love’s Labor’s Lost*. In the play, the ladies impose severe penances on their fickle lords and promise to answer their suit after a “Twelvemonth and a day” (5.2.827).

160. Strype, *Whitgift*, 2.102–105.

161. Pierce, *Introduction*, 97.

162. Cited in Nicholl, *A Cup*, 164

163. Rowse, *Christopher Marlowe*, 153.

164. A. D. Wraight theorizes in *Christopher Marlowe and Edward Alleyn* that Marlowe played a heroic role in the Armada as a scout on the *Nonpareil*, a ship mentioned in the play. The espionage archives of Sir Francis Walsingham and the Lord Admiral confirm that the ship made a daring rendezvous to pick up an English intelligencer on the French coast as the battle commenced. Also, *Famous Victories*, which first appeared at the Rose on May 14, 1594, concerns not only Henry V (who is buried in Canterbury cathedral near the Marlowe homestead), but a family of cobblers whose father, John, shares the same name and quarrelsome nature as Marlowe’s father. A topical allusion to an attack on a courier (or spy) in Deptford on “the 20th day of May last past” may refer to Marlowe’s arrest on May 20 the previous year.

165. Rowse, *Christopher Marlowe*, 107. Rowse holds that, compared to Shake-

spare, Marlowe's patriotism is flat and banal, but still groundbreaking.

166. Thomas Thorpe, introduction to Christopher Marlowe, *Lucan's First Book*, 1600.

SHAKESPEARE'S GHOST

1. Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespeare Company 1594–1642*, xiii.
2. Gurr, xiii.
3. Gurr, 1.
4. T. C. Mendenhall, "The Characteristic Curves of Composition," *Science* 9.214 (supplement) (1887):237–249.
5. Thomas Mendenhall, "A Mechanical Solution for a Literary Problem," *Popular Science Monthly*, 60.7 (1901):97–105.
6. Peter Farey, "Stylometrics: Mendenhall's Graphs Revisited," "A Deception in Deptford: Christopher Marlowe's Alleged Death," 2002.
7. Gary Taylor, "The Canon and Chronology of Shakespeare's Plays, Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, ed., *William Shakespeare: A Textual Companion*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1987. Brian Vickers also challenges Taylor's statistical method and conclusions in his new study, *Shakespeare Co-Author*.
8. Louis Ule, *A Concordance to the Works of Christopher Marlowe*, xiv.
9. Ule, xv. He also found no evidence of a second author in the 1616 edition of *Dr. Faustus*, as generally assumed by most critics.
10. Douglas Bruster, *Shakespeare and the Question of Culture*, 106–113. See also T. V. N. Merriam, a British statistician, who found some correspondences between Marlowe's work and *Titus Andronicus*, the three *Henry VI* plays, *Henry V*, and *Edward III*. See "Neural Computation in Stylometry II: An Application to the Works of Shakespeare and Marlowe," *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 9(1994):1–6; "Marlowe's Hand in *Edward III*," *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 8.2 (1993):59–72; "Heterogeneous Authorship in Early Shakespeare and the Problem of *Henry VI*," *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 13.1 (April 1998).
11. For example: "And I will show wonders in heaven above and tokens in the earth beneath, blood, and fire, and the vapour of smoke" (Acts 2.19) is alluded to in *Tamburlaine*, "Then, when the sky shall wax red as blood" (4.2.53) and later in *Hamlet*, "As stars with trains of fire, and dews of blood" (1.1.127).
12. R. M. Cornelius, *Christopher Marlowe's Use of the Bible*, 115.
13. Cornelius, 123.
14. Stanley Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare: A Compact Documentary Life*, 175–176.
15. Ted Hughes, *Shakespeare and the Goddess of Complete Being*, 52.
16. Rev. John Ward, *Diary*, 183.
17. Ward, 183.
18. Nicholas Rowe, *Some Account of the Life &c. of Mr. William Shakespeare*, Section 3, 1709.
19. Andrew Gurr estimates that the cost of operating the Globe between 1597 and 1599, including rent, commissioned plays, clothing, properties, wages, licences, sharer profit, and other expenses, averaged £1377 annually (*The Shakespeare Company, 1594–1642*, 106.)
20. Robert Greene, *Greene's Groatsworth of Wit*, 1592.

21. “Alleyn was undoubtedly the very epitome of a great ‘Shake-scene’, and in Greene’s eyes he was an upstart, and too authoritative, for he was a far younger man than Greene, and not of a university education,” Wraight observes, “yet he had risen within a few months of arriving in London to a position of theatrical pre-eminence and affluence—an ‘vpstart Crow’ indeed!” A. D. Wraight, *Christopher Marlowe and Edward Alleyn*, 155.

22. Patrick Collinson, *Elizabethans*, 250.

23. Bakeless, *The Tragical History of Christopher Marlowe*, 1.181.

24. See the pearl tears images in *Venus and Adonis* (979–982) and *Hero and Leander* (295–299).

25. See the horse images in *Venus and Adonis* (259–270) and *Hero and Leander* (625–629)

26. See A. L. Rowse, *Christopher Marlowe: His Life and Work*, 182.

27. John Baker, “On Marlowe’s Authorship of *Venus and Adonis*: Hoffman Essay 13.” He proposes that *Venus and Adonis*, a bittersweet tale of an innocent young man seduced by an older, more experienced woman, mirrors Mary’s relationship with Marlowe. She visited Canterbury in 1579 with her brother, Philip Sidney, the poet and soldier, and may have met Kit on that occasion and become romantically involved. Cf. also David Riggs who notes that in 1592 Mary commissioned the *Third Part* of Abraham Fraunce’s *Ivychurch*, a book known to Marlowe that mentions Hero and Leander. Riggs speculates that the reference may have inspired Kit to write his poem for Mary (Riggs, “Marlowe’s Life,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Christopher Marlowe*, ed. Patrick Cheney, 36).

28. For a discussion of the Field connection, see Graham Phillips and Martin Keatman, *The Shakespeare Conspiracy*, 120–134.

29. Conyers Read, *Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth*, 133.

30. Alan Gordon Smith, *William Cecil: The Power Behind Elizabeth*, 237.

31. Facsimile in A. D. Wraight and Virginia Stern, *In Search of Christopher Marlowe*, 314–315.

32. David A. More’s essay, “Dead Sailor or Imprisoned Writer?,” pointed out this pun.

33. Hugh Trevor-Roper, “What’s in a Name,” *Realities*, November, 1962.

34. Charles Nicholl, *The Reckoning: The Murder of Christopher Marlowe*, 87.

35. Cited Donna B. Hamilton, *Shakespeare and the Politics of Protestant England*, 62.

36. Hamilton, 60–61.

37. Hamilton, 70.

38. Hamilton, 70.

39. Hamilton, 80.

40. Hamilton, 75.

41. Hamilton, 75.

42. Hamilton, 61.

43. Hamilton, 34.

44. Hamilton, 48.

45. Hamilton, 53.

46. Kristen Poole, *Radical Religion from Shakespeare to Milton*, 21.

47. Poole, 40–41.

48. As Harold Bloom has also pointed out, Falstaff is partly modeled on Socrates. “That villainous abominable misleader of youth, Falstaff” (*1 Henry IV* 2.4.462–463). *Shakespeare: Inventing the Human*, 298.

49. John Whitgift, *The Works of John Whitgift*, 3.594.
50. *The Taming of the Shrew* follows the same pattern. According to Charles Nicholl, it also resonates with Marprelate's vocabulary and contains references to *Dr. Faustus*. Nicholl, *A Cup of News*, 206.
51. P. M. Handover, *The Second Cecil: The Rise to Power 1563–1604*, 102.
52. Harry Levin, *The Overreacher: A Study of Christopher Marlowe*, 71.
53. Arabella Stuart, "Poem," "Stanza 7, Line 1, cited in Felicia Hemans, *Records of Woman: With Other Poems*, 3–20.
54. *Dr. Faustus* 4.1.147 and *The Jew of Malta* 1.1.123–126.
55. Wraight, *Sonnets*, 275.
56. Curiously, Marlowe is listed as a living poet in John Bodenham's *Belvédère or the Garden of the Muses*, published in 1600. The work contains lists for both living and dead poets. Kit is included in the former, but this is probably an error or oversight on Bodenham's part. For posthumous Marlowe sightings, see A. D. Wraight, *Shakespeare: New Evidence*, regarding the discovery in Lambeth Palace of materials attributed to Monsieur Le Doux, an English intelligencer, whose notes include an inventory of books listing many of the sources of Marlowe's and Shakespeare's plays. See also John Baker's web site for several essays, including "Marlowe Alive in 1599, 1602, and 1603?" George and Bernard Winchcombe theorize in *Shakespeare's Ghost-Writer(s)* that Marlowe survived and served as secret court chaplain under the protection of Thomas Egerton, Elizabeth's attorney general who became Lord Chancellor under James. The Winchcombes speculate that Marlowe wrote the early Shakespearean plays and John Williams, who became Bishop of London, the later ones.
57. Virginia Woolf, *A Room of Her Own*.
58. Cited in *Much Ado About Something*, PBS transcript.
59. Marilyn French, *Shakespeare's Division of Experience*, 24.
60. French, 333, 349.
61. Shepherd, *Marlowe and the Politics of Elizabethan Theatre*, 191–192.
62. Shepherd, 193
63. Shepherd, 196–197.
64. Carolyn Gage, "Meeting the Ghost of Hamlet's Father," *On The Issues* (1997) 6:4.
65. Nathan Dews II, *The History of Deptford*, 177–178.
66. Collinson, 210.
67. An Act for punishment of Rogues Vagabondes and Sturdy Beggars (39 Eliz. C. 4.), cited in Chambers *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4.324–325.
68. John Whitgift, 3.524.
69. As early as 1584, the year after becoming archbishop, Whitgift told the vice chancellor of Cambridge that books questioning ecclesiastical policy should be burned. Indeed, he questioned the need for the university to have its own printing press! As a footnote to Whitgift's later bonfire, the original manuscripts of the last three volumes of *Ecclesiastical Polity*, the orthodox formulation of Church doctrine, were burned by two Puritan ministers. Thomas Hooker, the author, died in 1600, and his wife naively let the two visitors into his study before she realized their vengeful intent. *Quod me nourrit me destruit*.
70. Cf. Jesus said, "If the flesh has come into being because of the spirit, it is a marvel. But if the spirit has come into being because of the body, it is a marvel of marvels. But I marvel at how this great wealth has made its home in this poverty." Jesus, cited in the Gospel of Thomas, 29, in *The Gospel of Peace*, ed. Michio Kushi

and Alex Jack, 67.

71. Cited in Kuriyama, 227.

72. Chris Fitter, “The Slain Deer and Political Imperium: *As You Like It* and Andrew Marvell’s ‘Nymph Complaining for the Death of Her Fawn,’” *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 98.12 (April, 1999): 193.

73. Fitter.

74. Fitter.

75. Fitter.

76. Edward Blount, introduction to *Hero and Leander*, cited in Wraight, *Sonnets*, 167–168.

77. However, not all “reckonings” are symbolic. For example, Thomas Nashe’s *Summer’s Last Will and Testament* (published 1596) appeals to the prodigal patron of the theater in the play to make “an account and reckoning of his doings.” This is considered a veiled appeal for the archbishop of Canterbury, who oversaw censorship, to lift restrictions on the theater imposed as punishment against the Puritans. While this line may date from 1596, when the play was first published, it is more likely an innocuous use of the term in the original performance. Elizabethan scholars believe Nashe’s place was first performed at Whitgift’s residence in Croyden, with possibly the queen also in attendance, in 1592, the year before Marlowe’s reckoning.

78. Shapiro, *Rival Playwrights*, 103.

79. Hamilton, 89.

80. Hamilton, 98.

81. Hamilton, 105.

82. Charles Nicholl, “At Middleborough: Some Reflections on Marlowe’s Visit to the Low Countries in 1592,” *Christopher Marlowe and Elizabethan Renaissance Culture*, 46.

83. Cited in Handover, 85.

84. Handover, 244.

85. Pauline Croft, ed., *Patronage, Culture and Power: The Early Cecils*, xvi.

86. Chambers, 1.267–268.

87. James M. Sutton, “The Retiring Patron: William Cecil and the Cultivation of Retirement, 1590–1598,” *Patronage, Culture and Power: The Early Cecils*, 159–180.

88. Cited in Handover, 181.

89. Paule, 69.

90. Cited in Chronology, May 1600. <www.Shakespeare.com>.

91. Cited in Ruth Underhill, “State and State: the Censorship of *Richard II*,” University of Victoria, 1995.

92. See Lilian Winstanley, *Hamlet and the Scottish Succession*, for other parallels between Essex and Hamlet, 139–164.

93. Cited in Winstanley, 34.

94. Cited in Annabel Patterson, *Shakespeare and the Popular Voice*, 85.

95. Cited in Robert Lacey, *Robert, Earl of Essex: An Elizabethan Icarus*, 307.

96. Cited in Lacey, 309.

97. Cited in Chambers, 2.327.

98. The original of the letter does not exist and there is some question about its authenticity. See *The Collected Works of Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke*, 1.301.

99. Mary Sidney, 353–354.

100. Among other artistic influences, Dr. Timothy Bright, a protégé of Sir

Francis Walsingham, Marlowe's spy boss, pursued his studies into the nature and origin of melancholy at St. Bartholemew's Hospital. His pioneer research and *Treatise of Melancholy* are major influences on the development of *Hamlet* about this time. Also, Marlowe appears to have been acquainted with Thomas Morley, the musician who shared a variant of his last name. Morley composed Italian madrigals like Kit's friend, Thomas Watson, and dedicated his first canzonets to Mary Sidney in 1593, the year Marlowe "died" in Deptford. Morley dedicated a book on ballet to Robert Cecil two years later and in 1601 edited *Triumphs of Oriana*, an anthology celebrating the queen's triumphs and dedicated to the lord admiral. Morley composed the music for several songs that appear in the Shakespearean works, including "It was a lover and his lass" and possibly "O mistress mine." John Dowland, another noted English composer, served the King of Denmark in Elsinore about the time *Hamlet* was revised and may have furnished some details for the play.

101. Paule, 71.

102. Cited in Anne Somerset, *Elizabeth I*, 565.

103. Somerset, 565.

104. Alistar E. McGrath, *In the Beginning: The Story of the King James Bible and How It Changed a Nation, a Language and a Culture*, 156.

105. McGrath, 157–158.

106. Paule, 88–92.

107. See Hamilton, chapters 5–7.

108. As for the other players in our drama, Robert Cecil continued as principal secretary and later treasurer under King James, whose succession he had masterminded. He distinguished himself, concluding foreign treaties and unmasking (or stage managing in the best Cecilian tradition) the Gunpowder Plot in 1605. Confined to the Tower by James in 1603 in connection with an alleged conspiracy to place Arbella Stuart on the throne, Sir Walter Raleigh wrote poetry and engaged in scientific experiments with the Wizard Earl (Northumberland), who was imprisoned two years later in connection with the Gunpowder Plot. After being released to lead one final voyage to South America in quest of gold, Raleigh was returned to the Tower and executed in 1618. Astronomer Thomas Harriot, another alumnus of the School of Night, served as a scientific observer on a voyage to the New World and drew the earliest map of the moon. Southampton fared more fortunately than Raleigh. The new king pardoned him for his role in the Essex affair, he served as a leading parliamentarian, and patronized the Virginia Company before dying valiantly in the Netherlands in 1624. Charles Howard, now Lord Nottingham, the hero of the Armada and former patron of the Admiral's Men, performed high diplomatic and military commissions for James and passed away in the same year.

After being knighted by Elizabeth, who visited him in Scadbury and planted oak and fig trees, Thomas Walsingham, Marlowe's patron, continued to rise under James. He and his wife, Audrey, became keepers of the Queen's Wardrobe, and Sir Thomas died in Scadbury in 1628. Lady Audrey was even chosen as the king's valentine, but a scandal involving property and finances brought her out of favor. In this she was abetted by Ingram Frizer, the man who "killed" Marlowe but was exonerated in self-defense by the Deptford jury. Frizer continued in close association with the Walsinghams. He became a tax assessor in the nearby parish of Eltham in 1611, married and raised two daughters, and was buried on August 14, 1627 (the fortieth anniversary of the registration of *Tamburlaine*).

Nicholas Skeres, his confederate and Essex's servant, is last reported under arrest

and confinement on July 31, 1601, in Bridewell, the prison for religious dissidents, possibly in connection with the earl's rebellion. The third man in the murder inquest, espionage agent Robert Poley, also came in from the cold. During that same year, the paper trail ends with a recommendation that he be named a Yeoman of the Tower, where he had once been confined as a double agent after the Babington affair. Mistress Bull at whose house the fateful meeting in Deptford was held died in 1595 and was buried in St. Nicholas's churchyard. As noted earlier, the fate of Richard Baines, who penned the Note charging Marlowe with atheism, is uncertain. Most likely, he is the man by that name who was hanged at Tyburn in 1594, the year after the events at Deptford. A ballad about his "Woeful Lamentation" was registered at the Stationers' shortly after his death, but no copies have survived. Cholmeley disappears from sight following his arrest in June 1593, and Drury, the probable instigator of the atheism charges, fades from view after surfacing as a courier in France two years later. Ironically, Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, who apparently pulled the strings on the informers and set the conspiracy against Kit in motion, succeeded Burghley as lord treasurer in 1599 and was appointed lord high steward in 1601. Under James, he was named first earl of Dorset and feathered his own nest to the extent that he was widely known as Lord Fill-Sack, before dying in 1608.

The theater also fell victim to turbulent times. The Globe burned down in 1613 during a performance of *King Henry VIII*, when the cannon accidentally set the thatch roof ablaze. The rebuilt Globe survived until 1644, when Cromwell's supporters razed it for tenements. Like its namesake, the Rose faded away after Edward Alleyn built the Fortune. But it enjoyed an afterlife when its foundation was found in recent years and inspired a modern renaissance in Elizabethan drama.

In the history of early American religion, John Whitgift's name became a byword for bigotry and terror. The Puritan and Pilgrim forebears, including Congregationalists, Baptists, and Presbyterians, reviled his memory for generations and in history books and web sites today continue to portray him as an Elizabethan Pharaoh or Nebechadnezzar. With the rise of modern democracy, the archbishop's reputation plummeted. Macaulay characterized him as "a mean and tyrannical priest, who gained power by servility and adulation, and employed it in persecuting [others]," while a biographer of Queen Elizabeth in the late nineteenth century described him as "an inquisitor as merciless as Torquemada." (T. B. Macaulay, *Critical and Historical Essays*, 2.135 and E. S. Beesly, *Queen Elizabeth*, 228.) Though largely forgotten today, the most tangible legacy of the "Peereless Prelate for Pietie and Learning," as he styled himself, is the School and Hospital of the Holy Trinity that he founded in Croyden in his later years and which still ministers to the poor today.

HAMLET'S GHOST

1. All quotations from *Amleth* are from Saxo Grammaticus, *Amleth, Prince of Denmark* in *The Danish History of Saxo Grammaticus (Gesta Danorum, c. 1185)*, translated by Oliver Elton, 1894.

2. All quotations from *Hamblet* are from Francois De Belleforest, *The Hystorie of Hamblet (Histories tragiques, 1570)*, London, 1608.

3. Other references to the Lucrece story occur in *Titus Andronicus* and *The Taming of the Shrew*. Brutus is also referred to in Shakespeare's *Henry V* in connection with Prince Hal's "folly." Gabriel Harvey, the acerbic writer and critic, noticed

the connection between *Lucrece* and *Hamlet*. In a book margin, he wrote, “The younger sort takes much delight in Shakespeare’s *Venus and Adonis*, but his *Lucrece* and his tragedy of *Hamlet* . . . have it in them to please the wiser sort.”

4. Cited in *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare*, ed. H. H. Furness, Vol. 2, *Hamlet*, 5.

5. R. A. Foakes and R. T. Rickert, eds., *Henslowe’s Diary*, 21.

6. Furness, 9–11.

7. R. S. Guernsey, *Ecclesiastical Law in Hamlet: The Burial of Ophelia*, 6–7.

8. Marion A. Taylor, *A New Look at the Old Sources of Hamlet*, 19.

9. Taylor, 55.

10. Edward Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554–1640* (1875–94), 3.212.

11. All quotations from *Der BB* are from *Tragoedia Der Brudermord oder Prinz Hamlet aus Dannemark*, 1710; English translation (“Fratricide Punished”) by Clifford Stetner.

12. David Scot Kastan, *Shakespeare and the Book*, 30.

13. Cited in Leland H. Carlson, *Martin Marprelate, Gentleman: Master Job Throkmorton Laid Open in His Colors*, 39.

14. Sir George Paule, *Life of Whitgift*, 39–40.

15. Louis Montrose, *The Purpose of Playing*, 43.

16. Montrose, 101.

17. Harold Bloom, *Hamlet: Poem Unlimited*, 131.

18. Arthur Lindley, *Hyperion and the Hobbyhorse: Studies in Carnavalesque Subversion*, 116.

19. Harry Levin, *The Overreacher*.

20. Thomas Nashe, *The Unfortunate Traveler*, 1594.

21. Paule, 6.

22. More typical is John Marston’s *The Scourge of Villainy*, in which he puns on Will Kempe, the comic actor: “A hall, a hall! Room for the spheres, the orbs celestial Will dance Kempe’s jig” (Arthur F. Kinney, *Shakespeare by Stages*, 37).

23. Martin Marprelate, *Theses*, D1, verso.

24. “The Examination of John Barns,” Leland H. Carlson, ed., *The Writings of John Greenwood and Henry Barrow 1591–1593*, 302.

25. John Penry, 1590, cited in Kaufman, 49–50.

26. Pierce, *An Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts*, 99.

27. Cited in Pierce, *Introduction*, 72–73.

28. Geneva Bible, Romans 12.6–8. See also 1 Corinthians 12.1, 4, 9, 28, 30, 31 on spiritual gifts.

29. Geneva Bible, Romans 12.6, note f.

30. Cited in Strype, *The Life and Acts of John Whitgift*, 1.56.

31. Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, 4.248.

32. Geneva Bible, Genesis 4.26, note t.

33. Geneva Bible, 2 Chronicles 21.4, note b.

34. Strype, *Whitgift*, 2.123–124.

35. Cited in Pierce, *Introduction*, 111.

36. John Whitgift, *The Works of John Whitgift*, 3.529.

37. Paule, 10.

38. In Marlowe’s early works, gifts also play a major thematic role. See *Echoes* for more instances, including one in which adultery is linked with gifts.

39. Lee Sheridan Cox, *Figurative Design in Hamlet: The Significance of the Dumb Show*, 35–52.
40. Pierce, *Introduction*, 274.
41. Pierce, *Introduction*, 251.
42. Cited in Patrick Collinson, *Elizabethans*, 80, 198–99.
43. Steve Roth, “Hamlet as the Christmas Prince: Certain Speculations on *Hamlet*, the Calendar, Revels, and Misrule,” *Earth Modern Literary Studies*, 7.3, January 2002, 5.1–89.
44. Roth.
45. Whitgift, 3.xv–xvi.
46. Josias Nichols, 1602, cited in Kaufman, *Prayer, Despair, and Drama*, 5.
47. See Carlson, *Marprelate*, 238 and Kendall, *The Drama of Dissent*, 281.
48. Marprelate cited in Kendall, 182.
49. Cited in Pierce, *Introduction*, 100.
50. Paule, 38–39, 56.
51. Carlson, Greenwood and Barrow, 410–411.
52. Some parallels between Faustus and Hamlet are pointed out in Arthur McGee, *The Elizabethan Hamlet*, 94–103.
53. McGee, 125.
54. Sarah Gristwood, *Arbella: England’s Lost Queen*, 100. Ironically, Lady Audrey Walsingham and her husband, Thomas, Marlowe’s patron, were named keepers of the queen’s wardrobe under King James.
55. Elizabeth I, Letter to James, Feb. 14, 1587 in *The Letters of Queen Elizabeth I*, edited by G. B. Harrison, 188. All of Elizabeth’s letters cited in this section are from this volume unless otherwise indicated.
56. Cited in Kuriyama, 148.
57. Riggs, *The World of Christopher Marlowe*, 316, 330, 374–375. For another opinion, see Kuriyama, 148–149.
58. Pierce, *Introduction*, 7.
59. Elizabeth I, Speech to the troops at Tilbury, 1588.
60. Elizabeth I, Letter to James the Sixth, King of Scotland, October 15, 1586, 182.
61. Elizabeth I, Letter to James, January 1587, 185.
62. Although her court was the model of decorum, Elizabeth had a ribald streak and after four hundred years, the jury is still out about her chastity.
63. Cited in Collinson, 25.
64. Cited in Jenkins, ed., *The Arden Shakespeare, Hamlet*, 554.
65. Elizabeth I, Letter to James, July 6, 1590, 203–204.
66. Cited in Lilian Winstanley, *Hamlet and the Scottish Succession*, 82.
67. Elizabeth I, Letter to James, 1590, 201.
68. Elizabeth I, Letter to James, 1598, 259.
69. Attributed to Francis Bacon in *The Letters and Life of Francis Bacon*, 1.98.
70. Strype, *Annals*, 4.147.
71. Strype, *Annals*, 4.185–85.
72. Sir Sidney Lee, 132.
73. Strype, *Annals*, 250.
74. Elizabeth I, Letter to James, Sept. 11, 1592, 221–222.
75. William Cecil, “Precepts to His Son,” ca. 1584.
76. Cecil, “Precepts.”
77. Conyers Reed, *Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth*, 133.

78. B. W. Beckingsale, *Burghley: Tudor Statesman 1520–1598*, 193.

79. Cited in “The Cecil Family in Elizabethan Times.”

80. Cited in Collinson, 68, 85.

81. Handover, *The Second Cecil: The Rise to Power 1562–1604*, 96.

82. Collinson, 80.

83. Alan Gordon Smith, *William Cecil: The Power Behind Elizabeth*, 224–231.

84. Burghley cited in Nicholl, *A Cup of News: The Life of Thomas Nashe*, 65.

85. In an eloquent appeal to Burghley in 1597, George More, a loyal Catholic subject, pled for the lord treasurer to intervene with the queen on the matter of religious conscience: “Would to God therefore it might please her Majesty to grant toleration of religion; whereby men’s minds might be appeased, and joined, all in one, for the defence of our country. We see what safety it hath been for France: how peaceable the kingdom of Polonia is, where no man’s conscience is forced: how the Germans live, being contrary in religion, without giving offence one to another. And why should not we do the like, seeing every man must answer for his own soul in the latter day? And that religion is the gift of God, and cannot be beaten into a man’s head with a hammer. Well may men’s bodies be forced, but not their minds: and where force is used, love is lost: and there the Prince and State is in danger.” Cited in Strype, *Whitgift*, 2.370.

86. Baines Note cited in Kuriyama, 221.

87. Burghley, “Certain Precepts for the Well Ordering of a Man’s Life,” ca. 1584, <www.princehamlet.com>.

88. In *The Merchant of Venice*, Dido is portrayed with “a willow in her hand” (5.1.10), in *Much Ado About Nothing*, Benedick maliciously invites Claudio, echoing Claudius’s name in *Hamlet*, to a willow tree to make him a garland, and in *Othello*, Desdemona sings a willow song. Ophelia’s tragic ending also echoes Helles, the Greek maiden who fell into the sea and whose bracelet was given to Leander by Neptune before he, too, was lost beneath the waves.

89. Gristwood, 140.

90. Gristwood, 175.

91. Cited in Collinson, 119.

92. Gristwood, 148.

93. Cited in Gristwood, 33.

94. Gristwood, 166.

95. McGee, 148.

96. “Hymn to Demeter,” *The Homeric Hymns*. Ed. A. N. Athanassakis, 24, 25.

97. *Homeric Hymns*, 97.

98. John Baker, “Some Thoughts on Winstanley’s *Hamlet and the Scottish Succession*.”

99. Pierce, *Introduction*, 205.

100. Nicholl, *A Cup of News*, 52.

101. Annabel Patterson, *Shakespeare and the Popular Voice*, 34, 100–104.

102. Cited in Carlson, *Greenwood and Barrow*, 400.

103. For example, in her otherwise exemplary new book, *My Just Desire*, a biography of Bess Throkmorton, Sir Walter Raleigh’s wife, Oxford scholar Anna Beer calls Marlowe as a “gay atheist” (81). Both descriptions may be true, but neither is certain, and there is considerable evidence to the contrary.

104. Cited in Carlson, *Marprelate*, 72.

105. Marprelate, cited in Kendall, 177.

106. Thomas Kyd, Note to Puckering, ca. June 1593, reproduced in Kuriyama, 231.

107. Cited in Carlson, *Greenwood and Barrow*, 272–273.

108. Twenty-three is also the day of the month on which Savonarola was executed (May 23, 1498). It is the day on which John Whitgift was elevated to the archbishopric (August 23, 1583). It is the day every month when Burghley customarily read the psalms. Twenty-three is the code number the secret service used for Mary, Queen of Scots. (Elizabeth's was the opposite 32.) It is the day the Duke of Guise died (December 23, 1589). It is the day Essex was beheaded (March 23, 1601). By way of augury, in a Privy Council debate in 1598, Burghley admonished Essex for his bellicose policy toward Spain and quoted the twenty-third verse of the fifty-fifth psalm: "The bloody and deceitful men shall not live out half their days."

109. Cited in Kendall, 206.

110. Kendall, 207.

111. Horatio bears a strong resemblance to Theridamis in such lines as "Make much of them, gentle Theridamis, / And they will never leave thee til the death" (*Tamburlaine* 1.2.246–247). As the Scythian emperor and his confidant exult that "both our souls aspire celestial thrones" (1.2.236), Horatio implores heaven to reward his dying lord and "flights of Angels sing thee to thy rest" (5.2.356). In this respect, he is unlike Ithamore, the treacherous slave in *The Jew of Malta* whom Marlowe depicts as the merchant's "second self" (3.4.15).

112. James Shapiro, *Rival Playwrights: Marlowe, Jonson, Shakespeare*, 126–127.

113. Paule, 52.

114. When the First Player intones, "But who, O woe, had seen the mobled queen—," referring to Hecuba, Hamlet replies "The mobled queen?" and Polonius echoes the image for a third time "That's good. 'Mobled queen' is good." "Mobled," the poet's invention, is usually glossed as "muffled," but it could also be a pun for "mob led," referring to the Essex rebellion.

115. Steve Sohmer, "Certain Speculations on *Hamlet*, the Calendar, and Martin Luther," *Early Modern Literary Studies* 2.1 (1996): 5.1–51. Sohmer, taking into account the synodic months based on the allusion to the moons in this passage comes up with a period of 29 years plus 69 days for King Hamlet and Gertrude's marriage. He uses this to postulate that young Hamlet is illegitimate. Coincidentally, 29 years and 69 days from Marlowe's christening day, February 26, 1564, is May 5, 1593, the day on which the Dutch libel was posted.

116. Although no records survive, Alleyn may also have played Aeneas in Marlowe's *Dido Queen of Carthage* in the late 1580s when it debuted at the Rose or one of the children's theaters or in the 1590s when it was revived. If he did appear in that play, his speech about the fall of Troy and the slaying of Priam is parodied good-naturedly by the Player in *Hamlet*, a further tribute to Marlowe's old colleague.

117. Harold Jenkins, ed., *The Arden Hamlet*, 511.

118. Cited in Gristwood, 96.

119. Cited in Christopher Lee, 1603, 98.

120. Motley, *History of the Netherlands*, 1588.

121. Handover, *The Second Cecil*, 33–34.

122. J. D. Martinez, *The Swords of Shakespeare*, 139–146.

123. Eric Linklater, *The Royal House*, 134.

124. Cited in Linklater, 135

125. *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, 1584.

126. See also Andrew Hadfield, *Shakespeare and Renaissance Politics*, 87–97.

127. Some critics have also seen traces of Essex in the prince and point to parallels with the death of his father. After reputedly poisoning Walter Devereux, Leicester (Elizabeth's former favorite) married his widow, Lettice, who court gossip also implicated in the affair.

128. Eric S. Mallin, *Inscribing the Time: Shakespeare and the End of Elizabethan England*, 151, 155.

129. Lindley, 112.

130. John Florio, trans., *Montaigne's Essays*, Book 3, 1603.

131. McGee, 41. Pasfield was also the censor for the official account of the historic Hampton Court Conference in January 1604, convened by James I, at which knotty theological doctrines were debated between Bishop Bancroft and the Puritans. The following month, John Whitgift, who had attended the conference, but only observed because of his age and infirmity, was dead. By the end of the year, the Second Quarto of *Hamlet* was printed.

132. McGee, 169.

133. Stephen Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory*, 233-234.

134. Alan Gordon Smith, *William Cecil: The Power Behind Elizabeth*, 8–9.

135. Greenblatt, 208.

136. Sohmer.

137. Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory*, 240.

138. Sohmer.

139. Cited in McGee, 69

140. Heather James, *Shakespeare's Troy*, 36.

141. Hilary Gatti, "Bruno and Marlowe: Doctor Faustus," in Richard Wilson, ed., *Christopher Marlowe*, 246–265.

142. Bloom, *Hamlet: Poem Unlimited*, 86-87.

143. Marcus Manilius, *Astronomicon*, cited by Roth, *The Undiscovered Country*, Appendix E. The Farnese Atlas is a statue of Atlas holding the celestial sphere on his shoulders, the earliest representation of the Greek constellations. In the original myth, Atlas tricks Hercules to take his heavy burden while he fetches the Golden Apples. But the hero breaks his promise when he discovers he is being deceived into holding up the universe permanently—a punishment meted out by Zeus to the rebellious Titan. Both the celestial globe, depicting the constellations, and the Greek hero's clever stratagem point to the 25,800-year cycle. In the original Globe theatre, two hollowed oak pillars rose from beneath the stage to support the firmament in a reflection of this myth. Hence the playhouse that we associate with the performances of Shakespeare and Jonson is an architectural representation of the world pillar, cosmic tree, or Hamlet's mill and symbolizes humanity's spiritual journey.

Hamlet's reference to "this most excellent Canopy the air, look you, this brave o'rehanging firmament, this majestical roof fretted with golden fire" (2.2.292–293) alludes to both the celestial sphere and the Globe theatre whose roof was inscribed with golden stars. Later, "Hercules & his load" (341) reinforces this precessional imagery. The "load" refers to the globe on his back, which is usually viewed as an allusion to the Globe where *Hamlet* may have been performed. It is widely assumed that the Globe playhouse was named after the earth and heralded the new world that Renaissance navigators and explorers fashioned and mapped. But more likely it took its name from the celestial globe.

144. Leslie Hotson, *I, William Shakespere Do Appoint Thomas Russell, Esquire*, 124.

145. Peter D. Usher, "Hamlet's Transformation," *Elizabethan Review* 7:1,

1999, 48–64.

146. Usher.

147. Peter D. Usher, “Advances in the Hamlet Cosmic Allegory,” *The Oxfordian* 4:25–49, 2001

148. Giorgio de Santillana and Hertha von Dechend, *Hamlet’s Mill*, 2.

149. de Santillana and von Dechend, 2.

150. Michio Kushi and Alex Jack, *One Peaceful World*, 76–82.

151. At an autobiographical level, real mills in Marlowe’s life include Brown’s mill in Deptford near where his reputed slaying took place; the great waterwheels beneath London Bridge; a mill for grinding grain on the Southwark bank east of the theaters; and three mills in Finsbury Fields north of the city near where the poet lived. Robert Baldwin, keeper of Brown’s mill, served on the jury that met following his “death.” Coincidentally, “the mill” was the code name for the secret Marprelate printing press. It was also recorded of John Clark, one of the Separatists arrested in early 1593, “yt was thought good by the commissioners that hee should be sente to Bridewell [a London prison for dissenters] to grinde in the mill [of justice]” (Carlson, *Greenwood and Barrow*, 329).

152. Roland Mushat Frye, *The Renaissance Hamlet: Issues and Responses in 1600*, 174.

153. Frye, 204.

154. Thomas Nashe, preface, in Robert Green’s *Menaphon*, 1589. Of course, it is still possible that Kyd wrote the original *Ur-Hamlet* and that when the Rose theatre’s two leading playwrights shared a room in 1591, he showed the manuscript of *Hamlet* to Marlowe. Kit may then have tinkered with the manuscript, as he apparently did with *The Spanish Tragedy*. The latter has several brief passages that exhibit Marlowe’s characteristic poetry, passion, and lyrical beauty. In contrast, the rest of *The Spanish Tragedy* is very earthbound, the verse is pedestrian, and the action is overwrought and emotional.

155. The original Aesop fable featured a wolf, not a fox. It is likely that Nashe adopted this version from Spenser’s *Shepherd’s Calendar*, though he may have done so in order to make his point.

156. Thomas Lodge, *Wit’s Miserie and the World’s Madness*, 1596.

157. An exception is *Titus Andronicus*, the earliest Shakespearean tragedy, in which Tamora is personified as the fury: “I am Revenge, sent from th’ infernal kingdom / To ease the gnawing vulture of thy mind / By working wreakful vengeance on thy foes” (5.2.30–32). As for a literary influence, note that in Virgil’s *Aeneid*, Alecto is sent prominently by Juno to stir up war against Aeneas.

158. Beside the influences of *The Spanish Tragedy* on the Shakespearean versions of *Hamlet*, Thomas Kyd may be alluded to in other contexts. The banter between the two clowns carries the flavor of a literary contest between fellow poets and playmakers. Thomas Nashe, the pluckiest of Marlowe’s rivals, was often in his cups like the gravedigger who goes out for a bottle of stout and bemoans the sins of inebriation. But in betraying Marlowe to the authorities, Kyd may be seen to be digging Marlowe’s grave just as the clowns do in the play.

159. Shapiro, 86.

160. He also may have registered *As You Like It*, *Henry V*, and *Much Ado About Nothing*. He had also printed the second edition of *Titus Andronicus*.

161. W. Craig Ferguson, *Valentine Simmes*, 12, 14.

162. In 1603, the year Q1 of *Hamlet* was published, Sir Walter Raleigh was arrested for treason and sentenced to death in connection with plots against James.

Q2, revised during this time and through early 1604, does not allude to these events. However, as Anna Beer suggests, *Measure for Measure*, the newest Shakespearean work, which was performed at court before the king in December, features a Duke who “dispenses justice at the end of the play in a theatrical manner that echoes James’s tactics” with the conspirators in the Raleigh case (Beer, *My Just Desire*, 157).

163. Quoted in Lee, 235–236.

164. Describing Prince Hamlet as Shakespeare’s Orestes, critic Inge Leimbeg notes, “In *Hamlet* the furies are not put into the costumes of anything resembling the Weird Sisters, but they are present none the less, if not more alarmingly so.” Although she does not pursue this further in her essay on “Shakespeare De-Witched,” a case can be made that Ophelia is driven mad—the hallmark of the furies—by guilt she feels for betraying her lover and provoking him into slaying her father. Caught in *The Mousetrap*, Claudius flees to the chapel to seek sanctuary from the Eumenides, the furies of guilt and retribution. Along with killing a parent and ruler, slaying a brother (King Hamlet) ranked among the three worst sins, as Orestes, Oedipus, Alcamaeon, and the Amazon Queen Penthesileia discovered. In his torment, Claudius flays himself as mercilessly as if the three avenging goddesses were standing over him with their brass-studded scourges. Polonius, Gertrude, Laertes, and Hamlet can also be seen to be driven to their deaths by inner demons they summoned but were unable to control. Critics like to distinguish *Hamlet* from the bloody Senecan revenge tragedies that preceded it, but beneath the exquisite poetry and sublime self-awareness, the same classical dynamics remain.

165. Steve Roth, “Hamlet as The Christmas Prince: Certain Speculations on *Hamlet*, the Calendar, Revels, and Misrule,” 1–89.

166. Strype, *Whitgift*, 2.165.

167. Strype, *Whitgift*, 2.167.

168. Andrew Hadfield, *Shakespeare and Renaissance Politics*, 228.

169. Hadfield, 228.

170. Smith, 198.

AFTERWORD

1. Cited in *Johnson on Shakespeare*, ed. Walter Raleigh, 23–24.

2. Heather James, *Shakespeare’s Troy*, 5.

3. James, 5–6.

4. Anna Beer, *My Just Desire*, 122.

5. First mentioned by John Aubrey and cited in Christopher Lee, *1603*, 268.

6. Alex Jack, “Tempest in a Teepee,” *Focus*. Oberlin Ohio: Spring 1964, 8–10.

7. Stephen Greenblatt, *Will in the World: How Shakespeare Became Shakespeare*, 85.

8. A. L. Rowse, Marlowe, 205–207.

APPENDIX A

1. Martin Marprelate, *Hay Any Work for Cooper?*, in William Pierce, *An Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts*, 281.

2. Curiously, the original morality play in the sermon was framed as a painting by an artist named Lucian, whose name calls to mind the Roman wit and satirist and Lucan, the poet Kit translated. It also suggests Lucianus, the nephew to the Player

King, who delivers Hecate's curse and pours poison into the king's ear in the play-within-the-play in *Hamlet*.

3. *The Epistle*, 16 and *The Epitome*, 1. *The Marprelate Tracts, 1588, 1589*. Ed. William Pierce.

4. Cited in Constance Brown Kuriyama, *Christopher Marlowe: A Renaissance Life*, 225.

5. Pierce, 86.

6. Cited in Leah S. Marcus, *Puzzling Shakespeare*, 83–84.

7. Marcus, 83–84.

8. Marcus, 83–84.

9. Henry Fielding, *Tom Jones*, vii, xi, 1749.

10. Ayenb. 214, under “reckoning,” *Oxford English Dictionary*.

11. Ritchie D. Kendall, *The Drama of Dissent: The Radical Poetics of Nonconformity, 1380–1590*, 209.

12. Kendall, 210.

13. Kendall, 203. Though it could be disinformation, Martin's claim to be unmarried would eliminate Job Throkmorton, a strong candidate, whose case is presented in Leland H. Carlson, *Martin Marprelate, Gentleman: Master Job Throkmorton Laid Open in His Colors*. Throkmorton was married and had children and while there are some stylistic similarities between his anonymous writings and Martin, he does not have the theatrical flair or polish of Martin. According to Penry, at least one of the manuscripts “was sent from London” which points to Marlowe since Throkmorton was the subject of an arrest warrant and in hiding, presumably in the countryside, for a fiery speech he delivered in Parliament.

14. Kendall, 212.

15. Geneva Bible, gloss on Josiah, 2 Kings 22.7 note d.

16. Geneva Bible, 2 Kings 22.19–20.

17. Martin Marprelate, *Hay Any Work for Cooper?*, 1589.

18. In the meaning of Josiah's name—“Gift of Yahweh”—and his rebuke to the archpriest in Second Kings we even see a reflection of Elder Hamlet's pun on Archbishop Whitgift's name. (Historical number play is almost as intriguing as word play. To wit: Marlowe “dies” in 1593, and his portrait at Cambridge providentially appears in 1953. Another inverse example of *Quod me destruit me nutrit* (“Nourished by that which it is destroyed”).

In another curious twist, Edward VI, the boy-king who reigned from 1547–1553, was often compared by his contemporaries to King Josiah because of his righteousness. “In much of the discourse surrounding the reforms, Edward was imaged as the Old Testament kings Josiah and Solomon. Like the boy king Josiah, Edward was responsible for purging the land of ‘popish idolatry,’ like Solomon, he built the temple of ‘Reformed Religion” (Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation*).

In the Epistle to the Queen, the Geneva Bible likens Elizabeth to Josiah, builder of the spiritual temple and destroyer of idols. The opening dedication of the Geneva translation, the principal scripture used by the Puritans, instructs her: “The Lord gaue him [Josiah] good successe & blessed him wonderfully, so long as he made Gods worde his line and rule to followe, and enterprised nothing before he had enquired at the mouth of the Lord.”

According to the biblical reckoning, Josiah was followed by his son Jehoahaz, who “did evil in sight of the Lord,” and then by Eliakim, who turned the wealth of

the country over to Pharaoh. Whitgift played the role of Pharaoh, and the wickedness of Josiah's descendants, as all good Puritans knew, led directly to God's wrath against Israel in the form of the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem by King Nebuchadnezzar and the Babylonian Captivity. Given this apocalyptic construction of the Elizabethan and Stuart eras, is it any wonder that thousands of the godly soon set off for the New World to found a shining city on the hill? In a poignant letter to Queen Elizabeth the year before Marlowe's arrest, incarcerated Puritan ministers likened themselves to the prophets of "the virtuous kings of Judah" (John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, 4.123).

APPENDIX B

1. Cf. the Christian messiah who will come as a thief in the night (2 Peter 3.10).
2. Furness quotes Dyce, an English critic, that "[T]he prologue is superior in composition to the play (*Fratricide Unpunished*) itself." (Furness, 116) He also cites two other authorities, Clark and Wright, "[I]t is probable that the German text even in its present diluted form may contain something of the older English Play upon which Shakespeare worked . . . It does not appear that the German playwright made use of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, or even of the play as represented in Q1. The theory that it may be derived from a still earlier source is therefore not improbable" (Horace Howard Furness, *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare: Hamlet*, 2.117).
3. Furness, 2.117.
4. Some critics attribute the witches scenes in *Macbeth* to Thomas Middleton, in whose play, *The Witch*, some of the songs first appeared. However, Brian Vickers defends Hecate's appearance as Shakespearean (*Shakespeare, Co-Author*, 123–124)
5. Lucan, *Pharassalia* 6.588–830 in Daniel Ogden, *Magic, Witchcraft, and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, 195.
6. Lucan.
7. Milton Crane, "Introduction: 3 *Henry VI*," in *Henry VI, Parts I, II, III*. Signet edition, xxv-xxvi.
8. Cited in David Riggs, *The World of Christopher Marlowe*, 307.
9. Riggs, 307.
10. Lacy Baldwin Smith, *Elizabeth Tudor: Portrait of a Queen*, 216.
11. Smith, 209.
12. Drea Leed, "Elizabethan Make-up 101," July-August 2000 1:1, <www.RenaissanceCentral.com>.
13. Pierce, *An Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts*, 28.
14. Heather James, *Shakespeare's Troy*, 65.
15. Marlowe's life was also governed by threes. He worked in three major genres: translations, poems, and plays (further divided into tragedies, histories, and comedies). They were performed by three troupes: the Lord Admiral's, Lord Strange's, and the Earl of Pembroke's Men. Kit ran afoul of three powerful officials: Archbishop Whitgift, Lord Buckhurst, and Sir John Puckering. Three informers—Cholmeley, Baines, and Drury—accused him of three capital offenses: heresy, atheism, and sedition. Three privy counselors evidently protected him: Burghley, Robert Cecil, and the Lord Admiral. There appear to be three principal noblewomen in his life: Mary Sidney, Arbella Stuart, and Queen Elizabeth. He made at least three trips to the Continent: Rheims, Flushing, and the flight "beyond the Alps."