Many writers have dealt with the ever-recurring themes of Love and War. As such, Marlowe is neither original nor singular in the fact that he too deals with these aspects of man's life. His originality and singularity, however, lie in the fact that in each of the plays under discussion, namely The Tragedy of Dido, Tamburlaine I & II and Edward II, a different attitude towards Love and War is presented.

In The Tragedy of Dido, the conflict between Love and War is resolved in love's defeat as the hero departs for his struggles in a strange land. In Tamburlaine, a delicate balance is maintained between Love and War in the person of the hero, while the king in Edward II creates the conditions for war through his pre-occupation with an unnatural love-affair. Furthermore, these major attitudes are usually underlined by minor Love-War relationships in the plays.
LOVE AND WAR IN FOUR PLAYS OF CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE
LOVE AND WAR IN FOUR PLAYS OF CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE

BY

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In the following pages I have tried to show Marlowe's versatility in dealing with the themes of Love and War in four of his plays. While concentrating on what seems to be the predominant attitude towards Love and War in each play, I have also sought to show other attitudes occurring in the plays, either for contrast or for emphasis.

It will become clear as the relevant plays are examined that the range of the Love-War theme extends beyond the limits which the topic seems to impose upon itself; for at times, war has been taken to include not merely active conflict but even all those things which may be associated with it, for example empire, honour and power. In Dido, in particular, war at times has even been used as a kind of substitute for empire.

My selection of The Tragedy of Dido, Tamburlaine I & II and Edward II has been based on the importance of Love and War within the total meaning of each play.
INTRODUCTION

From the literary and philosophical climate of his time, and from the very nature of the polarities of Love and War, one can suggest reasons for Marlowe's tendency to treat these themes and their various associations in his plays. In the face of these considerations, Marlowe merely becomes one of the many who displayed a tendency to deal with these recurring preoccupations of man's life. Rather, his claim to distinctiveness lies in the various slants which he gives to the themes. It will become clear as his plays are examined, that his treatment varies from work to work. Moreover, the variations in treatment are further borne out by the variations in the worlds in which these polarities operate.

Besides being two of man's most fundamental concerns, Love and War had already been treated in some of the world's greatest literature. Furthermore, literature incorporating these themes was being sought after, edited, studied and translated as part of England's revival of classical learning. As a man who could claim one of the best classical trainings of the time, Marlowe would undoubtedly have been familiar with such works both in the original and translation. These works dealt both intellectually and poetically with the emotions and the qualities of the warrior.

Caught up in the revival of ancient learning, and no doubt stirred by the opportunities offered him by classical writers in the polarities of Love and War, Marlowe had him-
self translated Ovid's elegies and the first book of Lucan, one the poetry of love, the other the poetry of disastrous war. According to Harry Levin, Marlowe "could not have selected two Roman exemplars more unlike each other than Lucan, the clangorous laureate of civil war, and Ovid, the mellifluous singer of the loves of the gods. His own strain would modulate back and forth between those two registers, lyric seduction and epic conquest, between the respective modes of Venus and Mars." Having translated Ovid and Lucan, in which he found partial expression for his amorous nature and love of arms respectively, Marlowe left off this kind of exercise and turned his attention to the drama, which was to be henceforth his main artistic medium for the themes of Love and War.

It is almost as though Marlowe were preparing himself in exercises of Love and War separately, before he attempted to bring them together in one and the same play. Even when he finally does this, he does not quite launch out on his own. First, he makes choice of a source in Vergil's Aeneid which presents him with a ready-made situation in Love and War or Empire. Whether the choice was conscious or otherwise, the subject matter was such as could best please the young humanist. He could not do better than dramatize a fragment of Vergil's epic after translating Ovid and Lucan.

Apart from the obvious treatment of the love ardour and the martial zeal in the classical literature which was revived and which became a symptom of the Renaissance humanism of England, there was the continued pre-occupation with all forms of love, ranging from divine and platonic love to the most sensual of human love. These Renaissance theories of love which had their roots in ancient theories of love and friendship, and in the medieval concepts of courtly love, prompted writers to be engrossed with the expressions of love in a period in which all those concepts were still very much alive. Human relationships became one of the increasingly important expressions of the concern for the human predicament. Marlowe must have been influenced by this general concern of the period for love and its implications.

This latter preoccupation, occurring as it does in almost all the poetry of his day, and particularly in the love sonnets of men like Wyatt, Drayton, Daniel, Sidney and Spenser undoubtedly affected Marlowe in its movement. With the theories of courtly and platonic love affording them a firm background, poets became immersed in portrayals of actual love-affairs, as they sought to follow or deviate from the mode of Petrarch. This might have inspired Marlowe to write *Hero and Leander*, a wonderful expression of accepted sensual love, and translate Ovid's elegies—an exposition of the whole amorist's life, noted for its rich and passionately sensual love.

On the question of war and those qualities which are
the concern of the warrior, it is not difficult to see why 
this aspect appealed so much to Marlowe. As a lover of action, 
Marlowe took special delight in any practical science which 
afforded him an outlet for this kind of energy. Like 
Tamburlaine, he probably viewed war as providing an opportu-
nity to satisfy man's boundless aspiration. War became the 
means for building an empire, as in the case of Aeneas, and, 
as Tamburlaine demonstrates, for satisfying a man's thirst 
for power, for securing his honor and proving his heroism. 
Simultaneously, it could be the means whereby a kingdom is 
purged of its incompetent king.

Provided with such a Renaissance humanist background 
and atmosphere, pervaded by numerous works dealing with the 
themes and theories of the lover and the warrior, it is not 
surprising that Marlowe chose the relationship between Aeneas 
and Dido, with the Trojan War for background, as a fit subject 
for his first play. C.S. Lewis' observations on the verse 
of the period, which he refers to as 'Golden,' helps to account 
for Marlowe's choice: "With the Golden manner there goes, 
usually, a Golden Matter; ideally ardent lovers or ideally 
heroic wars... ." Even if Marlowe does not always deal 
with "ideally ardent lovers" like Dido and Leander or "ideally 
heroic wars" like the Trojan War and the battle of Pharsalia, 
the fact remains that he still considered the lover and the 
man of action important enough to create personalities por-

\[2\] *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford, 
traying these in varying degrees.

Presented with a basic working theme of Love and War in Vergil's *Aeneid*, Marlowe creates his own in *Tamburlaine*; then when he has exploited the normal relationship, he reverses the process in *Edward the Second*. As one reviews the entire corpus of his work, one can see that Marlowe was destined to outstrip his earlier models, "to see in the wars of Tamburlaine the uncontrollable forces of the soaring mind of man and in the loves of Hero and Leander a consummation of the art of heaven in the senses of man."\(^3\) War and love are at their heights in the respective works.

CHAPTER I

Any attempt to discuss the polarities of Love and War in Marlowe's plays should begin with The Tragedy of Dido. Apart from the distinct possibility of the play being the first one written by Marlowe, it is perhaps about the only one in which the theme has been taken over in a more or less complete form. The main interest, then, becomes the manner and extent of Marlowe's modification of Vergil's treatment. As the play is examined, it will become necessary at times to compare both versions.

Too much of a variation on the main theme is not to be expected from Marlowe. The story itself does not allow him much freedom. There are certain limits within which he finds it necessary to work, and whatever liberties he decides to take must be taken within the confines of the narrative. Where Marlowe differs most from Vergil is in being able to make a more direct connection than the mere incidental one in Vergil between Love and War, while at the same time dealing with them as separate aspects.

Broadly speaking, Dido is an experiment in Love and War, and their relation to each other. In this play, Marlowe dwells particularly upon the emotional aspects of Dido's plight and exploits the concept of frustrated love. As he does this, Marlowe places Dido in a position where she hardly becomes aware of the fact that it is the gods who are the ultimate cause of her suffering—that it is her fate to be
sacrificed in the course of the divinely ordained sequence of events that linked the fall of Troy with the rise of Rome.

It is interesting to note that wherever Marlowe takes liberties, it is generally in his various accentuations of the love theme and, to a lesser extent, in the bloody details of Aeneas' account of the Trojan War. This he does with the slightest suggestion from Vergil. As a result, themes become more emphatic, new relationships develop and consequent complications arise, all of which, no doubt, make for greater dramatic effect. In fact, whatever dramatic tension there is in the play comes from the accentuations of the love and war themes and the balancing of these.

One of the most daring and original of these accentuations is no doubt the perverted love existing between Jupiter and Ganymede, whose relationship looks forward to all the other depictions of homosexual love in Marlowe's works, particularly that between Edward and Gaveston in Edward II. Taking his cue from the "rapti Ganymedis honores" of Vergil, Marlowe sets up a relationship between the god and his minion in the terms which lovers use to another. Jupiter addresses Ganymede:

Come gentle Ganymede, and play with me. I love thee well, say Juno what she will.

4 Aeneid I. The honours conferred on ravished Ganymede. (Translation mine).

Jupiter is even willing to punish Juno for striking "the darling of [his] thoughts." No less endearing are the words of Ganymede:

Sweet Jupiter, if e'er I pleased thine eye
Or seemed fair, walled in with eagle's wings,
Grace my immortal beauty with this boon,
And I will spend my time in thy bright arms.(I.i.19-22).

As the scene progresses, Ganymede becomes Jupiter's "sweet wag, . . . / Whose face reflects such pleasure to [his] eyes;" he is also his "little love," his "own sweetheart," and to crown it all, is promised protection and whatever else Ganymede can ask for, "if thou wilt be my love."

Venus' reference to Ganymede's femininity emphasizes the unnatural character of the relationship which exists between Jupiter and Ganymede:

Ay, this is it! You can sit toying there
And playing with that female wanton boy,
Whiles my Aeneas wanders on the seas
And rests a prey to every billow's pride.(I.i.50-53).

The love relationship between Jupiter and Ganymede, together with its implications all help to establish a kind of interaction between Love and War—an interaction for which Marlowe had an acute perception. Moreover, it sets the erotic mood of the play, prepares for the more normal love-making of Dido and Aeneas, and the more explicit conflict between this love and the broader martial aspects of the play.

Since Vergil had suggested Jupiter's favours to Ganymede as one of the reasons for Juno's hatred for the Trojans and her subsequent fighting against them in the Trojan War, Marlowe makes the reason much more emphatic by his dramatization of the whole scene. That the displacement
of Hebe by the Trojan boy Ganymede as cupbearer of the gods was a reason for Juno's opposition to the Trojans, is subscribed to by Marlowe. As in Edward II, this is clearly an instance of a war partly caused by an unnatural love in the strong suggestion that the Trojan War has been fought partly due to the homosexual love of the father of the gods. This is the same Trojan War which supplies the underlying war theme to the main love episode in the play.

With regard to the Dido-Aeneas love relationship and its relation to the war motif, Marlowe follows Vergil's account very closely in the main, though we shall see that he finds room for modifications. This is due in part to the fact that Marlowe is concentrating upon an amorous episode which, in Vergil's scheme of things, had been only a digression. In his treatment, Vergil shows almost no sympathy for Dido's emotions, for to him, Aeneas is the agent of the divine will, one in whom obedience to god and piety must reign to the exclusion of all other feelings.

Though Aeneas sometimes needs reminders, particularly during his relationship with Dido, he is usually very conscious of his divinely appointed destiny to found a new Troy. This fate-driven exile \( \text{\textit{fato profugus}} \) is too little of a free agent. His desertion of Dido is inevitable on Vergil's hypothesis--for how could Carthage and Rome unite? Hereby the poet proclaims the irresistible power of the celestial will, overruling human hopes and callous to the tragedy of Dido's misplaced love, a treatment to which Marlowe adheres
rather closely.

In both Vergil's and Marlowe's treatment, Dido--a woman is nothing, weighed in the balance against the origin of the Roman race. Marlowe, however, attempts to portray more of a struggle against this divine will and so manages to show the efforts as even more futile. Consequently the tragedy penetrates a little deeper. Even Vergil manages, in spite of himself, to win the sympathies of all readers for Dido against his chosen favourite of the gods--so well has he portrayed a woman's passion and despair.

To appreciate fully what Marlowe has done with this theme of Love and War, one must first see the way in which Vergil has viewed it. Even in Vergil, the relation between the two is both immediate and has future consequences. Immediate in that somehow their love relationship is a direct consequence of the Trojan War, which in itself, both in artistic form and in Aeneas' narrative, marks stages in the development of Dido's love for Aeneas. The future consequences are those which are to occur in years of struggle between Rome and Carthage.* Realizing the implications, Vergil, nevertheless, succeeds in presenting a very human Dido, due no doubt to his power of reading the heart.

Dido, in the story of Aeneas, blocks the advance of fate. She must perish. It is the conflict familiar in Greek drama--the individual against the divine will. To resist the

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*This point will be dealt with at greater length later on.
destined establishment of Aeneas in Italy is to tread the way of madness and doom. Aeneas' alliance with Dido is clearly wrong. His interests are the interests of Rome. Vergil meant readers to feel that Aeneas must now choose War or Empire as against Love. Desertion of Dido becomes a duty; it cannot be judged—or at least understood—by normal standards of conduct. Dido represents Rome's enemy, Carthage. In order to fulfill the prophecies of warring with Carthage, Aeneas must put aside Dido's love. But at this point, Vergil's tenderness intervenes. She is no temptress: she is "infelix Dido," long before the love-relationship gets on the way.

Despite his lack of sympathy, Vergil compels admiration for the queen from the very outset. And he succeeds in making her the most engrossing of all his figures. Interest is awakened by her royal demeanour, her sorrowful past, her generosity to strangers, her passion for their prince, her desertion by him, and her tortures of total despair. With the reader's sympathy, the pleadings with her betrayer, the half-confidences to her sister, the well-concealed resolution to die, are all full of tragic power. Her death is expressed in lines of wonderful sadness:

ter sese attollens cubitoque adnixa levavit:
ter revoluta toro est, oculisque errantibus alto quaesivit caelo lucem, ingemuitque reperta. (Aeneid.IV.690-2)

Then the flames of her funeral pyre light up the sea over

6. Thrice leaning on her elbow, she made an effort to raise herself up. Thrice she fell back on the bed, and with swimming eyes sought the light of heaven, and having found it, heaved a groan. (Translation mine).
which the Trojan has set sail: and the reader feels how
great a human sacrifice has been made for Aeneas' kingdom in
Italy.

In his treatment of the myth, Marlowe goes a little
further than merely depicting the story of Dido as no more
than a tragic episode in the career of a superman destined to
found an empire. In seeking to raise the episode to a high
level of tragedy, given its limitations which include the
intervention of the gods, Marlowe's depiction of the moti­
vations comes earlier and is much stronger, as he seeks to
create dramatic tension. Vergil had suggested Dido's interest
in the Trojan War, delineated on her city's walls, as the
first stage in the love-affair. In Marlowe, however, Aeneas
learns from Ilioneus that Dido has shown an even stronger
disposition:

Oft hath she asked us under whom we served,
And when we told her, she would weep for grief,
Thinking the sea had swallowed up thy ships;
And now she sees thee, how will she rejoice? (II.i.66-69)

Similarly, Marlowe has sought to intensify the feel­
ings of Dido. She becomes much more passionate than she is
in Vergil and less opposed to the idea of falling in love.
Even before Aeneas is aware of her feelings, Dido hymns his
beauty in a lyrical passage which is quite genuine in its
eroticism:

O dull-conceited Dido, that till now
Didst never think Aeneas beautiful!
But now, for quittance of this oversight,
I'll make me bracelets of his golden hair;
His glistening eyes shall be my looking-glass
His lips an altar, where I'll offer up
As many kisses as the sea hath sands.
Instead of music I will hear him speak. (III.i.81-88)

Such overwhelming bursts of passion are extremely rare in Vergil's version.

Dido, in Marlowe's treatment, becomes more daring in her attempt to win Aeneas' love. Part of the result is another strong suggestion of the interrelationship between Love and War. Using a possible war with her bordering enemies as a veil for her love and as her excuse for asking Aeneas to stay, she strikes a definite bargain:

\[
\text{Aeneas, I'll repair thy Trojan ships}
\]
\[
\text{Conditionally that thou wilt stay with me}
\]
\[
\text{And let Achates sail to Italy. (III.i.112-114)}
\]

However, Dido has overlooked the fact that Aeneas has wars of his own to wage; and so, what is for her an excuse for securing Aeneas' love, becomes for Aeneas a legitimate reason for refusing her love, as he chooses empire. Jupiter informs Venus of Aeneas' martial career:

\[
\text{Three winters shall he with the Rutiles war,}
\]
\[
\text{And in the end subdue them with his sword;}
\]
\[
\text{Which once performed, poor Troy, so long supressed,}
\]
\[
\text{From forth her ashes shall advance her head. (I.i.89-94).}
\]

Aeneas, in order to perform his function as warrior and builder of empire, cannot ultimately be Dido's lover, even if Marlowe makes him temporarily willing to cooperate.

Achates makes it quite explicit that Aeneas cannot be the soldier Jove means him to be--the soldier who must subdue the Rutiles in war and build a "statelier Troy"--if he stays on in the amorous world of Dido; for the world of love is clearly inimical to that of war:
This is no life for men-at-arms to live,
Where dalliance doth consume a soldier's strength,
And wanton motions of alluring eyes
Effeminate our minds, inured to war. (IV.iii.33-36)

This is the clearest enunciation of the predominant relationship between love and war in the play—their incompatibility. Before the play confirms Achates' attitude, however, Marlowe allows Aeneas to play with the idea of accepting this 'life' and rejecting the life beyond the sea by involving him more in the love affair.

In the central love relationship between Aeneas and Dido, Marlowe's concern for matters of the heart induces him to go one step further in that he does not portray Aeneas as the cold-blooded man he is in the Aeneid. It is this spark of humanity in Aeneas which allows Marlowe to toy with the idea of the opposition between divine will and the human desire—between empire and love—whose defeat constitutes Dido's tragedy. For all of this, Aeneas still remains much more the capricious object of Dido's passion than the romantic lover.

In the Aeneid, Aeneas is presented as being much more obdurate than in Marlowe's depiction of him. Jove's interventions to command Aeneas to leave Carthage are much less frequent in the Aeneid and Mercury's appearances seem to constitute more of a threat. After Mercury's first appearance to Aeneas, Vergil tells us: "ardet abire fuga, dulces relinquere terras" (Aeneid IV.281). At times, however, by the

7 He burns to be gone in flight and leave the darling land. (Translation mine).
subtle use of words like "optima Dido," "dulce," and "molissima" in Aeneas' speeches and thoughts, Vergil attempts to show traces of feeling in Aeneas, but these are usually followed by a re-emphasis on his determination to leave and his deliberate efforts to remain unmoved by the tears and supplications of Dido and her sister:

... sed nullis ille movetur
fletibus, aut voces ullas tractabilis audit;
fata obstant, placidasque viro deus obstruit aures. 8
(IV.438-440)

At times Aeneas can be far from unfeeling:

... et magno persentit pectore curas:
mens immota manet; lacrimae volvuntur inanes.(IV.448-9)9

Though for a moment the heart and head of Aeneas may be struggling, it takes only a slight reminder from Mercury to get him to give up love for the active life.

With Marlowe, Aeneas eventually reaches the same conclusion but much more of a delay and a sway of emotions is allowed him. This, Marlowe achieves to some extent by making him much more cooperative than Vergil had in the love affair with Dido. Even though we are told by Jupiter as early as Act I, that "Aeneas' wandering fate is firm," yet Marlowe allows himself to toy with the idea of an alternative, which

8 But by none of her tears is he moved, nor listens with calm regard to any words; The Fates stand in his way; and heaven renders his ears deaf to compassion. (Translation mine)

9 and feels deep pangs in his mighty soul; his mind remains unmoved; unavailing tears are shed. (Translation mine).
no doubt anticipates the minor conflicts that arise later in the play. Venus, instructing Cupid to touch Dido's "white breast with this arrow head / That she may dote upon Aeneas' love" (II.i.326-327), suggests that Aeneas can then do one of two things—either "at last depart to Italy / Or else in Carthage make his kingly throne" (II.i.330-331). This is a clear case of what Marlowe is attempting to do within the limits of his source. Aeneas' choice to remain or go is really a choice between Love and Empire, between Love and War.

By making Aeneas' protestations of love and his marriage vows much more vehement in his treatment than Vergil had, Marlowe creates a situation which makes it more difficult for Aeneas to depart. Soon after, Hermes appears in a dream and the warrior calls for an immediate departure:

Carthage, my friendly host adieu,  
Since destiny doth call me from the shore.  
Hermes this night, descending in a dream,  
Hath summoned me to fruitful Italy.  
Jove wills it so. My mother wills it so. (IV.iii.1-5)

At this point, Aeneas craves Dido's consent but immediately afterwards announces, "Grant she Dido or no, Aeneas must away." For all of this, and in spite of the fact that he has already commanded his men to set sail and in spite of Achates' advice to "Banish that ticing dame from forth his mouth," Aeneas is forced to acknowledge: "I fain would go, yet beauty calls me back" (IV.iii.46). In a minute, at the pleadings of Anna, Aeneas returns and accepts Dido's crown and scepter. For the moment Jupiter's commands are laid aside as he Aeneas decides to remain in Carthage:
O Dido, patroness of all our lives
When I leave thee, death be my punishment.
Swell, raging seas. Frown wayward destinies,
Blow winds. Threaten ye rocks and sandy shelves.
This is the harbor that Aeneas seeks. (IV.iv.55-59)

This speech is followed shortly after by what seems to be a final step taken by Aeneas: "Then here in me shall flourish Priam's race."

When next Aeneas appears, he is seen with a paper in his hand, drawing the platform of the city. And Marlowe's final attempt to present a conflict comes out in Aeneas' stern resolution to remain in Carthage:

Triumph, my mates; our travels are at end.
Here will Aeneas build a statelier Troy
Than that which grim Atrides overthrew. (V.i.1-3)

For the moment, Aeneas' ambitions find an outlet in his plan to "build a statelier Troy." However, the dictates of destiny must be followed eventually, and particularly when they are expressed in the manner which Hermes expresses them:

I tell thee thou must straight to Italy,
Or else abide the wrath of frowning Jove. (V.i.53-54)

And so, although Aeneas will, for the rest of the time he remains in Carthage, be constantly expressing his regret at having to leave, yet he will remember that he is commanded by immortal Jove "To leave this town and pass to Italy / And therefore must of force" (V.i.100-101). But up to the very end, Marlowe has sought to create or suggest as much of a conflict as possible in the mind of Aeneas, and so, to some extent, has minimized the intervention of the gods. The conflict, which is fundamentally one between Love and War is admirably summed up in the words of Harry Levin:
Wavering—like Shakespeare's Antony—between Africa and Italy, between the enticements of love and the duties of war, he allows the gods to solve his dilemma for him. Venus is in the ascendant but Mars must have his day. For the nonce the poet is content to dwell in the pastures of Ovidian lyricism, but the epic clangor of Lucan, the call of Roman destiny, and the rumbling of Caesarism are heard in the distance.

Finally, the conflict is resolved when "the call of Roman destiny" leads Aeneas to set sail. Before this resolution, however, there is a constant playing back and forth between the love and war motifs. This helps to underline the nature of Dido's and Aeneas' world, while suggesting a motive for Aeneas' final choice.

Although the love aspect dominates in the Dido—Aeneas relationship, there is the continued presence of war in the background which colours the main love relationship in its far-reaching effects. Overshadowing the whole play is the Trojan War and Aeneas, one of the greatest warriors who took part in that war. Marlowe fuses the two themes of Love and War when he makes Aeneas, warrior and future lover of Dido, recount the events of the Trojan War to the queen.

Before this, however, the Trojan War is already a main factor in the play, as it was in Vergil's account. In Vergil, the fact that Dido was sufficiently interested in the Trojans and their affairs to have the Trojan War painted on the walls of her city was an indication of a favourable predisposition to love Aeneas. Coming early in Marlowe's play where it is highly dramatized, it serves as a welding factor.

10The Overreacher, p. 17.
in the relationship between Aeneas and Dido. Aeneas is overcome by the memories of Troy which the city stirs in him as Dido is at the hearing of the events. He sheds tears; and speaks as though he is actually witnessing the war:

O, yet this stone doth make Aeneas weep!
And would my prayers (as Pygmalion did)
Could give it life, that under his conduct
We might sail back to Troy and be revenged
On these hard-hearted Grecians which rejoice
That nothing now is left of Priamus.
O, Priamus is left and this is he!
Come, come aboard; pursue the hateful Greeks. (II.i.15-22)

In the matter of the central aspect of the war theme, Marlowe remains very close to his source. Aeneas' account of the Trojan War varies very little from the same account in the Aeneid, except where Marlowe, out of a kind of fascination by the brutality of war, goes into a little more gory detail. In fact, Marlowe does this whenever he seeks to emphasize the cruelty of the Greeks and the suffering of the Trojans. While in the Aeneid, Aeneas' first knowledge of the war comes in seeing the houses of Deiphobus and Ucalegon on fire, in Dido this knowledge is gained through the ghastliest sights of slaughter:

Young infants swimming in their parent's blood,
Headless carcasses piled up in heaps,
Virgins half-dead, dragged by their golden hair
And with main force flung on a ring of pikes,
Old men with swords thrust through their aged sides,
Kneeling for mercy to a Greekish lad,
Who with steel pole-axes dashed out their brains. (II.i.195-201)

Priam's death which already in Vergil is most terrifying, becomes almost unmentionable in the hands of Marlowe; so much so that Dido asks Aeneas not to go on. Brutal and pathetic is the description of Hector as he appeared to Aeneas. In
Vergil this is a dream, however, but in Marlowe's nightmare world it is reality.

Wherever there is an opportunity to highlight an event, Marlowe is ready, and what was for Vergil a war desperately fought with great odds against the Trojans becomes in Marlowe's hand a mass slaughter on the part of the Greeks. The effect is summed up aptly when the blood-drunk Pyrrhus "then in triumph ran into the streets / Through which he could not pass for slaughtered men." (II.i.261-262). War scenes such as these can very well act as stimuli to Dido's love by playing upon her pity and tenderness.

Moreover, in terms of the conflict between Love and War, these martial scenes supply a sharp contrast to Dido's world of love, pointing out the world peculiar to Aeneas' nature. Essentially J. Steane makes the same point: "Very unlike this downy paradise / the amorous world of Dido / is the strife and harshness of reality as represented by his / Aeneas' / narrative of the fall of Troy."\(^{11}\) The failure on the part of Dido to recognize the validity of Aeneas' world, of which the Trojan War is a part, results in a tension between the two worlds. This tension becomes the source of Dido's tragedy.

Using the Trojan War which took place in the past as a strong influence upon his love theme, Marlowe establishes a relationship between Love and War as he hints at future

\(^{11}\)Marlowe, p. 39.
wars between the Greeks and Trojans as a result of Aeneas' ties with Dido. When Aeneas on one occasion decides on stay­ing on in Carthage, his justification for this decision is expressed in terms of a possible war of revenge with the Greeks:

Then here in me shall flourish Priam's race,  
And thou and I, Achates, for revenge  
For Troy, for Priam, for his fifty sons,  
Our kinsmen's lives, and thousand guiltless souls,  
Will lead an host against the hateful Greeks  
And fire proud Laudaemon o'er their heads. (IV.iv.87-92)

Dido too finds the Trojan War a fair point of refer­ ence when she seeks to give Aeneas strong arguments for stay­ing. As it had shown a favourable predisposition on her part towards Aeneas, and so helped in their love relationship, so now it is used metaphorically to compare those effects already created and those which in the future might be made upon Carthage's enemies by Dido's and Aeneas' love affair. Bringing together the themes of Love and War, Dido puts the question to Aeneas:

Hast thou forgot how many neighbor kings  
Were up in arms for making thee my love?  
How Carthage did rebel, Iarbas storm,  
And all the world calls me a second Helen,  
For being entangled by a stranger's looks?  
So thou wouldst prove as true as Paris did,  
Would, as fair Troy was, Carthage might be sacked,  
And I be called a second Helena. (V.i.141-8)

By comparing Aeneas to Paris and herself to Helen, who as woman's loveliness incarnate could inspire love and with a streak of mysterious evil in her could provoke war, Dido makes an association between Love and War. She empha­sizes the martial effects which Love has brought about in the past and which a re-enactment of the circumstances can
produce now in the present context. Indeed, Helen herself stands for the glorification of Love and War, while the Helen-Paris incident becomes almost a standard example for the interplay between Love and War in Marlowe's play, occurring as it does in this play, in Tamburlaine, in Edward II and especially in Doctor Faustus.

Since Dido's situation fails to work itself out in the rhetorical comparison which she makes with the circumstances of the Trojan War, she proceeds to call down curses on Aeneas and his descendants. Realizing that her love is not to be satisfied and that she is no match for the Roman Empire in its embryo, she ironically forecasts a match in the person of Hannibal and in the future struggles between Rome and Carthage:

And from mine ashes let a conqueror rise
That may revenge this treason to a queen
By plowing up his countries with the sword. (V.i.306-8)

With love denied, war is called for, since it seems that the warrior values are the values of importance in this classical world.

From Dido's point of view, since Aeneas cannot leave the world of action for the crowned peace of love, they both must suffer: she must die and he continue to be harassed in a turbulent world:

Grant, though the traitors land in Italy
They may be still tormented with unrest. (V.i.304-5)

12 These curses are realized in:
1. The First Punic War (264-241 B.C.)
2. The Second Punic War (218-201 B.C.)
And Dido's wishes are fulfilled. This amounts to a kind of sanction both on Vergil's and Marlowe's part. Yet it is all the more pathetic that Dido is not able to see her tragedy as being caused by that same "amor patriae" which led Aeneas to plunge into the Trojan War amidst the Greeks when everything seemed hopeless. But then Dido remains undivided in her attention to Love. Love is the only root of her actions and her whole world too. For the woman the emotional life is everything and to her, as to Edward II, the kingdom matters nothing beside her love.

Ironically, any hope for Dido must come from Aeneas, who, in his own way too is forced to obey only the dictates of Jupiter—that god in whose plans for a future Troy /Rome/, Dido's love has no place. Thus we have seen whenever Aeneas attempts to obey the dictates of the heart rather than those of the divine will or when he attempts to satisfy his longings at the same time, Mercury is swift on his wings with Jove's stern warning. It is at times like these that one feels that the characters are mere puppets whose strings are pulled by the gods.

In Dido, Marlowe has sought to dramatize a balance of warrior, or on a broader scale, national values and love, rising to a powerful climax at love's defeat. It is a conflict of clearly separated values, in which Love is sacrificed for Empire. From our point of view, it is the blatant denial of our immortal value—Love—and the affirmation of the practical value, War or Empire, even though Vergil himself
might have transposed the assessment of these values. From Dido's point of view, it is the outright rejection of the surest means of soaring beyond the human condition, of the loftiest aspiration which alone enables one to attain the infinite:

For in his looks I see eternity,  
And he'll make me immortal with a kiss. (IV.iv.122-3)

Dido's point of view, however, is of no consequence in the plans of Jupiter. And so, "Warlike Aeneas," to use Dido's terms, is triumphant while Dido, the epitome of all that is dear in love, dies, according to Vergil, "misera ante diem." Thus the play establishes a sense of the ultimate denial of the romantic vision, or to say the least, betrays a stark realism towards a world so ruled by the principle of love. Too late will Dido find out the power of divine purpose in such a world.

In the Tragedy of Dido, the antagonism of values continues until the very end. The resolution comes only when the 'feminine' value is defeated in Dido's death, while the 'masculine' value triumphs in Aeneas' successful escape from Carthage, an escape which might be looked upon "as a victorious rebellion against love which enervates man's courage and checks his highest aspirations." When Marlowe comes to write Tamburlaine, this position is reversed. The wide antinomies of Love and War are melted, fused in a unity

13 unhappily before her time. (Translation mine).

in this play in a way in which the plot of *Dido* did not permit Marlowe to do. In the *Tragedy of Dido*, War even as the cruder ideal had included nearly all positive life qualities except love. In *Tamburlaine*, the twin supremities have been reconciled.

Working within a framework which did not allow much scope for originality of plot beyond the point of emphasizing what seemed important to him, Marlowe has been forced to be true to his source to a great extent. And so, Love and Empire receive the same treatment in his hands as they had received in those of Vergil. Seen in terms of their incompatibility in *Dido*, these Marlovian values are not opposed to each other in *Tamburlaine*. The pattern of their examination, however, remains the same. First, they appear as separate aspects; then the relationship between both is explored in the main character.
CHAPTER II

When one begins to think of Tamburlaine in terms of Love and War, or Love and any other quality which may be gained through martial exploits, one might be immediately struck by the whole concept of the hero in the Renaissance sense of the word—the hero who is 'homo universale' by dint of his being the ideal man of the period. Such a man must be accomplished in almost every field of human endeavour. He must be able to fill the roles of lover and warrior. Assumptions such as these take us back to the oldest tradition of the knight who has to fight to win his love.

Essentially, Tamburlaine is a play about warrior values, or on a broad level, overreaching ambition realized through war. The emphasis then is on the supreme warrior who is successful by cunning and by his lion strength, by words and by blows. As warrior, Tamburlaine delights in frankly offensive wars which betray his 'libido dominandi', his boundless ambition. To him, then, war is his fulfillment, not merely an occupation.

War in this play operates on two levels—on the level of actual fighting and on a verbal level. For when Tamburlaine is not "scourging kingdoms with his conquering sword," he is scourging them with his tongue. Hence the importance of eloquence in his war efforts—an eloquence which is carried over to his courtship of Zenocrate as well. In fact Tamburlaine exercises as potent an enchantment over women as over soldiers.
By virtue of the fact that Tamburlaine possesses an important and influential quality which is equally well applied to his concerns of Love and War, these two concerns are reconciled in him. Eloquence wins for Tamburlaine his first bloodless victory. At the approach of Theridamas and his forces, Tamburlaine considers fighting with them or playing the orator, and ends up doing the latter. Magniloquence does duty for magnificence. Theridamas recognizes this and is forced to confess, "Not Hermes, prolocutor to the gods / Could use persuasions more pathetical" (I.i.209-210). Elsewhere, he sums up the nature of the victory thus: "Won with thy Tamburlaine's words and conquered with thy looks" (I.i.227). Zenocrate might have used the same words to describe her capitulation to the hero.

However, before Tamburlaine shows himself as the eloquent warrior, he has only just now been proving himself the eloquent lover. His courtship of Zenocrate is in the most poetic of terms:

Zenocrate, lovelier than the love of Jove,  
Brighter than is the silver Rhodope,  
Fairer than whitest snow on Scythian hills  
Thy person is more worth to Tamburlaine  
Than the possession of the Persian crown  
which gracious stars have promised at my birth. (I.ii.87-92)

The question at this point, as we shall see, is whether Tamburlaine can fill the roles of both warrior and lover. Or is this merely an exercise in rhetoric?

When Tamburlaine tells Zenocrate that her person "is more worth to Tamburlaine / Than the possession of the Persian crown," the influence of the romance tradition is apparent.
One must agree with Eugene Waith that "for the moment it seems that the 'concupiscible power' of his soul dominates the 'irascible power,' though the subsequent action shows that this is not true." However, the important point here is not the domination of one power over the other, but the capacity of Tamburlaine to bring together within himself the active and passive principles of all life—War and Love.

The unexpectedness of the attention paid to Zenocrate leads Techelles to question: "What now? In love?" Tamburlaine replies:

Techelles, women must be flattered.
But this is she with whom I am in love. (I.ii.107-108)

The man who has just claimed that "This complete armor and this curtle-axe / Are adjuncts more besemiing Tamburlaine" (I.ii.43-43), than his shepherd's weeds, now claims he is in love. What may seem at first glance as a kind of impropriety is not really so, especially when one considers that "the inclusion in his nature of the capacity to love is a characteristic Renaissance addition to the classical model of the Herculean hero," with whom Tamburlaine may be associated.

The moment after Tamburlaine expresses his love for Zenocrate, he is ready to battle the Persians, taking with him the same effective weapon he has been using with Zenocrate—his adeptness in eloquence. Observing the way in which

16 Waith, p. 77.
Tamburlaine's eloquence moves back and forth between love and war, Levin says: "Marlowe's Ovidian strain, the invitation to love, is richly latent in the First Part, though it is gradually drowned out by a harsher sound, the challenge to battle. Tamburlaine commands both modes of rhetoric, the plea and the threat, the poetry of Venus and the oratory of Mars."\(^{17}\)

This common rhetorical factor, together with the fact that Tamburlaine looks upon Zenocrate's arrival as a favourable sign of success in Empire or War, is an attempt on the part of Marlowe in the personality of Tamburlaine to reconcile Love and War, to counterbalance the 'libido domandi' by the 'libido sentiendi':

And as a sure and grounded argument
That I shall be the monarch of the East,
He sends this Soldan's daughter, rich and brave,
To be my queen and portly emperess. (Part One.I.ii.183-186)

Since Tamburlaine sees Jove as being instrumental in his possession of Zenocrate, divine purpose in the play will not go against personal sentiment as it had done in the case of Aeneas and Dido, where Jove was against the match. From the speech, love and divine purpose, which in Tamburlaine's case is being the "scourge of God" through war, are not here antagonistic; and so, love in due time asserts its validity in the temporal scheme. Unlike Aeneas, Tamburlaine has a share of both love and empery, and unlike Dido, Zenocrate has a share in the happy ending in Part One.

\(^{17}\) The Overreacher, p. 45.
In *The Tragedy of Dido*, the incompatibility between love and the ambitions of the warrior had been made quite clear in the face of Jove's intervention. Love was inimical to Jove's purpose. In *Tamburlaine*, though the hero partakes of both, Marlowe's treatment is such that it raises doubts as to whether Tamburlaine successfully embodies within him the true reconciliation between the emotional ardour and martial zeal. These doubts arise partly from the fact that Tamburlaine himself is forced to examine whether love should be one of his concerns. Even more important as a reason for entertaining doubts is the portrait presented, from beginning to end, of Tamburlaine as a harsh and unrelenting warrior. But like the other harsh and unrelenting warriors with whom he compares himself, Tamburlaine too can bow to love. However, Tamburlaine's martial nature must be stressed before one can appreciate his accomplishment in being able to conceive of love.

As the warrior 'par excellence,' all the warrior figures of classical history and mythology are employed to describe Tamburlaine. He is compared to Atlas because of his large limbs, "his joints so strongly knit / Such breadth of shoulders . . ." (Part I.II.i.9-10). His hair hangs "Wrapped in curls, as fierce Achilles was;" and his arms and hands betoken "valour and excess of strength." When he is about to do battle with Bajazeth, he claims a parallel in Caesar's camp for his own; but his war will be fiercer:

My camp is like to Julius Caesar's host,
That never fought but had the victory;
Nor in Pharsalia was there such hot war
As these my followers, willingly would have. (Part One. III.iii.152-155)

And so, the invidious comparisons range from that of
Philemus' reference to Aeneas in the first part to Tamburlaine's
own comparison of himself with Alexander and Xerxes in part
two. The climax of these comparisons comes in the Governor
of Damascus' reference to Tamburlaine as the "god of war":

Still doth this man, or rather god of war,
Batter our walls and beat our turrets down. (Part One. V.i.1-2).

All of this is further reinforced by Tamburlaine's frequent
employment of the battles of the classical gods as ample
justification for his warrior tendencies. The play, then,
can be viewed as mainly a document of a hero's path to world
domination and glory through fighting.

The various stages of the path of Tamburlaine's career
are all seen in terms of his potential power to subdue the
world. When we first see him, he is dressed in "Shepherds'
weeds." Beginning his depiction of the hero as a kind of
archetypal 'Noble Savage,' Marlowe traces a development in
Tamburlaine's attitude towards himself. At first, Tamburlaine
sees himself as a "lord" who "means to be a terror to the
world" (Part One.I.ii.37). Then with his belief in his
powers as a warrior, he makes his famous boast:

I hold the Fates bound fast in iron chains
And with my hand turn Fortune's wheel about. (Part One. I.ii.173-74)

With victory to his credit, his pride in his resources in-
creases. He is ready to face even Mars to satisfy his lust
for power:

Though Mars himself, the angry god of arms,  
And all the earthly potentates conspire  
To dispossess me of this diadem  
Yet will I wear it in despite of them. (Part One.II.vii. 59-62)

Tamburlaine's next step is to see himself as an instrument of God, with an unbounded belief in his own victorious destiny, for his "Smiling stars gives him assured hope / Of martial triumph, ere he meet his foes" (Part One. III.iii.42-43). The final stage in Tamburlaine's attitude towards himself comes in his rivalry of Jove and in his overweening pride of daring to march against the powers of heaven and "set black streamers in the firmament / To signify the slaughter of the gods" (Part Two.V.iii.49-50). Not even the gods are exempted: "Come, carry me to war against the gods." And in battle Tamburlaine, matching his words with deeds, is a veritable holocaust, a power all but immortal in its capacity to destroy.

This portrait of Tamburlaine shows clearly that he possesses one of the sternest natures of military men. And it is this which creates the doubts as to Tamburlaine's ability to come to terms with love. This is the nature he essentially seeks to explore when for a moment he questions the validity of such a man as himself meddling in the affairs of love, and concluding that as a warrior he "Must needs have beauty beat on his conceits" (Part One.V.ii.119).

One of the remarkable aspects of the warrior's confession of love is its timing. Coming at a point immediately
after the slaughter of the virgins of Damascus, this scene acts as a kind of counterbalance to the attitude just displayed by Tamburlaine. The question then becomes one of reconciling the unbending nature of Tamburlaine in war with his attitude towards Zenocrate here. Ignoring Zenocrate's pleas to spare Damascus, Tamburlaine, by having the virgins slaughtered and refusing to raise his siege, shows that he is not one to allow his love to interfere with his war aims and methods. Basic and lasting, though his commitment to Zenocrate may be, he is not prepared to allow it to dominate. Zenocrate appeals to him:

My lord, to see my fathers town besieged  
The country wasted where myself was born,  
How can it but afflict my soul?  
If any love remain in you, my lord,  
Or if my love unto your majesty  
May merit favor at your highness hands,  
Then raise your siege from fair Damascus' walls  
And with my father take a friendly truce.(Part One.IV. iv.63-70)

Tamburlaine's reply to this is only to assert his determination:

Zenocrate, were Egypt Jove's own land,  
Yet would I with my sword make Jove to stoop.(Part One. IV.iv.71-72)

The fact that Tamburlaine refuses to raise his siege "from fair Damascus' walls" should not be construed as proof that no love remains in him for Zenocrate. Rather one should view the refusal as a revelation of his unbending character and his unalterable principles of war. Since these principles are known beforehand by his enemies, Tamburlaine's refusal to be influenced by his love for Zenocrate become justified.
The Soldan is informed by a messenger:

The first day he pitcheth down his tents, 
White is their hue . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 
. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 
To signify the mildness of his mind: 
That, satiate with spoil refuseth blood; 
But when Aurora mounts the second time, 
As red as scarlet is his furniture; 
Then must his kindred wrath be quenched with blood, 
Not sparing any that can manage arms; 
But if these threats move not submission, 
Black are his colors, black pavilion; 
. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 
Without respect of sex, degree or age, 
He razeth all his foes with fire and sword. (Part One. IV. i.50-64)

Tamburlaine's refusal, then to raise the siege is based on the absolute primacy of his will--of the execution of whatever he has vowed.

Since the Governor of Damascus has awaited until Tamburlaine has advanced "his coal-black colors," then all Zenocrate's pleadings will not help. His word once given is as inflexible as destiny, and for him the imposition of his will upon Damascus, becomes a carrying out of a cosmic plan. Not even the tears of the virgins in the second scene of the fifth act of Part One can move him. For their pleading, he gives them death. And he sums up his own unalterable character thus:

I will not spare these proud Egyptians, 
Nor change my martial observations 
For all the wealth of Jibon's golden waves, 
Or for the love of Venus, would she leave 
The angry god of arms and lie with me. 
. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 
And know my customs are peremptory 
As wrathful planets, death or destiny. (Part One.V. ii.58-65)

Tamburlaine's unwillingness to change his "martial observations" for the love of Venus is a clear evaluation of the
claims of the goddess of Love as opposed to those of Mars.

It is this scene which, to a great extent, motivates Michel Poirier to question the sincerity of Tamburlaine's love:

It is difficult to believe that such an overgrown ambition as his could leave any room in his heart for any other great passion. In spite of his assertion to the contrary, Zenocide is not more precious to him than the crown of Persia. How can we believe in his sincerity when his finest encomium of her charms is delivered just after he has slaughtered the supplicating virgins of Damascus . . . From a psychological point of view, the bold synthesis he has attempted is an utter failure. . . Poirier in using the apparent disparity between the virgin's death and the subsequent admission of love as proof of Tamburlaine's insincerity has overlooked two important aspects of the scene. One is that he has failed to take into consideration the absolute power and superhuman inflexibility of Tamburlaine's warrior spirit. Secondly, the death of the virgins fails to detract from Tamburlaine's capacity to love, because as colourless figures without any life, they fail to arouse any sympathy whatsoever.

What we have then is not a man who is incapable of love, but one who, though very much in love, even to the point of being extravagant, will not allow his mistress to draw him from that world of stern action which is his sphere, as Dido had sought to do with Aeneas. He is a man who will not allow love to dictate all the faculties. Zenocide, realizing this, will not try to become a second Cleopatra or a second Dido, who in their roles as typical women try to hold man from other interests and other calls. Thus

Tamburlaine can be impervious to the tears of Zenocrate without losing her love as Aeneas had been to those of Dido. The difference here, being that Zenocrate recognizes that Love is not to supercede War in Tamburlaine's scheme of things while Dido had failed to see the importance of Jupiter's intervention in Aeneas' actions.

The argument that Tamburlaine's cruel nature in war is incongruous with his protestations of love, falls when one takes into consideration the concessions made to Zenocrate, given his unflinching character. For a moment, his love for Zenocrate is in strong conflict with his martial deeds, as he is temporarily softened by her tears:

There angels in their crystal armors fight
A double battle with my tempted thoughts
For Egypt's freedom and the Soldan's life,
His life that so consumes Zenocrate,
Whose sorrows lay more siege unto my soul
Than all my army to Damascus walls; (Part One.V.ii.88-93)

Zenocrate is the only one capable of impressing upon him a conception of defeat:

And neither Persians' sovereign nor the Turk
Troubled my senses with conceit of foil
So much by much as doth Zenocrate. (Part One.V.ii.94-96)

His love for Zenocrate eventually modifies the sternness of his warrior spirit, and it is under the spell of this reciprocal love that he spares her father's life.

The suggestion of conflict in Tamburlaine's mind leads him on to the great speech on beauty, which betrays all the imaginative splendour of a romantic poet:

What is beauty, saith my sufferings, then?
If all the pens that ever poets held
Had fed the feeling of their masters' thoughts,
And every sweetness that inspired their hearts,
Their minds, and muses on admired themes;
If all the heavenly quintessence they still
From their immortal flowers of poesy,
Wherein, as in a mirror, we perceive
The highest reaches of a human wit;
If these had made one poem's period,
And all combined in beauty's worthiness
Yet should there hover in their restless heads
One thought, one grace, one wonder at the least,
Which into words no virtue can digest. (V.ii.97-110)

The god of war now shows that he is also the god of beauty.

As a lover in the Renaissance point of view, it is
fitting that Tamburlaine examine the concept of beauty in the
most romantic way, for upon this concept depends the choice
of the woman whose beauty is to be an image of the higher
beauty, towards which eventually the lover moves. It is
through this love of beauty that he expresses and transcends
his passion for Zenocrate. As the picture then of an ideal
Renaissance man, Tamburlaine's aesthetic rapture is in charac-
ter, and dramatically very appropriate.

It has been argued that this lyrical outburst on
"beauty," while characteristic of Marlowe, is ill-fitted to
the lips of the Scythian conqueror, particularly since he
himself poetically confesses the incongruity of his fine out-
burst. Not only is it in keeping with Marlowe's concept of
the ideal Renaissance man, but Tamburlaine's confession is
no more than an attempt to justify his passions by a kind of
sublimation which never succeeds in cancelling out his true
feelings. Fearing, perhaps, to have love or 'beauty' take
precedence over his concern for war and cause him to capit-
ulate to the softer side of his nature, Tamburlaine reproves
himself for these "thoughts effeminate and faint":

But how unseemly is it for my sex
My discipline of arms and chivalry,
My nature, and the terror of my name
To harbor thoughts effeminate and faint. (Part One. V. ii. 111-114)

This, however, is no more than a defense of the self which seems to apologize for personal weakness while actually congratulating itself upon its strength—"my discipline of arms and chivalry."

The problem here is one of reconcilement. How does one, whose very nature seems to be geared for war reconcile this nature with love, which seems to call for almost diametrically opposed feelings? This is just another attempt to resolve the same kind of doubts Agydas had put forward to Zenocrate, as he sought to convince her of the impossibility of Tamburlaine being touched by love. Meaning to discredit Tamburlaine, Agydas puts the question to Zenocrate:

How can you fancy one that looks so fierce,
Only disposed to martial stratagems?
Who, when he shall embrace you in his arms,
Will tell how many thousand men he slew,
And, when you look for amorous discourse,
Will rattle forth his facts of war and blood,
Too harsh a subject for your dainty ears. (Part One. III. ii.40-46)

Zenocrate's answer soars over Agydas' allegations and confutes him by a hyperbolic description of Tamburlaine's "looks" and "amorous discourse":

As looks the sun through Nilus' flowing stream
Or when the morning holds him in her arms,
So looks my lordly love, fair Tamburlaine;
His talk much sweeter than the Muses' song
They sung for honor 'gainst Pierides,
Or when Minerva did with Neptune strive. (Part One. III. ii.47-52)
Zenocrate's admission of the loving "looks" and "sweet" talk of Tamburlaine towards her is ample proof that Tamburlaine has managed to find a place for the gentler feelings of love in his martial nature. The polarities of Love and War are here well synchronized; and Tamburlaine's appearance soon after bears it out as he goes up to Zenocrate "and takes her away lovingly by the hand," according to the stage directions of the play.

Tamburlaine's attempt then to justify his role as lover by claiming the necessity to worship 'beauty' on a universal and thus higher plane, akin to Platonic love, does not automatically cancel out his emotions. Like Sidney's heroes, when Tamburlaine struggles against love, he is very much concerned with the unmanliness of the passion itself as something contrary to the heroic ideal. To him, at the moment "effeminate and faint" thoughts are not permissible "Save only that in beauty's just applause / With whose instinct the soul of man is touched" (Part One.V.ii.115-116). His justification continues as he seeks to present beauty as the handmaid of valour:

And every warrior that is rapt with love
Of fame, of valor, and of victory,
Must needs have beauty beat on his conceits.(Part One.V. ii.117-119)

Tamburlaine's predicament is explained by Harry Levin in terms of the psychology of Marlowe's time: "The will could be stirred in two directions by appetite, irascible and concupiscible. Though anger is Tamburlaine's predominant humor, desire is his relation with Zenocrate; for fame and
valor need 'beauty's just applause'. Wishing, however, to clear himself of the accusation of being subservient to his desire, he claims a kind of freedom from physical beauty and physical love:

I thus conceiving and subduing both
That which had stopped the tempest of the gods,
Even from the fiery-spangled veil of heaven,
To feel the lovely warmth of shepherds' flames
And march in cottages of strowed weeds,
Shall give the world to note, for all my birth,
That virtue is solely the sum of glory,
And fashions men with true nobility.(Part One. V.ii. 120-127)

Boasting a kind of superiority over the gods by being able to 'conceive' and 'subdue' that beauty or love which eased the fury of the gods and caused them to assume the guise of shepherds, as Jove and Apollo did when courting mortal women, Tamburlaine claims his sole interest to be 'virtue,' a kind of equivalent of Machiavelli's 'virtù.' But all that Tamburlaine has managed to do here is merely to underline the nature of his love, as opposed to pure concupisence.

Tamburlaine's confession of the unseemliness of love thoughts for someone of his "discipline of arms and chivalry," his rationalization that as warrior, "he must needs have beauty beat on his conceits" and his subsequent boast of being able to subdue love, can be looked upon as an attempt to emphasize his superiority in the realm of military life. In doing so, he also attempts to suggest circumspectly the obvious and primary importance of this realm and his successes

19 The Overreacher, p. 40.
in it, while vindicating himself from what may be construed as failure in another area of experience, by an appeal to a perfected beauty.

The question, then, is not whether Tamburlaine can love Zenocrate and appreciate her beauty, but rather how much he sees his love and her beauty as temporal reflections of some higher and permanent quality. It is also a question of whether a man like him, who has been termed "the scourge and terror of God," and who equates himself at times with Mars and Jove, should be satisfied with mere physical love or beauty— with the appearances of the beautiful perceived by the senses representing a fictional beauty. But the lover must begin with the person loved who is an imperfect copy of that absolute beauty which is a counterpart to the absolute power of the hero. In the meantime, while Tamburlaine is suspended between love of Zenocrate and love of the beautiful, he tries to disclaim the effects of the former.

The concern Tamburlaine shows for what may be the softening effects of love upon him is only symptomatic of a more general concern for all those who are to possess a martial spirit such as his. This accounts for the pains he takes in instructing his children in the rudiments of war in his attempt to perpetuate the warrior instincts of himself in his sons. This results chiefly from his fear that his sons may place Love before War. His opinion of them at one stage expresses this fear:

But yet methinks their looks are amorous, Not martial as the sons of Tamburlaine. (Part One. I. iv. 21-22)
He takes heart only when Zenocrate relates how the youngest one has already begun to show signs of being a conqueror.

His immediate reaction is to congratulate him:

Well done, my boy! Thou shalt have shield and lance, Armor of proof, horse, helm and curtle-axe, And I will teach thee how to charge thy foe And harmless run among the deadly pikes. If thou wilt love the wars and follow me, Thou shalt be made a king and reign with me. (Part One.I. iv.43-48)

From Tamburlaine's point of view, one must "love" wars to be a true warrior. To love wars is to know how to wage them. Thus Tamburlaine throughout the second part be­labours his children with the principles of war in order to make them, not only "soldiers / And worthy sons of Tamburlaine the Great." (Part Two.III.ii.91-92), but also perfect replicas of himself. It is not surprising then that when Calyphas shows a tendency to lean more towards women than war, Tamburlaine disowns him and finally kills him as an act of "martial justice." This is the warrior tendency which in Tamburlaine, fails to acknowledge other potential modes of being and becomes a killing habit.

The kind of person who objects to killing and claims that he does not "care for blood when wine will quench [his] thirst" is no warrior in Tamburlaine's eyes. According to one critic, "Many of the worst vices of the soldier are exempli­fied in Calyphas. He is insubordinate, slothful, a gamester, and a lecher."20 As the only thorough-going non-conformist...  

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to the martial world of Tamburlaine, he is utterly despicable. His main concern in the war his father is about to wage with the Turks is for the women:

Who shall kiss the fairest of the Turks concubines first, when my father hath conquered them. (Part Two. IV. i. 63-64)

This attitude erases all feelings of kinship in the mind of his father, and as an "abortive son," his death is the best remedy. To Eugene Waith, "it is almost a ritual killing--the extirpation of an unworthy part of himself, as the accompanying speech makes clear." 21 (IV. ii. 36-45).

When his other son, Amyras, shows that he is capable of gentle feelings, however, Tamburlaine's reaction is only one of advice, since Amyras has already proven himself in war. In reply to Amyras' display of grief at the fading away of his father's strength, Tamburlaine advises him:

Let not thy love exceed thy honor, son, Nor bar thy mind that magnanimity That nobly must admit necessity. (Part Two. V. iii. 199-201)

Though the love referred to here is filial love, yet this advice sums up Tamburlaine's view of the place of all forms of love in war. He does not deny it. He only asks that it does not take precedence over the soldier's accomplishment; that it be made subordinate to honour, the warrior's chief concern.

In Tamburlaine's way of thinking, Love has its limits, and in his case he sets those limits. On the other hand, however, he sets no limits for himself as a warrior. The

most he will do is to have a temporary truce at the end of
Part One, only to make it clear in Part Two that he never
intends to give up fighting. This is how he replies to
Zenocrine's question on giving up wars:

When heaven shall cease to move on both the poles,
And when the ground, whereon my soldiers march
Shall rise aloft and touch the horned moon,
And not before, my sweet Zenocrate.(I.iv.12-15)

War being his peculiar business, no limit is set to it, as
he identifies himself with "wrathful war."

There are, however, limits to Tamburlaine's function
as a warrior and ironically, these limits seem to be linked
up with the object of his love and his role as lover. For
when the embodiment of his love dies, one feels that Marlowe
has subtly hinted at the limitations of the warrior—the man
who once in Part One claimed Death to be his servant now falls
victim to Death, through the loss of the person he loves. He
no longer holds "the Fates bound fast in iron chains / And
with [his ] hand turn Fortune's wheel about" (Part One.I.ii.
173-4).

Tamburlaine's power as warrior, to spare and slay
becomes meaningless in the face of his love's death. It is
not able now to keep Zenocrates alive. As such, his downfall
is at hand, for one element of the dualisms from which he
had created a unity is lost. Still he makes a desperate
effort to retain the dualisms as he seeks to perpetuate
Zenocrates's beauty, and hence his love, by having her body
embalmed; but this is no more than self-deception. That
peculiar balance between Love and War is no longer possible,
and so after Zenocrate's death, Tamburlaine's wars become meaningless. The warrior in him nauseates and renders his actions absurd. The ultimate meaninglessness and absurdity of his wars is the burning of the town where Zenocrate has died and his unrelenting cruelty in the final act.

One can see clearly why the death of his love has such great effect upon him. Zenocrate had never seriously objected to her lover's wars and his subsequent quest for Empire. She had never tried to use her love as a means to influence Tamburlaine in desisting from his occupation, as Dido had. Rather, her early introduction was to provide, through her love, the warrior with a motive for his brave exploits. This allowed for a harmonious coalition between soldier and lover, a marriage of Venus and Mars. He would conquer "To gratify thee, sweet Zenocrate" (Part One.V.ii.453).

This marks a striking difference between herself and Dido, and explains why in one case, the warrior had to choose between love and his mission as warrior and ruler, and in the other, he was able to fuse them together. Dido's world, despite her queenship was a woman's world; her mental horizon was bounded by love's infinity; she became another Cleopatra, another Eve. Zenocrate, on the other hand, had never allowed love to blind her to the fact that Tamburlaine had a natural propensity for war and its rewards.

The value of Tamburlaine's achievement in being able to blend love and war can be viewed against the efforts of an inferior warrior—Theridamas—in his attempt to woo Olympia.
For Theridamas, he must either be all lover or all warrior; and so he is willing to give up one to satisfy the other:

And I will cast off arms and sit with thee
Spending my life in sweet discourse of love. (Part Two.IV. iii.44-45)

This attitude, which might be plausible in Dido's world, is denounced in this play when Olympia gets Theridamas to kill her unknowingly. Wherever the tendency has been to shrug off war in the play, the person who attempts to do it always suffers. Theridamas and Calyphas are instances of such persons. The norm for the play then becomes the balance maintained by Tamburlaine, and even in his case when Zenocrate dies at the height of love, his own death is not very far away.

The temptation to compare one play with others of similar interest is always great. This is so in the case of Tamburlaine, where the hero gains in comparison with the heroes of Antony and Cleopatra and Coriolanus. Tamburlaine strikes a happy medium between these two in the theme under discussion. In one case, it is a question of excess, in the other one of deficiency. In the case of Antony, Love has clearly preceeded War. In the case of Coriolanus, War is contemplated to the outright exclusion of Love. Tamburlaine has shown that both can operate together, without necessitating any serious conflict. While he can, like Coriolanus, consider physical valor as the prime value of life, unlike Coriolanus, his emotional possibilities are not limited. His love for Zenocrate, though it might in a way be as ex-
travagant as that of Antony for Cleopatra, is part of a rather delicately adjusted balance of forces.

By bowing to love, every other value in Tamburlaine has been enriched and enlarged, particularly since his love is well controlled, unlike the reckless love of an Antony. The warrior-strength and love-ardour are at their meridian of glory in him as they both embrace harmoniously, only to be severed in the play when the embodiment of one dies. All in all, Tamburlaine, Herculean in Love and War, stands for a kind of "Nietzsche's" super-hero who has the secret of how war can be assimilated to the softer values of love. In the words of one critic, "his behaviour accords with the Platonic theory that 'Mars still doth after Venus move... because of Love / Boldness is handmaid'." 22

CHAPTER III

In the *Tragedy of Dido*, Love and War were antagonistically representative of the attitudes and goals of Carthage and Rome, of Dido and Aeneas respectively. These attitudes became irreconcilable. The play had idealized War or Empire at the expense of love. Aeneas' outer life of heroic accomplishment had made him unfeeling and insensitive to the subtleties of personal experience, even as it had made him heroic in the Trojan War. In *Tamburlaine*, soldier and lover were fused into one grand monumental form—the complete man who was conqueror of territories and of hearts too. In *Edward II* however, the question is less one of reconciliation of the polarities than it is of a perversion of the emotions which lead to active conflict. True love, then, is perverted and the extent of its perversion results in war. Consequently, the polarities of Love and War in this play become polarities of cause and effect respectively.

The play begins with a salient manifestation, in the recall of Gaveston, of the kind of perverted love from which spring the civil wars of the play:

'My father is deceased. Come, Gaveston, And share the kingdom with thy dearest friend.'(I.i.1-2)

Though the ardour with which Edward greets Gaveston is such as to elude academic distinctions between the sensual and the Platonic, yet the relationship between Edward and Gaveston is clearly homosexual in the light of what follows. Far from being platonic, this relationship involves an erotic
attachment of man to man—an attachment which stirs up civil
wars.

In considering this love relationship, one is not apt
to forget the importance Elizabethans attached to friendship
between men—a friendship platonic in nature. However the
relationship between Edward and Gaveston is clearly not of
this nature. Paul Kocher makes the same point, claiming
that "the physical endearments used between Edward and
Gaveston go far beyond those customary between Elizabethan
friends exemplified in such plays as Damon and Pithias, Lyly's
Campaspe, The Taming of a Shrew and Mucedorus." These re­
lationships do not negate the love between man and woman, but
in the case of Edward and Gaveston, there is this explicit
negation in Edward's inability to love Isabella.

Gaveston's response to Edward's letter confirms the
homosexual nature of their relationship:

What greater bliss can hap to Gaveston
Than live and be the favorite of a king?
Sweet prince, I come; these, these thy amorous lines
Might have enforced me to have swum from France,
And, like Leander, gasped upon the sand,
So thou wouldst smile and take me in thy arms.(I.i.4-9)

The terms "favorite," "sweet," "amorous," and "take me in
thy arms" all possess sexual overtones, suggestive of an
erotic liason. And furthermore, placed in the classical
context of Leander swimming the Hellespont to be with his
beloved Hero, Gaveston's journey to England has all the im­
plications of a continuation of a love affair.

23Christopher Marlowe: A Study of his Thought,
Learning, and Character (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1946), p. 205.
In fact, it would appear that Marlowe seeks to dignify the whole relationship between Edward and Gaveston with many traits taken from classical friendship theory. As he colours the friendship of the men with a forbidden passion of homosexuality, he puts into the mouths of Edward and Gaveston images of sexual love, like the Hero and Leander image just quoted, and the Danae image (II.ii.52-58) to describe their affection. Moreover, the elder Mortimer, himself one of the opposing nobles, evokes a long series of mythological and historical precedents as if to apologize for this unnatural love, by showing that the "mightiest kings have had their minions" (I.v.390-400).

The most suggestive of these comparisons, in terms of the love and war motif, comes in Lancaster's address to Gaveston as

Monster of men,
That, like the Greekish strumpet, trained to arms
And bloody wars so many valiant knights (II.v.14-16)

The implication here is that Gaveston, like Helen, through some kind of sexual appeal to Edward--his Paris--has enticed men to war, as Helen is reputed to have been the cause of the Trojan War. This vignette of a love-war relation as cause and effect is very characteristic of Marlowe and looks back to the other vignettes of Helen in Dido and Tamburlaine and ahead to Faustus' vision of her.

These classical comparisons help to present a notorious instance of the passion which Marlowe himself had utilized in the opening scene of Dido. The circumstances are similar.
Jupiter is willing to defy Juno and the rest of the gods for Ganymede, in the same way that Edward is ready to defy the nobles for Gaveston. In the same spirit that Jupiter promises Ganymede anything he wants, Edward showers upon Gaveston several offices of state in defiance of everyone. Furthermore, both relationships help to bring about active conflict. Finally, the parallel is confirmed when Queen Isabel draws the allusion:

Like frantic Juno will I fill the earth
With ghastly murmur of my sighs and cries,
For never doted Jove on Ganymede
So much as he on cursed Gaveston. (I.iv.178-181)

Such a love is destructive in many ways. It destroys what may have been normal love relationships and, in the case of Edward, makes him, as we shall see, weak and incapable of coping with a crisis he himself has helped to create. It leads him into a total dereliction of all royal responsibility and consequently, into civil wars. At the same time this illicit love relationship has made Edward an enemy to his country's bliss; it has also made him an enemy to his domestic bliss in that the genuine and natural love of his queen is rejected.

Refusing to pay any attention to a wife who loves him dearly, Edward makes Gaveston a kind of substitute for Isabella. Indeed, Gaveston takes the place of the queen in Edward's affection. Isabella realizes this and reproaches Gaveston with playing the whore to her husband:

Is't not enough that thou corrupts my lord
And art a bawd to his affections (I.iv.150-151)
This leads to a display of a kind of jealously usually found between two women, vying for the love of the same man:

Queen Isabella. Villain, 'tis thou that robb' st me of my lord.
Gaveston. Madam, 'tis you that rob me of my lord (I.iv.160-1)

It is clear from this that Gaveston sees his relationship with his sovereign as one between man and woman.

This abnormal liaison between the king and his 'minion' finally sours the queen's love for her husband and consequently drives her towards Mortimer and civil war. Before this, however, Isabella struggles against great odds, as she plays the faithful wife to an indifferent and impatient king, who is plainly tired of her:

Queen Isabella. Ah, Mortimer! Now breaks the king's hate forth,
And he confesseth that he loves me not.
Mortimer Jr. Cry quittance, Madam, then, and love not him.
Queen Isabella. No, rather will I die a thousand deaths,
And yet I love in vain; he'll ne'er love me. (I.iv.193-7)

Even with this realization, Isabella still perseveres. For her efforts, she has the pain of witnessing the inordinate affection lavished upon Gaveston, while Edward's behaviour towards her remains odious. He takes an interest in her only in so far as she can help his unnatural passion, for it is her love for Edward which becomes the pivot on which Gaveston's recall from exile is to turn.

Not until after Isabella's repeated failures to win the affection of her husband, not until after her question "No farewell to poor Isabel, thy Queen?" has received the
brutal reply 'Yes, yes, for Mortimer, your lover's sake,' does she betray the first hint of affection for Mortimer and so give an impetus to the civil wars:

So well has thou deserved, sweet Mortimer,  
As Isabel could live with thee forever. (II.iv.59-60)

Even then, she decides to importune him some more.

The makes it quite clear that Isabel really loves the king until his continued coldness chills her feelings and drives them to seek return in the more responsive heart of Mortimer. This new liaison of Isabel, together with her forced departure to France which creates the condition for the second and worst civil war, is a direct result of the exclusive passion which Edward feels for Gaveston. Given a choice between private pleasure in the form of an unnatural love and duty of a monarch, Edward chooses the former which leads to war.

In accepting this relationship with Gaveston, Edward fails to realize that he is not merely a private citizen, but a king. The failure to realize this fact, or having realized it, to come to terms with it, eventually leads to war. When as a king, Edward puts his personal pleasures above the interests of the state, when amorous fulfillment is preferred to his duties as a king, his sins become violations of political ethics and lead to wars:

King Edward. Were he Gaveston a peasant, being my minion I'll make the proudest of you stoop to him. (I.iv.30-31)

The king is willing to see England destroyed rather
than he should lose Gaveston. His abdication of responsibility is unequivocal:

And sooner shall the sea overwhelm my land,
Than bear the ship that shall transport thee hence.
(I.i.152-3)

He is willing to sacrifice his entire kingdom to satisfy his wanton pleasures:

Ere my sweet Gaveston shall part from me,
This isle shall fleet upon the ocean
And wander to the unfrequented Inde.(I.iv.48-50)

He is equally prepared to divide his kingdom among his nobles,

So I may have some nook or corner left
To frolic with my dearest Gaveston.(I.iv.72-73)

Here Edward displays a pathetic longing to be freed from the claims of his position, from the claims of an active life in order to enjoy a private life in peace with Gaveston. It is no wonder, then, that Edward, counting the world well lost for love, will risk war to maintain his perverted love relation or to avenge the loss of his 'dearest Gaveston.'

The extent to which Edward's liaison with Gaveston is responsible for the main civil wars in the play is clearly attested to, both in the words of the king himself and in those of the opposition. Edward is the first to pose for himself the absolute alternative of either living or dying with Gaveston:

Brother, display my ensigns in the field;
I'll bandy with the barons and the earls,
And either die or live with Gaveston.(I.i.136-8)

If war is the price he has to pay for his love then he is quite willing to do so. Thus he comes to accept war as the only means by which Gaveston will be dismissed, if he is to
be dismissed at all.

As Edward makes war a necessity for indulging his unnatural desires, so the opposition views it as a necessary consequence of these desires. Isabella's perception on the matter is characteristic of the general feeling:

Misgoverned kings are cause of all this wrack;
And, Edward, thou art one among them all
Whose looseness hath betrayed thy land to spoil
And made the channels overflow with blood. (IV.iv.9-12)

Indeed, it is Edward's 'looseness' as a disintegrating force which renders the nobles willing to go to war and causes Lancaster to issue this threat to Edward:

Adieu, my lord, and either change your mind,
Or look to see the throne, where you should sit,
To float in blood, and at thy wanton head
The glozing head of thy base minion thrown. (I.i.130-3)

Edward's 'looseness' and his consequent neglect of his kingdom gives the nobles the choice of one recourse—war, failing Edward's willingness to rid the land of his 'minion.' Warwick is their spokesman, as he concludes, "And war must be the means, or he'll stay still" (I.ii.63). Even Edward himself expresses the inevitability of it: "'Tis war that must abate these barons' pride" (II.ii.98-99). The cause and effect relation between the homosexual love of Edward and the civil wars receives its most reliable confirmation when it is put into the mouth of the one character in the play upon whom the affections can rest—Kent. He warns Edward:

My lord, I see your love to Gaveston
Will be the ruin of the realm and you,
For now the wrathful nobles threaten wars,
And therefore, brother, banish him forever. (II.ii.206-9)

Kent's attitude as brought out in this speech and his subse-
sequent support of the nobles may be safely regarded as a point of reference, for he is the one character—apart from the young Prince Edward—whose concern for the king is wholly untouched by jealousy, hatred, lust or self-aggrandizement. As such, he never completely loses a sense of right and wrong.

Having provoked a war due to his ill-starred love for Gaveston, Edward fights yet another, with revenge for the death of his loved one as the sole motive:

I will have heads and lives for him as many
As I have manors, castles, towns, and towers.(III.ii. 132-3)

His interests in the wars are entirely personal ones. When he is momentarily victorious, his main concern is to exact punishment for the death of his 'sweet favorite':

... Now 'tis time
To be avenged on you for all your braves
And for the murder of my dearest friend,
To whom right well you knew our soul was knit,
Good Pierce of Gaveston, my sweet favorite.(III.iii. 39-43)

Even in death, Gaveston directs the thoughts and emotions of Edward.

The unnatural love of Edward and Gaveston has not only brought about civil wars but it has also had its bad effects upon national wars as well. Edward's preoccupation with his wanton desires and his subsequent neglect of his kingdom's affairs have been the cause of wars with Scotland, Ireland and France. Moreover, the wars have all ended in defeat for the English; for Edward's weak, delicate and effeminate nature and his preoccupation with his homosexual love-affair have seriously limited his ability as a warrior-
king capable of inspiring his men to fight.

The picture which Mortimer Junior paints of Edward and his men in the Bannocksbourn battle against the Scots shows up Edward's limitations as a soldier:

... then thy soldiers marched like players,
With garish robes, not armor, and thyself,
Dedaubed with gold, rode laughing at the rest,
Nodding and sharking of thy spangled crest,
Where women's favors hung like labels down. (II.i.181-185)

Here it is the martial implications of his psychic malady that are stressed. Here Marlowe "presents him shorn of any robustness and accentuates the triviality and helplessness of his behaviour." Edward is no Aeneas or Tamburlaine who are above all, soldiers, men of action, which makes them effective in war.

Addicted to sensuality and rendered incapable of ruling his kingdom through his attachment to Gaveston, Edward has allowed France to make tremendous military gains at the expense of the English. Preferring amorous fulfillment to military victory, he dismisses the invasion of Normandy as a trifle:

Mortimer Jr. Nothing but Gaveston! What means your grace?
You have matters of more weight to think upon;
The king of France sets foot in Normandy.

King Edward. A trifle! We'll expel him when we please. (II.i.1-10)

The result is that Normandy is seized by the king of France; but not even this is portentous enough to arouse Edward's in-

terest as his mind runs solely on his minion:

Valois and I will soon be friends again.
But to my Gaveston; shall I never see,
Never behold thee now? (III.ii.67-69)

This is the attitude of a man who is politically and militarily inept.

Since the value of warriorship is one with the ideal of kingship and imperial power, Edward's limitations as a king are also limitations of him as a warrior. At the end of his life, immured in Berkely Castle and waiting for death, he can contrast his condition with no more martial a scene than a tournament at the French court:

Tell Isabel, the queen, I looked not thus,
When for her sake I ran at tilt in France
And there unhorsed the Duke of Claremont. (V.v.67-69)

This is the extent of the lost heroism which the effeminate king tries to recapture in memory. And the irony of it is that while he has been most ready to go to war to maintain his homosexual relations with Gaveston, and has been most instrumental in causing these and other wars, he is unable now to recall any action upon which an Aeneas or a Tamburlaine might have looked back as representative of the martial spirit within them. Here he stands in direct contrast to his chief opponent, Mortimer Junior, whose sturdy masculinity and bursts of impetuosity reveal something of an embryonic Hotspur whose irascible nature inclines him to war.

In general, what one gets in Edward II are unnatural wars caused by an unnatural love affair. The wars are unnatural in that they are civil wars in the main; and the love
is unnatural in that it exists on an almost sexual level between man and man, and unlike the love of Tamburlaine, it demands rather than bestows. The tragic point of this affair lies in the fact that Edward is prepared and actually goes to war on this account and to the very end, is ignorant of his mistake. Instead, he ironically claims his crime to be too much clemency:

... Yet how have I transgressed,
Unless it be with too much clemency? (V.i.122-123)

Edward, however, has failed to realize that his unnatural love became an unseasonable motive in the face of political and military responsibility. Aeneas had demonstrated this even in the case of a natural love when he abandoned Dido.

Both as husband to Queen Isabella and as king of England, Edward has failed miserably. In one instance, it is a failure in true love; in another, a failure in kingship and warriorship. As husband, he has rejected the genuine love of his wife for the barren love of a man. As king, he has allowed this love to plunge his country into civil and national wars, while barring him from becoming the martial figure he should be. In this respect, Edward, the slave of passion, diverges from Tamburlaine and Aeneas, men of action, by the abandonment of all political and military duties for love, and by his incapacity in these areas.

As he dwells upon the emotional conflict—if conflict there be—between love and majesty, Marlowe delineates a love which, deriving from the springs of true feeling, is here irremediably fouled and muddied, and which leads to
disastrous wars. This time he has sought to lay more emphasis on the domestic angle of Love and War, as it is made clear that the barons rebelled because Edward gave himself up to an unnatural love-affair with a corrupt favourite while the kingdom sank to ruin.
CONCLUSION

By including the themes of Love and War as an intrinsic part of his tragic universe, Marlowe tells a great part of the story of Renaissance humanism, since these aspects embrace almost all life in their far-reaching implications. Moreover, in the context of the English Renaissance period, Marlowe's treatment offers an insight into the attitudes adopted towards Love and War, whether it is in his association of these values or in his delineation of them as polarities. It is this variety in attitudes which excites the reader's interest.

In the Tragedy of Dido, the heroism of Aeneas makes him choose war or empire as against Dido's love; in Tamburlaine love helps the warrior-hero to attain his highest aspirations, and so Zenocrate turns Tamburlaine into a lover when he might have been only a conqueror. So far the two Marlovian values have appeared in a natural form. But when we see them operating in the contracted world of Edward II, they lose their naturalness in the homosexual love of Edward and the subsequent civil wars. The heroism present in Aeneas and Tamburlaine which makes both men warriors is absent in the degenerate king.

The closer one examines Marlowe's treatment of the love-ardour and the martial qualities, the clearer one sees that there may exist a principle operating in the plays examined. It is as though Marlowe is saying that love is permissible only when it does not seek to neutralize the soldier
in the man. As a subtle and potent antagonist in Dido, it tends to draw the man away from his world of wars; it becomes in that context a weak degeneracy from the true business of man. The result is that Aeneas is perfunctory, hasty, anxious to be gone, while Dido dies when she sees love is no more.

In the case of Tamburlaine, the hero's military goal does not find itself at variance with his feelings for Zenocrate. He demonstrates a kind of intellectual and emotional balance which cannot be shaken for all his love to Zenocrate and hers to him. Unlike Aeneas, whose personal self has been lost in its functions as father of the Roman race, Tamburlaine, for all his cruelty as warrior, still has something of a personal self to expose in his love relation with Zenocrate. Even as his militaristic nature inclines him to the exclusive glorification of war, yet he finds room in this nature to partake of love. As the sole hero capable of serving both Venus and Mars, he becomes the ideal of the soldier and lover in the Renaissance world, standing poles apart from the effeminate Edward and the obdurate Aeneas.

In terms of the overall principle which seems implicit in Marlowe's treatment of the themes, Edward II occupies the bottom of the ladder. Not only is Edward solely and totally committed to love but to an unnatural love at that. This amorous commitment draws the king away from his duties and greatly minimizes his potential as a warrior and king. What Dido's love has sought to do with Aeneas and has failed, is what Gaveston's love for Edward
manages to accomplish. In the former case, the result is that Aeneas remains totally committed to his duties, while in the latter, Edward's attention is entirely focused upon Gaveston. This leaves Tamburlaine as the only one to whom the principle of an alternative does not apply.

Tamburlaine claims to fight "to gratify ... sweet Zenocrate." Nonetheless, as an ambitious warrior, he principally fights to satisfy his lust for power and at the same time, to maintain that honour and glory peculiar to all warriors. Edward, on the other hand, no warrior himself, is prepared to risk his entire kingdom to satisfy his personal whims. As Tamburlaine glorifies war because it provides him with a means for achieving those honors which are attributes of the warrior, Edward, while creating conditions for war glorifies the kind of peace which would leave him relatively free to pursue his private interests with Gaveston. Honour, which for Tamburlaine lies in the simple fact of being a warrior, becomes an unnecessary burden for Edward. Hence wars become for the king a means of perpetuating his love affair or avenging his 'dearest;' and not for preserving or proving his honour.

Writing in a period in which Love and War were main considerations as they have always been and continue to be, Marlowe, in treating of these themes, has shown no great originality in that respect, apart from the various slants he gives to the themes. Even though these themes are not important in some of his plays, he yet achieves a wide variety by dealing with the themes separately in other works such as Hero and Leander, Ovid's Elegies and Lucan's Pharsalia. In these,
as in his plays where the themes occur, his treatment moves on the heights of romantic love, where love is dealt with, and epic heroism where war is the main aspect, or on both wherever the love-ardour and the martial zeal are found together.

Moving between Venus and Mars, between Love and War, Marlowe creates personalities who are involved in both realms, whether it is in their pursuit of one to the exclusion of the other, or whether it is in their capacity to reconcile these apparently conflicting aspects of man. Whatever the nature of the hero's involvement in Love and War, one thing seems certain—namely that these emotional and martial leanings become in Marlowe's case, a double manifestation of a personality which may not be always consistent, yet displays a certain unity.
LIS1' OF WORKS CONSULTED


LIST OF WORKS CONSULTED (Cont'd)


