Introduction
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The documentary record for the works of Christopher Marlowe is substantial. During his lifetime, the two-part Tamburlaine the Great was published with a title-page advertisement of company and venue. This edition also provided information on the circumstances of its printing by Richard Jones and commercial availability in London at the sign of the Rose and Crown near Holborn Bridge. In the years after Marlowe’s death in 1593, an additional five plays, two poetic translations, and one epyllion were brought to press. Collectively the title pages of these works advertised co-authors; bookings at court and in London on both public and private stages; acting companies including the Children of the Chapel Royal and the adult players of the Lord Admiral’s Men, Earl of Pembroke’s Men, and Queen Anna’s Men; stationers including Edward Blount, Thomas Bushell, William Jones, Felix Kingston, Paul Linley, Joan Orwin, Valentine Simmes, Nicholas Vavasour, Edward White, and Thomas Woodcock; and printing houses and bookshops across London from Holborn to St. Paul’s Churchyard, Christ’s Church Gate, Chancery Lane, Newgate, the Inner Temple, and Smithfield.

From 1592 to 1603, between publication of the 1590 octavo of Tamburlaine the Great and the 1604 quarto of Doctor Faustus, Philip Henslowe recorded the titles of five Marlovian plays in a book of accounts, or diary, where he listed performances and payments for new scripts and revivals at the Rose and Fortune playhouses. This confluence of data from print culture and theatre history is rare for the early modern English period. The editors of Christopher Marlowe, Theatrical Commerce, and the Book Trade see here an opportunity to examine Marlowe’s dramatic and nondramatic works in the contemporaneous marketplaces of the playhouse and book trade. Marlowe is an apt subject. The seven-year period of his life as a poet and professional playwright (1587–93) added to the subsequent seven-year period of concentrated interest in his work by members of the book trade (1594–1600) mark a period of time when many
of the same men and businesses were involved in Marlovian transactions. Further, Marlowe’s works lend themselves to study by their reputation for being commercially successful and literarily influential. Scholars have long argued that Marlowe’s plays not only were blockbusters but also spawned copycat drama in such numbers that theatrical categories such as the Mediterranean conquest play and the magician play were created. These imitations in their own right became marketable products for stationers. Marlowe’s books of nondramatic poetry, though acquired belatedly by stationers, were solidly profitable. *Hero and Leander*, for example, went through nine editions from 1598 to 1640. Marlowe’s reworkings of the classical genres of epyllion (*Hero and Leander*), elegy (*All Ovid’s Elegies*), and history (*The First Book of Lucan*) were also influential, spawning imitations and expanding interest in erotic poetry and political thought. (For charts of Marlowe’s works in performance and print, see Appendices C and D in the online resources for this volume.)

In recent years, the scholarly perspectives separating early modern theatre and print culture into discrete fields of study have shifted. New Bibliographers such as A. W. Pollard and W. W. Greg, who perpetuated the mistaken belief of nineteenth-century scholars that the routine behavior of various stationers was suspicious, possibly criminal, reinforced that demarcation. Theatre historians also reinforced a division between the marketplaces of theatre and print by asserting that playing companies protected their aesthetically superior and popular plays from rival companies and piratical bookmen. E. K. Chambers, expressing the position of scholars in his time, reviewed entries of plays marked ‘staied’ in the Stationers’ Register as evidence that theatre companies attempted ‘to control the transmission of plays to the press’ (1930, 1.145). Declaring himself ‘skeptical’ that they ‘feared . . . the appropriation of their plays for acting by other companies’ (1930, 1.147), he nonetheless characterized the Chamberlain’s/King’s as ‘safe-guarding’ Shakespeare’s plays during the reign of James (1930, 1.146). A corollary of Chambers’s position was that sales of plays by companies were signs of financial distress. The uptick in registrations at Stationers’ Hall from 1593 into 1595 was explained as the transactions of failing companies recouping their losses from extended touring. As recently as 1996, Andrew Gurr argued that the sale of ‘the first of the Oldcastle/Falstaff plays and its most popular other titles to the printers’ in 1598 indicates that a ‘cash-straitened’ Chamberlain’s company was going through ‘financially a hard time’ (1996, 284).

Now, however, scholars of the book trade and theatrical commerce are reexamining these venerable opinions and finding them inaccurate.
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appraisals of the legitimate practices of stationers and playing companies. In particular, scholars of print culture and the sociology of the book are rehabilitating the professional reputations of individual stationers. Not satisfied with removing the taint of theft, they have revisited the practices of book-trade members, identifying complicated motivations – market driven and otherwise – behind the acquisition and publication of texts. In the 1970s, Peter W. M. Blayney began to rewrite the history of the Stationers’ Company by ascertaining the business practices of bookmen in the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods. In the 1980s, Gerald Johnson produced new case studies that together reconsidered the habits and ventures of early modern publishers. Subsequently, others including David Scott Kastan, Helen Smith, Zachary Lesser, and Adam G. Hooks have mapped networks of collaboration between printing houses, between printers and writers, between publishers and theatrical companies, and between publishers and patrons. Formerly considered guaranteed money-spinners, play texts are now understood as complicated commodities for a book trade navigating an ever-changing cultural landscape and print market. Furthermore, as Sonia Massai argues in Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor (2007), stationers are bona fide subjects of study as editors of the theatrical manuscripts they acquired.

Theatre historians, in light of current scholarship on the book trade, are also reconsidering the relationships between playing companies and stationers. As discussions of theatrical commerce have focused on the playing company and its repertory, they see marketing strategies in the move of plays from the stage to the printing house. Pertinent specifically to Marlowe studies, Scott McMillin and Sally-Beth MacLean argue that the Queen’s Men ‘retaliated in print’ to the stage success and publication of the Tamburlaine plays, even imitating Richard Jones’s ‘two-part format . . . and . . . preface’ (1998, 156). Two moments when playhouse fare appeared on booksellers’ shelves illustrate a combination of research in theatre history and print culture. One is that uptick in play registrations in 1593–5. Many theatre historians no longer argue that the sales to stationers represent a liquidation of company repertories; to the contrary, they share an opinion expressed by Blayney that the registrations signal the willingness of theatrical entrepreneurs to work with members of the book trade in advertisements of their quickening post-plague market (1997, 386). Other such moments occur in 1599–1601. They too coincide with positive changes in player-company business: for the Chamberlain’s Men, the move from Shoreditch to the Globe in Southwark; for the Admiral’s Men, the move from the Rose in Southwark to the Fortune in Middlesex; and, for all
the companies, a challenge to recent orders from the Privy Council meant to restrict and control the growth of the theatrical industry from companies at the Boar’s Head playhouse beyond Aldgate as well the resumption of playing by boys’ companies at St. Paul’s and Blackfriars. Also recently, scholars have argued that a given playing company might have sold various plays to promote one or another of its dramatists as a commercial product. James J. Marino, for example, describes the ‘aggressive business strategies’ used by the Chamberlain’s/King’s company in the years leading up to the publication of the First Folio to protect the name of Shakespeare as their intellectual property (108).

Marlowe scholarship has also shifted. For more than a century, Marlowe has been perceived as Shakespeare’s foil, the literary and theatrical maverick to Shakespeare’s company-man genius. The plays and poems were studied for evidence of Marlowe’s counter-professional, sexual, political, and religious apostasy. The performance records in the book of accounts kept by Philip Henslowe at the Rose and Fortune playhouses, 1592–1603, showed the commercial value of Marlowe’s plays, but too many of the scholars who assessed the influence of Marlowe noticed instead the copycat offerings, necessarily weak in competition with a triumphant Tamburlaine and villainous Jew. Plays such as Edward II and Dido, Queen of Carthage—marginalized from London companies known by the major theatrical families of Alleyns and Burbages—were further distanced by having belonged to repertories of corrupt texts (Pembroke’s Men) and lost plays (the Children of the Chapel Royal). In print scholarship as well, Marlowe’s texts were interesting because of their flaws: the incomplete love story of Hero and Leander, the butchered text of The Massacre at Paris, the truncated 1604 Doctor Faustus. At the same time, bibliographic scholarship dedicated to Marlowe’s texts has largely been devoted to a conjuration of authorial copy. The octavo of The Massacre at Paris has been flatly discredited; pieces of Dido and Doctor Faustus have been variously ascribed; and Doctor Faustus’s 1604 and 1616 quartos have taken turns as favored horses on a merry-go-round of legitimation.

Christopher Marlowe, Theatrical Commerce, and the Book Trade redirects the scholarly conversation. It casts Marlowe as a professional in the overlapping commercial spheres of the playhouse and the print trade, where his texts were made into performances and books by a variety of agents and he was himself fashioned posthumously into the Marlowe familiar to current readers and playgoers. In Part I, contributors consider aspects of Marlowe at work, translating Lucan’s Civil War; constructing repertory bookings for companies that played to audiences in London, in the provinces, and at...
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court; and replicating on stage the violence and cacophony of state-supported massacre and internecine war. In Part II, contributors discuss the engagement of printers, publishers, editors, authors, and playwrights with texts from Marlowe’s intersecting worlds of nondramatic and dramatic poetry. In Part III, contributors address Marlowe’s theatrical, textual, and cultural afterlife. Collectively, the chapters offer insight into the question of Marlowe’s place in literature and in print. Denied a lengthy productive career by fate, Marlowe in some sense left historians mere juvenilia as evidence of his gifts. Yet it is enough. His oeuvre calls attention to complementary networks of professionals in early modern England. And those networks in turn prove Marlowe to have been a creature of the theatrical-literary marketplace and book trade.
P A R T  I

Marlowe at Work

Argument

If Marlowe’s avant-garde, artistic temperament was originally announced in *Tamburlaine*’s manifesto-like prologue – ‘From iygging vaines of riming mother wits’ to ‘high astounding tearms’ (1590, A3) – it was firmly consecrated in the nineteenth century when George Saintsbury made Marlowe, genius of ‘blinding and dazzling poetry’ (69), leader of a band of ‘University Wits’. ‘Marlowe’, Saintsbury insisted, ‘was one of the greatest poets of the world whose work was cast by accident and caprice into an imperfect mould of drama’ (79). This sense of Marlowe as a literary maker (almost) undeterred by Elizabethan commercial culture is seemingly corroborated by the early book trade. The first edition of *1 & 2 Tamburlaine* – the only title to appear in Marlowe’s lifetime – is not ascribed, and no print epistle stamps the beginning of his Ovid, Lucan or *Hero and Leander* to document negotiations with publisher, printer, buyer or reader. Marlowe’s relationship with the professional theatre and the printing house, however, was neither unreceptive nor disinterested. During his brief career as playwright, he showed fluency with the offerings of the 1580s and early 1590s professional stage. In his drama, histrionics and spectacle appear both as central vehicles and pervasive themes. Marlowe may never have tried to sell a title to a printer or a bookseller, but his penchant for Ovid and Lucan put him very much in the mainstream of 1590s vernacular literature in print. And the book – as, for example, temptation [‘O would I had neuer seene Wertenberge, neuer read booke’ (1604, F1v)], as metaphor [‘as an Index to a booke, / So to his [father’s] mind was yoong Leanders looke’ (1598a, D4)] – was often for him an object of interest.

Marlowe at work, engaging with stage and page, is the focus of the six chapters in this opening part. In ‘Marlowe in Repertory, 1587–1593’, Roslyn L. Knutson uses evidence from title-page advertisements, Henslowe’s diary, provincial records, and court records to describe the repertorial environment of Marlowe’s drama for adult playing companies during his lifetime. She argues that the contribution of his plays to theatrical
commerce had more to do with their versatility and lucrative progeny than with mighty lines and overreaching characters. Eoin Price comes to a similar conclusion about Marlowe’s sole children’s company contribution in ‘Marlowe in Miniature: Dido, Queen of Carthage and the Children of the Chapel Repertory’. Surveying the early modern performance history of Dido, he contends that the play – because of its effective appropriation of generic, thematic and aesthetic norms of the 1570s and 1580s professional theatre offerings – may have been more successful than scholars have thought.

In addition to fashioning viable pieces for a repertory system, Marlowe oriented his work toward localized theatrical effects. In “‘Then breath a while’: Compression, Kinesis, and Temporality in The Massacre at Paris’, Evelyn Tribble considers the power of The Massacre at Paris in performance, particularly its ability to represent the trauma of its central event. Tribble connects this intensity with the play’s frenetic pacing, with its soundscape, and with its reliance upon ‘the kinesic intelligence of the players’. Provocatively, she suggests that the octavo edition of the play – long condemned as a ‘bad quarto’ – is Marlowe’s consciously designed rendering of an unfolding massacre. In ‘Alarums: Edward II and the Staging of History’, Lucy Munro explores the function of ‘Alarums’ in early and modern staged and printed versions of Edward II. She argues that Marlowe, in concert with the dramatists of many other Elizabethan history plays, deploys an acoustic register associated with battle both to ‘reanimate’ history and to underscore themes. By reinforcing political struggles in the play with audio effects, Marlowe interjects sounds that were not only visceral for early audiences but also for early readers who were accustomed to hearing playtexts read aloud.

Two chapters on Marlowe’s imaginative encounter with the book frame these investigations into repertory and stagecraft: Sarah Wall-Randell’s ‘Marlowe’s Lucan: Winding-sheets and Scattered Leaves’ and Genevieve Love’s ‘Doctor Faustus’s Leg’. The former explores how Marlowe’s printed Lucan – translated text and added paratext – reckons with the material book as a vehicle of literary immortality. Wall-Randell finds that Marlowe in his translation cast doubt upon the legacy of his own project by invoking contemporary associations of the Sibyl with ephemerality and textual instability. Conjuring Marlowe as a fugitive ‘ghoast’ in ‘three or foure sheets’ (A2’), his publisher Thomas Thorpe concurred with a twofold image of book and shroud. For Love, Marlowe is prophetic rather than elegiac. In her chapter, she considers the complicated language and theatre
of truncation and prosthesis in the A and B versions of Doctor Faustus's Horse Courser scene. Marlowe’s exploration of the theatrical body, she concludes, not only predicted but also shaped the procedures of modern editors such as W. W. Greg and David Bevington. Books in these cases were actuated by the theatrical imagination of Marlowe.
CHAPTER I

Marlowe’s Lucan

Winding-sheets and Scattered Leaves

Sarah Wall-Randell

Marlowe was a poet whose contemporaries enjoyed imagining him dead. Not only in the more or less conventional poetic epitaphs offered for him by Peele, Drayton, and others on the occasion of his early death in 1593, but also in less expected and more fantastical visions in the years that followed, those who knew him and his work called forth his posthumous presence in text. Shakespeare, of course, pays Marlowe the tribute of a direct quotation, when the lovelorn Phoebe in As You Like It muses ‘Dead Shepheard, now I find thy saw of might, / Who euer lou’d, that lou’d not at first sight?’ (1623, R4v). With Phoebe’s rustic, reverent invocation of Hero and Leander and of its author, Shakespeare makes Marlowe a poet known in Arden, and also, as many have interpreted this reference, dead in Arden. Meanwhile, George Chapman, in the midst of his 1598 continuation of Hero and Leander, includes a remarkable, heated passage in which he calls upon the Muses’ ‘strangely-intellectuall fiire’ of inspiration to carry him to where Marlowe’s ‘free soule’ dwells by their spring (F4v). As Miriam Jacobson has observed, Chapman envisions a rapturous, sensual communion with Marlowe’s soul, in which he imagines Marlowe bequeathing him the unfinished text of Hero and Leander, with the act of transfer figured as a toast or ‘pledge’ drunk in wine (Gr1), in exchange for Chapman’s willingness to carry Marlowe’s poetic child to full term: ‘Tell it [Marlowe’s soul] how much his late desires I tender, / (If yet it know not)’, Chapman breathes, ‘and to light surrender / My soules darke offspring’ (Gr1; Jacobson, 183–4). In a way, Chapman takes two of the notorious aspects of Marlowe’s life and death—drinking and sex—and transforms them into a drama of poetic immortality through posthumous collaboration.

See, however, Adam Hooks (Chapter 7, this volume) for a provocative dissent from the assumption that Marlowe is the ‘Shepherd’ or that the Hero quotation is elegiac.
Even more elaborate than Shakespeare’s dead shepherd or Chapman’s passionate ghost, however, is the fantasy of the posthumous Marlowe contained in a prefatory epistle by the publisher Thomas Thorpe, attached to the 1600 first printing of Marlowe’s translation of the first book of Lucan’s first-century epic *The Civil War*. In this, the first publication to bear the stationer’s name, Thorpe, who of course would later become the publisher of Shakespeare’s *Sonnets*, addresses his dedication to Edward Blount, his fellow-stationer, who had published *Hero and Leander* two years previously, and who seems to have at one time held the copyright to Marlowe’s Lucan translation. Thorpe’s reference to a conjuring circle and to raising the dead within it must be a nod at Marlowe’s *Doctor Faustus*, which, although not yet printed, had been staged through most of the 1590s. So this paratext to the Lucan translation is, viewed from one angle, a comic moment built around Marlowe’s reputation as a playwright, in striking contrast to the dark foreboding and violence of Lucan’s poem and to Marlowe’s work here as a translator of Latin verse. Generically, Thorpe is parodying the custom of dedications to noble patrons. As Sonia Massai notes, Blount was especially prone as a publisher to feature extravagantly flattering epistles to patrons, signed by himself, in his books (Massai, 2013, 133–8; see also Taylor, 2004), including his dedication of *Hero and Leander* to Sir Thomas Walsingham, in which he imagines *Hero* as Marlowe’s posthumous child taking its ‘first breath’ in the ‘gentle aire of your liking’ (A2v). The dedication to *Lucan’s First Book* jocularly transfers Blount into the role of the kind of patron Blount typically adulated and expresses Thorpe’s thanks to Blount for his apparent part in enabling Thorpe to come into possession of the Lucan copy. At the same time, it records the complex circumstances of textual transmission itself, in language that points to the potential of print to convey words across time, as well as the possibility of print’s failure to secure immortality. In this chapter, I want to suggest that Thorpe’s dedication, working in combination with aspects of Marlowe’s translation, points to important questions that early modern readers and writers had about the transmission of texts across time, and the robustness or fragility of print as a medium for conveying the matter of poetry and securing poetic fame.

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1 Thorpe was here neither the printer nor the distributor of the Lucan translation, but presumably the agent who brought copy, printer, and distributor together. On how to interpret the limited information available about the copyright history of the Lucan translation, see Kiséry, 2012, 364–71; see also Greg, 1944, 170–3, and Rostenberg, 51–2.

2 Greg, on the other hand, read the dedication not as comedy but as invective (1944, 170–1).