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THE MEANING OF ZENOCRATE IN TAMBURLAINE, PARTS I AND II

BY

YOON-HEE PARK

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
Master of Arts
Major in English
South Dakota State University
1988

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THE MEANING OF ZENOCRATE IN TAMBURLAINE, PARTS I AND II

This thesis is approved as a creditable and independent investigation by a candidate for the degree, Master of Arts, and is acceptable for meeting the thesis requirements for this degree. Acceptance of this thesis does not imply that the conclusions reached by the candidate are necessarily the conclusions of the major department.

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I. Introduction

Christopher Marlowe's Tamburlaine the Great, Parts I and II are built around a single towering superman, Tamburlaine, just as three of his other plays are built around strong protagonists: Barabas, Guise, and Faustus. Most critics have acknowledged that the protagonist, Tamburlaine, is "the only unifying factor,"[1] or "the be-all and end-all of the action."[2] From the beginning to the end, both plays unfold while centering exclusively on the protagonist, and the protagonist powerfully dominates both plays. The other characters of the play are often referred to merely as Tamburlaine's "puppets" and serve as his foils.[3] Furthermore, the subsidiary figures, whether miserable or not, are enormously influenced and wholly swayed by Tamburlaine's movements. As the three emblematic colors illustrate,[4] Tamburlaine forces all the characters of the play to choose their own fates: to stand on his side, and so enjoy the love of Tamburlaine, or to oppose him, and thus suffer the wrath of Tamburlaine. As a result of this compulsion, all figures in this limited world are forcefully divided into two opposite groups, Tamburlaine's friends and his foes. In turn, Tamburlaine is generous and fair to his loyal friends, while savagely bloody and cruel to his disobedient enemies. Throughout both plays, with the exception of the Soldan and Zenocrate, the other characters never change their attitudes toward Tamburlaine, and Tamburlaine also never changes his attitude toward them. Therefore, Irving Ribner has criticized that all the

characters of the Tamburlaine plays are "fixed and changeless," and "there is no development, and when the play ends, they are no more or no less than they had been at the beginning."[5] C. B. Kuriyama has similarly remarked that "Tamburlaine may be fairly described as a play of extremes that tends to represent experience as a continuous oscillation between opposites,"[6] and that "no character in these plays possesses strengths and weaknesses in roughly equal proportions."[7] In view of these remarks, "there is no middle ground"[8] in Tamburlaine's world. But it is my opinion that there is one exceptional character in Tamburlaine's world--the "fair" and "divine" Zenocrate.

It is generally said that, with the exception of Dido, Queen of Carthage, there are few treatments of women in Marlowe's plays, and that Marlowe failed to produce credible women characters because "all his plays are essentially masculine,"[9] or because "Marlowe had not learned to depict a woman."[10] Unlike Shakespeare, Marlowe seems to have had little interest in women, or in romantic affairs, and we can not find any "trace of a romantic passion in his life."[11] This may be the reason why the women characters of Marlowe's plays have received little attention, and why they are referred to merely as symbols or abstractions rather than as 'living women' as are female characters in Shakespeare's plays.

From this point of view, Zenocrate would be "merely one more of Tamburlaine's conquests,"[12] or a symbol of 'earthly beauty,' who "represents Tamburlaine's ambition."[13] According to Ribner, Zenocrate is just "a passive symbol of beauty" and "a wooden figure, cut in a fixed pattern which cannot vary."[14] Roy W. Battenhouse has

also criticized Zenocrate as one who "is beautiful, sentimental, inconstant, and vain,"[15] and thus whose beauty leads Tamburlaine to brutal and bloody vainglory, just as Helen's beauty led the Greeks and Trojans into bloody battle.

For other critics, however, though she is beautiful, Zenocrate is never a Helen-like woman who symbolizes carnal beauty, and moreover, she is far from being the object of physical desire or lust. Rather, she is "a pious woman, a chaste wife, and a loving mother,"[16] or "a virtuous, god-fearing Elizabethan Matron."[17] In a sense, it is very difficult to grasp Zenocrate's identity (or her meaning) in the context of either play, because she is so elusive and because she seldom is willing to express herself. According to Una Ellis-Fermor, "Twice only does she seem to speak as Zenocrate and not as the mouthpiece of some other agent: while waiting for the fall of Damascus and on her death-bed."[18] Thus, Zenocrate may seem to be no more than the most important and the most brilliant foil to Tamburlaine. But, she means more than this. Throughout both plays, she remains the only person who "is untainted by Tamburlaine's excesses,"[19] and who "at all effectively opposes Tamburlaine's morality."[20] Being always with Tamburlaine, even after her death, she exercises her influence over him, and, as Tamburlaine himself admits, Zenocrate has more power to move him than any of his enemies, though her influence does not exceed the limit fixed by Tamburlaine.

Zenocrate's presence in the play is thus critical to understanding Tamburlaine and his world as a whole. As Robert

Kimbrough has argued, "it is through her [Zenocrate] that the audience must come to its final judgment of Tamburlaine."[21] Similarly, Eugine M. Waith has remarked that Zenocrate's attitude towards Tamburlaine "is an important part of the meaning of the play."[22] Particularly in Part I, the relationship between Tamburlaine and Zenocrate dominates the play together with Tamburlaine's brave but cruel campaign against the world. In fact, Zenocrate may be attractive to the audience precisely because of her suffering and its transformation to a happy ending (at least, for Tamburlaine and Zenocrate, and for their friends).

Clearly, Zenocrate is quite different from the other subsidiary figures, and her attitude toward Tamburlaine is also quite different from the attitudes of the other characters. The most crucial difference between Zenocrate and the other characters is that she can vary her attitude (or her point of view) toward Tamburlaine, while remaining always constant to him. In other words, she knows and understands Tamburlaine far more than any other character, and, because of this understanding, she has the inner conflict that brings about Tamburlaine's inner conflict. In fact, no one but Zenocrate can make Tamburlaine suffer, and nothing but Zenocrate's plea can arouse mercy in him and break his iron martial law. As a whole, their inner conflicts or sufferings are reciprocal, and this thesis-antithesis relationship between the two characters continually goes on in Part I like the Hegelian dialectical method until Zenocrate's coronation at the end of the play.

However, in Part II, Zenocrate's meaning and her role seem

to be abstract and symbolic, because of her early disappearance from the play. We can imagine the meaning of Zenocrate in the play only through Tamburlaine's words and deeds. At first, she appears as a loving mother who protects and justifies unTamburlaine-like children. But the more important meaning or role of Zenocrate, as most critics suggest, is that she (or her death) reveals that Tamburlaine is not a god but a man with flesh and blood who must die. Tamburlaine's blasphemous attempts to wage war against the gods, his bloody massacre and savage cruelty against his enemies after Zenocrate's death, and his obdurate bearing of her bier reveal his frantic struggle with death. At last, he admits that death is inevitable for a man, and wills to live forever in his descendants. At the same time, these facts mean that the moderating influence of Zenocrate over Tamburlaine disappears with her death.

On the whole, then, Zenocrate seems to be timid and elusive, but her presence in both plays is crucial to understanding Tamburlaine and his world. Apparently, because of Zenocrate's absence, Part II seems to lose its balance as the play goes on, while Part I remains balanced because of her presence. My aim in this thesis is to study the meaning of Zenocrate in both Tamburlaine plays. The main focus of this work will be on the relationship of Tamburlaine and Zenocrate: Zenocrate's meaning as conceived by Tamburlaine, her influence (particularly her moderating influence) over Tamburlaine and his reaction to her influence, the meaning of Zenocrate's death and its impact on Tamburlaine, and the outcome of the reciprocal conflicts of both figures.

II. "Conceiving and Subduing": Zenocrate in 1 Tamburlaine

As the title suggests, Tamburlaine the Great, Part I is a drama mainly about a Scythian shepherd, Tamburlaine, who is "Threat'ning the world with high astounding terms / And scourging kingdoms with his conquering sword."[1] In a sense, the play seems to be a kind of Cinderella story, in which the hero or heroine, whose origin is obscure and humble, becomes a great person. Obviously both Tamburlaine's invincible rising in the world and Zenocrate's presence in 1 Tamburlaine are used to strengthen this Cinderella trait. However, though there is certainly such a trace of romance in the play, 1 Tamburlaine is not as simple as a fairy tale, and Zenocrate's presence is not simply applied for that purpose. I believe that Zenocrate's presence in 1 Tamburlaine has a more complicated meaning in light of the overall meaning of the play than has been assumed. So, the main theme of this chapter will be focused on Zenocrate's role and her relationship with Tamburlaine in 1 Tamburlaine. But, before proceeding to Zenocrate, I will discuss some problems of 1 Tamburlaine, which have been argued among critics.

Though Battenhouse has claimed that both parts of Tamburlaine are a single ten-act tragedy basically designed to show the fall of man through pride and ambition on the basis of the Christian morality tradition[2], most critics regard 1 Tamburlaine as a complete play distinct from Part II in light of Marlowe's use of the sources and the claim of the Prologue to Part II[3]. Another group of critics has

argued that, although Marlowe did not originally plan Tamburlaine as a single ten-act play of two parts, "the homogeneous structure of the two [Tamburlaine] plays . . . inevitably suggests an entity of ten acts."[4] My own view is that one has to study Part I as an independent drama from Part II, although it cannot be denied that Part II is influenced by Part I.

After having established 1 Tamburlaine as a complete play, the majority of critics have been much concerned with the play's structure and its dramatic development. They have denounced its dramatic flaws, such as the episodic structure and the absence of dramatic conflict, the unifying protagonist and the shadowiness of the subsidiary characters, and the protagonist's bloody cruelties in the play's most striking incidents.

In fact, Marlowe has set off his strong hero throughout the play, and so the play's "spotlight is always on Tamburlaine with a fierce concentration."[5] From the beginning to the end of the play Marlowe consistently contrasts the protagonist's heroic qualities with his ruthless cruelties as a great conqueror of the world. However, as a result of this heavy concentration on the protagonist, the play seems to be "an episodic sequence of scenes each of which was designed to make more clear the greatness of his [Marlowe's] hero,"[6] and thus, the play has been blamed for its "plotless episodic structure" and described as "barren of dramatic conflict."[7]

Another major target of critical attack is the protagonist's so-called unheroic qualities. According to the negative critics of Tamburlaine, Tamburlaine "stands in the list of anti-heroes" because

"he lacks the humor and humanity exhibited by Scipio and Alexander."[8] Moreover, Tamburlaine is not a heroic conqueror according to such critics, but a "blasphemous usurper and moral rebel"[9] who "presents the voracious and insatiable lust to consume the world."[10] Battenhouse has also considered Tamburlaine as a Machiavellian anti-Christ, "the new Machiavellian type of tyrant,"[11] whose "tragedy is explainable in terms of the degenerate source of his inspiration, the mistaken goal of his aspiration, and the intemperate course of his desire."[12]

However, though these criticisms of 1 Tamburlaine seem to be reasonable, I cannot wholly agree because I believe that, if 1 Tamburlaine is considered as a play in itself, the play is neither comedy nor tragedy, but a historical[13] or a heroic play[14] in spite of so many tragic incidents and deaths. Leslie Spence has rightly demonstrated in her essays that many characteristics of 1 Tamburlaine--"unifying hero, episodic action, spectacle, monotony, striking incident"[15] were virtually dictated by the sources Marlowe adapted.[16] Therefore, she has argued that "in a chronicle play which follows the career of a successful warrior some repetition is inevitable" because "the historic Tamburlaine was always fighting and was always victorious."[17]

In addition to thus being a history play, 1 Tamburlaine can be considered a heroic play or a conqueror play: epic dimensions centering around a mighty hero, a love story of a warrior and a princess, and spectacles. Robert Egan, in his essay on the relationship between Henry V and Tamburlaine, has also justified 1

Tamburlaine's major dramatic flaws, claiming the play to be a typical conqueror's play. According to him,[18] the hero of the play is a kind of "Super Everyman," who undertakes the conqueror's role in the teeth of losing an inner humanity and wholeness, and thus losing responsible love for mankind, because of his supreme will or aspiration which goes far beyond the limits of human capability. So, in the conqueror's play, the protagonist should be the play's central figure, and "Plot, setting, and even other characters are therefore distinctly subordinated to the dramatic focus on the conqueror himself."[19]

As suggested by Egan's remarks, the protagonist in 1 Tamburlaine is the pivot of the play, and all the other characters serve as foils or scapegoats to show the protagonist's brilliant rising to become the great conqueror of the world. So, in general, the criticism of 1 Tamburlaine has concentrated on the protagonist, just as the play has done. In a sense, this approach seems to be correct. But, if, as Harry Levin has indicated[20], we assume that war and love are the dominant themes throughout 1 Tamburlaine, it is worthwhile for the play to be reviewed from Zenocrate's point of view.

Helen L. Gardner has indicated that "1 Tamburlaine is shown to us in the double role of warrior and lover,"[21] and G.I. Duthie also has said that "the play is throughout concerned with the relationship between these two characters [Tamburlaine and Zenocrate]."[22] As the remarks indicate, two main streams flow through 1 Tamburlaine. One is Tamburlaine's brave but brutal campaign against the world. The other is his romantic but somewhat

troublesome love for Zenocrate. On the one hand, Tamburlaine experiences no setback or no crisis in his campaign, so his movements are without frustration like "a single rising line on a graph."[23] His love life, on the other hand, is turbulent. In fact, throughout the play, Tamburlaine experiences agony and trouble not for victory in war but for Zenocrate.

Zenocrate is so elusive that it is not easy to grasp her real meaning (or her role) in the play. Thus, she is referred to just as "a passive symbol of beauty,"[24] or "an extension of Tamburlaine, a part of his soul,"[25] or even "the quiet and conventional mistress of Tamburlaine."[26] Throughout the play, she appears on the stage just six times (I. ii., III. ii. iii., IV. ii. iv., V. ii.), and she speaks only 153 lines, while Tamburlaine appears in ten of the eighteen scenes, and speaks 755 lines, about one-third of the total number of 2300 lines in _1 Tamburlaine_. I will begin by outlining these six appearances to illuminate Zenocrate's role in the play.

Zenocrate first appears in I. ii. as a princess held captive by "a Scythian thief." At first sight, Tamburlaine is charmed by Zenocrate's beauty; as he confesses to Techelles, "But this is she [Zenocrate] with whom I am in love" (I. ii. 107). But there are two obstacles to their marriage. The first is a matter of "degree": he is of humble origin. The second is a matter of morals: Zenocrate is betrothed to another man. Tamburlaine, however, is not concerned with these matters of the world's concern, because he loves "to live at liberty" (I. ii. 26), and he is sure that he can prove himself "a lord":

> I am a lord, for so my deeds shall prove,
> And yet a shepherd by my parentage.
> (I. ii. 34-5)

Perhaps Tamburlaine needs more crowns to prove himself a lord and to keep Zenocrate from being denounced by the world for changing her heart.

The importance of Zenocrate's first appearance is that she is conceived by Tamburlaine as his ideal of beauty:

> But, lady, this fair face and heavenly hue
> Must grace his bed that conquers Asia
> And means to be a terror to the world,
> Measuring the limits of his empery
> By east and west, as Phoebus doth his course.
> (I. ii. 36-40)

In the end of this scene, Zenocrate disappears from the stage until later in the play (III. ii.) leaving a hint that there will be no way for her to be freed:

> I must be pleased perforce. Wretched Zenocrate!
> (I. ii. 258)

Zenocrate appears again in III. ii. after a long absence. In this scene, where one may expect Zenocrate's sorrowful lamentation for her captivity, she shows her sudden change in attitude toward Tamburlaine--she declares her love for "fair Tamburlaine":

> Ah, life and soul, still hover in his breast,
> And leave my body senseless as the earth,
> Or else unite you to his life and soul,

That I may live and die with Tamburlaine!
(III. ii. 21-4)

Furthermore, her "heavenly face" did not "wax so wan and pale" (III. ii. 4-5) for her agony of captivity but for her fear that Tamburlaine will turn from her "unworthiness":

Thence rise the tears that so distain my checks,
Fearing his love through my unworthiness.
(III. ii. 64-5)

Zenocrate's love for Tamburlaine grows as suddenly as Dido's love for Aeneas, though in Dido's case, the god's intervention is apparent. Marlowe did not describe the change undergone in Zenocrate's heart.

In scene three of act three, Zenocrate makes her third appearance on the stage. After the pompous verbal exchange of threats and insults between Tamburlaine and Bajazeth, they fight offstage, leaving the ladies to continue the verbal exchange on the stage:

Till then, take thou my crown, vaunt of my worth,
And manage words with her, as we will arms.
(III. iii. 130-1)

Zenocrate and Zabina, each holding the crowns of their lords, continue to exchange taunts and to deride each other while they await the outcome of the battle. Zenocrate and Zabina form a kind of chorus and their verbal fighting seems to be an interlude. These two ladies' verbal fighting on the stage makes an interesting counterpart to the real physical fighting of their lords off the stage.

In her fourth appearance in the play (IV. ii.), Zenocrate

participates in taunting the defeated Bajazeth and his wife. Throughout the punishment of Bajazeth and Zabina, Zenocrate has applauded the acts of brutality toward them as heartily as has Tamburlaine:

> She is my handmaid's slave, and she shall look
> That these abuses flow not from her tongue.
> Chide her, Anippe.
> (IV. ii. 69-71)

Up to this point, Zenocrate and Tamburlaine have encountered only harmony in their relationship. From the beginning, Tamburlaine achieves success after success. He, who has the humble origin of a Scythian shepherd, overwhelmingly dominates the whole world with his astonishing power and his soaring ambition. He defeats the world's monarchs one by one without any difficulty. Furthermore, he captures the most gorgeous foil, Zenocrate, at the beginning of his career, and soon he wins her heart with ease.

Meanwhile, after changing her heart toward Tamburlaine, somewhat ironically, Zenocrate seems to be a fervent defender of Tamburlaine, trying not to turn Tamburlaine's mind from her "unworthiness." She defies Agydas' slandering against Tamburlaine and, at the same time she justifies Tamburlaine:

> Leave to wound me with these words,
> And speak of Tamburlaine as he deserves.
> The entertainment we have had of him
> Is far from villainy or servitude,
> And might in noble minds be counted princely.
> (III. ii. 35-9)

Also, in the following scene, she is ardent to retort scornfully in

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argument against Zabina, and she heartily prays for Tamburlaine's victory over Bajazeth:

> Ye gods and powers that govern Persia,
> And made my lordly love her worthy King,
> Now strengthen him against the Turkish Bajazeth,
> And let his foes, like flocks of fearful roes
> Pursued by hunters, fly his angry looks,
> That I may see him issue conqueror.
> (III. iii. 189-94)

Even after Tamburlaine's refusal of her plea to save her father and country in IV. ii., Zenocrate is still as eager to taunt Bajazeth and Zabina as Tamburlaine is:

> My lord, how can you suffer these
> Outrageous curses by these slaves of yours?
> (IV. iv. 26-7)

But the preparation for the coming crisis of their harmonious relationship is initiated on the first day of the siege of Damascus in the end of IV. ii., when Zenocrate makes an entreatment for Damascus:

> Yet would you have some pity for my sake,
> Because it is my country's and my father's.
> (IV. ii. 123-4).

However, Tamburlaine absolutely refuses:

> Not for the world, Zenocrate, if I have sworn.
> (IV. ii. 125)

Thus, Zenocrate's long journey to save her father and her country starts.

In IV. iv., the banquet scene, Zenocrate appears to be depressed. At first, she seems to join in the torment of Bajazeth and Zabina, but, shortly after, we can see from her reply to Tamburlaine that Zenocrate's mind is changing.

> Tam. How now, Zenocrate, doth not the Turk and his wife make a goodly show at a banquet?
> Zen. Yes, my lord.
> (IV. iv. 56-8)

Just "Yes, my lord"--there is no further response. Then Tamburlaine, who has felt the mood of Zenocrate, asks her about the cause of her melancholy. She explains the reason for her distressed state of mind, then again, she heartily begs Tamburlaine:

> 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.
> (IV. iv. 66-70)

But, Tamburlaine is still adamant:

> And wouldst thou have me buy thy father's love
> With such a loss? Tell me, Zenocrate.
> (IV. iv. 81-2)

After this refusal, Zenocrate begs him no longer, because I assume, she may have realized that Tamburlaine's headstrong stubbornness to his military way of life will not be waived. But, here, for the first time, we can expect the possibility that Tamburlaine may break his iron martial law:

> . . . his person shall be safe,
> And all the friends of fair Zenocrate,
> (IV. iv. 85-6)

It is a repetition of Tamburlaine's constant words:

> Thy person is more worth to Tamburlaine
> Than the possession of the Persian crown,
> (I. ii. 90-1)

However, it is characteristic that Tamburlaine's words always involve a precondition. The typical example is his displaying three emblematic colors. Here, Tamburlaine also makes a condition:

> If with their lives they will be pleased to yield,
> Or may be forced to make me emperor;
> For Egypt and Arabia must be mine.
> (IV. iv. 87-9)

Already we have seen Zenocrate's change of heart in IV. iv.: she felt pity through the agony of Bajazeth and Zabina. Now, this time, we can see Tamburlaine's change of attitude toward pity, when he appears to the Damascus Virgins in V. ii. "all in black, and very melancholy" (V. ii. Stage Direction):

> What, are the turtles frayed out of their nests?
> Alas, poor fools, must you be first shall feel
> The sworn destruction of Damascus?
> They know my custom; could they not as well
> Have sent ye out when first my milk-white flags,
> Through which sweet Mercy threw her gentle beams,
> Reflexing them on your disdainful eyes,
> As now when fury and incensed hate
> Flings slaughtering terror from my coal-black tents,
> And tells for truth submissions comes too late?
> (V. ii. 1-10)

It is apparent that Tamburlaine is in agony because the people of

Damascus refused his offer of mercy in the first day of his siege. Tamburlaine is also melancholy because some sort of struggle is happening within his mind, though Battenhouse has argued that "Tamburlaine, like the true Machiavellian prince, makes show of pity, yet is entirely ruthless."[27] However, Tamburlaine is still obdurate and orders the Damascus Virgins put to death, reiterating his iron martial law:

> Away with them, I say, and show them Death.
> I will not spare these proud Egyptians
> Nor change my martial observations
> For all the wealth of Gihon's golden waves,
> Or for the love of Venus, would she leave
> The angry god of arms and lie with me.
> They have refused the offer of their lives;
> And know my customs are as peremptory
> As wrathful planets, death or destiny.
> (V. ii. 57-65)

After all, there is not a real change of Tamburlaine's attitude toward pity, as we can see in the tragic result of this incident. Nevertheless, through this incident, we feel the possibility that his stern mind will be softened to some degree, because we see a hint of change through his melancholy mood and his regretable rebuke of the Virgins. This is a new mode in Tamburlaine's attitude, and, after the execution of the Virgins, we hear from Tamburlaine himself about his struggling mind.

Then, there comes Tamburlaine's famous "Ah, fair Zenocrate! Divine Zenocrate!" soliloquy, which reveals Tamburlaine's mind struggling between honor, which keeps him from breaking his old discipline, and beauty, which urges him to break it. First, he

feels sorry about the agony of Zenocrate:

> Ah, fair Zenocrate! Divine Zenocrate!
> Fair is too foul an epithet for thee,
> That in thy passion for thy country's love,
> And fear to see thy kingly father's harm,
> With hair dishevelled wip'st thy watery cheeks;
> (V. ii. 72-6)

Furthermore, he acknowledges that Zenocrate's

> . . . sorrows lay more siege unto my soul
> Than all my army to Damascus' walls;
> And neither Persians' sovereign nor the Turk
> Troubled my senses with conceit of foil
> So much by much as doth Zenocrate.
> (V. ii. 92-6)

But, primarily, Tamburlaine feels it would be shameful to give up his old discipline to the power of beauty:

> 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!
> (V. ii. 111-4)

At the same time, Tamburlaine also believes that

> . . . every warrior that is rapt with love
> Of fame, of valor, and of victory,
> Must needs have beauty beat on his conceits.
> (V. ii. 117-9)

Finally, Tamburlaine concludes that, both "conceiving and subduing" the influence of beauty, he

> Shall give the world to note, for all my birth,
> That virtue solely is the sum of glory,

And fashions men with true nobility.
(V. ii. 125-7)

Here, Tamburlaine apparently makes up his mind to "conceive" and "subdue" the influence of beauty, that is, he will allow its influence as beauty encourages a warrior, but he will resist its influence as far as beauty effeminates a warrior. But, shortly after this determination, Tamburlaine easily agrees with Theridamas' proposal to save the Soldan:

Ther. We know the victory is ours, my lord,
But let us save the reverend Soldan's life
For fair Zenocrate that so laments his state.
Tam. That will we chiefly see unto, Theridamas,
For sweet Zenocrate, whose worthiness
Deserves a conquest over every heart.
(V. ii. 140-5)

Also, at the end of the play, we can see Tamburlaine spare the Soldan's life and take "truce with the world." Undoubtedly, these are signs that Tamburlaine is affected by the influence of beauty which urged him toward clemency.[28]

Meanwhile, Zenocrate appears in the last portion of V. ii., lamenting for "Damascus' walls dyed with Egyptian blood" (V. ii. 257), and "streets strowed with dissevered joints of men, / And wounded bodies gasping yet for life" (V. ii. 259-60). Even more, she stands aghast at the bloody sight of dead Bajazeth and Zabina, who have brained themselves against the cage:

But see, another bloody spectacle!
Ah, wretched eyes, the enemies of my heart,
How are ye glutted with these grievous objects,

> And tell my soul more tales of bleeding ruth!
> (V. ii. 276-9)

Now, pity is absolutely laid in Zenocrate's heart. At the same time, she has heartily realized the transiency of "fickle empery" and "slippery crowns":

> Those that are proud of fickle empery
> And place their chiefest good in earthy pomp,
> Behold the Turk and his great emperess!
> Ah, Tamburlaine my love, sweet Tamburlaine,
> That fights for scepters and for slippery crowns,
> Behold the Turk and his great emperess!
> Thou, that in conduct of thy happy stars,
> Sleep'st every night with conquest on thy brows,
> And yet wouldst shun the wavering turns of war,
> In fear and feeling of the like distress,
> Behold the Turk and his great emperess!
> (V. ii. 289-99)

At this point, Zenocrate admits Tamburlaine's previous pride and his inadequacy. She has felt the vanity of earthly power, and she also comes to realize that "the ripest fruit of all"--"the sweet fruition of an earthly crown" (II. vii. 27, 29), which Tamburlaine has been arduously pursuing is but the "fickle empery" or "slippery crowns." However, though she admits Tamburlaine's excessive pride and she knows that he is the cause of all these tragic events, Zenocrate still loves him. We can see her devotion to Tamburlaine and her prayers for his well-being:

> Ah, mighty Jove and holy Mahomet,
> Pardon my love! Oh, pardon his contempt
> Of earthly fortune and respect of pity,
> And let not conquest, ruthlessly pursued,
> Be equally against his life incensed
> In this great Turk and hapless emperess!
> (V. ii. 300-5)

Zenocrate regrets her own lack of ruth toward the miserable Bajazeth and Zabina. Indeed she asks pardon for her former conduct:

> And pardon me that was not moved with ruth
> To see them live so long in misery!
> Ah, what may chance to thee, Zenocrate?
> (V. ii. 306-8)

After Zenocrate's remorseful prayer, there comes the final heavy news that her "father and th'Arabian king, . . . / Armed with lance into the Egyptian fields, / Ready for battle 'gainst" (V. ii. 315, 318-9) Tamburlaine. Hearing the news, she feels her heart broken, because

> Now shame and duty, love and fear presents
> A thousand sorrows to my martyred soul.
> (V. ii. 320-1)

And finally she offers a fervent prayer:

> So, for a final issue to my griefs,
> To pacify my country and my love,
> Must Tamburlaine by their resistless powers,
> With virtue of a gentle victory,
> Conclude a league of honor to my hope;
> Then, as the powers divine have pre-ordained,
> With happy safety of my father's life
> Send like defense of fair Arabia.
> (V. ii. 332-9)

Then enters the fatally wounded King of Arabia, Zenocrate's first betrothed love. And he dies

> . . . with full contented heart,
> Having beheld divine Zenocrate,
> Whose sight with joy would take away my life,

> As now it bringeth sweetness to my wound,
> If I had not been wounded as I am,
> (V. ii. 354-8)

Thus, Zenocrate is reconciled with the King of Arabia, who died happily in the sight of Zenocrate. In a sense, his death clears the way for the marriage of Tamburlaine and Zenocrate, because he was one of the obstacles for them I mentioned earlier in this chapter.

Finally, there comes Tamburlaine, leading the Soldan, Zenocrate's father, whose life "so consumes Zenocrate" (V. ii. 91):

> Come, happy father of Zenocrate,
> A title higher than thy Soldan's name.
> Though my right hand have thus enthralled thee,
> Thy princely daughter here shall set thee free,
> (V. ii. 370-3)

To Zenocrate, it is a "sight thrice-welcome to my joyful soul, / To see the king my father issue safe / From dangerous battle of my conquering love!" (V. ii. 377-9) With this happy solution, at last, the harmonious relationship of Tamburlaine and Zenocrate is regained and Tamburlaine marries Zenocrate, taking "truce with all the world."

I believe that this synopsis of Zenocrate and her relationship with Tamburlaine offers some crucial points to an examination of 1 Tamburlaine: (1) Zenocrate's role is to give the play dramatic form; (2) Zenocrate gives the play a kind of diversity or vitality; (3) Zenocrate, who is conceived by Tamburlaine as beauty incarnate, modifies the harsh heart of Tamburlaine, who has proclaimed himself to be "the terror of the world."

In her very influential book on Marlowe, Una Ellis-Fermor

offers the following explanation for her view that there is no dramatic form in 1 Tamburlaine:

> Tamburlaine, so far from interpreting life by indicating its form, appears as formless and incoherent as life itself. The first part, in this, errs less than the second, but even the first has no progress, crisis or solution. The final triumph and marriage of Tamburlaine is perhaps a climax, but it is too long deferred to have a direct connection with the original impulse, and the idea has been anticipated and handled so often that it has lost its freshness. Tamburlaine's rise to power cannot fill five acts of a play without complications, and a complication would be a denial of the very nature of Tamburlaine's genius, which triumphs, not after a struggle, but without it. Thus, before his play was begun, Marlowe had committed himself to a theme that was in its essence undramatic. It is a forgone conclusion, then, that there will be no dramatic form.[29]

I cannot agree with Ellis-Fermor's arguments that there is "no progress, crisis, or solution" in 1 Tamburlaine, and that the play therefore has no dramatic form. I assume that her conclusions arise because she has ignored or neglected the presence of Zenocrate in the play. This is reflected in her only comment about Zenocrate:

> As far as Zenocrate is anything at all she is a virtuous, god-fearing Elizabethan matron, and may well bear some resemblance to Catherine Marlowe, the shoemaker's wife of Canterbury, who must, at this stage of Marlowe's life, have been the only woman with whom he had been brought into close and daily contact.[30]

I think the presence of Zenocrate in the play signifies more than Ellis-Fermor's estimation of her suggests.

As I have mentioned earlier in this chapter, Tamburlaine

has no setback as far as war is concerned. In Act I, Tamburlaine, whose appearance is seen sharply against the corrupt Persian court, advances into the world. He captures Zenocrate, and wins over Theridamas by his "working words" and his looks "embellished / With nature's pride and richest furniture" (I. ii. 154-5). In Act II, Tamburlaine defeats the incompetent Persian King, Mycetes, and his usurping brother, Cosroe, and becomes the King of Persia. In Act III, Tamburlaine overcomes the Emperor of Turks, Bajazeth. In Act IV, the Soldan of Egypt and the King of Arabia are ready for war against Tamburlaine. In Act V, Tamburlaine conquers Damascus and defeats the united army of Soldan and Arabia, then takes "truce with all the world."

When summed up like this, the play seems to be a continuation of conquest and victory without any crisis. In fact, until the end of IV. II. when Zenocrate makes her first plea for her father and country, Tamburlaine's movements proceed without any setback, and the play has shown only Tamburlaine's coruscated talents and his military exploits. Zenocrate also has been shown as a gorgeous foil like Mycetes, Cosroe, Theridamas, and Bajazeth. However, though she is a wooden figure in the first half of the play, Zenocrate undergoes a complete change throughout the last half of the play. In other words, we can see the "living" Zenocrate when pity is aroused in her heart through the misery of Bajazeth and Zabina. As a whole, the dramatic conflict of 1 Tamburlaine begins with Zenocrate's agony in the end of IV. ii., and the crisis caused by Zenocrate's agony is settled by Tamburlaine's resolution to save Soldan's life and

to take "truce with all the world." At first then, the dramatic interest in 1 Tamburlaine is wholly in the protagonist's brilliant rising in the world, but, as the play continues, it moves into the relationship of Tamburlaine and Zenocrate. Thus, when the crisis begins in IV. ii., as Spence has indicated, we are no longer interested in Tamburlaine's brave exploits--whether he will conquer his enemies or not, but in the relationship of Tamburlaine and Zenocrate--"Will Tamburlaine's love for Zenocrate conquer his pride in military rigor?"[31] and thus, will their harmonious relationship be regained?

Again, let me trace the crisis of the play caused by Zenocrate. The first and only setback against Tamburlaine's smooth rise in 1 Tamburlaine begins with Zenocrate's plea in the end of IV. ii. Tamburlaine's first response to this plea is 'absolutely not.' In IV. iv., Zenocrate again prays to Tamburlaine for mercy, at this time more actively, suggesting that Tamburlaine change his iron martial law. But Tamburlaine is still adamant. After this rejection, she is continuously melancholy and does not pray to Tamburlaine directly, but rather to god. Meanwhile, Tamburlaine also begins to be in agony. The first sign of this is his melancholy mood when he appears to the Damascus Virgins in V. ii. Undoubtedly pity is aroused in Tamburlaine's heart. At the same time, he may believe that he offers mercy when he pitches down white tents before the gates of Damascus, which signifies "the mildness of his [Tamburlaine's] mind / That, satiate with spoil, refuseth blood" (IV. i. 53-4). But the day is the third since his army has sieged Damascus and now black colors are displayed. He must kill all his foes

"Without respect of sex, degree, or age" (IV. I. 63), if he keeps to his old discipline and thus to his military honor. So, Tamburlaine, somewhat regretfully, reproaches the Damascus Virgins--"poor fools" (V. ii. 1-10). However, he cannot but carry out his "sworn destruction of Damascus" and thus executes the Virgins, because his military pride is still more dominant in his heart than is mercy.

Then the catastrophe of the play comes when Tamburlaine reveals his mental suffering in his famous soliloquy (V. ii. 72-127). In this soliloquy, Tamburlaine wanders between the thesis-antithesis boundaries of his "discipline of arms and chivalry" (V. ii. 112). Needless to say, the source of Tamburlaine's psychological crisis is beauty's "effeminating" power, signified by Zenocrate, against the ruthless course of military campaigns. At this point, we can imagine that Tamburlaine may believe that beauty can influence a warrior in two ways: one is its encouraging power to add "more courage to my [Tamburlaine's] conquering mind" (V. ii. 453); the other is its moderating power to arouse clemency in his conquering mind. In a word, Tamburlaine is on the horns of a dilemma, because he believes that a warrior needs beauty's encouraging power, but, at the same time, he has to resist its softening power. Thus, Tamburlaine has declared that he will both "conceive" and "subdue" beauty's influence; that is, he will allow the affecting power of beauty as far as its encouraging influence goes, and as far as its moderating influence goes within the limit he has fixed.

Then comes the climax of the play: Bajazeth and Zabina kill themselves and Zenocrate stands aghast at the miserable

spectacle; Tamburlaine's and Soldan's armies are fighting against each other, and the King of Arabia dies at Zenocrate's feet; finally Tamburlaine comes onto the stage, leading the Soldan and his train. Then he marries Zenocrate, crowning her "Queen of Persia, / And all the kingdoms and dominions / That late the power of Tamburlaine subdued" (V. ii. 444-6). The play ends with a happy finale, at least for Tamburlaine, Zenocrate, and their friends. The crisis begun with Zenocrate's agony is resolved by Tamburlaine's determination to modify his old military discipline. The crisis in the relationship between Tamburlaine and Zenocrate is thus resolved when their harmonious relationship is regained. As a whole, we can see that the dramatic development--the progress, crisis, and solution--of the play has been built around Zenocrate.

The second role of Zenocrate in the play is that she gives a diversity or a vitality to the play. In the play, Tamburlaine is really "the spring of all action," who has a "vibrant personality,"[32] while the other characters are fixed and pale. Ribner has remarked upon the lack of vitality of all the characters in <u>1 Tamburlaine</u> as follows:

> Not only are the both parts of this drama entirely the products of human agents, but those agents themselves are fixed and changeless. They appear upon the stage full drawn; there is no development, and when the play ends, they are no more or no less than they had been at the beginning. It is this essential feature of classical historiography in the play which has led critics to call Tamburlaine poorly motivated, incredible, almost a caricature. Everything he will ever be, he already is at his appearance in the second scene of the first act of Part I, when, as a mere brigand with

> almost no following, he has captured Zenocrate and her train . . . . Techelles and Usumcasane are just as fixed and static as their master. They are prototypes of loyal followers, and they never can be anything else . . . . This is true also of Theridamas; all of the potentialities of his nature are clear when we first met him . . . . Bajazeth and Zabina cannot change; they can only learn . . . a stoic resignation to fate . . . . Zenocrate is never more than a passive symbol of beauty whose nature it is to follow Tamburlaine. Like the others, she is a wooden figure, cut in a fixed pattern which cannot vary.[33]

For myself, I cannot wholly agree with Ribner's estimates. In fact, the subsidiary characters of the play may be fixed and changeless. But, as we can see in Acts IV and V, Tamburlaine and Zenocrate apparently change their attitudes. Tamburlaine, affected by Zenocrate's agony, experiences mental conflict. Though neither Zenocrate's nor the Virgins' desperate pleas can make him waive his sworn destruction of Damascus, he apparently feels pity when he appears to the Virgins. As a result of his psychological crisis, Tamburlaine modifies his iron martial law, and saves the Soldan's life. In the case of Zenocrate, the degree of change or the degree of vitality is more clearly demonstrated. Spence has written about Marlowe's use of Zenocrate as follows:

> The variation of vitality according to dramatic importance is well illustrated by one character, Zenocrate, who is sometimes necessary to the action and sometimes insignificant to it. Marlowe had little need of her at the beginning of the play. In the first two acts, where he followed closely the events of history, he inserted Zenocrate only occasionally; in the last two acts, where he arranged his details to effect for Tamburlaine an emotional climax built on her grief, and where consequently her existence has dramatic significance, he

introduced her often.[34]

As Spence has rightly indicated, Zenocrate is a pale character like the other subsidiary figures, until Act IV. During that time, Zenocrate appears just two times and she seldom speaks. But, throughout Acts IV and V, she changes into a more solid character, and "she obtains through her sufferings an enlargement of sympathy that gives depth to her character."[35] As Zenocrate is transformed from a lifeless marionette into a lively character throughout Acts IV and V, the play's main interest also moves from Tamburlaine's invincible military advancement to the troublesome relationship between Tamburlaine and Zenocrate. This change of the play's stress can be easily demonstrated by the fact that the dramatic conflicts of Acts IV and V are built around Zenocrate.

Zenocrate also provides a kind of "middle ground" to the play, where "subtleties of character, in any form, are alien to Tamburlaine's world,"[36] and where there is nothing but black and white. In fact, as Robert Kimbrough has said, "Most of the characters see Tamburlaine as either entirely glorious or entirely evil," and "of all the characters only Zenocrate maintains the kind of perspective necessary in choral figure."[37] Tamburlaine himself also recognizes all the people of the world as friends or enemies. As the three emblematic colors signify, Tamburlaine does not acknowledge any one who opposes him--he always forces people to choose their own attitude toward him. However, Zenocrate is the only exceptional character "who at all effectively opposes Tamburlaine's morality,"[38] and who

makes Tamburlaine hesitate and begin to question his military way of life.[39] Tamburlaine, who "is never persuaded by others, and never intimidated by their speeches,"[40] is persuaded to break his iron will by Zenocrate's suffering and her pleas.

The third role of Zenocrate in the play is her moderating influence over Tamburlaine. According to W.L. Godshalk, Tamburlaine is "the portrait of brutal egocentricity,"[41] who, through the course of the play "has been progressively a thief, a usurper, a murderer of women, and a sacker of cities."[42] Going further, Godshalk has regarded the presence of Zenocrate or her beauty in the plot as meaningless, because "the traditional motif in which beauty overcomes or modifies the savagery of war is inverted, and Tamburlaine denies the fundamental influence of love and beauty on his actions."[43] So, he has argued that "Zenocrate reveals a growing brutality,"[44] and "Zenocrate's capitulation suggests that beauty and love are essentially powerless in Tamburlaine's world."[45]

However, I cannot help disagreeing with Godshalk's estimates of Zenocrate and her moderating influence over Tamburlaine's stern mind. Even Battenhouse, who has criticized Tamburlaine's love of "earthly Zenocrate" as well as his pursuit of an "earthly crown,"[46] has agreed that "Tamburlaine's worship of beauty, however, is dramatically very appropriate."[47] Battenhouse has further suggested:

> Zenocrate's beauty, earthly though it is, can modify the sternness of Tamburlaine's spirit. Under the spell of her beauty he spares her father's life. When in Part II of the drama Zenocrate's death has deprived him of beauty's softening influence, he becomes increasingly savage.[48]

Duthie also has pointed out, more definitely than Battenhouse, that Zenocrate's beauty modifies considerably Tamburlaine's warrior ideal, which leads Tamburlaine to spare the Soldan's life and to take "truce with all the world." According to Duthie, "the modifying effect of beauty on Tamburlaine in the end is to create in him a disposition to show pity in a greater degree than he has been willing to dc before."[49] But, what is opposed to beauty is "his old ideal of Honour,"[50] so that two concepts conflict in his mind: one is "the willingness of the hero to be merciful beyond his former wont"; the other is "his insistence on the fact that he will not allow himself to be reduced to anything less than a great warrior."[51] "At the end," Duthie continues, "we are meant to see a Tamburlaine who is ready to admit in due proportion the moderating and encouraging influences of beauty--a Tamburlaine animated by a single new ideal consisting of a modification of his original conception of Honour."[52]

For myself, I believe that Tamburlaine is not savagely cruel enough to be "the portrait of brutal egocentricity," and also that Zenocrate does not reveal "a growing brutality." As a matter of fact, I deny the charge that Tamburlaine is a marauding fox or an usurping Machiavellian when he takes the Persian crown after defeating both Mycetes and Cosroe, because the corruption of the Persian court and the inadequacy of her king are demonstrated in I. i. Furthermore, Tamburlaine's competition with Cosroe, the usurping brother of Mycetes, for the Persian crown is far from Machiavellian trickery. Rather it is fair play, because Tamburlaine gives fair warning of fight, avoiding the advantage of a surprise attack:[53]

> We will not steal upon him cowardly,
> But give him warning and more warriors.
> (II. v. 102-3)

Tamburlaine is also not brutal when he sends a knife to Agydas who tries to persuade Zenocrate to betray Tamburlaine, because Tamburlaine offers Agydas, who is a proven traitor to Tamburlaine, an opportunity of "honorable death by suicide and a dignified burial."[54] A more complicated explanation is needed in the case of Tamburlaine's ill-treatment of Bajazeth and the slaughter of the Damascus Virgins. Spence has explained these atrocities on the basis of history as follows:

> Tamburlaine's well-known atrocities--keeping Bajazeth in an iron cage, ordering the slaughter of suppliants from a besieged city--Marlowe had to present because they were well known. By incorporating them he not only satisfied the expectations of the Elizabethan audience assembled to see precisely those infamous barbarities, but gave the play its most memorable episodes.[55]

Structurally, these two incidents are needed to unfold the dramatic conflict which is generated by Zenocrate's change of attitude toward pity and Tamburlaine's ruthless military progression. Along with the historical and structural explanations, these incidents can be explained in other ways. In fact, the caged Bajazeth and his tragic end may be a shocking spectacle, but according to Warren D. Smith,[56] the misery of Bajazeth is a result of poetic justice delivered by Tamburlaine, who has proclaimed himself "the scourge and wrath of God, / The only fear and terror of the world" (III. iii. 44-5). At this moment, Tamburlaine is shown to us as a savior to "enlarge /

Those Christian captives which you [Turks] keep as slaves" (III. iii. 46-7), while Bajazeth is portrayed as a chieftain of "the cruel pirates of Argier," who "make quick havoc of the Christian blood" (III. iii. 55, 58). In another way, Tamburlaine's cruelties over Bajazeth and Zabina can be explained by suggesting that his taunting of Bajazeth is to keep his vow made during the verbal fighting with Bajazeth:

> By this my sword that conquered Persia,
> Thy fall shall make me famous through the world.
> I will not tell thee how I'll handle thee,
> But every common soldier of my camp
> Shall smile to see thy miserable state.
> (III. iii. 82-6)

Throughout the play, Tamburlaine's "words are oracles" (III. iii. 102). We cannot help believing him, and he himself fulfills his sworn words. But, at the same time, Tamburlaine's maltreatment of Bajazeth is far from being more inhumane than Bajazeth's proposed punishment if he wins over Tamburlaine:

> He shall be made a chaste and lustless eunuch,
> And in my sarell tend my concubines;
> And all his captains, that thus stoutly stand,
> Shall draw the chariot of my emperess,
> (III. iii. 77-80)

Tamburlaine's ordered slaughter of the Virgins is also not wholly attributed to Tamburlaine's savage cruelties. Rather, it is primarily their leader's responsibility, as the First Virgin pleads that "our ruthless governor / Have thus refused the mercy of thy [Tamburlaine's] hand" (V. ii. 29-30). Certainly, Tamburlaine has given the Virgins (and all the people of Damascus) a chance to live

until the third day of siege, but their leader refused the chance.

Because of the charge of cruelty against Tamburlaine, Zenocrate is also blamed for her image as conceived by Tamburlaine, particularly for her encouraging influence to his "conquering mind." Perhaps the appreciation of Zenocrate in the play is not for what she really is, but for what she means to Tamburlaine. First of all, Zenocrate is conceived by Tamburlaine as his ideal of beauty "beat on his conceits." Zenocrate gives Tamburlaine a motive for his brave exploits, "Adding more courage to my [Tamburlaine's] conquering mind." So, Godshalk has argued that Zenocrate degenerates along with Tamburlaine.[57] Masinton also has indicated that Zenocrate represents Tamburlaine's "heady ambitions,"[58] and "what he [Tamburlaine] sees when he looks at her [Zenocrate] is a reflection of the vision of ideal beauty in his imagination, a vision that for him is synonymous with his dream of royal power and grandeur."[59]

In the play, it is true that Zenocrate is an object of Tamburlaine's vision of ideal beauty and Zenocrate certainly provides a motive (or an encouraging influence of beauty) to his soaring mind. But I believe this is not the sole purpose for Zenocrate's presence in the play. As a matter of fact, Zenocrate sufficiently demonstrates her moderating influence over Tamburlaine: Zenocrate feels pity through the physical sufferings of Bajazeth and Zabina; after watching the misery of this couple, she worries about her father who is opposing Tamburlaine; Zenocrate's melancholy brings about Tamburlaine's mental suffering as his mind wanders between his military honor and its opponent, mercy, which beauty or love signifies; the

dramatic crisis is solved by Tamburlaine's determination to allow beauty's moderating influence as far as the influence does not exceed the limit fixed by Tamburlaine; while Zenocrate's rush of pity deepens as she repents for her former attitude toward pity, and she realizes that Tamburlaine's military way of life is ruthless and vain, but still she loves him enough to pray for his lack of mercy; finally, there is a happy resolution, and the harmonious relationship of Tamburlaine and Zenocrate is regained. The saving of the Soldan's life is the first tangible fruit of Zenocrate's moderating influence.

Tamburlaine has said to Theridamas that Zenocrate's "worthiness / Deserves a conquest over every heart" (V. ii. 144-5). Tamburlaine is not an exception to this remark because in the end, Zenocrate conquers (but partially) Tamburlaine's heart. Indeed, Zenocrate saves her father's life, and her moderating influence forces Tamburlaine to hang up his "weapons on Alcides' post" (V. ii. 465). It is Zenocrate "that hath calmed the fury of my [Tamburlaine's] sword, / Which had ere this been bathed in streams of blood / As vast and deep as Euphrates or Nile" (V. ii. 374-6).

III. The Theme of Death: Zenocrate in 2 Tamburlaine

My aim in this chapter is to examine the meaning of Zenocrate's presence to the unfolding of the story of Tamburlaine in 2 Tamburlaine. But first, let me consider the relationship between the two Tamburlaine plays.

As most critics have recognized, the second part of Tamburlaine was written because of the first part's tremendous success on the public stage. The prologue to the second part clearly manifests this fact:

> The general welcomes Tamburlaine received,
> When he arrived last upon our stage,
> Hath made our poet pen his Second part,
> (The Prologue, 1-3)

It has also been indicated that, when Marlowe wrote 1 Tamburlaine, he almost exhausted his historical sources, so that most of the incidents in the second part are Marlowe's own invention.[1] In the light of these two facts, it has been plainly demonstrated that the first part was written to stand alone and afterwards, the sequel was written. However, there is some question about the identity of the second part--whether it is a mere continuation of the first part or not--and if not, where lies the difference between the two parts.

G. K. Hunter has argued in his essay on the Elizabethan two-part play that "the unity of the play is that of a diptych, in which repetition of shape and design focuses attention on what is common to the two parts."[2] In other words, the themes or

conceptions which the author has dealt with in both parts developed from one spring of mind. So, according to Hunter, both parts of Tamburlaine have a characteristic feature of the Elizabethan two-part play--the structural parallels.[3] From this point of view, Godshalk has written that "Although the two parts [of Tamburlaine] should initially be studied separately, Marlowe undoubtedly saw them as two parts of a total picture."[4] Seemingly, this view of "a total picture" is very similar to Battenhouse's attitude, who has arduously advocated the theory of a "ten-act play."

For myself, I cannot agree with those who have argued that "The second part clarifies the meaning of the first,"[5] or that both parts are designed out of one consistent theme to show an ambitious man's "tragic fall" which "is both a consequence and a punishment of sin."[6] Also, I cannot agree with those who have tried to explain the difference between the two parts as a change of attitude by Marlowe toward his protagonist. In a sense, it is true that the Tamburlaine of Part II is less attractive than the Tamburlaine of Part I. Ellis-Fermor has insisted that "The Tamburlaine of the second part of the play is marked by a savageness, an ever-increasing extravagance, a lack at once of inspiration and of balance," and "The freakish unrestrained moods of these later scenes have little or nothing to do with the glittering figure of the earlier part."[7] Levin also has remarked that, in Part II, Marlowe "was forced, by the very impact of his creation, to face the genuinely tragic conflict that was bound to destroy the monster he created."[8] Thus, under this notion, the very point of 2 Tamburlaine rests mainly on Marlowe's change of attitude toward

his protagonist. However, as Bruce E. Brandt has indicated, the difference between the two parts "lies not in the conception of the hero, but in the question that Marlowe explores through him."[9]

It is usually indicated that the two parts of Tamburlaine have structural parallels together with similar characterization and thematic repetitions.[10] Some critics, such as Godshalk and Weil (and seemingly Battenhouse), suggest that these characteristics are undeniable proofs backing the notion that Marlowe consistently maintained the same theme throughout both parts. However, my own feeling is that 2 Tamburlaine is not a simple extension to its precedessor dealing with the same theme as Part I. Rather, I propose an hypothesis as follows: Marlowe felt the necessity of writing a sequel to Tamburlaine because of the play's enormous success on the public stage, and thus for the economic possibility of the sequel--"a catchpenny origin for the sequal"[11]--he adopted the major characteristics of Part I. Marlowe wrote Part II with a different theme, not with a different view toward the protagonist. In other words, though Marlowe has written two parts or two plays under the same title, he has dealt with a different theme in each play.

Then, what is the main theme of Part II? In Part I, we can see that the play exclusively concentrates on the protagonist and his brilliant rising to be a world conqueror, and we can follow "Tamburlaine's fortunes in five clearly marked stages."[12] But, in Part II, the play no longer so heavily concentrates on "the continued military triumphs of a world conqueror."[13] Although this trait is present in Part II, the play deals with a more universal theme and

presents through the protagonist a more serious question--"death." Most critics have agreed that the death image is the most predominant feature in 2 Tamburlaine. Levin has indicated that "the first [of the Tamburlaine plays] treats of love and war, the second of war and death."[14] More concretely, Susan Richards has noted that death-dealing action, mainly by Tamburlaine, "is central in Marlowe's second play about Tamburlaine"[15] and that "although Tamburlaine's powers over death on the battlefield increase throughout the play, his subjection to death off the battlefield grows greater and greater and at last culminates in his own death."[16]

What, then, is the meaning of Zenocrate in this death-dealing play? It is somewhat difficult to grasp Zenocrate's meaning in 2 Tamburlaine, because she appears just two times (I. iv., II. iv.),[17] and she speaks only forty lines. Because of her early disappearance from the stage, some may not consider her a major character. But, I believe, Zenocrate's presence lends important meaning to 2 Tamburlaine, as she does to Part I, providing insight into understanding Tamburlaine and his world. When Zenocrate first appears in 2 Tamburlaine (I. iv.), her role is an extension of the part she played in 1 Tamburlaine. She is still exercising her moderating influence over Tamburlaine:

> Sweet Tamburlaine, when wilt thou leave these arms
> And save thy sacred person free from scathe
> And dangerous chances of the wrathful war?
> (I. iv. 9-11)

Tamburlaine's resistance is still adamant as we have seen in Part I:

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. 12-5)

Zenocrate is no longer active in exercising her moderating influence over Tamburlaine as she was in Part I. But, at this time, she becomes a guardian of three unTamburlaine-like sons, when Tamburlaine rebukes his children for their "amorous" looks:

But yet methinks their looks are amorous,
Not martial as the sons of Tamburlaine.
Water and air, being symbolized in one,
Argue their want of courage and of wit;
Their hair, as white as milk, and soft as down--
Which should be like the quills of porcupines,
As black as jet, and hard as iron or steel--
Bewrays they are too dainty for the wars;
Their fingers made to quaver on a lute,
Their arms to hang about a lady's neck,
Their legs to dance and caper in the air,
Would make me think them bastards, not my sons,
(I. iv. 21-32)

However, Tamburlaine well knows that the children are not "bastards" but the sons of himself "issued from thy [Zenocrate's] womb, / That never looked on man but Tamburlaine" (I. iv. 33-4). Nevertheless, he is discontented with his sons because of their "amorous" looks. Then, Zenocrate strongly defends her children, illustrating the youngest son's bravery:

This lovely boy, the youngest of the three,
Not long ago bestrid a Scythian steed,
Trotting the ring, and tilting at a glove,
Which when he tainted with his slender rod,
He reined him straight and made him so curvet
As I cried out for fear he should have fall'n.
(I. iv. 37-42)

After hearing from Zenocrate, Tamburlaine's discontented mind seems to be mitigated, and he tells his sons how to be a king and how to "manage arms." Here, we can see that Tamburlaine is already thinking about his future and his need to teach his sons exclusively about martial discipline--how to be "the scourge and terror of the world" when Tamburlaine is "old and cannot manage arms" (I. iv. 59-60). He inspires prowess and courage in his sons. Two of the boys, Amyras and Celebinus, seem to incline to this inspiration, but the other, Calyphas, refuses it:

> But while my brothers follow arms, my lord,
> Let me accompany my gracious mother.
> They are enough to conquer all the world,
> And you have won enough for me to keep.
> (I. iv. 65-8)

Tamburlaine, of course, becomes enraged and describes the fortune of war--the law of survival of the strongest and the notion that 'the weakest goes to the wall.' However, Zenocrate again defends her sons, opposing Tamburlaine's argument of war:

> My lord, such speeches to our princely sons
> Dismays their minds before they come to prove
> The wounding troubles angry war affords.
> (I. iv. 85-7)

Zenocrate's remark seems to be quite womanish, but, on the other hand, it is quite right as to the education of children. Zenocrate does not oppose all the concepts of Tamburlaine's argument of war but she opposes his harsh words to their young children. We know this fact, when Zenocrate says that "My gracious lord, they have

their mother's looks, / But when they list, their conquering father's heart" (I. iv. 35-6), and that "Sweet sons, farewell! In death resemble me / And in your lives your father's excellency" (II. iv. 75-6). However, Tamburlaine may feel discontent and may think about the two different influences of Zenocrate, which made him suffer severely at the end of Part I. Even more, Tamburlaine may think that it is Zenocrate's effeminating influence which makes one of his children a coward.[18]

There are two other points to consider regarding this scene (I. iv.). The first is Tamburlaine's view of kingship, which remains unchanged from Part I:

> The thirst of reign and sweetness of a crown,
> That caused the eldest son of heavenly Ops
> To thrust his doting father from his chair,
> And place himself in the imperial heaven,
> Moved me to manage arms against thy state.
> What better precedent than mighty Jove?
> Nature, that framed us of four elements
> Warring within our breasts for regiment,
> Doth teach us all to have aspiring minds.
> Our souls, whose faculties can comprehend
> The wondrous architecture of the world
> And measure every wandering planet's course,
> Still climbing after knowledge infinite,
> And always moving as the restless spheres,
> Wills us to wear ourselves and never rest,
> Until we reach the ripest fruit of all,
> That perfect bliss and sole felicity,
> The sweet fruition of an earthly crown.
> (Part I, II. vii. 12-29).

Tamburlaine's view of kingship in Part II is more realistic:

> If thou wilt love the wars and follow me,
> Thou shalt be made a king and reign with me,
> Keeping in iron cages emperors.
> If thou exceed thy elder brothers' worth,

> And shine in complete virtue more than they,
> Thou shalt be king before them, and thy seed
> Shall issue crowned from their mother's womb.
> (I. iv. 47-53)

But, this conception of Tamburlaine is opposite to the conception of the world's other kings, who regard "blood" as the first quality of a king. Whenever they mention him they never forget to blame Tamburlaine for his humble origin as well as his brutality: "sturdy Scythian thief" (Part I, I. i. 36), "a man so vile and barbarous" (III. ii. 26), "one so base as Tamburlaine" (III. iii. 88), "Merciless villain, peasant ignorant / Of lawful arms or martial discipline" (IV. i. 65-6), "the bloody Tamburlaine, / A sturdy felon, and a base-bred thief" (IV. iii., 11-2), "thy baseness and obscurity, / Famous for nothing but for theft and spoil" (IV. iv. 65-6), "this thief of Scythia" (Part II, III. i. 14), "shepherd's issue, base born Tamburlaine" (III. v. 77), "vile monster, born of some infernal hag" (V. i. 110), "The monster that hath drunk a sea of blood . . . that base-born tyrant Tamburlaine" (V. ii. 13, 18).

As we can see in these depictions of Tamburlaine, he is usually blamed by his enemies for his humble origin and brutality. But, Tamburlaine's conviction of kingship is still unchangable. In short, Tamburlaine consistently manifests the idea that any one who has proven his virtue should be an emperor, while the world's other kings stubbornly argue the importance of blood or inborn heritage. In the light of this fact, the crowning of Almeda, the jailor, is an ironic turnover both to Tamburlaine and to his enemies. Even Almeda himself is suspicious that he can be a king:

> Shall I be made a king for my labor [of helping Callapine's escape]?
> (I. iii. 63)

But, though he is suspicious, Almeda is convinced that the origin of a man is "no matter for being a king, for Tamburlaine came up of nothing" (III. i. 73-4). Nevertheless, Almeda betrays the true meaning of Kingship and proves himself to be a traitor and a coward, when he asks Tamburlaine's leave for him to take a crown given by Callapine:

> Good my lord, let me take it.
> (III. v. 133)

Almeda's crowning scene merely serves as a farce. He is another Mycetes, and he disappears from the stage without the audience's knowledge, somewhere in Act IV, as Mycetes does in Part I.

Another relevant point to I. iv. is that Tamburlaine stays in Larissa plains and does not participate in the campaigns for the remaining world. As we can see in I. v. and vi., Tamburlaine's loyal trio, Theridamas, Techelles, and Usamcasane, have waged wars on Tamburlaine's behalf. Furthermore, if we believe Usamcasame's words that "since we left you [Tamburlaine] at the Soldan's court" (I. vi. 50), Tamburlaine has not participated in the expeditions at all. This fact is enough to remind us of his remark that Zenocrate "hath calmed the fury of my [Tamburlaine's] sword, / Which had ere this been bathed in streams of blood / As vast and deep as Euphrates or Nile" (Part I, V. ii. 374-6). Also, these campaigns by his trio seem to be less cruel than the campaigns of Part I, because we

can hear from Techelles that he "vouchsafed a league" with Amazonians met "in the field" for they are women (I. vi. 65-6). This inclination toward clemency is clearly shown again in Balsera of III. iii. and iv., when Techelles and Theridamas are eager to persuade the Captain to yield, even ignoring their old custom of three ensigns, and when Theridamas saves Olympia's life. Also, Callapine's survival as a captive under the watch of Almeda shows Tamburlaine's moderation caused by Zenocrate. Nevertheless, Tamburlaine himself is going to wage war at the end of Act I, but, at this time, it is wholly because the remaining Turks, escaped Callapine and his subsidiary kings, who are never willing to admit Tamburlaine, are ready for war against Tamburlaine. However, this situation of a somewhat peaceful campaign by Tamburlaine and his mitigated mind is reversed after Zenocrate's death.

Nearly all the critics have agreed that Tamburlaine has clearly realized the meaning of Death, his old ally, through Zenocrate's death. In fact, Zenocrate's death in II. iv. is a turning point for Tamburlaine and for the play. We can consider the meaning of Zenocrate's death in several ways. First of all, we can examine Zenocrate's attitude toward life and death. In the end of Part I, we saw Zenocrate's realization of "fickle empery," "earthly pomp," and "slippery crowns" through the deaths of "the Turk and his great emperess" (Part I, V. ii. 284-308). Now in Part II we can see her realize that "this frail and transitory flesh" must "Wane with enforced and necessary change" through her own death:

I fare, my lord, as other empresses,
That, when this frail and transitory flesh
Hath sucked the measure of that vital air
That feeds the body with his dated health,
Wane with enforced and necessary change.
(II. iv. 42-6)

Tamburlaine, however, cannot believe or imagine Zenocrate's death. He can understand neither "frail and transitory flesh" nor "fickle empery" and "slippery crowns." He can not accept "such a change," because Zenocrate is his life:

May never such a change transform my love,
In whose sweet being I repose my life,
. . . .
Live still, my love, and so conserve my life,
Or, dying, be the author of my death.
(II. iv. 47-56)

Unlike Tamburlaine, Zenocrate piously admits death and she is ready for it. At the same time, she is convinced of her "second life," and so, she strongly believes that she will meet Tamburlaine in heaven:

Live still, my lord! Oh, let my sovereign live!
And sooner let the fiery element
Dissolve and make your kingdom in the sky,
Than this base earth should shroud your majesty;
For, should I but suspect your death by mine,
The comfort of my future happiness
And hope to meet your highness in the heavens,
Turned to despair, would break my wretched breast,
And fury would confound my present rest.
But let me die, my love; yet let me die;
With love and patience let your true love die.
Your grief and fury hurts my second life.
Yet let me kiss my lord before I die,
And let me die with kissing of my lord.
But since my life is lengthened yet a while,
Let me take leave of these my loving sons,

> And of my lords, whose true nobility
> Have merited my latest memory.
> Sweet sons, farewell! In death resemble me,
> And in your lives your father's excellency.
> (II. iv. 57-76)

Here in her last words, we can sense that Zenocrate's attitude toward death is very religious, pious, and philosophical. At the same time, we can see that she is a gracious and faithful wife of Tamburlaine, and a loving mother of their three children.

Zenocrate dies, while the music sounds. Now, Death dares to "scourge the scourge of the immortal God" (II. iv. 80), and Tamburlaine's long struggle with death begins. Tamburlaine is unable to accept either Zenocrate's death or to realize the true meaning of Death, which Zenocrate has taught him through her own death. At first, his response is blasphemous--he now wants to wage war against heaven:

> What, is she dead? Techelles, draw thy sword
> And wound the earth, that it may cleave in twain
> And we descend into th'internal vaults,
> To hale the Fatal Sisters by the hair
> And throw them in the triple moat of hell,
> For taking hence my fair Zenocrate.
> Casane and Theridamas, to arms!
> Raise cavalieros higher than the clouds,
> And with the cannon break the frame of heaven.
> (II. iv. 96-104)

However, Theridamas and others know well that Tamburlaine's vain effort to take Zenocrate from heaven and his frantic rage will come to nothing, because she is dead:

> Ah, good my lord, be patient. She is dead,
> And all this raging cannot make her live.

(II. iv. 119-20)

Certainly, Tamburlaine also knows well that the dead Zenocrate cannot live again. However, Tamburlaine wants to retain Zenocrate's image in his life, and speaks directly to her corpse:

> Though she be dead, yet let me think she lives
> And feed my mind that dies for want of her.
> Where'er her soul be, thou shalt stay with me,
> Embalmed with cassia, ambergris, and myrrh,
> Not lapped in lead, but in a sheet of gold,
> And till I die thou shall not be interred.
> (II. iv. 127-33)

Thus, though Zenocrate has disappeared from the stage, she or her image as conceived by Tamburlaine continues to the end of the play. And Zenocrate, though her life or soul is gone, still remains with Tamburlaine in a shape of picture and hearse. But, the dead Zenocrate, the cold epitome of beauty, no longer has a moderating influence over Tamburlaine, but an encouraging influence over him, "the terror of the world."

The aftermath of Zenocrate's death falls first on Larissa and its habitants,[19] where she has died:

> So, burn the turrets of this cursed town,
> Flame to the highest region of the air,
> And kindle heaps of exhalations
> That, being fiery meteors, may presage
> Death and destruction to th'inhabitants!
> (III. ii. 1-5)

Here, Tamburlaine declares that "Over my zenith hang a blazing star" (III, ii. 6), which is meant to presage dearth and famine on earth. This is Tamburlaine's oracle that there will be enormous

destruction and death in the world. Now, the world, which had been under the umbrella of Zenocrate, must face the frantic rage of Tamburlaine, who has named himself "the terror of the world" and "the scourge of immortal God." Calyphas, the bridled Turks--"the jades of Asia," and the inhabitants of Larissa and Babylon are presented as typical victims, whose deaths and agonies are a result of the aftermath of Zenocrate's death.

The theme of education, briefly mentioned earlier, is now related to Tamburlaine's own death: that is, Tamburlaine is preparing for his 'death' and his 'life after death' through his descendants. This theme of education is first seen in I. iv., but it is rapidly strengthened in III. ii. after Zenocrate's death. Apparently, it means that Zenocrate's death has made Tamburlaine realize the substance of Death and think seriously about it. Immediately after Zenocrate's funeral ceremony in III. ii., Tamburlaine turns his eyes from the sorrow to his sons, and he seems eager to make his sons "soldiers / And worthy sons of Tamburlaine the Great" (III. ii. 91-2), when he teaches his sons about the "rudiments of war" (III. ii. 53-90).

Tamburlaine's education of his three sons is purely military. Godshalk has argued therefore that Tamburlaine's education is a "misguided form of education," which is solely aimed at the "continuity, ordered change, survival," and that "Tamburlaine has educated his sons for absolute war, but has done nothing to prepare them for the arts of peace."[20] This is a quite agreeable notion. But, it seems to me that Godshalk has forgotten that Tamburlaine's world is

predominantly a masculine and harsh society, where war is a daily affair. How can we expect a scene where Tamburlaine asks his sons to read books in such a world?[21] Furthermore, once we admit that Tamburlaine's education of his sons is solely military, his instruction is never careless, immoderate, or evil. The quality of Tamburlaine's education can be plainly seen, when he scolds Amyras' rashness:

> No, no, Amyras; tempt not Fortune so.
> Cherish thy valor still with fresh supplies,
> And glut it not with stale and daunted foes.
> (IV. ii. 11-3)

Also, this kind of prudence can be found in the following dialogue between Tamburlaine and Amyras:

> Amy. Let me have coach, my lord, that I may ride,
> And thus be drawn with these two idle kings.
> Tam. Thy youth forbids such ease, my kingly boy.
> (IV. iv. 27-9)

While two of the boys are eager to follow their father's way of life, the third, Calyphas, is unwilling to do so:

> My lord, but this is dangerous to be done;
> We may be slain or wounded ere we learn.
> (III. ii. 93-4)

Calyphas clearly reveals himself a coward. His cowardice is already demonstrated in I. iv., and his death for his cowardice by Tamburlaine is already anticipated in this dialogue with his father:

> Caly. If any man will hold him, I will strike
> And cleave him to the channel with my sword.
> Tam. Hold him, and cleave him too, or I'll cleave thee;
> (I. iv. 102-4)

Even, to Calyphas, it is nothing but "a pitiful sight," when his father cuts his arm to teach his sons that "A wound is nothing, be it ne'er so deep; / Blood is the god of war's rich livery" (III. ii. 115-6). This scene also strongly suggests Tamburlaine's resolute mind to kill even his son for his cowardice.

In a sense, Calyphas is an early Falstaff or a Huf-Ruf-Snuf-like figure (_Cambyses_), who is comic but quick-witted, lecherous, and gluttonous. Though Ellis-Fermor has regarded Calyphas as an inborn humorist who is "the only member of his family in which any trace of this quality appears" or "who is the only sane man in a group of madmen,"[22] Calyphas and Falstaff, resemble each other very closely, when they speak as follows:

> Caly. Take you the honor, I will take my easy;
> My wisdom shall excuse my cowardice.
> (IV. i. 49-50)
>
> Fals. Can honor set to a leg? No. Or an arm? No. Or take away the grief of a wound? No. Honor hath no skill in surgery, then? No. What is honor? A word. What is in that word honor? What is that honor? Air. A trim reckoning! Who hath it? He that died a'Wednesday. Doth he feel it? No. Doth he hear it? No. 'Tis insensible, then? Yea, to the dead. But will it not live with the living? No. Why? Detraction will not suffer it. Therefore I'll none of it. Honor is a mere scutcheon.
> (_1 Henry IV_, V. i. 131-40)
>
> Fals. The better part of valor is discretion, in the which better part I have sav'd my life.
> (_1 Henry IV_, V. iv. 119-21)

As a result of his cowardice, Calyphas is killed by his own father in IV. ii. Tamburlaine's killing of Calyphas is one of the most

striking incidents in 2 Tamburlaine. Godshalk, who has considered that "Calyphas functions to remind the playgoers of the part of human existence which Tamburlaine does not understand and cannot tolerate," has argued that "Tamburlaine's murder of Calyphas is not presented as an act of justice."[23] However, Calyphas deserves to die for his cowardice and for his lecherous idleness[24], and he should be purged away from Tamburlaine's world, the harsh and violent world, as Falstaff is refused by Prince Hal after he has become King Henry V.

Olympia's killing of her son in III. iv. can be compared with Tamburlaine's killing of his son.[25] Olympia kills her son only to save him from the possible torment:

> Tell me, sweet boy, art thou content to die?
> These barbarous Scythians, full of cruelty,
> And Moors, in whom was never pity found,
> Will hew us piecemeal, put us to the wheel,
> Or else invent some torture worse than that;
> Therefore die by thy loving mother's hand,
> Who gently now will lance thy ivory throat
> And quickly rid thee both of pain and life.
> (III. iv. 18-25)

In a sense, Olympia's killing of her son can be seen as an heroic action. However, if we see her action with another eye, Olympia just admits herself a murderer of her son, because she has misunderstood the "barbarous Scythians" who saved her life afterward. Olympia kills her child, because she believes that it is better for him to die rather than to suffer. Tamburlaine kills his son, because he seems to believe that it is not the world for Calyphas, who is the "Image of sloth, and picture of a slave, / The obloquy

and scorn of my [Tamburlaine's] renown" (IV. ii. 16-7). In a sense, Calyphas seems to be the most typical victim of Zenocrate's death. Because, if Zenocrate were alive, we could never imagine his death.

It is clear that Calyphas' cowardice and effeminacy represent a major defeat to Tamburlaine as did Zenocrate's death:[26]

> By Mahomet, thy mighty friend, I swear,
> In sending to my issue such a soul,
> Created of the messy dregs of earth,
> The scum and tartar of the elements,
> Wherein was neither courage, strength, or wit,
> But, folly, sloth, and damned idleness,
> Thou hast procured a greater enemy
> Than he that darted mountains at thy head,
> Shaking the burden mighty Atlas bears,
> Whereat thou trembling hidd'st thee in the air,
> Clothed with a pitchy cloud for being seen.
> (IV. ii. 46-56)

And his violent rage is deepened:

> But since I exercise a greater name,
> The scourge of God and terror of the world,
> I must apply myself to fit those terms,
> In war, in blood, in death, in cruelty,
> And plague such peasants as resist in me
> The power of heaven's eternal majesty.
> (IV. ii. 78-83)

His open declaration to apply himself to fit "The scourge of God and terror of the world" is most clearly shown in the following spectacle:

> Holla, ye pampered jades of Asia!
> What, can ye draw but twenty miles a day,
> And have so proud a chariot at your heels,
> And such a coachman as great Tamburlaine,
> But from Asphaltis, where I conquered you,
> To Byron here, where thus I honor you?
> (IV. iv. 1-6)

Meanwhile, the direct aftermath of Calyphas' incident falls on the Turkish concubines:

> Now fetch me out the Turkish concubines.
> I will prefer them for the funeral
> They have bestowed on my abortive son.
> (IV. iv. 64-6)

And, giving away the concubines to the common soldiers, Tamburlaine seems to make a vengeance for his "effeminate brat":

> Hold ye, tall soldiers; take ye queens apiece--
> I mean such queens as were kings' concubines.
> Take them; divide them, and their jewels too,
> And let them equally serve all your turns.
> (IV. iv. 70-3)

Finally, the meaning of Zenocrate's death is defined by and culminates in Tamburlaine's death. Tamburlaine's confrontation with Death breaks out in the end of V. i.:

> Tam. . . . I feel myself distempered suddenly.
> Tech. What is it dares distemper Tamburlaine?
> Tam. Something, Techelles, but I know not what.
> But, forth, ye vassals! Whatsoe'er it be,
> Sickness or death can never conquer me.
> (V. i. 216-20)

Tamburlaine suddenly feels a distemper, but he says that this illness will never overcome him. However, the result is not as Tamburlaine has confidently said. He is fatally infected by something. Tamburlaine's first response to his possible death is very similar to his response when Zenocrate was lying on her deathbed. First, he thinks that Death may "scourge the courage of the immortal God":

> What daring god torments my body thus
> And seeks to conquer mighty Tamburlaine?
> Shall sickness prove me now to be a man,
> That have been termed the terror of the world?
> (V. iii. 42-5)

Then, he plans again to wage war against heaven:

> Techelles and the rest, come, take you swords,
> And threaten him whose hand afflicts my soul.
> Come, let us march against the powers of heaven
> And set black streamers in the firmament
> To signify the slaughter of the gods.
> Ah, friends, what shall I do? I cannot stand.
> Come, carry me to war against the gods,
> That thus envy the health of Tamburlaine.
> (V. iii. 46-53)

And, Tamburlaine sees his slave, Death, aiming at him:

> See where my slave, the ugly monster Death,
> Shaking and quivering, pale and wan for fear,
> Stands aiming at me with his murdering dart,
> Who flies away at every glance I give,
> And when I look away, comes stealing on.
> Villain, away, and hie thee to the field!
> I and mine army come to load thy bark
> With souls of thousand mangled carcasses.
> (V. iii. 67-74).

Apparently, Tamburlaine has considered that he is the master and Death is his slave. But the situation is reversed in that his slave rebelled against him and Death now seeks for Tamburlaine's life. Tamburlaine thinks it is because Death has nothing to do:

> Look, where he goes! But see, he comes again
> Because I stay. Techelles, let us march
> And weary Death with bearing souls to hell.
> (V. iii. 75-7)

Meanwhile, Callapine upon hearing of Tamburlaine's absence

from the field is again challenging him. Tamburlaine is certainly delighted at the news, because he thinks that "Jove hath sent / A present medicine to recure my [Tamburlaine's] pain" (V. iii. 105-6). However, Tamburlaine misunderstood the challenge, because, after driving away Callapine's army with only his looks, Tamburlaine "perceive[s] [his] martial strength is spent" (V. iii. 119). The last victory was the 'swan song' of another Mars. Now, Tamburlaine realizes that it is a vain effort to strive against heaven:

> In vain I strive and rail against those powers
> That mean t'invest me in a higher throne,
> As much too high for this disdainful earth.
> (V. iii. 120-2)

Tamburlaine may remember Zenocrate's remark that "let the fiery element / Dissolve and make your kingdom in the sky, / Than this base earth should shroud your majesty." Tamburlaine feels a kind of human limitation, and this feeling is clearly shown, when he looks at the map:

> And shall I die, and this unconquered?
> Here, lovely boys; what death forbids my life,
> That let your lives command in spite of death.
> (V. iii. 158-60)

Now, Tamburlaine wills to live in his descendants, and his hope and new life after death exist in his remaining sons:

> But, sons, this subject, not of force enough
> To hold the fiery spirit it contains,
> Must part, imparting his impressions
> By equal portions into both your breasts.
> My flesh, divided in your precious shapes,
> Shall still retain my spirit, though I die,

> And live in all your seeds immortally.
> Then now remove me, that I may resign
> My place and proper title to my son.
> (V. iii. 168-76)

And there comes his last instruction:

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

Finally, Tamburlaine is ready for his death with "the hearse of fair Zenocrate," expecting his eternal life with Zenocrate in heaven:

> Now, eyes, enjoy your latest benefit,
> And when my soul hath virtue of your sight,
> Pierce through the coffin and the sheet of gold,
> And glut your longings with a heaven of joy.
> (V. iii. 224-7)

Thus, Tamburlaine has prepared for his eternal life in two ways: one is his heavenly life with Zenocrate; the other is his earthly life through his descendants. After that, Tamburlaine dies. His death is only tragic in a sense that "For Tamburlaine, the scourge of God, must die" (V. iii. 248). So, Waith has said that "The last moments of the play appeal to the spectator's pity by insisting on the tragic limitation of Tamburlaine as a human being."[27] It seems to me that the total impression of Tamburlaine's death scene is not wholly tragic but somewhat triumphant, as Steane has summed up:

> In his death he [Tamburlaine] evokes much admiration. The words to his sons are wise and moderate; the fortitude and dignity of his deathbed

> utterly irreproachable. Ultimately death does not come as a defeat, for he has every confident expectation of eternal life.[28]

However, Battenhouse has proposed a quite different theory about Tamburlaine's death. According to him, "God has put within each man's bosom the means for punishing that man's sin," and "Laws of nature are engines of justice, so timed as to correspond with the purposes of Providence."[29] So, Tamburlaine, whose tragedy "is seen to be the result of uncontrolled, misdirected, and diseased passions" by Elizabethan eyes,[30] "cannot escape the laws of natural retributive punishment."[31] God has cast "his scourge into the fire," and Tamburlaine dies with "fevered madness" justly punished for his sins. The spectator feels fear and takes warning from the lesson of Tamburlaine's tragedy, "when he sees Tamburlaine's inspiration, grounded in human passion rather than in divine wisdom, bringing a fevered madness."[32] Finally, Battenhouse has concluded of both Tamburlaine plays that "certainly these ten acts of Tamburlaine offer one of the most grandly moral spectacles in the whole realm of English drama."[33]

In a sense, Battenhouse's 'punishment theory' is very plausible, because structurally Tamburlaine feels a strange distemper right after the massacre of Babylon and the burning of Alkoran. Nevertheless, I cannot agree with Battenhouse's theory of punishment, because I think that we should not neglect Marlowe's ironic usage of structure in 2 Tamburlaine. It is true that the Prologue to the second part of Tamburlaine would seem to endorse Battenhouse's

interpretation:

> Where death cuts off the progress of his pomp
> And murderous Fates throws all his triumphs down.
> (The Prologue, 4-5)

But the final result of the play is not what the Prologue has predicted.[34] Because, in the end of the play, we can see the sorrowful but still triumphant death of Tamburlaine rather than a wretched and remorseful one like Faustus'. Also, there is not a morality as shown in Cambyses' "A just reward for my misdeeds my death doth plain declare" (Cambyses, X. 228). Rather, Tamburlaine dies with comfort and "the death is felt as tragic principally because it is a deprivation."[35]

The question of poetic justice of God's retribution is well disclosed in the Orcanes-Sigismund episode. Orcanes, the Mohammedan King of Natolia, and Sigismund, Christian King of Hungary, take an oath to make truce with each other by Mahomet and Christ (I. ii). But, Sigismund breaks the truce because it is "with such infidels, / In whom no faith nor true religion rests" (II. i. 33-4). When Orcanes hears of Sigismund's perjury, ironically, the Mohammedan King prays to Christ:

> Can there be such deceit in Christians
> Or treason in the fleshly heart of man,
> Whose shape is figure of the highest God?
> Then if there be a Christ, as Christians say,
> But in their deeds deny him for their Christ,
> If he be son to everliving Jove,
> And hath the power of his outstretched arm,
> If he be jealous of his name and honor
> As is our holy prophet Mahomet,
> Take here these papers as our sacrifice

> And witness of Thy servant's perjury.
>
> . . . .
>
> To arms, my lords! On Christ still let us cry.
> If there be Christ, we shall have victory.
> (II. ii 36-46, 63-4)

Orcanes' prayer to Christ seems to have an answer from Him--he wins over Sigismund. The perjured Sigismund dies with regrettable lamentation for his sin, hoping for his redemption after death:

> Discomfited is all the Christian host,
> And God hath thundered vengeance from on high
> For my accursed and hateful perjury.
> O just and dreadful punisher of sin,
> Let the dishonor of the pains I feel
> In this my mortal well-deserved wound
> End all my penance in my sudden death!
> And let this death, wherein to sin I die,
> Conceive a second life in endless mercy!
> (II. iii. 1-9)

These last words are enough to remind us of Cambyses' and God's retribution. Orcanes also believes that "justice of his [Sigismund's] Christ" and His power appeared in his victory "as full / As rays of Cynthia to the clearest sight" (II. iii. 28-30). However, Gazellus, Turkish Viceroy of Byron, opposes Orcanes' thought:

> 'Tis but the fortune of the wars, my lord,
> Whose power is often proved a miracle.
> (II. iii. 31-2)

Here, we cannot judge whose view is right, though Orcanes' view seems to be right. In a sense, through this episode, Marlowe seems to strongly suggest poetic justice or God's retribution. However, the ironic reversal has come when Orcanes is suffering the intolerable

torments by Tamburlaine. Through the episode, Orcanes has proven himself as a religious, honest, and wise king, and also he is loyal to the late Bajazeth and his son, Callapine. In spite of such good qualities, Orcanes suffers a miserable life as a human jade.

In the end of the play, God's retribution seems to fall on Tamburlaine when he feels a strange distemper after the massacre of Babylon and the burning of Alkoran. But, God's retribution comes to nothing, when Tamburlaine has triumphed in his last military exchange with Callapine (V. iii.). The fact that Tamburlaine has defeated Callapine's army by himself suggests to me that Tamburlaine (or Marlowe) has strongly denied or ridiculed the poetic justice or God's retribution which has been likely to visit Tamburlaine.[36] Again, apparently there is a possibility of poetic justice, but, in the end, it has failed to fall on Tamburlaine, because he has died without any acknowledgement of sin. Tamburlaine dies because he is not a god but a man who must die. He feels sorrow because he must die. Nevertheless, death cannot "cut off the progress of his pomp," and the murderous Fates also cannot "throw all his triumphs down," because Tamburlaine wills to live forever in the earth in his descendants and he wills to live an eternal life with Zenocrate in heaven. Thus, we can see that the Prologue to pass a judgment on Tamburlaine has failed. At the same time, it is not the Orcanes' God's retribution but Gazellus' "fortune of wars" that Marlowe has applied in the case of Orcanes-Sigismund episode, if we consider the episode in the light of the final outcome of the play.

On the whole, in _2 Tamburlaine_, we can see that Zenocrate

is related to the most important theme. At first, because of her early disappearance from the stage, Zenocrate's meaning in the play seems to lose the importance she had in Part I. But, as the play continues, we realize that Zenocrate reveals important clues to understand the play through her death. One of her meanings in 2 Tamburlaine is related to Tamburlaine's brutality: that is, Zenocrate's death takes the moderating influence away from Tamburlaine, so that, after her death, he becomes more resolute and cruel. The other meaning of Zenocrate is related to Tamburlaine's own death: that is, Zenocrate's death makes Tamburlaine realize the real meaning of Death, and so, her death gives Tamburlaine a hint that he is not a god but a man who has flesh and blood. In fact, after Zenocrate's death, Tamburlaine hurriedly tries to teach his children about the "rudiments of war," and he continually struggles with Death throughout the play.

At the same time, the relationship of Tamburlaine and Zenocrate remains unchanged in Part II. The relationship seems to be broken by Zenocrate's early death, however, in the end of the play, we can strongly feel that the broken relationship of Tamburlaine and Zenocrate will be revived again in heaven.

IV. Tamburlaine Vs. Zenocrate: The Reciprocal Conflicts

In Chapters II and III of this thesis, I have indicated that understanding the story of Zenocrate is necessary to understanding the story of Tamburlaine. In this concluding chapter, I am going to discuss the relationship of Tamburlaine and Zenocrate as well as the overall meaning of this relationship in both parts of Tamburlaine.

When examining the two Tamburlaine plays, if we fail to understand the importance of Zenocrate's role, we might see only the success story of a world conqueror. However, particularly in Part I, as Spence has indicated[1], the story of Tamburlaine and Zenocrate has reversed the earlier trend of the play which wholly described the brilliant rising of the protagonist. Tamburlaine's Cinderella story in the earlier three Acts changes its shape when the passive Zenocrate comes to life. In the last two acts, we can plainly see that Zenocrate's presence creates conflict, tension, and crisis, and the story of these two characters' reciprocal conflicts comes to be under the spotlight of the play. The original audience apparently had much interest in the affair and the result of the Tamburlaine-Zenocrate crisis. There is clearly indicated by the Prologue to the second part:

> But what became of fair Zenocrate,
> And with how many cities' sacrifice
> He celebrated her sad funeral,
> (The Prologue to Part II, 6-8)

These three lines of the Prologue, I believe, reveal the audience's strong interest in Zenocrate, just as the first two lines indicate the

first Part's success on the public stage. As Chapter III shows, though Zenocrate disappears earlier from the stage in Part II, she still has an important role in unfolding the story of Tamburlaine, and her relationship with Tamburlaine explains Tamburlaine's "impassionate fury, for the death of his lady and love, fair Zenocrate: his form of exhortation and discipline to his three sons, and the manner of his own death."[2]

Apparently, Zenocrate's meaning in the Tamburlaine plays is always connected to Tamburlaine. In other words, Zenocrate's meaning is represented mainly by her beauty as conceived by Tamburlaine. But, there are different eyes with different viewpoints to see Zenocrate's beauty and her relationship with Tamburlaine. First of all, some critics see Zenocrate's beauty negatively. They think that Zenocrate's beauty represents only "fame, valor, and victory" to Tamburlaine. It seems to me that this negative criticism sees Zenocrate's beauty as destructive leading Tamburlaine to brutal and bloody vainglory, just as Helen's beauty led to the total destruction of Troy. In fact, Battenhouse has identified Zenocrate's beauty with Helen's.[3] According to him, "Zenocrate is to be regarded as the very pattern of pagan, earthly beauty,"[4] which he related to Helen's beauty:

> Elizabethans hated her [Helen] as a harlot that had brought destruction on the Trojans, who were, so the story had it, the ancestors of the Britons. The name Helen had pattern significance as designating a type of beauty whose pursuit was dangerous to English life. This helps us understand why Faustus' love for Helen in Marlowe's later play was so plainly reprehensible . . . . We may safely

> conclude that Zenocrate and Dido, these "Helens" of Marlowe's plays, are intended to represent earthly beauties, endowed with nature's gifts, but devoid of religion or conscience.[5]

In fact, at the death scene of Zenocrate in Part II, Tamburlaine himself compares Zenocrate to Helen of Troy:

> Her sacred beauty hath enchanted heaven,
> And had she lived before the siege of Troy,
> Helen, whose beauty summoned Greece to arms
> And drew a thousand ships to Tenedos,
> Had not been named in Homer's Iliads;
> Her name had been in every line he wrote.
> (Part II, II. iv. 85-90)

A similar passage can be found in Faustus, when Faustus speaks highly of Helen's beauty:

> Was this the face that launched a thousand ships
> And burnt the topless towers of Ilium?
> (Faustus, V. i. 99-100)

However, though these two passages are very similar to each other, it seems to me that the purpose of each cannot be the same. Faustus' eulogy on Helen's beauty has come out of a sinful wish for the phantom of Helen, which is conjured by Lucifer's servant, Mephistopheles; while Tamburlaine's comparison of Zenocrate to Helen is one of many allusions by Tamburlaine, who often uses similes and metaphors from the classics.

For Battenhouse, though, both Zenocrate and Dido are the "'Helens' of Marlowe's plays." He has criticized Marlowe's Dido, "whose wiles almost persuaded Aeneas to forsake his divine commission."[6] But, in my opinion, Dido is forced to hold Aeneas back from

his sailing, because she is enchanted with love by Cupid's arrow. So, it can be said that Dido is a victim of divinity, and consequently she is beguiled by divine power. In view of this fact, Dido cannot be blamed as an enchantress or as one of the "Helens" in Marlowe's plays. In the play, Dido herself well knows that Helen is not a good woman, and we can see Dido's attitude when she rebukes Helen after hearing from Aeneas about the tragic fall of Troy:

> O, had that ticing strumpet [Helen] ne'er been born!
> Trojan, thy ruthful tale hath made me sad.
> (Dido, Queen of Carthage, II. i. 300-1)

And later in that play, quite ironically, Dido finds herself to be another Helen, and she feels shame about the world's denunciation of her:

> And all the world calls me a second Helen,
> For being entangled by a stranger's looks?
> (Dido, Queen of Carthage, V. i. 144-5)

Nevertheless, Dido cannot restrain her fervent love for Aeneas, and, regardless of being a second Helen, she practices everything she can do to detain Aeneas from departing.

Even more, if I admit Battenhouse's argument that Dido is another Helen, I cannot agree with him that Zenocrate is also a "Helen" like Dido. The most crucial difference between these so-called "Helens" is that Zenocrate is pure and honest, she does not know any kind of Machiavellian trick. See how Dido has chosen the way of her death. See how Olympia has done, who is praised by

Battenhouse as "a woman of true love and virtuous conscience."[7] We never find such tricks in Zenocrate, who is panegyrized as "a near perfect ideal of femininity,"[8] and "Nature's masterpiece, whose sight arouses no carnal desire but only an aesthetic pleasure."[9]

Criticizing Zenocrate's beauty as destructive as Helen's is, the negative critics also never forget to denounce Tamburlaine's relationship with Zenocrate as one impure and political. Weil has indicated that Zenocrate is "the daughter of a monarch 'rich and brave', who signifies future good fortune when she falls into his [Tamburlaine's] hands.[10] And Battenhouse has criticized that "Tamburlaine by the spectacle of his eloquence, power, and flattery had caused fickle Zenocrate to be false to her first love . . ."[11] According to Masinton, "Tamburlaine, the self-charmed poet, is not a typical singing shepherd; his address to Zenocrate is but the inspired expression of his heady ambitions, which she represents."[12] So, "Tamburlaine's poetic treatment of Zenocrate is more a sublimated desire for what he happily imagines is possible to bring about by force of arms than it is an inspiration caused by the heartfelt love of his lady."[13] Even more, "Tamburlaine's wrath when Zenocrate dies results not so much from his feelings for her as from an ego thwarted and insulted by a natural event":[14]

> Zenocrate's death communicates itself not as the loss of the Scythian's loved one so much as it represents the passing of his highest aspirations. The ornateness of the speech and Tamburlaine's self-conscious artistry, moreover, are expressive of vanity rather than deeply felt grief or love.[15]

In fact, as the negative critics have claimed, it is true that Tamburlaine takes advantage of Zenocrate to win over Theridamas' heart and Theridamas for Zenocrate's heart at the beginning of _1 Tamburlaine_:

> Tam. And as a sure and grounded argument
> That I shall be the monarch of the East,
> He [Jove] sends this Solden's daughter, rich and brave,
> To be my queen and portly emperess.
> . . . .
> Tam. A thousand thanks, worthy Theridamas.
> And now, fair madam and my noble lords,
> If you will willingly remain with me,
> You shall have honors as your merits be,
> Or else you shall be forced with slavery.
> Agy. We yield unto you, happy Tamburlaine.
> Tam. From you then, madam, I am out of doubt.
> Zen. I must be pleased perforce. Wretched Zenocrate!
> (Part I, I. ii. 183-6, 251-8)

However, though Tamburlaine uses Zenocrate and Theridamas for his purposes, Tamburlaine clearly proves himself as a true lover and a good commander, as the play proceeds. Throughout both parts, Tamburlaine never fails to keep these qualities. In a sense, Tamburlaine is misunderstood not only by the negative critics, but also by his opponents in the play. In Part I, Tamburlaine is misunderstood by the world as a lecherous and amoral rascal, because of his detaining of Zenocrate who is already betrothed to the King of Arabia. First, Agydas, misunderstanding Tamburlaine and his love for Zenocrate, tells her that Tamburlaine seems to love her "for necessity," suggesting that she will be soon Tamburlaine's "worthless concubine" (III. ii. 29-30). Thus, Agydas continues to persuade Zenocrate:

You see, though first the king of Persia,
Being a shepherd, seemed to love you much,
Now in his majesty, he leaves those looks,
Those words of favor, and those comfortings,
And gives no more than common courtesies.
(III. ii 59-63)

And then, Tamburlaine [and Zenocrate] is insulted and misunderstood by the Turkish royal couple, Bajazeth and Zabina:

Baj. He [Tamburlaine] shall be made a chaste and lustless eunuch,
And in my sarell tend my concubines;
. . . .
Zab. Base concubine, must thou be placed by me
That am the empress of the mighty Turk?
(III. iii. 77-8, 167-8)

Solden, the father of Zenocrate, also misunderstands Tamburlaine:

The rogue of Volga holds Zenocrate,
The Solden's daughter, for his concubine,
(IV. i. 4-5)

Or kept the fair Zenocrate so long,
As concubine, I fear, to feed his lust.
(IV. iii. 41-2)

However, though Tamburlaine is referred to by his enemies as a man of lust and Zenocrate as his concubine, the relationship between Tamburlaine and Zenocrate is consistently true to the end and the result of their relationship is quite different from the expectations of Tamburlaine's enemies. Rather, as the play proceeds, Tamburlaine proves himself "a proud and noble king at heart, yet his Scythian-shepherd origins give a clue to the absolute difference between him and the world's other kings,"[16] and "Zenocrate is not an

enchantress like Armida nor is Tamburlaine's love for her presented as a weakness."[17] Evidence for the fact that Tamburlaine is not lecherous can be found in Part II, IV. iv., when he gives away the Turkish concubines to the common soldiers. As this scene shows, Tamburlaine does not take the captive concubines for himself. Throughout both parts, we find no evidence that Tamburlaine is lecherous; we hear only the slandering against him from his malicious enemies. At the same time, we cannot find any passage in either part that shows Tamburlaine has concubines, while we can find that the world's other kings have concubines. Tamburlaine's dislike of lecherous behavior can also be seen when he kills his own son, not only because his son is a coward, but also because he is lecherous and gluttonous. So, it is not Tamburlaine but the world's other kings and Calyphas who are lecherous and who should be blamed.

As Tamburlaine is not lecherous, his love for Zenocrate is not also false and political and this fact can be plainly demonstrated when we see his unchanging attitude toward her and his troublesome yet harmonious relationship with her throughout both parts of _Tamburlaine_. In fact, Zenocrate's beauty gives Tamburlaine a motive for his brave but brutal campaign against the world, as Tamburlaine himself says, "Adding more courage to my conquering mind" (Part I, V. ii. 452). However, it is Tamburlaine's psychological war in his suffering mind that is the most painful battle Tamburlaine has ever met. Without question, Tamburlaine's suffering mind is caused by Zenocrate, and his painful psychological war is against the power of her beauty to effeminate his stern mind.

In that sense, the relationship of Tamburlaine and Zenocrate and their reciprocal conflicts are usually compared to the relationship of Mars and Venus and their reciprocal conflicts. Levin has declared that, in Marlowe, there can be found two clear strains of lyric and epic modes through the translations of Ovid's love poem, _the Amores_, and Lucan's epic poem, _Pharsalia_:

> He [Marlowe] could not have selected two Roman exemplars more unlike each other than Lucan, the clangorous 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.[18]

According to Levin, these two strains are clearly shown in _Dido, Queen of Carthage_ through Aeneas who is wavering "between the enticements of love and the duties of war," and the gods solve his dilemma: "Venus is in the ascendant but Mars must have his day."[19] In _1 Tamburlaine_, Levin continues, "Marlowe's Ovidian strain, the invitation to love, is richly latent," although "it is gradually drowned out by a harsher sound, the challenge to battle."[20]

Godshalk has argued that "the story of Tamburlaine and Zenocrate is related to the iconographic union of Venus and Mars,"[21] but "the traditional motif in which beauty overcomes or modifies the savagery of war is inverted, and Tamburlaine denies the fundamental influence of love and beauty on his actions."[22] Smith, quite differently from Godshalk has indicated that "the substance of meaning in Marlowe's later play _[1 Tamburlaine]_ lies with a well defined conflict between Venus and Mars, and moreover, in Venus emerging

victorious at the close."[23] And he has concluded that "Venus, who all along had a prominent place in the interest of the hero, has conquered Mars, and, perhaps, in the mind of dramatist, Ovid has wrested the laurel from Lucan."[24]

Unlike those critics, my point is not who has the victory in the reciprocal conflicts between Tamburlaine and Zenocrate, but what is the outcome of the conflicts. In a word, the outcome of the Tamburlaine-Zenocrate crisis which is begun from Zenocrate's plea for her father and country in the end of IV. ii., is a happy resolution both to Tamburlaine and Zenocrate (and also to the audience), and what we see ultimately in the end of Part I is the regained harmonious relationship of Tamburlaine and Zenocrate, which was broken by Tamburlaine's refusal to admit Zenocrate's moderating influence. Surely, Zenocrate's moderating influence is the main issue of the Tamburlaine-Zenocrate crisis. Tamburlaine, who is obdurate to acknowledge only the encouraging influence of beauty, resolutely denies any kind of moderating influence of beauty when he does not spare the "proud Egyptians" who refused his offer of mercy, "not for the world" (IV. ii. 125) and not "for the love of Venus, would she leave / The angry god of arms and lie with me [Tamburlaine]" (V. ii. 61-2). Tamburlaine's conflicting mind between Zenocrate's tears and his ideal of military life is well expressed in his famous "Ah, fair Zenocrate! Divine Zenocrate!" soliloquy (V. ii. 72-127). And here, we can see fully Tamburlaine's agony and we can feel that he is still adamant to deny the effeminating influence of beauty, the characteristic feature of Venus, because he thinks that:

> 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!
> (V. ii. 111-4)

But, at the same time, Tamburlaine well knows that "every warrior that is rapt with love / Of fame, of valor, and of victory, / Must needs have beauty beat on his conceits" (V. ii. 117-9). So, finally, he determines both to conceive and subdue the influence of beauty. Nevertheless, in the end of the play, we see another result of Tamburlaine's determination. He saves the Soldan's life and declares to "take truce with the world." Then, it becomes clear that Tamburlaine conceives not only the encouraging influence of beauty but also the moderating influence of beauty, and in the end he does not subdue it. In that sense, I do agree with Duthie who has argued as follows:

> We may say that at the crisis of 1 Tamburlaine Marlowe shows us the hero assailed by Beauty and the outcome is that the hero suffers a defeat at its hand and at the same time a victory over it. (We are entitled to use this metaphor because Tamburlaine speaks in military terms at V. ii. 88-96). He suffers a defeat inasmuch as he allows the influence of Beauty to persuade him to change his ways. But he wins a victory inasmuch as he is still prepared to "subdue" Beauty whenever that shall appear to him to be necessary. Of course, as we have seen, Zenocrate has had no desire to persuade him to abandon his ideal of Honour: but if she should ever do so he would firmly withstand her, and he has won a victory inasmuch as he has come to this decision.[25]

As Duthie has indicated, in the Tamburlaine-Zenocrate crisis, Tamburlaine does not give up completely his notion to conceive

and subdue beauty and to keep his idea of Mars which excludes the idea of Venus, though it is not clear that he is ready to subdue beauty whenever he feels its necessity. So, precisely speaking, we cannot say that Venus has conquered Mars, though Tamburlaine is apparently affected by Zenocrate's moderating influence when he saves her father's life. Because, in the crisis, it seems that Tamburlaine is not moved by his own realization toward clemency but by the pitiful sight of Zenocrate and her desperate plea. In other words, Tamburlaine is active and Zenocrate is passive in the crisis, so he could refuse to save the Soldan's life if he had such a mind. But he did not do so, because for Tamburlaine Zenocrate is "lovelier than the love of Jove / Brighter than . . . the silver Rhodope, / Fairer than whitest snow on Scythian hills," and her "person is more worth to Tamburlaine / Than the possession of the Persian crown" (Part I, I. ii. 87-91).

At the same time, it cannot be also said that Mars has absolutely conquered Venus or that Zenocrate's beauty only leads Tamburlaine to brutal and bloody vainglory. Surely, Zenocrate's beauty gives Tamburlaine a motive and Tamburlaine insists on acknowledging only the encouraging influence of beauty. However, at the end, Tamburlaine partially gives up his iron ideal of Mars, and partially accepts the ideal of Venus by saving the Soldan's life and by declaring to "take truce with the world."

So, it is my view that no one has won the victory in the reciprocal conflicts between Tamburlaine and Zenocrate, and neither has denied the other. At the same time, it seems to me that the

focal point of the Tamburlaine-Zenocrate crisis lies in the question of whether or not the harmonious relationship will be restored. This question is also strongly related to the audience's interests and expectations. In fact, in the last part of _1 Tamburlaine_, we can see that the main focus of the play has moved from Tamburlaine's brilliant rising with his invincible campaigns to the troublesome relationship of Tamburlaine and Zenocrate. And, in the end of the play, we can see clearly the harmonious relationship regained, giving satisfaction to our expectations. Thus, the play ends with a happy resolution, not because Tamburlaine has won the last victory, but because he has restored the broken relationship with Zenocrate.

In _2 Tamburlaine_, the harmonious relationship of Tamburlaine and Zenocrate continues until she dies. As we can see in I. iv., Tamburlaine is staying peacefully with his family in Larissa plains, not participating in the campaign, and Zenocrate is also still exercising her moderating influence over Tamburlaine. However, this harmonious relationship seems to be interrupted again, this time, forever, by Zenocrate's sudden death. After Zenocrate has died, there breaks out a deep tension in the play, and Tamburlaine takes the first step in his long and painful journey to find his identity. Now, "A blazing star" is hanging over Tamburlaine's head, and the world which was under the umbrella of Zenocrate faces Tamburlaine's irresistible rage, because the umbrella is gone. The meaning of Zenocrate's death can be summarized in several points: first, it takes the idea of Venus or the moderating influence of beauty away from Tamburlaine, and so, he becomes more brutal and bloody than ever

before; secondly, it teaches Tamburlaine an eternal truth that a human must die; and thirdly, it makes Tamburlaine realize that he is not a god but a man with flesh and blood who must die.

Tamburlaine's painful struggle for his identity goes through the numerous deaths and destruction. Through the bloody campaigns, he tries to deny that he is a mortal man, and tries to prove that he is a scourge of god or a god of war. But, his frantic struggle with Death comes to be in vain. Tamburlaine finally realizes that Death is inevitable to him, that he is a man who must die as Zenocrate died and as other people were killed by his hand. At last, he receives Death quietly, but still feels sorrow, "For Tamburlaine, the scourge of God, must die" (V. iii. 247). In a sense, Tamburlaine surrenders to Death, but, at the same time, he is still brave and even triumphant to the last moment of his life, because he wills to live forever through his descendants on the earth, and he wills to live with Zenocrate in heaven. Also, we feel confident that the harmonious relationship of Tamburlaine and Zenocrate will be restored in heaven.

As a whole, I believe that there are two kinds of war in Part I: Tamburlaine's physical war against the world, and his psychological war against Zenocrate's beauty as conceived by himself. There are also two kinds of war in Part II: Tamburlaine's physical war against the world and his psychological war against Death caused by Zenocrate's death. Thus, Tamburlaine struggles with Zenocrate's moderating influence over him in Part I, and his struggle with Death in Part II is caused by Zenocrate. The relationship of Tamburlaine

and Zenocrate remains a focal theme throughout both parts of _Tamburlaine_.

Notes

I. Introduction

[1] Wolfgang Clemen, English Tragedy before Shakespeare, Trans. T.S. Dorsch (1961; London: Methuen, 1966) 113.

[2] A.L. Rowse, Christopher Marlowe: His Life and Work (New York and Evanston: Harper & Row, 1964) 62.

[3] Clemen 123. He has written about the other characters of Tamburlaine, "who are only conventionally portrayed, and who could easily be interchanged like puppets. . . ." Furthermore, he has argued that "the impression of Tamburlaine's greatness and might should be constantly kept before us in the speeches of these other characters, so that we may hear about him almost without intermission.

[4] Tamburlaine's iron military custom for the treatment of his enemies. More explanation is in Chapter II.

[5] Irving Ribner, "The Idea of History in Marlowe's Tamburlaine," A Journal of English Literary History 20 (1953): 263.

[6] C.B. Kuriyama, Hammer or Anvil (New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1980) 12.

[7] Kuriyama 13.

[8] Kuriyama 12.

[9] Rowse 61.

[10] John H. Ingram, Christopher Marlowe and His Associates (London: Grand Richards, 1904) 123.

[11] John Bakeless, Christopher Marlowe: The Man in His Time (New York: William Marrow, 1937) 7.

[12] Bakeless 8.

[13] Jocelyn Powell, "Marlowe's Spectacle," Tulane Drama Review 8 (1964): 204. See also Charles G. Masinton, Christopher Marlowe's Tragic Vision (Athens: Ohio UP, 1972) 21.

[14] Ribner 264.

[15] Roy W. Battenhouse, Marlowe's Tamburlaine (1941; Nashville: Vanderbilt UP, 1964) 233.

[16] Bruce E. Brandt, Christopher Marlowe and the Metaphysical Problem Play, Salzburg Studies in English Literature, Elizabethan & Renaissance Studies 97 (Salzburg, Austria: Institute fur Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universitat Salzburg, 1985) 113.

[17] Una Ellis-Fermor, Christopher Marlowe (London: Methuen, 1927) 43.

[18] Ellis-Fermor 43.

[19] Brandt 113.

[20] J.B. Steane, Marlowe: A Critical Study (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1964) 82.

[21] Robert Kimbrough, "1 Tamburlaine: A Speaking Picture in a Tragic Glass," Renaissance Drama 7 (1964): 25.

[22] Eugine M. Waith, The Herculean Hero (New York: Columbia UP, 1962) 74.

II. "Conceiving and Subduing": Zenocrate in 1 Tamburlaine

[1] 1 Tamburlaine, The Prologue 5-6. All quotations from Marlowe are from Irving Ribner, ed., The Complete Plays of Christopher Marlowe (Indianapolis; New York: Odyssey, 1963).

[2] Battenhouse 252-8.

[3] See C.F. Tucker Brooke, ed., The Works of Christopher Marlowe (Oxford: Clarendon, 1910) 3-4; Ellis-Fermor 3; Paul H. Kocher, Christopher Marlowe: A study of His Thought, Learning, and Character (1946; New York: Russell and Russell, 1962) 69-70; Clifford Leech, "The Structure of Tamburlaine," Tulane Drama Review 8 (1964): 32-46.

[4] David M. Bevington, From Mankind to Marlowe: Growth of Structure in the Popular Drama of Tudor England (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1962) 213. See also W.L. Godshalk, The Marlovian World Picture (The Hague: Mouton, 1974) 102-3; Judith Weil, Christopher Marlowe: Merlin's Prophet (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1977) 106.

[5] Rowse 62.

[6] I. Ribner, "Marlowe's 'Tragicke Glasse,'" Essays on Shakespeare and Elizabethan Drama in Honor of Hardin Craig, ed. Richard Hosley (Columbia: UP of Missouri, 1962) 93.

[7] Ribner, "The Idea" 265.

[8] Godshalk 110.

[9] Masinton 27.

[10] Godshalk 117.

[11] Battenhouse 216. See also Masinton 33.

[12] Battenhouse 226.

[13] See Bakeless 110; Ribner, "The Idea" 251-66.

[14] See Tucker Brooke, The Tudor Drama (Boston; New York; Chicago: Houghton Mifflin, 1911) 243-4, 321-2; Harry Levin, The Overreacher: A Study of Christopher Marlowe (1952; Boston: Beason, 1964) 35; Robert Egan, "A Muse of Fire: Henry V in the Light of Tamburlaine," Modern Language Quaterly 29(1968): 15-28.

[15] Leslie Spence, "The Influence of Marlowe's Sources in Tamburlaine I," Modern Philology 24 (1926): 186.

[16] See Spence, "The Influence" 181-99; "Tamburlaine and Marlowe," PMLA 42 (1927): 604-22.

[17] Spence, "The Influence" 195.

[18] Egan 17-21.

[19] Egan 17.

[20] Levin 36.

[21] Helen L. Gardner, "The Second Part of Tamburlaine the Great," Modern Language Review 37 (1942): 19.

[22] G.I. Duthie, "The Dramatic Structure of Marlowe's Tamburlaine the Great, Parts I and II," English Studies (Essays and Studies, N.S.) 1 (1948): 116.

[23] Gardner 19.

[24] Ribner, "The Idea" 264.

[25] Powell 204.

[26] Weil 113.

[27] Battenhouse 250.

[28] Duthie sees that beauty's moderating influence works on

Tamburlaine's stern mind. He says that "When he [Tamburlaine] declares that he will both 'conceive' and 'subdue' Beauty, . . . by 'conceiving' it he means more than admitting its influence as a encouragement in his martial exploits. He . . . also means that he will admit its moderating influence as far as the sparing of the Soldan is concerned. He will admit its moderating influence -- but not beyond the point where that ceases to be consistent with his honour as a warrior. Should Beauty ever tempt him to be weak, spineless, effeminate, he would refuse to give in to it: but he may spare the Soldan without pusillanimity," pp. 105-6. However, Kimbrough takes a different view from Duthie's, arguing that "'Thus conceiving' that the purpose of beauty is only to serve as an approving audience for brave deeds, and 'subduing' its power, Tamburlaine concludes that his concept of virtue overrules all other human attributes . . . . The whole tradition that beauty is a potential creative force which can be activated through love is alien to Tamburlaine," p. 28. I myself agree with Duthie because we can see the result of beauty's moderating influence over Tamburlaine through his saving the Soldan's life and his taking truce with the world in the end of the play.

[29] Ellis-Fermor 44-5.

[30] Ellis-Fermor 43.

[31] Spence, "The Influence" 186.

[32] Spence, "The Influence" 187.

[33] Ribner, "The Idea" 263-4.

[34] Spence, "The Influence" 187.

[35] Spence, "The Influence" 187.

[36] Kuriyama 13.

[37] Kimbrough 25.

[38] Steane 82.

[39] Kimbrough 28.

[40] Levin 46.

[41] Godshalk 130.

[42] Godshalk 135.

[43] Godshalk 113.

[44] Godshalk 113.

[45] Godshalk 114.

[46] Battenhouse 232-4.

[47] Battenhouse 234.

[48] Battenhouse 236.

[49] Duthie 106.

[50] Duthie 106.

[51] Duthie 107.

[52] Duthie 107.

[53] See Spence, "Tamburlaine" 615.

[54] Warren D. Smith, "The Substance of Meaning in Tamburlaine Part I," Studies in Philology 67 (1970): 160.

[55] Spence, "The Influence" 194.

[56] Smith 160.

[57] Godshalk 111-5.

[58] Masinton 21. See also Powell 204.

[59] Masinton 21.

III. The Theme of Death: Zenocrate in 2 Tamburlaine

[1] See Battenhouse 149. He says that "It is true that Marlowe, now without the aid of historical material, has to invent almost all the action . . . ." He also says in p. 155 that "for Part II Marlowe had almost no further help available from the histories." Also, Ribner, "The Idea" note 1, says that "Whereas in Part I Marlowe fulfilled the function of the historian, drawing his material from historical sources which he followed fairly closely, these source materials were exhausted when he came to write his continuation, and Marlowe was forced both to invent material and to incorporate material from sources unrelated to the Tamburlaine story. Thus, although Part II carries on the form and pretense of history, it is actually a work of fiction."

[2] G. K. Hunter, "Henry IV and the Elizabethan Two-Part Play," Review of English Studies 5 (1954): 237.

[3] See Hunter 239-41. Leech 32-46.

[4] Godshalk 103.

[5] Godshalk 167.

[6] See Battenhouse 226-39.

[7] Ellis-Fermor 39.

[8] Levin 35.

[9] Brandt 82.

[10] See Duthie 118. Gardner 19-24. Hunter 239-41. Leech 32-46.

[11] Hunter 241.

[12] Leech 44.

[13] Duthie 125.

[14] Levin 36.

[15] Susan Richards, "Tamburlaine II: A Drama of Death," Modern Language Quarterly 26 (1965): 375.

[16] Richards 376.

[17] But, precisely speaking, Zenocrate remains on the stage silently to the end of Act I. Also, the dead Zenocrate, her hearse, is always with Tamburlaine wherever he goes.

[18] See John P. Cutts, The Left Hand of God (Haddonfield: Haddonfield House, 1973) 45. He says that "he [Tamburlaine] will try to exonerate himself by claiming that his sons derive all their 'effeminate' characteristics from Zenocrate."

[19] See Richards 376. She says that "The funeral rites which he performs for Zenocrate in Act III can, of course, be reviewed as the ancient ritual of sacrifice to death." Steane also says that "the burning of the town, which might have been given some dramatic condemnation as crazy destruction, is presented with dignified ceremonial as a fitting marvel," p. 68.

[20] Godshalk 155.

[21] See Godshalk 155.

[22] Ellis-Fermor 42.

[23] Godshalk 154. See also Gardner 22-3. She argues that "the whole treatment of Calyphas suggests something more subtle than the traditional coward: his distaste for war and his refusal to find his father impressive are positive rather than negative attitudes,

and his silent death may be due partly to his realization of his father's implacability and partly to his desire to infuriate him by not cowering."

[24] See Steane 69-70. Kocher, 263, says that Tamburlaine's stabbing of Calyphas is "merely heroic" from the Elizabethan point of view. Also, Brandt, 92-3, says that "In Elizabethan eyes, then, Tamburlaine's action was just and undoubtedly heroic, for to pass judgment on a son, even such a son as Calyphas, is the most heartrending of duties. However, Marlowe does not rely upon the justice of the deed to win us to Tamburlaine. He emphasizes that Calyphas is a coward, inclined to drinking and gambling, and filled with lecherous desires."

[25] See Steane 68-9. Godshalk 163-4.

[26] See Battenhouse 146. Douglas Cole, Suffering and Evil in the Plays of Christopher Marlowe (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1962) 112. Richards 376. Steane 68.

[27] Waith 87. See also Ribner, "Marlowe's" 95-6.

[28] Steane 71. See also Waith 85-7. Duthie 118-20. Brandt, 116, also says that "Marlowe ends the play on a note of human triumph."

[29] Battenhouse 175.

[30] Battenhouse 239.

[31] Battenhouse 257. See also Gardner 24. Weil, 115, argues that Amyras' last speech (V. iii. 249-53) "hints that Tamburlaine may be punished after death; it stresses that he and all his followers are certainly punished before it."

[32] Battenhouse 239.

[33] Battenhouse 258.

[34] See Duthie 118.

[35] Steane 63.

[36] See Ribner, "Marlowe's" 96. He argues "That Tamburlaine's sickness follows immediately upon his burning of Koran does not mean that we are to take his death as divine punishment for blasphemy."

IV. Tamburlaine Vs. Zenocrate: The Reciprocal Conflicts

[1] Spence, "The Influence" 187.

[2] Title page of 2 Tamburlaine.

[3] See Battenhouse 166-7, 233.

[4] Battenhouse 166.

[5] Battenhouse 167.

[6] Battenhouse 167.

[7] Battenhouse 168.

[8] Frank B. Fieler, Tamburlaine Part I and Its Audience. U of Florida Monographs, Humanities 8 (1961):47. Gainesville: U of Florida Press, 1962.

[9] Michel Poirier, Christopher Marlowe (London; Chatto and Windus, 1951) 109.

[10] Weil 137.

[11] Battenhouse 167.

[12] Masinton 21.

[13] Masinton 22.

[14] Masinton 43.

[15] Masinton 49.

[16] Waith 64.

[17] Waith 72.

[18] Levin 10.

[19] Levin 17.

[20] Levin 45.

[21] Godshalk 110.

[22] Godshalk 113. See also Kimbrough 28.

[23] Smith 162.

[24] Smith 166.

[25] Duthie 117-8.

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