

STAKE AND STAGE

JUDICIAL BURNING AND ELIZABETHAN THEATRE, 1587-1592

*Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy*

by

Danielle Yardy

FACULTY OF ENGLISH
☞ KEBLE COLLEGE,
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

Trinity 2015



Declaration of Authorship

Name (in capitals): DANIELLE YARDY

Candidate number: 287107

College (in capitals): KEBLE

Supervisors of thesis: HELEN MOORE & PETER MCCULLOUGH

Title of thesis (in capitals): STAKE AND STAGE:
JUDICIAL BURNING AND ELIZABETHAN THEATRE, 1587-1592

Word count: 98,273

Please tick to confirm the following:

I am aware of the University's disciplinary regulations concerning conduct in examinations and, in particular, of the regulations on plagiarism.

The thesis I am submitting is entirely my own work except where otherwise indicated.

It has not been submitted, either wholly or substantially, for another degree of this University, or for a degree at any other institution.

I have clearly signalled the presence of quoted or paraphrased material and referenced all sources.

I have clearly indicated the presence of all paraphrased material with appropriate references.

I have acknowledged appropriately any assistance I have received in addition to that provided by my supervisor.

I have not sought assistance from any professional agency.

I have not repeated any material from other pieces of work that I have previously submitted for assessment for this degree, except where permitted.

I agree to retain an electronic copy of this work until the publication of my final examination result, except where submission in hand-written format is permitted. I agree to make any such electronic copy available to the examiners should it be necessary to confirm my word count or to check for plagiarism.

Candidate's signature:

Date: 24 February 2016

Abstract

This thesis is the first sustained analysis of the relationship between Elizabethan theatre and the judicial practice of burning at the stake. Focusing on a five-year window of theatrical output (1587-1592), it argues that polemical literary presentations of burning are the key to understanding the stage's negotiation of this most particular form of judicial violence.

Unlike other forms of penal violence, burning at the stake was not staged, and only fourteen incidences of the punishment are recorded in Elizabethan England. Its strong literary presence in Protestant historiography is therefore central to this study. Part I explores the tragic and overtly theatrical rhetoric that the widely available *Acts and Monuments* built around the burning of heretics in the reformation, and argues that the narrative of this drama of injustice intervened in the development of judicial semiotics over the late-sixteenth century. By the time that *Tamburlaine* was first performed, burning at the stake was a pressing polemical issue, and it haunts early commercial theatre.

Elizabethan historiography of the stake was deeply influential in Elizabethan theatre. In Part II, I argue that Marlovian fire spectacles evoke tableaux from the *Acts and Monuments* to encourage partisan spectatorship, informed by the rhetoric of martyrdom. Dido's self-immolation courts this rhetoric by dismissing the sword from her death, while *Tamburlaine's* book burning is condemned through its emphatically papist undertones. These plays court the stake through spectacles utilizing its rhetoric. In Part III, I show that characters historically destined to face the stake required thorough criminalization to justify their sentence. Alice Arden is distinguished from female martyrs celebrated for their domestic defiance, while Jeanne d'Arc's historical heresy is forcefully rewritten as witchcraft and whoredom to condemn 1 Henry VI's Joan la Pucelle. Both women are punished offstage, and the plays focus instead on the necessary task of justifying the sentence of burning.

Though rare in practice, burning at the stake was a polemical issue in Elizabethan England. Despite the stake's lack of imitation in the theatre, I argue that widely available Protestant historiography—propaganda at the heart of debates about burning and religious violence—affected both how plays were written, and how they could be viewed.

[B]urning was certainly the rarest and most spectacular, if not necessarily the most excruciating, form of Tudor public execution. Those who witnessed a burning [...] are unlikely ever to have forgotten it.

—Eamon Duffy

Contents

Acknowledgements	i
Editions and textual conventions	ii
Codex editions	ii
Online editions	ii
A note on quotations from early modern texts	ii
List of abbreviations	iii
List of illustrations	v
Introduction: Stake and Stage	I
Burning bodies: Tudor theatre and its medieval heritage	6
A history of burning in England	16
Investigating the absence of burning: a methodology	21
PART I IMAGINATIVE & DRAMATIC CONTEXTS	35
1 Remembering Burning in the <i>Book of Martyrs</i>	36
John Foxe and the <i>Acts and Monuments</i>	39
The drama of reformation	46
‘an hystory, and not inuectiues’	57
‘alwayes in sight’	65
2 Foxean Injustice on the Early Modern Stage	79
Burning and ‘not burning’: an Elizabethan controversy	81
Staging justice	87
Staging injustice in 2 <i>Henry VI</i> : Eleanor’s burning taper	92
PART II FIRE SPECTACLES & PROTESTANT MARTYROLOGY	108
3 Dido’s Pyre: Martyrdom and Suicide in <i>Dido, Queen of Carthage</i>	109
Dido’s death: Marlowe and the Latin tradition	114
Burning widows: a Greek precedent?	121
Interpreting the will to burn	129
Mocking martyrdom	137
4 Burning Books in <i>Tamburlaine</i>	145
Catholic ‘bite-sheeps’: villains of the reformation	152
Tamburlaine as bad shepherd	158
Burning books	166
Into the fire: the death of Tamburlaine	179
PART III CRIMINAL WOMEN & FEMALE MARTYRS	185
5 Crime and Counter-Martyrdom in <i>Arden of Faversham</i>	186
Petty treason and Foxe’s model of female martyrdom	195
Counter-martyrdom and <i>Arden of Faversham</i>	205
6 ‘That sorceress condemn’d to burn’: Joan la Pucelle in 1 <i>Henry VI</i>	224
Saint Joan	227
Criminal Joan	236
Conclusion	257
Works cited	273

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without the generous funding of Keble College, the Keble Association, and the English Faculty at the University of Oxford. Together, these institutions and their benefactors provided the financial support that allowed me to begin the DPhil, but it is to particular individuals that I owe my emergence on the other side.

Foremost, my thanks go to Helen Moore, my ever-patient supervisor. Her guidance has helped to create a molehill from that which seemed a mountain—a mercy to the reader as much as myself. Thanks, too, to Peter McCullough, for taking me under his wing when the project was not yet fledged, and my thoughts but barely formed.

I am grateful to a number of scholars and DPhil colleagues for their patience in discussing aspects of my research along the way. Special thanks are due to William Badger, Frances Dolan, Peter van Dolan, Paulina Kewes, Tom McFaul, Tanya Pollard, and of course to my two examiners Matthew Steggle and Emma Smith, whose kind words and thoughtful questions have rekindled my passion for a project that is thus far only a part-formed thing. For academic discussion, support, and their invaluable companionship throughout our university experiences, I extend the warmest thanks to my dear friends Gareth Evans and Hannah Ryley.

Finally, my greatest debt is to Elizabeth Chatterjee: boiler of kettles, buyer of biscuits, and bringer of late-night snacks; my sounding board, my cheerleader, my proofreader, formatter, and the smartest person I know. Thank you for everything.

To those I have remembered, and to those I may have forgotten, thank you, in short, for helping to get this thesis to where it is now. Any errors that remain are of course my own. With that in mind, I wish to impress upon the reader the words of Thomas Hickock, sixteenth-century traveller, merchant, and translator:

So (Gentle Reader) thou mayest see that in this worke which I coulde not see: wherein, if thou finde a blemish in this my simple worke, I pray thee hartily couer the same with the shadowe of Patience, or else friendly correct the same: and not rashly to iudge or contemne the paines of a willing minde, so shall I be encouraged to take the like paines in annother.

—Thomas Hickock, *The Voyage and Trauaile: Of M. Caesar Frederick, Merchant of Venice* (London, 1588), sig. A3v.

Editions and textual conventions

Codex editions

Unless otherwise specified, quotations from Shakespeare's works are from *The Riverside Shakespeare*, Second Edition, ed. G. Blakemore Evans et al. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997); quotations from Marlowe are from *The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe*, ed. Roma Gill et al. 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987-1998).

All quotations from the Bible are taken from *The Geneva Bible: a facsimile of the 1560 edition* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2007), unless specified otherwise.

Online editions

Thanks to technological advancements and the hard work of scholars in the digital humanities, some of the more unwieldy texts used in this thesis can now be accessed online. For the reader's ease of reference, these have been used where possible.

Quotations from the various editions of John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* are taken from *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online* (Sheffield: HRI Online Publications, 2011), available at <http://johnfoxe.org/>. In-text citations specify the edition in the format *A&M [date]*, and all page numbers refer to the modern online pagination.

Quotations from Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles* are taken from *The Holinshed Project Online* (Oxford: The Holinshed Project, 2013), available at <http://www.english.ox.ac.uk/holinshed/>. Citations note the edition in the format *Chronicles [date]*; volume and page numbers refer to those given on the *Project* site.

A note on quotations from early modern texts

In all quotations from early modern printed texts, original spelling, punctuation, and typographical quirks are retained. Superscript letters have been silently lowered, and tildes, abbreviations, and thorns have been expanded in italics.

List of abbreviations

Throughout this thesis, dramatic works are identified by the abbreviations that follow. For plays by dramatists other than Marlowe and Shakespeare, editions used are specified in footnotes in the first instance, and thereafter cited solely by abbreviation.

2E4	<i>The Second Part of Edward the Fourth</i>
1H6	<i>The First Part of Henry the Sixth</i>
2H6	<i>The Second Part of Henry the Sixth</i>
3H6	<i>The Third Part of Henry the Sixth</i>
AF	<i>Arden of Faversham</i>
BA	<i>The Battle of Alcazar</i>
BrA	<i>The Brazen Age</i>
C	<i>Coriolanus</i>
CYM	<i>Cymbeline</i>
D	<i>Dido, Queen of Carthage</i>
DM	<i>The Duchess of Malfi</i>
DS	<i>The Life of the Dutches of Suffolke</i>
E2	<i>Edward II</i>
F	<i>Doctor Faustus</i>
H	<i>Hamlet</i>
H5	<i>Henry V</i>
HTW	<i>The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyat</i>
KL	<i>King Lear</i>
LGL	<i>A Looking Glass for London and England</i>
LLW	<i>The Late Lancashire Witches</i>
M	<i>Macbeth</i>
MAN	<i>Much Ado About Nothing</i>
MND	<i>A Midsummer Night's Dream</i>
P[1]	<i>Philaster [Quarto 1]</i>
R3	<i>Richard III</i>
RJ	<i>Romeo and Juliet</i>
SA	<i>The Silver Age</i>
ST	<i>The Spanish Tragedy</i>

T	<i>The Tempest</i>
T ₁	<i>Tamburlaine, Part I</i>
T ₂	<i>Tamburlaine, Part II</i>
TA	<i>Titus Andronicus</i>
TL	<i>The Three Laws</i>
TM	<i>The Life of Thomas More</i>
TN	<i>Twelfth Night</i>
TNK	<i>The Two Noble Kinsmen</i>
WE	<i>The Witch of Edmonton</i>
WT	<i>The Winter's Tale</i>

List of illustrations

- 1.1 Queen Elizabeth in the initial ‘C’. First appeared in *A&M [1563]*, preliminaries. This image from the copy in the Rare Books & Manuscripts Library of the Ohio State University. Available at <http://hdl.handle.net/1811/25013>. Reproduced with permission. 41
- 1.2 Frontispiece. *Acts and Monuments* (1563). From *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online*. Available at: http://www.johnfoxe.org/1563_titlepage.jpg. Public domain. 51
- 1.3 The Guernsey martyrs. First appeared in *A&M [1563]*, 1613. From *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online*. Available at <http://www.johnfoxe.org/woodcuts/f1980w.gif>. Public domain. 54
- 1.4 The burning of Thomas Tomkins’ hand. First appeared in *A&M [1563]*, 1170. From *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online*. Available at <http://www.johnfoxe.org/woodcuts/f1568w.gif>. Public domain. 60
- 1.5 The burning of Thomas Hooper. From John Foxe, *Rerum in Ecclesia Gestarum* (1559). Keble College Library, Millard 42. Reproduced by kind permission of the Warden and Fellows of Keble College, Oxford. Photographed by author. 70
- 1.6 The burning of John Hooper. First appeared in *A&M [1563]*, 1133. From *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online*. Available at: <http://www.johnfoxe.org/woodcuts/f1544w.gif>. Public domain. 70
- 1.7 The burning of Thomas Cranmer. From John Foxe, *Rerum in Ecclesia Gestarum* (1559). Keble College Library, Millard 42. Reproduced by kind permission of the Warden and Fellows of Keble College, Oxford. Photographed by author. 71
- 1.8 The burning of Thomas Haukes. First appeared in *A&M [1563]*, 1230. From *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online*. Available at: <http://www.johnfoxe.org/woodcuts/f1627w.gif>. Public domain. 73
- 1.9 The burning of John Lambert. First appeared in *A&M [1563]*, 625. From *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online*. Available at: <http://www.johnfoxe.org/woodcuts/f1158w.gif>. Public domain. 73
- 2.1 The disciplining of John Florence. First appeared in *A&M [1570]*, 803. From *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online*. Available at: <http://www.johnfoxe.org/woodcuts/fo693w2.gif>. Public domain. 101
- 2.2 The Penance of Thomas Pye and John Mendham. This image from *The first volume of the ecclesiastical history contaynyng the actes and monumentes [...]* (1570), 2 vols. In the Wren Collection at Trinity College, Cambridge, C.17.24-5. Vol. 1, 786. Reproduced here by kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge. Photographed by the author. 101
- 2.3 The Penance of James Bainham. First appeared in *A&M [1570]*, 1209. From *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online*. Available at: <http://www.johnfoxe.org/woodcuts/f1063w.gif>. Public domain. 102
- 3.1 Queen Elizabeth I. The Siena ‘sieve’ portrait, c. 1580-1. Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, Italy. [Redacted for eThesis due to copyright.] Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Metsys_Elizabeth_I_The_Sieve_Portrait_c1583.jpg 119

- 3.2 Medallion detail. From the Siena ‘sieve’ portrait, c. 1580-1. Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, Italy. Cropped from Figure 3.1. [Redacted for eThesis due to copyright.] 120
- 4.1 Henry VIII upon his throne, the pope as footstool. First appeared in *A&M* [1570], 962. From *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online*. Available at: <http://www.johnfoxe.org/woodcuts/fo833w.gif>. Public domain. 148
- 4.2 *The lambe speaketh...* (1555). The British Museum, Y 1.92. Reproduced by permission of The British Museum under a Creative Commons licence. 156
- 4.3 Frontispiece. Timothy Bright, *An abridgement of the booke of acts and monumentes of the Church* (London, 1589). The Huntington Library, San Marino, California, RB 17474. Reproduced with permission. 163
- 4.4 The burning of Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius. First appeared in *A&M* [1563], 1629. From *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online*. Available at: <http://www.johnfoxe.org/woodcuts/f1592INS4.gif>. Public domain. 174
- 5.1 Frontispiece, *The trueth of the most wicked and secret murthering of Iohn Brewen* (1592). Lambeth Palace Library, [ZZ]1594.16.11. Reproduced here with permission. 192
- 5.2 The burning of Cicelie Ormes. First appeared in *A&M* [1570], 2259. From *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online*. Available at: <http://www.johnfoxe.org/woodcuts/f2059w.gif>. Public domain. 193

Introduction:

Stake and Stage

A criminal condemned to burn at the stake in England would be tied to a large wooden post with a rope or chain, and an executioner would then light the faggots that had been piled around the base. On some occasions the executioner might strangle the condemned before kindling the fire in order to mitigate their suffering. More often, the specific intention would be to burn the criminal alive. In such circumstances, the best one could hope for was death by asphyxiation, carbon monoxide poisoning, or heatstroke. If green wood had been used, the suffering could be either shortened or prolonged: the lower burning temperature could cause death by roasting—with final expiration from blood loss through extensive tissue damage—or the excessive fumes could cause death by choking. Well-wishing family members could (and did) provide small sacks of gunpowder to be worn by the criminal in order to

hurry along the process.¹ Once the criminal was dead, the body would then take several hours to reduce to ashes.²

It is this terrifying fate that Alexandro escapes in *The Spanish Tragedy* (c. 1587). Misinformed by the scheming Villuppo, the Viceroy condemns Alexandro for the treasonous murder of Balthazar:

No more I say! To the tortures! When?
Bind him, and burn his body in those flames
 They bind him to the stake.
That shall prefigure those unquenchèd fires,
Of Phlegethon prepared for his soul. (*ST*, III.i.47-50)³

Though Alexandro pleads his innocence, he is only saved by the last-minute intercession of the Ambassador bringing news of Balthazar's safety. At the Viceroy's command, '*They unbind him*' (III.i.79, *s.d.*).

The rest of *The Spanish Tragedy* is famously bloody. It stages the execution of Pedringano by hanging (III.vii), along with the death of Horatio (II.iv), Isabella's suicide (IV.ii), and the violence of Hieronimo's polyglot drama (IV.iv), yet Kyd brings us tantalizingly close to a burning only to divert the course of action. Though Villuppo is arrested in Alexandro's stead, he is taken offstage for his torments. In a play dripping with violence, Alexandro's narrow escape from the stake is remarkable.⁴

Elsewhere on the early modern stage, characters are likewise sentenced to burn only to be taken offstage to suffer, or to be relieved of their punishment. Shakespeare's feisty Joan

¹ Cullen Murphy, *God's Jury: The Inquisition and the Making of the Modern World* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2012), 67-8.

² Estimates from investigations of Roman funeral pyres suggest that bodies take upwards of seven hours to burn completely. See J. I. McKinley, "Bone Fragment Size in British Cremation Burials and Its Implication for Pyre Technology and Ritual," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 21 (1994): 339-42; David Noy, "Half-Burnt on an Emergency Pyre: Roman Cremations Which Went Wrong," *Greece & Rome* 47, no. 2 (October 1, 2000): 186-96.

³ All quotations from Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedy*, ed. Michael Neill, Norton Critical Editions (New York; London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2014).

⁴ Similarly, Thomas Garter's scriptural play *The Most Virtuous and Godly Susanna* (c. 1563) saw Voluptas and Sensualitas bound to a stake (probably a stage post; viii.*s.d.*) before being eventually stoned to death offstage. See #367 in Martin Wiggins and Catherine Richardson, *British Drama 1533-1642: A Catalogue*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 388-390.

la Pucelle is sentenced to burn at the stake at the close of *1 Henry VI* (c. 1592), for example, and in *2 Henry VI* the King commands that Eleanor Cobham's accompanying sorceress the Witch of Eye shall 'in Smithfield [...] be burned to ashes' (*2H6*, II.iii.7). Similarly, the final scenes of the anonymous *Arden of Faversham* consign the historical Alice Arden and her conspirator Black Will to the same fate (*AF*, xiii.30-31; epilogue.6).⁵ In the Jacobean period, the martyr play *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt* (c. 1602) sees Lady Jane sentenced to be burned before her punishment is commuted to beheading (*HTW*, sigs. F3r-v).⁶ Then, for the Marian martyrs Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley in Thomas Drue's *Life of the Dutches of Suffolke* (1631), Bishop Bonner instructs an officer to 'Leade them away' (*DS*, sig. G4v), their fate having been confirmed by their earlier appearance: 'Enter two with Fagots' (sig. G3r).⁷

Early modern theatre's direct relationship with burning at the stake is therefore a catalogue of near-misses and offstage executions. In this, it is anomalous among judicial spectacles; as I discuss in detail in Chapter 2, theatre companies took pride in performing hangings, beheadings, and disembowellings upon the stage (and, as I discuss later in this Introduction, they were happy to play with fire). It is as an absent spectacle in the repertoire of extant early modern theatre that burning at the stake has managed to evade sustained consideration by literary critics and theatre historians. In the wake of Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* (1977), critics of Renaissance culture, in the words of Lorna Hutson, 'learned [...] how to read accounts of public executions as dramatic texts'.⁸ Consequently, literary critics working with early modern dramatic texts began to negotiate the same

⁵ Anon., *The Tragedy of Master Arden of Faversham*, ed. M. L. Wine, *The Revels Plays* (London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1973).

⁶ Thomas Dekker and John Webster, *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt* (London: Printed by E.A. for Thomas Archer, 1607).

⁷ Thomas Drue, *The Life of the Dutches of Suffolke As It Hath Beene Divers and Sundry Times Acted, with Good Applause* (London, 1631).

⁸ Lorna Hutson, "Rethinking the 'Spectacle of the Scaffold': Juridical Epistemologies and English Revenge Tragedy," *Representations* 89 (2005): 35.

Foucauldian ‘culture of violence’;⁹ they spoke of ‘collapsed boundaries’, both geographical and semiotic, between scaffold and stage,¹⁰ and applied Foucault’s theory of the performance of power to various dramatic presentations of violence.¹¹ Moving outwards from the scaffold, similar assessments have been made of the relationship between the early modern stage and other violent spectacles, such as bear baiting—the other ‘stake’.¹² Due to the literature’s keen focus on spectacular verisimilitude, burning—Tudor England’s most ‘monstrous and far from moribund’ form of execution¹³—has failed to be recognized in studies that engage in such readings.

In this thesis, I provide the first sustained assessment of the relationship between the judicial practice of burning at the stake and the theatre of Elizabethan England. In so doing, I seek not simply to add burning to the diverse forms of state punishments that have been explored in early modern theatre, but rather to reconceptualize the relationship between stage and scaffold as one governed by uncomfortable and changing notions of both justice and injustice, with the stake at its centre. By the end of the sixteenth century, England—like the rest of Europe—had seen a succession of religious upheavals, and burning at the stake had been a central tenet of counter-reforming policy. A play that invokes burning (and, as I will demonstrate, many do) therefore gestures to a singularly complicated judicial practice.

⁹ Francis Barker, *The Culture of Violence: Essays on Tragedy and History* (Chicago, IL; Manchester: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Derek Cohen, *Shakespeare’s Culture of Violence* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1993).

¹⁰ Molly Easo Smith, *Breaking Boundaries: Politics and Play in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998).

¹¹ For classic applications of the Foucauldian mode, see, for example, Leonard Tennenhouse, *Power on Display: The Politics of Shakespeare’s Genres* (New York; London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1986), 13–16; Karen Cunningham, “Renaissance Execution and Marlovian Elocution: The Drama of Death,” *PMLA* 105, no. 2 (1990): 209–22; Molly Easo Smith, “The Theatre and the Scaffold: Death as Spectacle in ‘The Spanish Tragedy,’” in *Revenge Tragedy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 71–87.

¹² Andreas Höfele, *Stage, Stake, and Scaffold: Humans and Animals in Shakespeare’s Theatre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

¹³ The words are those of Ruth Campbell: “Sentence of Death by Burning for Women,” *The Journal of Legal History* 5, no. 1 (1984): 44.

In assessing the relationship between stake and stage, this thesis makes three related arguments. First, I argue that for burning at the stake, a rare and contested form of execution during Elizabeth's reign, literary representations of the practice, along with their accompanying propaganda, must be central to any attempt to understand its place in early modern England. I show that the *Acts and Monuments*—John Foxe's magisterial history of the True Church, and the evangelical authority on the reformation—is the crucial literary context for perceiving burning in Elizabethan England. In its pages, burning is a barbaric injustice against God's martyrs, inflicted by the Roman Church against the martyrs of the True Church. In the drama, I suggest and explore two impacts of this rhetoric. The first is that fire spectacles as performed on the Elizabethan stage could be subject to the same forms of spectating as the representations of burning presented in the *Acts and Monuments*. The second is that individuals burned 'justly' were at risk of being martyred by Foxe's pervasive rhetoric—an effect felt in accounts of Elizabethan executions by burning, as well as in drama that reimagines historical figures who faced that sentence. Both playwrights and their audiences, I argue, were affected by Elizabethan historiography's rendering of the dramatic increase in burnings experienced in the English reformation, even though the punishment was not emulated within the theatres.

In the rest of the Introduction, I will establish the singularity of burning within the Elizabethan judicial armoury, and the modifications to the established critical approach to the relationship between scaffold and stage that this necessitates. However, before doing so I turn first to a question that a thesis seeking to make claims for the particularity of the stake and stage dynamic must address: is Alexandro's unbinding a simple matter of theatrical practicality?

BURNING BODIES: TUDOR THEATRE AND ITS MEDIEVAL HERITAGE

In a purely practical sense, acting companies could certainly have staged burning at the stake. Indeed, as Glynne Wickham explains, this possibility appears key to the dramatic tension of Alexandro's pardoning:

There is nothing here to assure us that this 'stake' was a temporary stage property, set and struck for that purpose only at the start and at the end of the scene (it is not needed again); but neither may we assume that it was a permanent pillar supporting the heavens and doing temporary duty as a stake. Theatrical realism suggests the former, since the audience would recognize that no one in his right mind would deliberately set fire to one of the permanent pillars, and thus would be cheated in advance of the surprise element in the scene's dénouement.¹⁴

As Wickham's observations suggest, audiences must expect Alexandro's sentence to be carried out on stage. What Wickham identifies as necessary theatrical context for *The Spanish Tragedy*, the broader use of fire in the theatre confirms.

In 1536, the old Roman amphitheatre in Bourges, France, hosted a monumental cycle of mystery plays. The *Mystère des actes des apôtres*—written some time in the middle of the fifteenth century—amounted to 62,000 lines of verse on the lives of the apostles. Though the cycle culminated in the deaths of St. Peter and St. Paul, the forty-day marathon of plays took in numerous executions along the way, each of which was staged spectacularly before the crowd. Among these were two methods of judicial burning: the wheel and the stake. Detailed staging records that survive from the performance attest the graphic realism of the burnings:

There must be wood to burn St. Barnabas who will be bound to a cartwheel, and there must be a dummy corpse full of bones and entrails.

There must be a pillar near Paradise to which Cidrat, Titon, and Aristarcus will be fastened to be burnt, and the said pillar shall be sited over a trapdoor and three dummy bodies fastened to the pillar in their place, surrounded by faggots.¹⁵

¹⁴ Glynne Wickham, "'Heavens', Machinery, and Pillars in the Theatre and Other Early Playhouses," in *The First Public Playhouse: The Theatre in Shoreditch 1576-1598*, ed. Herbert Berry (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979), 7.

¹⁵ Translation as given by Peter Meredith and John E. Tailby, eds., *The Staging of Religious Drama in Europe in the Later Middle Ages: Texts and Documents in English Translation* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1982), 102, 103. The corresponding French can be found in Auguste-Théodore de Girardot, ed., *Mystère Des Actes Des Apôtres Représenté À Bourges En Avril, 1536* (Paris: Librairie Archéologique de Victor Didron, 1854), 18, 23.

Audiences, presumably in real-time, would watch as the dummies burned before their eyes. In the case of St. Barnabas (Book VI), as the dummy-shell burned away, the bones and entrails would catch fire, ensuring the multi-sensory experience expected by theatregoers with noses attuned to the particular smell of burning flesh. For the audience, the effects would be olfactory: '[a]s the apparent internal organs of St. Barnabas spill onto the blaze, the stench of roasting flesh complements the sight of the body being consumed by the flames'.¹⁶ As Lucius in *Titus Andronicus* would claim at the close of the century (perf. 1594), where 'limbs are lopped, / And entrails feed the sacrificing fire', the 'smoke like incense doth perfume the sky' (*TA*, I.i.143-145). At Bourges, the burning offal would signal the real breakdown of a body: a powerful and signature scent, less pure than the clean burning of wood and other ready combustibles. Such a noxious presence could not but affect the audience; the scent would travel through the crowds, alerting viewers far and near to Barnabas' fiery expiration.¹⁷

Bourges, notes John Spalding Gatton, is not unique in its use of such spectacle; in his survey of French texts from the fifteenth century, he suggests that burning Jewish characters was a staple in continental drama.¹⁸ The English Croxton *Play of the Sacrament*, for example, is strikingly similar to the French play *Sainte Hostie*. A much darker play than its English counterpart, however, the *Sainte Hostie*, as performed at Metz, staged two burnings. First, the Jew Jacob (Jonathas in the Croxton play) is burned for his torture of the Host, even though he subsequently converts to Christianity; later the 'Mauvaise Femme', who

¹⁶ John Spalding Gatton, "'There Must Be Blood': Mutilation and Martyrdom on the Medieval Stage," in *Violence in Drama*, *Themes in Drama* 13 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 87.

¹⁷ On the theatrically productive use of smells in the early modern playhouse, see Holly Crawford Pickett, "The Idolatrous Nose: Incense on the Early Modern Stage," in *Religion and Drama in Early Modern England: The Performance of Religion on the Renaissance Stage*, ed. Jane Hwang Degenhardt and Elizabeth Williamson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 19-37.

¹⁸ Spalding Gatton, "'There Must Be Blood,'" 83.

provided the Host to pay a debt to Jacob, is burned for murdering her child.¹⁹ As such evidence suggests, medieval and early modern drama on the Continent exploited burning at the stake for its full dramatic effect.

Though staging detail comparable to that from mainland Europe has not been unearthed in the records of early English drama, English theatre and pageantry made ample use of pyrotechnic effects. As Philip Butterworth has demonstrated, fire was prevalent on both the early English and Scottish stages.²⁰ Such theatre was performed diversely, and in diverse locations: from churches, homes, and dining halls, to city streets and playing fields. While indoor theatre made use of the available space, outdoor performances were given from pageant wagons, or place-and-scaffold stages. Yet whether drama was indoors or out, fire spectacles could play a role in theatrical events, with the hellmouth perhaps the best-known example. In mystery plays such as *The Fall of Lucifer*, *The Harrowing of Hell*, and *The Last Judgment* the hellmouth played a central role as the gate to Hell: a monstrous mouth belching forth flames, smoke, and characters of evil disposition—a spatial signification that would survive into early modern plays such as *Doctor Faustus* and *Hamlet*.²¹ From such flaming devils and fire-breathing dragons to regal firework displays, the pyrotechny established in medieval theatre continued to be a central element of early modern entertainment.²²

¹⁹ Jody Enders cites the dramatic pronouncement by the bailiff of Senlis that the deed has been done, “Nostre execution achevée”, from a manuscript source of the *Sainte Hostie*: “Theater Makes History: Ritual Murder by Proxy in the ‘Mistere de La Sainte Hostie,’” *Medieval Academy of America* 79, no. 4 (2004): 999.

²⁰ Philip Butterworth, *Theatre of Fire: Special Effects in Early English and Scottish Theatre* (London: The Society for Theatre Research, 1998).

²¹ Tiffany Stern, *Making Shakespeare: From Stage to Page* (London: Routledge, 2004), 25–6.

²² They were even used as an interactive finale at the bear-baiting arenas. After visiting London in 1564, a German traveller named Lupold von Wedel wrote the following appraisal: ‘Right over the middle of the place a rose was fixed, this rose being set on fire by a rocket suddenly lots of apples and pears fell out of it down upon the people standing below. Whilst the people were scrambling for the apples, some rockets were made to fall down upon the pit of the rose, which caused a great fright but amused the spectators. After this, rockets and fireworks came flying out of all corners, and that was the end of the play’. Quoted in

Not only did English theatre make use of fire spectacles similar to those on the Continent, it also used the same techniques of staging. Most interesting for our purposes here is a description of setting living bodies on fire, indoors, found in a chronicle describing the household of Miguel de Iranzo in Castile in 1461. The record speaks of a wooden dragon's head that:

propelled the boys out through its mouth one by one, and it breathed huge flames at the same time. And the pages, whose tunics, sleeves, and hoods were soaked in spirits (aquadiente), came out on fire, and it seemed that they were really being burned up in flames.²³

The spirits used for such a staging—variously called ‘aqua-ardens’ and ‘aqua-vitae’—were alcohols which, when lit alone, would burn without colour. However, when soaked onto a fabric, ignited spirits would burn brightly but without damaging the material.²⁴ In England, these techniques were common. For the London Midsummer Pageants of June 1541, 3s. 8d. was paid for a gallon of aqua-vitae, for example, while 1s. 4d. was paid to the person supervising the fire for the creation of a fire-breathing dragon to attack St. Margaret.²⁵ The alcohols were also used indoors: for *The Triumph of Cupid*, performed at Greenwich Palace in 1553, the requisite aqua-vitae was acquired from the grocer Thomas Bocher for just 2s (again for a dragon).²⁶

Performers could be protected from these flames using ointments prepared to coat the skin. In one English recipe, actors were advised: ‘if thou do thus upon the palm of thy hand thou shalt be able to hold the fire without hurt’.²⁷ It was, perhaps, such recipes that

Barbara Ravelhofer, “‘Beasts of Recreation’: Henslowe’s White Bears,” *English Literary Renaissance* 32, no. 2 (2002): 289.

²³ Quoted in Butterworth, *Theatre of Fire*, 28.

²⁴ See Glossary in Butterworth, *Theatre of Fire*, 211.

²⁵ #102 in Wiggins and Richardson, *British Drama*, 2012, 1:102–3.

²⁶ #239 in Wiggins and Richardson, *British Drama*, 2012, 1:252–253.

²⁷ Michael R. Best and Frank H. Brightman, eds., *The Book of Secrets of Albertus Magnus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), 105. Cited in Butterworth, *Theatre of Fire*, 30. A similar recipe can be found in Thomas Hyll, *A Briefe and Pleasaunt Treatise, Intituled: Naturall and Artificiall Conclusions* (London: Edward Allde, 1586), sigs. Dv–Dir.

permitted fire to be set on Iniquity in plays like John Bale's *Three Laws* (s.d. at l. 1850)²⁸ and the anonymous *King Darius* (c. 1565),²⁹ as well as the characters 'burned' in a furnace in the Lincolnshire play of Nebuchadnezzar (before March 1563).³⁰

As with medieval and early-sixteenth-century dramatic spectacles, the Elizabethan era continued to witness outdoor entertainments replete with spectacular pyrotechnic displays. When Elizabeth was on progress in Warwick in 1572, evening entertainments included a pageant relating the overthrow of the fort in the town, enacted in part by the Earl of Oxford and his soldiers. Fireworks were cast out from the fort, 'as squibbes and balles of fyre', and the spectacle was reported to be:

terrible to those that have not bene in the like experiences, valiant to such as delighted therein, and in dede straunge to them that understood it not; for the wildfyre falling into the ryver Aven, wold for a tyme lye still, and then agayn rise and flye abrode, casting furth many flashes and flambes.³¹

The management of the fire used—ensuring its continued burning even on the water—demonstrates a high level of control and orchestration in these entertainments: Elizabethan pyrotechnic specialists had inherited the finely tuned skills of their medieval and earlier Tudor predecessors.

For theatre, the move into fixed structures, and finally indoors, which took place over the later-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries posed logistical problems for playwrights. Where the pageantry of medieval mystery cycles had used moving floats covered in blazing fires, the fixed wooden structures of the new theatres demanded greater control over any fire that was used. On some occasions scenes requiring uncontrolled fire were, like fiery

²⁸ John Bale, *A Comedy Concerning Three Laws of Nature, Moses and Christ* [1538], *The Tudor Facsimile Texts* (London: T.C. & E.C. Jack, 1908). The stage direction reads '*Ignis flamma Indidelitatem locum exire coget*'.

²⁹ #410 in Wiggins and Richardson, *British Drama*, 2012, 1:428–430.

³⁰ Wiggins and Richardson suggest that because characters appear in the furnace, 'the flames cannot be real'. The staging techniques discussed here and below suggest that this may not necessarily be the case. #359 in Wiggins and Richardson, *British Drama*, 2012, 1:382.

³¹ John Nichols, ed., *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth* (London: John Nichols and Son, 1823), 1:319.

executions, moved offstage. In John Fletcher's *The Island Princess* (perf. 1621), for example, Armusia and his men plot to rescue the King of Sidore from his prison cell, and achieve his liberation through the setting of a fire as a diversion. The staging, however, avoids displaying the flames of destruction. As Alan Dessen summarizes:

through a combination of sound effects, vivid reports, exits and entrances, and alternating scenes Fletcher has provided all the excitement of such a fire as an appropriate and telling context for the daring rescue. In a good production, a spectator presumably would 'believe' in the fire and the stratagem without actually witnessing the flames, burning buildings, and a bucket brigade throwing water.³²

Performing such scenes of large-scale burning and destruction effectively used dramatic sleight of hand and actors' skill to absorb the audience in the reality of a feigned event. Similarly, in *The Tragedy of Nero* (1624) the emperor stands above the stage with a tambourine as he watches the city burn; characters come onto the stage to verbalize the effects of the burning, though the fire and smoke is not seen by the audience.³³ Short of burning down the playhouse itself, the razing of Rome would remain a dramatic fallacy.

Yet, as the history of the Globe attests, fire spectacles *were* used inside English playhouses, at least once with famously disastrous consequences. On 29 June 1613 the Globe Theatre was burned to the ground during a performance of Shakespeare's *Henry VIII, or All is True*. Henry Wotton described the fire in a letter to Edmund Bacon:

Now, King Henry making a masque at the Cardinal Wolsey's house, and certain chambers being shot off at his entry, some of the paper, or other stuff, wherewith one of them was stopped, did light on the thatch, where being thought at first but an idle smoke, and their eyes more attentive to the show, it kindled inwardly, and ran round like a train, consuming within less than an hour the whole house to the very grounds.³⁴

'Idle smoke' appears to have been no stranger to the playhouse; so familiar was its presence in the theatre that the real danger was not recognized in time to stop the blaze. The Globe

³² Alan Dessen, *Elizabethan Stage Conventions and Modern Interpreters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 14.

³³ *The Tragedy of Nero, Newly Written* (London: A. Mathewes and J. Norton, 1624), III.iv, sigs. E1v–E2v.

³⁴ Henry Wotton, *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, ed. Logan Pearsall Smith, vol. II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), 33.

was, of course, not the first stage to suffer, nor was it the last.³⁵ Even in the outdoor spectacles such as the pageant at Warwick discussed above, property damage was a real danger.³⁶ Yet despite such mishaps, pyrotechnics remained a common feature of English theatrics.

The early modern move to contained theatre spaces inevitably affected the *style* of pyrotechnic displays that were possible, as faggots and flames of the medieval mystery cycles were less suitable for the new stages. Even so, the commercial theatre offered audiences spectacles recognizable from medieval theatre: Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (c. 1588) and Robert Greene's *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* (c. 1589; most probably inspired by *Faustus*), for example, both bring fire-breathing dragons onstage. George Peele's *The Battle of Alcazar* (c. 1588) sees characters 'offer [...] our hands into this flame' (*BA*, sig. C3v),³⁷ while Robert Greene and Thomas Lodge's *Looking Glasse for London and England* (c. 1589) required a hand to appear from a cloud, brandishing a burning sword (*LGL*, sig. G2r).³⁸ In performance, such plays likely used the aqua solutions and flame-retardant salves inherited from their theatrical forebears to achieve their effects.

It is one thing to carry fire or project a burning missile, and quite another to burn a body, however. But the practice of burning dummies witnessed at Bourges and Metz is at least intimated in English outdoor spectacles. On 11 February 1613, James I's Gunners 'invented and wrought' a firework display for the King in London. One element of the story

³⁵ For a perceptive account of the history of fire as a danger to the stage, see Ellen Mackay, *Persecution, Plague, and Fire: Fugitive Histories of the Stage in Early Modern England* (Chicago, IL; London: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

³⁶ At Warwick, the use of a fire-breathing dragon for the overthrow of the fort managed, 'whether by negligence or otherwise', to set fire to the house of a Henry Cowper, alias Myller. He and his wife were rescued, but their property could not be saved from the flames, for which the Queen herself compensated them with '£25. 12s. 8d. or therabouts'. Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, I:320.

³⁷ George Peele, *The Battell of Alcazar Fought in Barbarie* (London, 1594). See also #811 in Martin Wiggins and Catherine Richardson, *British Drama 1533-1642: A Catalogue*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 427-434.

³⁸ Thomas Lodge and Robert Greene, *A Looking Glasse for London and England* (London, 1594). See also #829 in Wiggins and Richardson, *British Drama*, 2012, 2:470-474.

was a lady's harassment by an Enchanter. The lady, hiding from her pursuant, takes refuge in a tower, awaiting liberation by her knight. On the various landings of the castle that acted as the frame for the narrative, different tableaux were presented. The second story displayed:

sundry hellish feendes, burning and breakinge out fiers in diuers flames fourmes, and in the terretes of these towers fires burninge, Rockettes fliing vpp, and breakers fliing euery waye. And in this story Likewise shalbe seene the Enchanter with a septer in his hand, bount vnto a piller, and burnt to death.³⁹

For the Enchanter's burning 'to death' a dummy would be required. Whether offal was used to create the same multisensory effect witnessed in Bourges is unknown, but this pageant puts feigned burning at the stake, or at the 'piller', in the English theatrical repertoire, despite its absence from the public playhouses.⁴⁰

Though this does not provide direct evidence of burning dummies on the Elizabethan, or earlier Tudor stages, theatrical productions in enclosed spaces did stage other deaths by fire with real, open flames using techniques similar to those seen in the French drama. For example, in September 1566, the second part of Richard Edwards' *Palamon and Arcite*, performed in the hall at Christ Church, Oxford, saw Saturn kill Arcite with subterranean fire. A public funeral for Arcite was then staged, during which a cloak was cast onto his pyre, prompting an audience member to attempt to intervene, believing that the pyre's flames would ruin valuable clothing.⁴¹ For the death of Arcite, it is likely that a trapdoor was used to issue flames onto the stage—the same smoke and mirrors used in the *Mystère* to distract attention from the switching of bodies (though accounting records suggest that Arcite's death was staged without a dummy to replace the descending character).

³⁹ MS BL Additional 70518, "Discription of the seuerall fireworks inuented and wrought by his Ma:ties Gunners & what was performed to the view in euery of them upon Thursday night the XI of Februarie 1612." Transcribed as "Appendix 1F" in Butterworth, *Theatre of Fire*, 181–183, at 182. Underlining marks Butterworth's expansion of MS abbreviations.

⁴⁰ This is, of course, later than the plays discussed in the rest of this thesis—and indeed one year after the last ever heretic was executed by burning in England (1612), the history of which is discussed below.

⁴¹ #430 in Wiggins and Richardson, *British Drama*, 2012, 1:455–456.

The technique used in Edwards' university drama is seen also in the playhouses. In Lodge and Greene's *Looking Glasse for London*, Radagon's mother curses him, and he is swallowed by subterranean fire (*LGL*, sig. E4r). Earlier in the play, an arbour is required to rise from under the ground (sig. C2v), an effect that presumably used a trap, which could be used again to enact the death of Radagon. Yet again, flames issuing from the trap are used to imply a fiery death, though this time in the confines of a London playhouse.

It is precisely these forms of spectacle that appear in the early work of Christopher Marlowe, whose drama is the subject of Part II of this thesis. In *Dido, Queen of Carthage* (c. 1588),⁴² the final scene of the play sees the heroine commit suicide by self-immolation (*D*, V.i), while in *2 Tamburlaine* (c. 1588), the action seems to require the use of the trap for Olympia to burn the corpses of her husband and son, and remove them from the stage (*T2*, III.iv). Though Marlowe's *Dido* is sparse in stage directions, the Queen's construction of a bonfire before her suicide (discussed below in Chapter 3) suggests the kind of staging more elaborately detailed in Thomas Heywood's *The Brazen Age* (performed at the Red Bull theatre in 1611).⁴³ Following Hercules' instruction, 'All the Princes breake downe the trees, and make a fire, in which Hercules placeth himselfe' (*BrA*, sig. L2v).⁴⁴ From among the flames, Hercules delivers his final thirty-one lines, and 'burnes his Club, & Lyons Skin' (sig.

⁴² Although *Dido* is often dated to very early in Marlowe's career (c. 1584), Martin Wiggins' compelling revisionist dating is adopted throughout this thesis. See his "When Did Marlowe Write *Dido, Queen of Carthage*?" *Review of English Studies* 59, no. 241 (2008): 521–41. Though Wiggins dates the play after *2 Tamburlaine*, I would be inclined to situate the composition and performance of the play between *Tamburlaine*'s two parts. The staging techniques that *Dido* and *2 Tamburlaine* share—and that are missing from *1 Tamburlaine*—are integral to the former, but gratuitous to the latter, and then pervasive in the rest of the Marlowe canon. It seems more logical to suggest that producing *Dido* for a well-equipped boys' company allowed Marlowe greater freedom with his theatrical endeavours, which he then brought back to the commercial stage. On the shared concerns and dramatic techniques of *Dido* and *2 Tamburlaine*, see Chapter 3.

⁴³ Andrea Stevens, "Drama as Text and Performance," in *A New Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*, ed. Michael Hattaway, vol. 2, Blackwell Companions to Literature and Culture (Malden, MA; Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 510–511.

⁴⁴ Thomas Heywood, *The Brazen Age: The First Act Containing, the Death of the Centaure Nessus, the Second, the Tragedy of Meleager: The Third the Tragedy of Iason and Medea. The Fourth. Vulcans Net the Fifth. The Labours and Death of Hercules* (London, 1613).

L2v). Finally, in one of the most elaborate fiery spectacles of the early modern stage, ‘*Iupiter aboute strikes him with a thunder-bolt, his body sinkes, and from the heauens descends a hand in a cloud, that from the place where Hercules was burnt, brings vp a starre, and fixeth it in the frmament*’ (sig. L3r). Like Arcite and Radagon, Heywood’s Hercules burns to death, and ‘*his body sinkes*’ through the trap; Marlowe’s Dido and Olympia’s family, we must assume, leave the stage in the same manner.⁴⁵

Like *2 Palamon and Arcite* (where there is a fiery death, followed by a funeral pyre), and *Looking Glasse* (which boasts lightning, subterranean fires, fire carried by a priest, and a burning sword), both *2 Tamburlaine* and *Dido* use fire more than once. In *Tamburlaine*, the protagonist sets fire to a pile of Qur’ans on stage (*T2, V.i*), while in *Dido* flames are present throughout: Aeneas prompts Achates to ‘reach the Tinder boxe’ to ‘make a fire to warme us with’ when the Trojans first land in Carthage (*D, I.i.166-7*), and Iarbus makes his own ‘*Sacrifize*’ (*IV.ii.s.d.*) before Dido commits suicide. In these plays as in their spectacular contemporaries, fire is a repeated effect.

In light of the possibility of such feats, it is clear that the immolation of characters could (and did) take place upon the early modern stage. Moreover, in their use of the trap, these techniques are strikingly similar to those deployed at Bourges to depict the stake. Yet, despite these capabilities characters such as Joan la Pucelle and Alice Arden meet their fates offstage. Our inference must therefore be that, unlike other forms of violence, and despite the ability to do so, Tudor and Stuart dramatists deliberately avoided depicting the stake. In the face of this evidence, the absence of the stake seems all the more intriguing. At the centre of this thesis, then, must be the question: *why?* Why would early modern dramatists shy away from depicting this particular form of violence? Of course, such questions cannot be

⁴⁵ Mariko Ichikawa posits that either the trap or the discovery space was used for these exits. Mariko Ichikawa, “What to Do with a Corpse? Physical Reality and the Fictional World in the Shakespearean Theatre,” *Theatre Research International* 29, no. 3 (2004): 209.

answered definitively—and it is entirely possible that a play lost to posterity did just that. However, I will argue that the place of burning at the stake in Elizabethan society, and its handling in extant drama, suggests that this is unlikely.

Firstly, the practice of burning was rare after 1558. It did not hold the same spectacular place in the judicial armoury as hanging, beheading, or even drawing and quartering. Secondly, burning was a deeply vexed and provocative topic in Elizabethan debates about penal practice. Though still practised occasionally in Elizabeth's England, burning had a powerful and recent association with injustice in the aftermath of the Marian counter-reformation. To see burning was to view tyranny in action, and martyrdom in the making. Sometimes, these associations can serve playwrights' purposes, but they are not, as the chapters of this thesis demonstrate, the effects that dramatists always aspired to invoke. The careful orchestration of fire spectacles and the movement of the stake offstage, I argue, is an attempt both to utilize and to control the particular semiotics of this most contested form of punishment as they existed in Elizabethan England.

A HISTORY OF BURNING IN ENGLAND

As a form of judicial punishment—that is, a punishment performed by the state authorities in the event of a criminal's condemnation by law—burning was uncommon in Elizabethan England. Formerly, burning had been prescribed for a range of offences since the first written laws of England. From arson (where the criminals were to 'be burnt, so that they may be punished in like manner as they have offended') through to 'sorcerers, sorceresses, renegades, sodomites, and heretics publicly convicted', the text of the thirteenth-century legal summary *Britton* demanded burning for a range of crimes.⁴⁶ For women specifically, burning was

⁴⁶ Francis Morgan Nichols, ed., *Britton* (Washington, D.C.: John Byrne & Co., 1901), 35. Robert Redman published the first printed edition of *Britton* in French (without a date, though the *English Short Title Catalogue* posits 1533); Richard Tottel later published *Bracton*, a similar and roughly contemporaneous

ordered as the punishment for treason—whether petty (against a husband or master), or high (against the monarch, most commonly for coining).⁴⁷ The sentence of burning for women found guilty of treason was handed down continuously in England until the abolition of the law in 1790,⁴⁸ but of the former list only heresy retained the punishment during the Tudor reigns. As legal requirement and public sentiment changed, monarchs and their councils tempered these laws to address contemporary concerns.

Medieval Europe's first heresy executions had taken place in Orléans in 1022.⁴⁹ In England, specific legislature to replicate these punishments was not passed until 1401, when Henry IV's government enacted *de haeretico comburendo* ('of the burning of heretics') to facilitate the control of Lollardy. It continued to be used sporadically, but as the Henrician reformation began to take root it was of course famously used to punish a number of evangelical reformers.⁵⁰ The heresy statute had been repealed under Edward VI (though the Anabaptist Joan Bocher was burned in Kent in 1550, and in 1551 the Fleming George van Parriss met the same fate in London),⁵¹ but when the Catholic Mary I ascended the throne, the heresy laws were reinstated and between 4 February 1555 and 15 November 1558 at

legal treatise, in Latin (London, 1569). For burning in law codes before the thirteenth century, see J. R. Reinhard, "Burning at the Stake in Medieval Law and Literature," *Speculum* 16, no. 2 (1941): 186–209.

⁴⁷ Nichols, *Britton*, 34. Men, if convicted of the same class of crimes, would be hanged for petty treason and hanged, drawn, and quartered for high. The Treasons Act (1551/2) of Edward III provided the form in which this punishment continued to be used through the early modern period: 25 Edw. 3 st. 5 c. 2, see *The Statutes of the Realm*, ed. John Raithby (London: Printed by George Eyre and Andrew Strahan, 1810), I:319–20. Coining, the practice of clipping or shaving legal tender in order to forge counterfeits, was common during the early modern period. See Malcolm Gaskill, *Crime and Mentalities in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), Part II.

⁴⁸ 30 Geo. 3 c. 48. *The Statutes: Revised Edition*, vol. 3 (London: George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1872), 299. Although the sentence continued to be handed down, Catherine Hayes was the last woman to have had the sentence carried out, over a century earlier in 1689.

⁴⁹ On the burning of the Cathars, see Brad S. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 2001), 75.

⁵⁰ Between 1401 and 1534 approximately 50 persons were burned for heresy, while the final twelve years of Henry VIII's reign saw a further c.50 executions in like manner. Details from John Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England, 1558-1689* (Harlow: Longman, 2000), 99, Table 4.2.

⁵¹ See Andrew Pettegree, "Parriss, George van (d. 1551)," *ODNB [Online]*, n.d., accessed August 20, 2014; Andrew Hope, "Bocher, Joan (d. 1550)," *ODNB [Online]*, n.d., accessed August 20, 2014. The case of Bocher was used by the Catholic Robert Persons, writing during the reign of Elizabeth, to demonstrate the hypocrisy and brutality of the evangelical church. These debates are discussed in Chapter 2.

least 284 religious dissenters were burnt at the stake in England.⁵² The years of Mary's regime were therefore the most intense period of punitive burning in the country's history, and executions took place across the realm (though predominantly in the south). Under Elizabeth I, a handful of Anabaptists were burned: in 1575 two Dutch Anabaptists were burned at the stake at Smithfield in London; then in Norwich, at the time England's second largest city, four men were burned between 1579 and 1589 for similar beliefs.⁵³ Finally, under James I, two further burnings for heresy were performed before the abolition of the sentence for that crime, both in 1612.⁵⁴

Though the Elizabethan religious settlement all but stopped the burning of heretics, female petty traitors continued to face the stake. In a recent assessment of changing attitudes to petty treason in early modern England, Matthew Lockwood notes that the crime was unequivocally gendered, with the Old Bailey records suggesting that women were indicted for petty treason over ten times more often than men.⁵⁵ However, his survey discovered only fifty cases of petty treason across the period of the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries.⁵⁶ In the earlier half of this period, conviction rates were significantly higher than for other capital crimes, despite the relatively low incidence of the offence.⁵⁷ Even so, such

⁵² The latest burnings, which took place at Canterbury in Kent, occurred just two days before the death of Mary I, whereupon the accession of Elizabeth ended the prosecutions against evangelicals in England.

⁵³ The Dutch Anabaptists Jan Pieterss and Hendrick Terwoort are discussed below, in Chapter 1. In Norwich, Matthew Hamont was burnt in the castle ditch on 20 May 1579; John Lewes was burnt in 1583, Peter Cole in 1587, and finally Francis Kett in January 1589. See Matthew Reynolds, *Godly Reformers and Their Opponents in Early Modern England: Religion in Norwich, c.1560-1643* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), Chapter 5, esp. pp. 86-7. Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration*, 100-102.

⁵⁴ The anti-Trinitarian Bartholomew Legate was burned at Smithfield on 18 March 1612, and Edward Wightman, a radical Anabaptist, at Lichfield on 11 April 1612. See David R. Como, "Legate, Bartholomew (d. 1612)," *ODNB [Online]*, n.d., accessed August 20, 2014; Stephen Wright, "Wightman, Edward (bap. 1580?, d. 1612)," *ODNB [Online]*, n.d., accessed August 20, 2014. King Charles II formally abolished the penalty as a punishment for heresy with the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction Act in 1677 (29 Car. 2 c. 9).

⁵⁵ In the assize records of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the proportion of women is even greater. Matthew Lockwood, "From Treason to Homicide: Changing Conceptions of the Law of Petty Treason in Early Modern England," *The Journal of Legal History* 34, no. 1 (2013): 33-34.

⁵⁶ Lockwood, "From Treason to Homicide," 36, n. 25. Lockwood identifies a further twenty-eight cases in the Old Bailey from 1674 to 1787, but with a much lower rate of conviction (39, n. 35).

⁵⁷ Of eleven cases of petty treason tried between 1558 and 1625, Lockwood notes an unusually high rate of conviction: 72 per cent of women accused (that is, eight of the eleven), were found guilty and sentenced. Lockwood, "From Treason to Homicide," 36, n. 24.

figures suggest that, of the fifty cases identified, perhaps only thirty-six of the women were eventually burned. Absolute figures aside, the inference from this study is clear: very few women were actually burned for petty treason, especially in comparison with the concentrated purge of heresy in 1553-1558.⁵⁸

For the theatregoers of Elizabethan London, therefore, opportunities to witness a body burning at the stake were limited. Of the six executions for heresy that are known to have taken place over the reign, only two were performed in the nation's capital: the burning of Jan Pieterss and Hendrick Terwoort at Smithfield in July 1575. (The remaining four took place in Norwich, between 1579 and 1589, as discussed above.) Of the women that appear to have been condemned for various treasons, John Stow's *Annales of England* records only six women actually burnt during Elizabeth's reign. Four of these took place at Smithfield between June 1592 and December 1594, and two were performed nearby in Kent during the 1570s.⁵⁹ To these instances, Frances Dolan's work on the petty traitor across literary genres suggests a further two women burned under Elizabethan rule, though neither took place in London.⁶⁰ In total, that gives fourteen known executions by burning at the stake between 1571 and 1594, with only six at Smithfield—a far from common spectacle.

⁵⁸ Such evidence is supplemented by studies of later periods, such as Richard Clark's calculation that between 1735 and 1789, thirty-two women were burned at the stake for treasons (including coining). In the reign of King George II (1727-1760), a twenty-four-year period saw 151 women executed. Of these, only fifteen—a mere 10 per cent—were burned at the stake. See Richard Clark, *Women and the Noose: A History of Female Execution* (Gloucestershire: Tempus, 2007).

⁵⁹ On 16 July 1571, Rebecca Chamber was 'found culpable of poisoning the said Thomas Chamber her husband, at the assises holden at Maidstone into the countie of Kent: for the which fact (hauing well deserued) she was there brent on the next morrow' (John Stow, *The Annales of England Faithfully Collected out of the Most Autenticall Autors, Records, and Other Monuments of Antiquitie, Lately Collected, since Encreased, and Continued, from the First Habitation Vntill This Present Yeare 1605*. (London: Peter Short, Felix Kingston and George Eld for George Bishop, and Thomas Adams, 1605), 1134); Frances Dolan's inquiry into the court records, however, suggests that Chamber was in fact hanged ("Tracking the Petty Traitor Across Genres," in *Ballads and Broad-sides in Britain, 1500-1800*, ed. Patricia Fumerton (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 165). Stow also reports the burning of unnamed women who murdered their husbands on 19 July 1576 in Tunbridge, Kent, and at Smithfield in June 1592, on 4 September 1592, and on 14 April 1594. The sixth and final case that Stowe reports is a woman burnt at Smithfield, 30 December 1594, 'for coining of money' (Stow, *Annals*, 1152, 1271, 1275, 1279).

⁶⁰ Dolan gives the names of Mrs. Thomas Beast, burned in Worcestershire in 1582, and Mrs. Page of Plymouth, burned in February 1591. To these two women must be added the possibility of a third,

In response to the numerous heretics burned in Marian England, Thomas Freeman has suggested that '[t]he vast majority of Mary's subjects would not have witnessed a burning. Almost all of the remainder—unless they lived in or near London, Lewes, Colchester or Canterbury—might have had the opportunity to witness, at most, a handful of burnings'.⁶¹ By this standard, the majority of Elizabeth's subjects who had never witnessed a burning would be much greater, even if they happened to live in London. Unlike hangings, which took place every week in London and around the country, burning was a rare and memorable punishment.⁶²

This rarity of use in penal practice, partnered with the lack of a staged stake spectacle, necessitates a modification of the established approach to judicial violence in early modern drama for the case of the stake. In the final section of the Introduction, I construct a method of reading burning as it *does* appear in drama: as a context that haunts events that are portrayed, and a method of execution that is ushered offstage. Violence that is not physically presented necessitates a move away from the tradition of Foucauldian approaches to torture portrayed as a visual spectacle; where audiences are not confronted with violent verisimilitude, the Foucauldian dynamic cannot be applied. Rather, the relationship between stake and stage must account for the mediation provided by literary accounts of burning, and their effect on the place that burning occupied in early modern dramatists' and playgoers' imaginations.

Elizabeth Base, who was condemned in Kent 'to be executed in a manner appropriate with her crime'. Dolan, "Tracking the Petty Traitor Across Genres", Appendix.

⁶¹ Thomas S. Freeman, "Burning Zeal: Mary Tudor and the Marian Persecution," in *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives*, ed. Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 173. Gina Alexander counts 113 executions for heresy in London during Mary's reign—well over one third of all executions. See "Bonner and the Marian Persecutions," *History* 60, no. 200 (1975): 374–91.

⁶² Molly Smith writes that '[d]uring Elizabeth's reign, 6,160 victims were hanged at Tyburn, and though this represents a somewhat smaller figure than those hanged during Henry VIII's reign, Elizabethans were certainly quite familiar with the spectacle of the hanged body and the disembowelled and quartered corpse': *Breaking Boundaries*, 217.

INVESTIGATING THE ABSENCE OF BURNING: A METHODOLOGY

Before beginning in earnest my own analysis of this particular unstaged violence, it remains to situate my investigation and its methods within the wider critical context. To do so requires two lines of argument: first, a defence of the particular focus upon burning within the wider ‘culture of violence’; second, the outline of a methodology which navigates around the fringes of different analytical modes in order to focus on the absence of a spectacle, and the ways in which we might approach its study. Burning demands particular attention due to its individual judicial semiotics, developed during the religious upheavals of the sixteenth century. Interrogating its place on—or displacement from—the stage demands a reassessment of the critical approach to Renaissance violence, and the ever-influential emphasis upon the close and imitative relationship between the spectacular scaffold and the spectacular stage. In the analysis of the relationship between stake and stage in this thesis, a more complex relationship between judicial violence and theatrical borrowing emerges.

On the need for the acknowledgement and study of distinctly *separate* forms of violence with their own individualized semiotics, the drama speaks for itself. When Joan la Pucelle is held captive by the English at the close of 1 *Henry VI*, York summons her to the stage for her final appearance with the words: ‘Bring forth that sorceress condemn’d to burn’ (1*H6*, V.vi.1). York’s command is clear, as is the crime for which Joan is being executed. Joan, a ‘sorceress’, will be burned at the stake. The clarity of York’s execution order is then reiterated moments later by the Shepherd. Professing himself to be Joan’s father, the Shepherd’s first reaction is pity; he laments having only found her in time to witness her ‘timeless cruel death’ (V.vi.5). His grief is so great that he even exclaims, ‘Ah, Joan, sweet daughter Joan, I’ll die with thee’ (V.vi.6). Joan, however, refuses to acknowledge the man; his claim to patronage is a baseness she will not bear. Rejected by his daughter, he leaves the stage, dismissing her with a call for the harshest of punishments. ‘O burn her, burn her!’ he cries: ‘hanging is too good’ (V.vi.33).

Though his directive merely conforms to the judgment already made, the phrasing situates the judicial use of burning in a wider framework of possible punitive measures. The Shepherd's short phrase, saturated with hyperbolic despair though it is, conveys a wealth of information about the justice systems—medieval, early modern, and dramatic—within which the play operates. First, it acknowledges the possibility of two different methods of execution for criminals such as Joan. Second, it judges those two punishments qualitatively, placing them into a hierarchy of 'goodness'. Finally, by using such a hierarchy to designate an appropriate punishment for his daughter, the Shepherd implies that punishments are somehow fitted to the crimes they address. Each of these elements offers a prospective insight into the judicial system of the play, but also into the system recognizable by members of the audience. The Shepherd's utterance, which judges the efficacy of particular execution methods in the dramatic context, demonstrates a supportive attitude to judicial burning in its historical context.

The Shepherd's identification of hanging and burning limits the tortures to judicial possibilities, rather than turning to extra-legal vengeance; Joan's death is to be an instance of just punishment served by the state.⁶³ However, as methods of state execution they scratch only the very surface of the punishments available under the English legal systems of both the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Each method, as capital punishment, is an extension of a broader system of corporal punishment—a direct punishment of the body that has largely been lost in the modern Western world. In *Discipline and Punish*, Michel Foucault analyses the conceptual shift that allowed the move toward the use of the prison as a method of punishment and redemption: ultimately, he argued, punishment of the soul has displaced torture of the body. Where execution continues to be employed, Foucault envisaged a contemporary 'utopia of judicial reticence' where the law can 'take away life, but prevent the

⁶³ It also marks a distinction between the fifteenth- and the sixteenth-century punishments for witchcraft. I discuss this further in Chapter 6.

patient from feeling it’;⁶⁴ modern execution in the West, at least in the arguments of its supporters, pursues painlessness.⁶⁵ Furthermore, it is a rare event. Instead, the prison is favoured as the most common punitive measure, wherein all punishment is perceived to be of the same type and by the same method, but mediated temporally. With a secularized focus on the present life, the criminal’s ‘sentence’ is incremental monotony: days, months, years.

In early modern judicial systems, however, sentences were differentiated physically. For the plenitude of crimes, Foucault speaks of ‘the use of “symbolic” torture’, where ‘the forms of the execution referred to the nature of the crime’. Speaking of early modern France, he elucidates: ‘the tongues of blasphemers were pierced, the impure were burnt, the right hand of murderers was cut off; sometimes the condemned man was made to carry the instrument of his crime’.⁶⁶ In *Theater des Schreckens*, a study of the execution methods of early modern Germany that focuses more closely on punishments in their own cultural context, Richard van Dülmen argues that the perceptibly graded aspect of early modern capital punishment was not arbitrary: it was decidedly functional within the given worldview. However, the purpose ‘was not so much to inflict particular pain as for the criminal to atone for his or her horrible crime by an accumulation of punishments’.⁶⁷ In such a system, each punishment adds its own symbolism to the process. The importance of each individual aspect of symbolism, over and above the idea of targeted pain or torture, is manifest in the punishment of both the living body and the corpse: ‘in the case of grave offences beheading might be combined with breaking on the wheel, or punishment of the

⁶⁴ Smith, *Breaking Boundaries*, 217.

⁶⁵ Vittorio Bufacchi and Laura Fairrie trace the history of execution in its pursuit of painlessness, from the move to the guillotine as a more swift, more efficient, and therefore more humane replacement for older systems, through the electric chair (legislated as ‘a less barbarous manner’ of execution), to the lethal injection, in each case questioning the designation of humanity in such punishments. See “Execution as Torture,” *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice* 13, no. 4 (2001): 511–17.

⁶⁶ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 44–5.

⁶⁷ Richard van Dülmen, *Theatre of Horror: Crime and Punishment in Early Modern Germany*, trans. Elizabeth Neu (Cambridge: Polity, 1990), 81.

living body (by breaking on the wheel) might be followed by punishment of the corpse (by beheading or burning)'.⁶⁸

In early modern England, little differed. Corporal punishments ranged widely across different offences. For verbal, non-capital crimes such as perjury, false accusation, blasphemy, and sedition, Garthine Walker writes that:

Their gravity was inscribed in certain of their punishments: ears were nailed to the pillory and ripped, cropped, or chopped off, nostrils were slit, the tongue bored through with a hot iron, cheeks or forehead branded with appropriate letters (such as 'F' and 'A' for 'false accuser', 'B' for 'blasphemer').⁶⁹

Men convicted of manslaughter would be branded on the thumb with an 'M', signifying 'manslayer',⁷⁰ forcing the criminal to carry the evidence of their crime wherever they went, denoting their criminality within their own and other communities. Whipping could also take place publicly or in private for any number of lesser crimes.

When punishment was deemed capital, the body was subject to an equally impressive array of life-taking procedures: common felons were hanged; heretics and treasonous women were burned; men accused of treason would be hanged, drawn, and quartered; treasonous noblemen would be beheaded;⁷¹ and, for a brief period under Henry VIII, poisoners were boiled alive.⁷² The capital sentence withdraws the right to life in all instances, though with startling variation in the means of execution. With such various methods of taking away life, it seems only natural to compare them, as does the Shepherd's outburst when abandoning Joan to the English.

⁶⁸ van Dülmen, *Theatre of Horror*, 80.

⁶⁹ Garthine Walker, *Crime, Gender and Social Order in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 100. See also Walker's note 124.

⁷⁰ Walker, *Crime, Gender and Social Order*, 116.

⁷¹ This sentence was also, in some cases, given to women: Anne Boleyn, second wife to Henry VIII, was sentenced to burn, though at the King's request the sentence was commuted to beheading—the process applied also to Lady Jane Grey, and dramatized in *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt*.

⁷² Brought into being by 22 Hen. 8 c. 9 (1530), the punishment remained active for 17 years, across which period two individuals are known to have suffered the fate. 1 Ed. 4 c. 12 repealed the earlier statute, stating that 'Killing by Poison shall be deemed Murder'. See *The Statutes of the Realm*, IV:18–22, at 21.

However, the Shepherd does not simply offer alternative modes of punishment for the consideration of the audience; he modifies the presentation by volunteering a comparison between them. In the assertion that ‘hanging is *too good*’ (my emphasis), the Shepherd uses reverse logic in order to express that some punishments are worse than others—and therefore deserved by the worst criminals. While the audience are not made explicitly aware of his standards of categorization, the construction is not, even within the bounds of the earlier plays thought to contain the hand of Shakespeare, peculiar to *1 Henry VI*. In *Titus Andronicus*, when the Moor Aaron flees Rome with his bastard child, he is captured by the Goths and taken to their leader, the exiled Lucius Andronicus. Though Aaron refuses to answer Lucius’s questions, Lucius knows him to be ‘the incarnate devil / That robbed Andronicus of his good hand’ (*TA*, V.i.40-41). Perceiving Aaron to be the perpetrator of a wrong done to his father, Lucius seeks redress, and therefore commands:

A halter, soldiers! Hang him on this tree,
And by his side his fruit of bastardy. (V.i.47-48)

Without the rehearsal of his crimes, Aaron is fit for the hasty execution afforded by a tall tree and shorter rope—a punishment that gives an air of legitimate authority to its commander, despite its extra-judicial nature.

Even at this stage, Lucius intends to make the punishment as unbearable as he can. ‘First hang the child,’ he orders, ‘that he may see it sprawl—’ (V.i.51). However, atop the ladder Aaron admits that Demetrius and Chiron were not the sole instigators of Lavinia’s mutilation; rather, he admits, he ‘was their tutor to instruct them’ (V.i.98). Asked if he feels any remorse for his actions, his answer is no: he laments only that he ‘had not done a thousand more’ (V.i.124). Here, Aaron departs from the desired repentant pattern of early

modern scaffold speeches examined by James Sharpe.⁷³ By showing no remorse, Aaron further infuriates his captors, and Lucius demands:

Bring down the devil, for he must not die
So sweet a death as hanging presently. (V.i.145-6)

Where hanging is ‘too good’ for Joan, it is too ‘sweet’ for Aaron. Like the Shepherd, Lucius phrases his desire for a more appalling punishment in the opposite register of ‘goodness’. For Lucius, however, the element of hanging which renders it unsuitable is more fully expressed: Aaron would be permitted to die ‘presently’. Hanging is understood to provide a quick death, which Lucius cannot allow.⁷⁴ By extension, the punishment served instead must be slower. In *Titus*, Aaron is re-sentenced in the final scene, told that he will be ‘Set [...] breast-deep in earth and famish[ed]’ (V.iii.178). In *1 Henry VI*, Joan is burnt. Both punishments, audiences understand, are *worse* than hanging, made evident in such substitutions driven by judicial propriety.

In light of these initial observations within and without the drama, it is clear that treating ‘violence’, even within the narrow confines of ‘judicial violence’, as a homogenous category is to belie the subtleties of early modern penal semiotics. At the outset of her *Stages of Dismemberment*, Margaret Owens writes of her initial ‘intention of investigating the staging of a wide range of violent theatrical spectacle’ before abruptly realizing that ‘each form of violence [...] is differently encoded, carrying its own distinctive set of implications

⁷³ See James Sharpe, “‘Last Dying Speeches’: Religion, Ideology and Public Execution in Seventeenth-Century England,” *Past & Present* 107 (May 1985): 144–67. Molly Smith reads Aaron’s speech as a cunning subversion of the normative power hierarchy, seeing in the Moor a successful defiance that secures his present safety. Lucius’s expression of his anger in the promise of greater torments, however, calls the success of this ‘subversion’ into question. See *Breaking Boundaries*, 48–49.

⁷⁴ Lucius’s demand for a *slower* death appears more powerful—and more terrifying—when one considers early modern methods. By suspension or short drop, hanging is considerably protracted, and the criminal asphyxiates slowly; the face of the criminal would become engorged, their tongue protrude, the eyes pop, the body would defecate involuntarily, and the limbs move violently. Recent uses of hanging have suggested that this process (equally a result of an improperly performed long-drop hanging) can take up to 45 minutes. See “Executions—Preparing for the Hard Task Ahead,” *The Corrections Professional* 1, no. 11 (February 12, 1996).

which vary across real-life, theatrical, literary, and other discursive sites'.⁷⁵ Subscribing, therefore, to Owens' view that '[i]f we are to achieve a comprehensive and nuanced understanding of theatrical representations of violence, it is crucial that specific forms of violence be explored in some detail', this thesis does exactly that.⁷⁶ However, it argues that 'theatrical representations of violence' might not include their direct staging.

Indeed, the dramatic absence of burning renders this exclusivity of interrogation a necessity; as a form of violence that goes against the established notion of what Molly Smith has called the 'collapsed boundaries' between scaffold and stage (a suggestion that the two experiences had the potential to be indistinguishable, and that the latter pursued imitation),⁷⁷ it is impossible to rely on those same modes of investigation. Foucault's oft-used framework, when paired with Elaine Scarry's thesis on the aesthetics of pain, has led to a focus on the spectacle, and on instances of meaning 'inscribed' on the body. Scarry's *The Body in Pain* argues for the silence of pain. Her argument, often treated as aphorism, bears repetition: 'Physical pain does not simply resist language, but actively destroys it, bringing about an immediate reversion to a state anterior to language, to the sounds and cries a human being makes before language is learned'.⁷⁸ Without language, the body of the tortured is given over to the punisher for the creation of meaning: the torturer can assume 'the fiction of absolute power'.⁷⁹ Paired with Foucault, this relationship between individual pain and state power is a common lens used in the study of Renaissance execution.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ Margaret E. Owens, *Stages of Dismemberment: The Fragmented Body in Late Medieval and Early Modern Drama* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2005), 13.

⁷⁶ Owens, *Stages of Dismemberment*, 13. Owens' selection of dismemberment and beheading because they occur 'remarkably frequently' in early modern drama is of course replaced here by the intrigue of burning's absence of spectacular manifestation.

⁷⁷ Smith, *Breaking Boundaries*.

⁷⁸ Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 4.

⁷⁹ Scarry, *The Body in Pain*, 27.

⁸⁰ A representative analysis that moves beyond imitative theatrical 'stagings' of spectacle into the narration of such can be found in Elizabeth Bellamy's assessment of the *Faerie Queene*. Examining the body-as-text Bellamy concludes, through an exploration of the grotesque bodily disfigurement of Mercilla's poet (V.9)

What happens, however, when this relationship is ruptured? When experience is mediated by powers other than that of the state? With burning, necessity demands a break with the ‘spectacle’ of the scaffold and its relationship to literary violence: there are no direct stagings of burning at the stake to interpret, and indeed very few executions of the kind in Elizabethan England at all. Instead, the study of the stake in drama must be a study of the occlusion of such violence. In his reading of *Titus Andronicus*, Francis Barker points to an oft-forgotten moment of the play in which the Clown, sent by Titus to bear a letter to Saturninus, is promptly and without justification sent off to be hanged. Barker writes:

if we read *Titus Andronicus* in the light of the theatricality of power, in Act IV Scene IV something strange happens. *There is a violence unseen*. Amid the spectacular brutalities and exotic theatrical barbarisms with which the play is otherwise laden, there is, by contrast, an instance of the representation of the exercise of power so undemonstrative and marginal that it has consistently escaped notice.⁸¹

Articulating the importance of this episode for *Titus Andronicus* specifically, Barker illustrates the mode of interpretation that must serve our analysis of burning in the drama more broadly:

It is an incident which lies at the unnoticed margins of the cultural text: the play has its guilty secret, *which it keeps*. Certainly it keeps very quiet compared with what an analysis which prioritises spectacular display would expect. But the incident is, of course, nonetheless ‘there’. And just as no repression disappears ‘*without trace*’, so the occlusion of the violence marks the text from which it is excluded. The episode is a marginalised ‘representation’ which but barely represents, an articulation which disarticulates, leaving everything unsaid [...].⁸²

Understanding the import of these dramatic silences therefore demands the discovery of the ‘everything unsaid’.

The ‘unsaid’, both for Barker and for this thesis, are the forces and tensions in operation that give meaning to the spectacle that is not staged. Therefore, in order to flesh

and the psychological wounding of Timias by Belphoebe (III.5), that such punishments are given meaning through the fictional manifestations of Elizabeth present in each instance. ‘It is’, she writes, ‘the subject’s “reading” of Elizabeth’s body that produces the final “word” of authorization—the final authority of the intersection between the body and symbol’. Elizabeth J. Bellamy, “Em(body)ments of Power: Versions of the Body in Pain in Spenser,” *Lit: Literature Interpretation Theory* 2, no. 4 (1991): 319.

⁸¹ Barker, *The Culture of Violence*, 165. Emphasis added.

⁸² Barker, *The Culture of Violence*, 191–2. Emphasis in original.

out this absence, each case of the ‘unsaid’ demands the investigation of burning at the stake as a cultural, judicial, socio-political and literary phenomenon—that is, as a multifaceted component of the early modern imagination—which in its semiotic inconsistencies provokes multiple interpretations. Through the exploration of these themes, and the place that burning occupies as a nexus between them, it becomes clear that the space that a punishment inhabits in the imagination of the people who observe it has a profound effect on its meaning—a dynamic observed by Foucault himself, but systematically forgotten by a huge number of critics working in his wake.⁸³

Like Lorna Hutson, I therefore argue for the necessity of divergence from Foucauldian approaches. Critics’ reception of Foucault’s theories, Hutson has insisted, leave ‘no room [...] for any understanding of the workings of criminal justice as being thought of, historically, as a communal responsibility, dependent on lay instigation and lay participation in judgment’.⁸⁴ Hutson’s *The Invention of Suspicion* leaves behind ‘the Renaissance theatre’s visual impact (its “stagings”, “spectacles”, or “displays” of violence) in order to think, instead, about the forensic rhetoric of plot’.⁸⁵ English criminal justice was participatory, she argues; it was governed by the rules of rhetoric as well as law, and by juries as well as the state. Though Hutson seeks to move the moment of punishment to the margins, her emphasis upon the ‘communal responsibility’ of English justice recommends an important modification to existing approaches to the spectacular. It is only through focusing upon the possible imaginative engagements of audiences—what might be termed ‘communal responses’—that violence at the margin of early modern drama can be elucidated.

* * *

⁸³ I refer here to the lecture given by Foucault shortly following the publication of *Discipline and Punish*, in which he marked the importance of the distinction between the ‘conscious intention’ of judicial violence and its ‘real effects’. Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon, trans. Colin Gordon et al. (New York: Pantheon, 1980), 97.

⁸⁴ Lorna Hutson, *The Invention of Suspicion: Law and Mimesis in Shakespeare and Renaissance Drama* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 66.

⁸⁵ Hutson, *Invention of Suspicion*, 68.

The chapters presented in this thesis mark an initial path through the complicated relationship between stake and stage: a relationship, as we have seen, built mostly on absence and allusion. Despite the lack of staged imitation, the spectre of the stake is not altogether absent from the early modern theatre. Rather than attempting a full survey of references and allusions to judicial burning that occurred onstage throughout the early modern period—an exercise that risks being both dry and superficial—the rest of this thesis focuses on a narrow window of theatrical output: drama produced in the five year period after the opening of the Rose theatre in 1587. By the late-1580s, the Elizabethan regime’s punishment of Catholic ‘traitors’ had brought religious violence to the forefront of the nation’s consciousness, and the popularity of Kyd’s *The Spanish Tragedy* had helped set the tone for violence onstage. Part I of the thesis explores the contextual significance of this period, while Parts II and III address a selection of plays in which allusions to and omissions of judicial burning occur.

Alongside the sentences passed down to the likes of Joan la Pucelle, the Witch of Eye, and Alice Arden, the judicial burning of religious deviants is acknowledged in Marlowe’s *Massacre at Paris* (c. 1593), which sees two men debate the burning of the Admiral’s dead body as punishment ‘for a heretick’ (*MP*, xi.2). The immolation, however, is not carried out. Plays of this period also contain the related threat of burning books. In 2 *Tamburlaine*, books are burned at the will of the protagonist in order to provoke ‘Mahomet’ (*T2*, V.i.sd) (the subject of Chapter 4), while in both texts of *Doctor Faustus*, Faustus’s final words are ‘Ile burne my bookes’, followed by a plea to Mephistopheles (*F*, xiii.117; Appendix B, xiii.188). Less judicial, though arguably related in its meaning, is the phenomenon of self-sacrifice through burning, and the use of funeral pyres (realized by Dido, in Marlowe’s *Dido, Queen of Carthage* and attempted by Olympia in his *Tamburlaine, Part 2*). Meanwhile, as a

trope, burning repeatedly describes the tempers of tyrannical characters.⁸⁶ Thus, burning and fire are pervasive, and to navigate through them requires a highly selective approach. Here, I am concerned with the performance of fire spectacles with a kinship to the stake, and the offstage execution of a burning sentence given within the action.

In the two chapters of Part I, I explore the imaginative and theatrical contexts of the period under study. Chapter 1 demonstrates that despite the absence of burning bodies from both stage and scaffold, they were readily available to theatre audiences as a crucial trope in Protestant martyrology, particularly John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*. Reformation historiography provided Elizabethan England's most widely accessible display of burning bodies. Foxe's vast history of the godly church remembered the Henrician and Marian burnings as the most recent in a long line of persecutions suffered by the True Church, which stretched back to the burning of Polycarp. By the time that the Rose opened, the *Book of Martyrs*, as it was popularly known, had been published in four different editions with amendments by Foxe, and each was illustrated with graphic woodcuts depicting martyrs burning at the stake. Foxe's text creates a drama around the burning body, casting papists and evangelicals on either side, as aggressors and sufferers respectively. At the centre of Foxe's historiographical endeavour is an entreaty to remember the dynamics of this suffering.

In Chapter 2, I explore the influence of Foxe's rhetoric in the late 1580s. By 1587, the execution of Jesuit priests and other Catholics had brought the question of penal violence and religion bubbling back to the surface. Though burning continued as a legitimate punishment for treasonous women, the Elizabethan regime sought to emphasize the barbarity of burning as a punishment for religion (despite its sporadic use in the period).

⁸⁶ Consider, for example, 'fiery Tamburlaine', who 'razeth all his foes with fire and sword' (*TI*, IV.i.13, 63); the future Richard III, who 'cannot weep' while his 'body's moisture / Scarce serves to quench [his] furnace-burning heart' (*3H6*, II.i.79-80); and later Lady Macbeth who 'burned in desire' (*M*, I.v.3), and whose strength to act is 'fire' (II.ii.2).

Polemicists and politicians alike used the Marian persecutions as a cruel counterpoint to Elizabethan policy, though observers were not always persuaded by their rhetoric. In this chapter I argue that contemporary debates over religious violence led to a theatre not merely interested in the performance of justice, but also in the exposition of injustice. I explore the importance of injustice as a trope in *2 Henry VI*, which stages a punishment related to burning—Eleanor Cobham’s penance—that was contested after its inclusion in the *Acts and Monuments*; injustice was an important context for the English stage in the final years of the 1580s, and I urge that the burning body, as portrayed in the *Acts and Monuments*, was at the centre of these concerns.

In Part II, I argue for the importance of Foxe’s historiography, and a broader remembrance of the reformation, as a crucial context for theatrical fire spectacles. The rhetoric of the *Acts and Monuments* cultivated a mode of spectating that viewed burning as both the fate of the martyr, and the weapon of the tyrant. In Chapter 3, I argue that Marlowe’s decision to have Dido burn rather than commit suicide by sword (perhaps inspired by a Greek theatrical precedent) invites such interpretation. With reference to Euripidean tragedy and early modern European reports of Hindu widow burning (sati, or widows’ suicide by immolation), I suggest that Marlowe’s spectacle could have been conceived as an attempted martyrdom in the tradition of Foxe’s evangelicals, but that the play’s farcical denouement subverts this association by highlighting its absurdity.

Chapter 4 focuses on the book bonfire of *2 Tamburlaine*. Suggesting that Marlowe’s anti-hero can be seen as a biblical ‘bad shepherd’, I argue that his death at the close of the play is providential and directly linked to his burning of the Qur’an—one possible reading of a significant ambiguity that the play presents. The public fire spectacle that *Tamburlaine* performs is suggestive of the papist suppression of scriptures witnessed throughout the *Acts and Monuments*, and his death shares similarities with Foxe’s description of the deaths of Marian England’s most notorious clerical tyrant: Stephen Gardiner. The book bonfire

therefore acts as a way for viewers to condemn Tamburlaine as a suppressor of scriptures akin to those they would know from England's history.

Finally, Part III looks at two plays in which female characters are sentenced to burn in accordance with historical record: Alice Arden and Joan la Pucelle. I argue in both cases that the power of Foxe's reclamation of the obstinacy and deviance of female evangelicals as part of their martyrdom required the playwrights to be more forceful in their criminalization of these characters. Chapter 5 explores the criminalization of Alice in *Arden of Faversham*, demonstrating the ways in which the playwright deliberately distinguishes his reformation anti-heroine from the women celebrated as martyrs for the gospel in the *Acts and Monuments*. Petty traitors and female martyrs both burned at the stake. The narratives of both groups concerned women who had left their husbands to begin new relationships. However, where petty traitors turned to new earthly pleasures, the martyrs pursued only their fidelity to God. I argue that in *Arden of Faversham*, the scene in which Alice tears apart her prayer book is an effort to suppress any perception of piety in her actions. Alice's relationship with Mosby is her religion, and it is emphatically earthly and sinful. Her fate at the stake can therefore be read as the performance of justice, rather than injustice.

In Chapter 6, I take a similar look at Shakespeare's Joan la Pucelle. Historically, Jeanne d'Arc was condemned and burnt for heresy; in *1 Henry VI*, this is rendered as witchcraft and whoredom. To be burned as a heretic, as the rest of the thesis establishes, was to be a candidate for martyrdom—a fate that the play's Protestant audiences could not see fit for the French Catholic Joan. While the relationship between heresy and witchcraft continued to be a close one, Elizabethan England dealt with witches as common law criminals. I argue that the play's conjuring scenes seek to criminalize Joan in line with these common law definitions of witchcraft, suppressing the doctrinal aspects of the historical Jeanne's crime, specifically seeking to justify the sentence York must deliver in the final act. Moreover, the focus on Joan's sexual liberation aligns her further with the women expected

to burn in Elizabethan England: petty traitors. In an effort to make the character fit for the punishment, Shakespeare's Joan is burned as a sixteenth-century witch, not a fifteenth-century heretic.

Through navigating the complicated place that judicial burning occupied in the Elizabethan imagination—negotiating ideas concerning justice, treason, heresy, and martyrdom—this study explores the richness of allusions to punitive burning as they occur on the Elizabethan stage, 1587-1592. The result is a demonstration of the perceptible impact that the stake and its victims had on Elizabethan playwrights and their audiences, despite the absence of direct spectacular imitation. As the chapters progress, it emerges that by providing an unstable semiotic site for the convergence of different spheres of meaning, burning at the stake facilitates the interplay of distinct criminal discourses. The stake on stage, whether in allusive fiery spectacle or verbal sentence, suggests unjust justice. For audiences of fire spectacles this presented an opportunity for partisan spectatorship governed by the rules of Protestant historiography; for dramatists it threatened to martyr criminals, and demanded careful emendations of history to suppress perceptions of religious tyranny in English judicial practices.

PART I

IMAGINATIVE & DRAMATIC CONTEXTS

Remembering Burning in the *Book of Martyrs*

For the theatregoers of Elizabethan London, opportunities to witness a body burning at the stake were limited. As discussed above, of around fourteen recorded executions by burning between 1571 and 1594, only six took place in London: the burning of the Dutch Anabaptists Jan Pieterss and Hendrick Terwoort in July 1575, and four petty traitors between June 1592 and December 1594.¹ However, despite the relative absence of burning in Smithfield during Elizabeth's reign, evangelical reformers had made the burning body inescapable by placing it at the heart of their historiography.

Over 85 per cent of England's judicial burnings for heresy took place within a twenty-five-year period in the middle of the sixteenth century.² When these executions were commemorated as martyrdoms in Elizabethan works such as John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, they occupied a central role in the process of reformation, and gained a polemical literary presence. Richard Helgerson has rightly argued that Foxe's propagandist text was 'enormously influential' in 'shaping England's religious self-understanding'.³ In this first part of the thesis, I argue that it also provided a tragic and overtly theatrical aesthetic of

¹ For details of these executions, see the Introduction.

² Calculated from figures in Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration*, 99, Table 4.2.

³ Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago, IL; London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 253.

burning at the stake that intervened in the understanding of judicial semiotics as it developed over the late sixteenth century.

In this chapter, I focus on Foxe's work itself, and the way in which the *Acts and Monuments* casts burning as a papist injustice in the drama of reformation: burning marks the brutal persecution of the godly, not the just punishment of heretics. In Chapter 2, I explore the ways that the *Acts and Monuments* contributed to debates on the validity of religious violence in the late 1580s, and the importance of these conversations as a context for early commercial theatre. By the time that *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Tamburlaine* were being performed burning was a polemical issue, with a strictly martyrological significance in evangelical historiography. For the theatre's fire spectacles, and its characters sentenced to burn, Foxe's revisionist history of the stake had profound implications.

* * *

When theatre audiences in Elizabethan London were confronted with the burning body—either as spectacle or allusion—a lack of first-hand experience with the judicial practice necessitated imaginative engagement. To his observation that relatively few Londoners would have witnessed the burnings that occurred under Mary's rule, Thomas Freeman adds that '[g]enerations of Foxe's readers [...] knew almost all these executions, some of them in excruciating detail': burning was a spectacle experienced vicariously.⁴ As a form of entertainment, burning was absent from physical reality and experienced instead through its forcefully propagandist literary presentation.

Martyrology was not the only literary genre to present the stake to readers, but it was certainly the most significant. Proliferating domestic crime pamphlets in the later sixteenth century allowed only a marginal place for the execution itself—the burning body

⁴ Freeman, "Burning Zeal: Mary Tudor and the Marian Persecution," 173.

usually only appears on the frontispiece, or as a single-sentence statement of conclusion.⁵ Instead, such literature emphasized the nature of the crimes committed (a trope to be returned to in the third part of this thesis). The martyrological genre, however, and its greatest English manifestation in particular, invested heavily in the visual representation and graphic description of the burning body.

From the publication of the first edition in 1563, Elizabethan readers of the *Acts and Monuments* had access to detailed descriptions of evangelical martyrs burning at the stake, and visceral woodcut images of the process. The book was a material and ideological tour de force, and according to its recent Oxford World Classics editor ‘came to exert a greater influence upon the consciousness of early modern England and New England than any other book aside from the English Bible and Book of Common Prayer’.⁶ In the words of David Cressy, it provided ‘the national protestant paradigm’;⁷ it became the dominant Elizabethan hermeneutic for interpretations of the reformation, and (as I discuss in Chapter 2) a touchstone for Elizabethans making sense of the burnings occurring in their own generation.

To facilitate the exploration of the influence that the *Acts and Monuments* might have had on the way Elizabethans viewed burning in the theatres (the subject of Parts II and III of this thesis), this chapter first considers the availability of Foxe’s book during the 1580s and 1590s, demonstrating that theatre audiences in London would have had a deep awareness of the text and its significance. Foxe’s rhetoric is then examined, with an emphasis upon the dramatic nature of the battle that takes place over the burning body in the

⁵ The majority of petty treason pamphlets use the frontispiece to represent the crime committed, rather than the execution of the criminal. Notable exceptions to this are the anonymous *Murthing of Iohn Brewen* (1592) and Henry Goodcole’s *The Adulteresses Funerall Day: In flaming, scorching, and consuming fire* (1634), the latter inexplicably displaying a burning man in place of the adulteress. Descriptions of the execution in such pamphlets are often summary. In *The Murthing of Iohn Brewen*, it is simply reported that ‘the woman had iudgement to be burned in Smythfield, and the man to bee hanged in the same place before her eyes. This was accordingly performed, and they were executed on Wednesday last, being the 28. of Iune 1592’, sig. A4v. This pamphlet is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

⁶ John Foxe, *Foxe’s Book of Martyrs: Select Narratives*, ed. John N. King (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), xi.

⁷ David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells* (Stroud: Sutton, 2004), 114.

sixteenth century.⁸ The players in Foxe's revisionist history are sketched theatrically, around the site of brutal execution. Using the burning body as a palimpsest for his own polemic, Foxe erases the history of heresy to write over it his own drama of uniquely Protestant martyrdom.

JOHN FOXE AND THE *ACTS AND MONUMENTS*

John Foxe had died in the very year that the Rose playhouse opened. He left behind him four editions of the *Acts and Monuments*, each printed by John Day in London, with royal commendation. The first, published on 20 March 1563, was a folio running to 1,714 pages. It presented not merely an ecclesiastical history, but a revisionist Protestant worldview. Covering five centuries of the history of Christianity, it catalogued the evils done by the Catholic Church up to and including the persecution of evangelicals under the Marian regime. The book was not the author's first historical endeavour, but it was the one to which he would dedicate the rest of his life, and through which he would exert his greatest impact on the Elizabethan imagination. Through the *Acts and Monuments*, or the *Book of Martyrs* as it was almost instantly known, Foxe gained celebrity, and the reforming nation gained a coherent foundation narrative filled with burning bodies.

⁸ Though such an approach risks sidelining doctrinal and theological debates central to the text in favour of its more sensational aspects, tentative work on reader-reception and the *Acts and Monuments* suggests that such a way of a reading may not be wholly inconsistent with early modern approaches. Patrick Collinson has 'little doubt' that the majority of seventeenth-century interactions with Foxean material came by way of Clement Cotton's 1613 abridgement *The Mirror of Martyrs*. This text, which contains little pre-Marian material, focuses on the gruesome suffering of the Marian martyrs, using their stories as exemplary tales. The success of Cotton's abridgement (with six editions over seventy years) suggests that these were the stories that people enjoyed and perhaps even sought to read above others; by contrast, Timothy Bright's 1589 abridgement of the full range of Foxe's history had seen only a single imprint. I am inclined to agree with Collinson's tentative suggestion 'that the significance of Clement Cotton lies beyond his six editions. Cotton may be letting us see what owners of the complete "Foxe" actually read, or practically knew by heart'. Patrick Collinson, "John Foxe and National Consciousness," in *John Foxe and His World*, ed. Christopher Highley and John N. King (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 34; see also David Scott Kastan, "Little Foxes," in *John Foxe and His World*, ed. John N. King and Christopher Highley (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 117-29.

Although Foxe had published Latin martyrological works as a Marian exile, the vernacular *Acts and Monuments* was presented as the product of a turning point in England's ecclesiastical and political history;⁹ a fundamental change in the balance of power had occurred, and the oppressed innocents had been liberated. When he returned to England in October 1559, Foxe returned to a land of Protestant promise: Elizabeth's first parliament repealed the Heresy Act, and the Elizabethan religious settlement appeared to set the Edwardian reformation back on course.¹⁰ As Foxe wrote in the first edition's dedication to Elizabeth: 'at last Gods pitifull grace sent vs youre Maiestie to quenche fier brandes, to asswage rage, to releaue innocentes' (*A&M* [1563], 8). Under Elizabeth, he thought, the fires were to be extinguished.

Accordingly, the opening preface compared Elizabeth to Constantine. Where Constantine had favoured the Christians *en masse*, Elizabeth, they hoped, favoured the True Church. In order to drive the comparison home, the opening C of 'Constantine' is an illustrated woodcut capital showing Elizabeth and her servants in this cause: Foxe, his printer, and the Queen's advisor William Cecil (Figure 1.1).¹¹

⁹ Living on the continent Foxe had written and published both the *Commentarii rerum in ecclesia gestarum* (1554) and the *Rerum in ecclesia gestarum ... commentarii* (1559), the former a history of the True Church, and the latter an expansion of the same to include the recent persecutions in Marian England.

¹⁰ The Act of Supremacy (1 Eliz. 1 c. 1) revived ten acts reverted under Marian rule, and gave a clarified definition of heresy and its punishment. These legal changes meant that the law did not overtly facilitate burning Anabaptists—a point made by Foxe when he attempted to secure the acquittal of Pieterss and Terwoort (discussed in Chapter 2). Proceedings against Joan Bocher and George van Parris in the reign of Edward had prompted similar responses, and their executions proved an embarrassment to the Elizabethan Church. See David Loewenstein, *Treacherous Faith: The Specter of Heresy in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 133; Thomas S. Freeman, "Foxe, John (1516/17–1587)," *ODNB [Online]*, n.d., accessed May 17, 2013.

¹¹ The 'C' is in the style of ornamental initials in Elizabeth's contemporary letters patent. On the contestation of the identity of the third man (Cecil, or Thomas Norton?), see Margaret Aston and Elizabeth Ingram, "The Iconography of the Acts and Monuments," in *John Foxe and the English Reformation*, ed. David Loades (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997), 66–142; John N. King, *Tudor Royal Iconography: Literature and Art in an Age of Religious Crisis* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 156, n. 52. In subsequent editions, when Elizabeth's reluctance to commit zealously to the evangelical cause became apparent, the comparison was dropped from the text.



Figure 1.1: Queen Elizabeth in the initial 'C'. First appeared in *A&M* [1563], preliminaries.

The *Acts and Monuments* then underwent radical changes throughout the remaining years of Foxe's life, creating what Patrick Collinson has called 'a living text'.¹² Following the commercial and political success of the first edition, a second was published in 1570. Text was augmented, excised, and closely edited to reflect Foxe's changing agenda.¹³ Foxe also answered criticisms, and accommodated new information provided by earlier readers—a process that he would continue to repeat.¹⁴ The two volume 1570 edition had a much broader scope, covering some 2,300 pages: volume one concerned itself with the apostolic

¹² Patrick Collinson, "Truth, Lies and Fiction in Sixteenth-Century Protestant Historiography," in *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain: History, Rhetoric, and Fiction 1500-1800*, ed. Donald R. Kelly and David Harris Sacks (Cambridge: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Cambridge University Press, 1997), 64.

¹³ In 1563, Foxe's vision was more politically radical than the subdued edition of 1570, which was marked by the failures and fears of the godly that had mounted through the 1560s. By 1583, however, Foxe was writing confidently as a member of a well-established Elizabethan Church. On the relationship between the unstable text of the *Acts and Monuments* and Foxe's changing agenda, see, for example, Tom Betteridge, "From Prophetic to Apocalyptic: John Foxe and the Writing of History," in *John Foxe and the English Reformation*, ed. David Loades (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997), 210-32; Susan Felch, "Shaping the Reader in the Acts and Monuments," in *John Foxe and the English Reformation*, ed. David Loades (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997), 52-65.

¹⁴ Foxe continued to respond to criticisms and incorporate new information into the text of the *Acts and Monuments*. While it is important to recognize that each edition and its textual changes represent a response to a particular Elizabethan moment, throughout these editions the act of burning itself remains a relatively constant feature. In the discussion that follows, and throughout the thesis, I will be drawing on material from all four editions edited by Foxe, with attention to cultural moments and differences where appropriate.

era through to the pre-reformation Church, and volume two detailed the Henrician reformation to the present. An almost threefold leap in illustrations, from 57 in 1563 to 153 in 1570, made the text more accessible, but also more expensive.¹⁵

Printed under the leadership of John Day's son Richard, the 1576 edition was 'the product of a concerted effort to produce a more affordable book'; however, the use of cheaper paper caused ink runs, and the edition is certainly less beautiful than its successor.¹⁶ The 1583 edition then surpassed all others. Finished just nine months before John Day's death, it is viewed as a magisterial masterpiece of Elizabethan printing, with high-quality paper and larger print—a request of readers. Though the edition was rushed in its final stages (many internal references direct readers to pages in the 1576 edition), it was thoroughly planned before publication, and contains the last edits Foxe was to make before his own death in 1587.¹⁷

In each of these first four editions the *Acts and Monuments* was a physically imposing text, and by virtue of its sheer size very expensive. Costing as much as 36 shillings, a personal copy was beyond the immediate means of all but the wealthiest individuals.¹⁸ Nevertheless, steps were taken to make the contents of the *Acts and Monuments* widely accessible. The same issues of cost that had prompted the 1576 edition spurred the publication of abridged texts.¹⁹ In 1589, Timothy Bright justified his own abridgement 'by

¹⁵ Margaret Aston, "The Illustrations: Books 10-12," in *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online* (Sheffield: hriOnline, 2011).

¹⁶ John N. King, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and Early Modern Print Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 124, 128; for further details on the material production of the third edition, see Jesse Lander, "Foxe's Book of Martyrs: Printing and Popularizing the Acts and Monuments," in *Religion and Culture in Renaissance England*, ed. Claire McEachern and Debora Shuger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 71-2.

¹⁷ King, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and Early Modern Print Culture*, 129-133.

¹⁸ Kastan, "Little Foxes," 112. Patrick Collinson has the *Acts and Monuments* costing half a year's wages for the common man ("Truth, Lies and Fiction").

¹⁹ Jesse Lander argues that it is in these cheaper editions that the English nationalism central to William Haller's interpretation of the *Acts and Monuments* is to be found. See Jesse Lander, *Inventing Polemic: Religion, Print, and Literary Culture in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); William Haller, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1963).

reason of the largenes of the volume, and greate price’, and ‘how the most were bereaued of the benefite of so necessarie an Historie’.²⁰ Significantly smaller, and without the complex illustrations that made the *Acts and Monuments* extremely expensive, these ‘Little Foxes’, as David Kastan has termed them, were more affordable for the general reader. But Bright’s quarto *Abridgement*, at around one-sixth of the price of the full volume, was still a considerable expense for an individual or family.²¹ With much of the cost—and, perhaps more importantly, only one of the pictures—Bright’s *Abridgement* did little to encourage wider ownership, seeing only one edition.²²

Though the *Acts and Monuments* proper was costly, the government ensured that the book gained ‘aggressive visibility’, even if it was not an Elizabethan bestseller.²³ David Loades has written that ‘as long as Elizabeth lived, the *Acts and Monuments* belonged in the armoury of the Establishment’.²⁴ Though the *Acts and Monuments* was not, as once believed, chained beside the Bible in every parish church in England,²⁵ the aldermen of the City of London ordered on 1 February 1571 that copies be acquired and displayed by the Orphan’s Court, and made available in the guildhalls of companies who could afford it.²⁶ In

²⁰ Timothie Bright, *An Abridgement of the Booke of Acts and Monumentes of the Church: Written by That Reuerend Father, Maister Iohn Fox: And Now Abridged by Timothe Bright, Doctour of Phisicke, for such as Either through Want of Leysure, or Abilitie Haue Not the use of so Necessary an History* (London: I. Windet, 1589), “To the Christian Reader.” Further abridgements were published in the seventeenth century, early examples of which are Clement Cotton’s *Mirror of Martyrs* (with seven editions between 1613 and 1637; see above), Thomas Mason’s *Christs Victorie Over Sathans Tyrannie* (1615), and John Taylor’s *The Booke of Martyrs* (1616).

²¹ Bright’s abridgement was priced at 5 shillings. Kastan, “Little Foxes,” 123.

²² *An Abridgement* included the woodcut of Henry VIII enthroned, which I discuss in relationship to *Tamburlaine*. See Chapter 4, and Figure 4.1.

²³ Kastan, “Little Foxes,” 118–119.

²⁴ David Loades, “Introduction: John Foxe and the Editors,” in *John Foxe and the English Reformation*, ed. David Loades (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997), 5.

²⁵ The idea appears to have its genus with William Prynne, who wrote that the *Acts and Monuments* was ‘enjoined to be kept in euery Church for the people to read in’, in his *Canterburies Doome* (1646), but was discredited in Leslie M. Oliver, “The Seventh Edition of John Foxe’s Acts and Monuments,” *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 37 (1943): 243–60. Subsequent bibliographical work on print-runs is found in King, *Foxe’s Book of Martyrs and Early Modern Print Culture*, 113.

²⁶ King, *Foxe’s Book of Martyrs and Early Modern Print Culture*, 113. See Edward Arber, ed., *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London: 1554-1640*, vol. 1 (London: Stationer’s Company, 1875), 496; W. W. Greg, *A Companion to Arber: Being a Calendar of Documents in Edward*

April of the same year Convocation ordered that '[e]uery Archbishop and bishop shall haue in hys house *The holy Bible* in the largest volume, as it was lately printed at London, and also that full and perfect history, which is intituled *Monumentes of Martyres*'. These 'same bookes' were also to be bought by all deans and 'bestowed in his Cathedrall Church, in such a conuenient place, that the vicares [...] and other ministers of the Church, as also straungers and forieners may easelie come vnto them, and read thereon'.²⁷ Such institutional purchases must have accounted for a large number of the sales of this vastly expensive text, and residents of London were perhaps more likely to have benefited from these acquisitions than their fellow countrymen.

By the late 1580s, the *Acts and Monuments* was 'inescapable', and had achieved Protestant cultural authority.²⁸ During the Marprelate Controversy, Martin Marprelate's *Epistle* (1588) attacks the current Bishop of London, John Aylmer, claiming 'his grace threatened to send Mistris Lawson to Bridewell because she shewed the good father D. Perne a way to get his name out of the booke of Martyrs where the turnecoate is canonized for burning Bucers bones'.²⁹ The *Acts and Monuments*, this reference suggests, was known widely enough to do damage to a reputation.

By 1594 Thomas Nashe was able to jest at the vastness of Foxe's book. In the 'Induction to the Pages' at the beginning of *The Unfortunate Traveller*, Nashe asserted that 'it shall be lawfull for anie whatsoeuer to play with false dice in a corner on the couer of this foresayd Actes and Monuments'.³⁰ Not only is the *Acts and Monuments* a cultural authority; for Nashe its material familiarity renders it part of the furniture. Even Anthony Copley, the

Arber's "Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640" with Text and Calendar of Supplementary Documents (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 13.

²⁷ A Booke of Certaine Canons, Concernyng Some Parte of the Discipline of the Church of England (London, 1571), A3v.

²⁸ John R. Knott, *Discourses of Martyrdom in English Literature, 1563-1694* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 2.

²⁹ Martin Marprelate, *The Epistle* (London, 1588), sig. B2v. Quoted in Lander, *Inventing Polemic*, 57.

³⁰ Thomas Nashe, *The Vnfortunate Traueller. Or, The Life of Iacke Wilton* (London, 1594), sig. A4r. Also quoted in Lander, *Inventing Polemic*, 57.

Catholic poet and conspirator, found a place for Foxe's work as a punchline in his collection of comedic sayings *Wits, Fittes, and Fancies* (1595).³¹

In these instances the authors pitched beyond ecclesiastical debates to popular audiences, and across confessional divides. Their reliance upon readers' familiarity with Foxe's text implies its commonplace: particularly to function in comedy, the *Acts and Monuments* had to be a cultural icon. Playwrights working for the popular theatre could rely on this same cultural awareness. When characters like Alice Arden and Joan la Pucelle left the stage to face their punishment, audiences would know the realities of their fate from the pages of Foxe's book—and likely only from it.

Yet the *Acts and Monuments* did not simply make burning bodies visible; it also gave a forcefully polemical reading of a contested practice. Historical scholarship has shown that although Foxe was unafraid of applying a firm editorial hand to stories that did not sit comfortably within his narrative, he did not invent things.³² He did, however, rely on the polemical potency of overtly theatrical characterizations to give his partisan reading imaginative traction. By focusing on such characterizations as they appear in the 'living text' of the *Acts and Monuments* as it grew, rather than on tracing the routes they took to arrive, I hope to establish how Foxe characterized the True and 'false' Churches in the behaviours of his evangelical protagonists and their antagonists.

Through sustained, cohesive characterizations, the sixteenth-century burnings emerge in Foxe's history not as performances of justice, but as crucial moments in a heavily patterned drama of persecution. Foxe's evangelical martyrs suffer repeatedly the barbaric

³¹ Copley writes, 'A Nobleman of *Spaine*, whose liuing was good, but not excessiue, had a vaine in placing and displacing his seruants, especiallie his Bayliffes, and Accomptants: Wherupon his mother asking one of his men on a time what place hee had in his maisters seruice, or what accompts he yeeled vp at the yeeres end: he answered: Actes and Monuments'. Anthony Copley, *Wits Fittes and Fancies Fronted and Entermmedled with Presidentes of Honour and Wisdome. Also: Loves Ovl. An Idle Conceited Dialogue between Loue and an Old Man* (London, 1595), 134.

³² Tom Betteridge, "Truth and History in Foxe's Acts and Monuments," in *John Foxe and His World*, ed. John N. King and Christopher Highley (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 145–59; Collinson, "Truth, Lies and Fiction." See also the discussion of Latimer and Ridley, below.

injustices of bloodthirsty Catholics. More robustly tangible than the subtle editing of martyrs' doctrinal beliefs, the depiction of the battle over the burning body took place in physical and behavioural characterizations, and captured the imaginations of readers: in the *Acts and Monuments* and in its wake, burning is conceived as a papist injustice, and to suffer it the route to a peculiarly Protestant reappropriation of the cult of martyrdom.

THE DRAMA OF REFORMATION

On the frontispiece of the first edition, the *Acts and Monuments* is advertised to be '*Gathered and collected according to the true copies & wrytinges certifiatorie as wel of the parties them selues that suffered, as also out of the Bishops Registers, which wer the doers therof, by Iohn Foxe*'. In this description of the sources consulted and incorporated, Foxe situates himself between two distinct perspectives of remembrance, between the '*selues that suffered*' and '*the doers thereof*'. This history, the title suggests, is of dichotomous remembrance, and it played out in scenes of violence. The distinctions that Foxe here applies to his sources are befitting also of the people that his history remembers: figures are immortalized in the *Acts and Monuments* as either 'sufferers' or 'doers' of violence.

In the history of the sixteenth century in particular—the implied '*latter and perillous dayes*' of the extended 1563 title—the distinction between 'sufferers' and 'doers' is perhaps at its most keen: there are people who have been burnt at the stake, and those who have burned them. Aside from complicated individual cases that required significant editing from Foxe, the distinction between the two is clear, and might simply be expressed in the terms 'papist' and 'evangelical'.³³ The narrative that Foxe presents is the drama of their encounter: 'now let vs see what manner of thinges they are,' he invites, 'where about these greedy

³³ Cases such as that of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, who in his career went from burner during the Edwardian protectorate to burned in Marian England, demanded significant shaping by Foxe. These complications are discussed at length in Loewenstein, *Treacherous Faith*, esp. Chapter 3.

Papistes make so much a do, wyth so many tragedies and fires' (*A&M* [1563], 184). As various scholars have shown, drama was central to the reforming cause, and reforming rhetoric influenced the development of early modern plays;³⁴ as I will explore in Chapter 3, Foxe's own drama made great use in allegory of the distinctions that his history observes in fact. However, in this section, I will focus on the dramatic aspects of the *Acts and Monuments* itself, with particular emphasis on its mission to edify (a theatrical endeavour discussed further in Chapter 2).³⁵ Here, I explore the close relationship of 'tragedies and fires': the site of burning, and the players in its performance, are central to the tragic aesthetic that Foxe presents, and the various emotional outcomes that his drama hopes to elicit. The stake is made to symbolize the performance of papist injustice, and presented as the key to its remembrance.

Considering the contested nature of the history he sets out to record, it is perhaps unsurprising that Foxe has much to say about the work's purpose and the ways in which it should be read. In the different prefaces and addresses of the first four editions, the views that have secured him the (misleading) modern label of early tolerationist are clear: Foxe was vehemently opposed to executing heretics.³⁶ This is not to say that he accepted their difference. Rather, he believed that they should be persuaded against their heretical opinions through debate and doctrinal lessons. Execution, he argued, is the resort of the papist minister, but not the evangelical.

³⁴ See, for example, Martha Tuck Rozett, *The Doctrine of Election and the Emergence of Elizabethan Tragedy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984); Jeffrey Knapp, "Preachers and Players in Shakespeare's England," *Representations* 44 (1993): 29–59; Huston Diehl, *Staging Reform, Reforming the Stage: Protestantism and Popular Theater in Early Modern England* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1997); Brian Cummings, *Mortal Thoughts: Religion, Secularity, & Identity in Shakespeare and Early Modern Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

³⁵ On the conscious theatricality of the *Acts and Monuments*, see also Huston Diehl's discussion of Foxe's use of transcripts, and Deborah Burks' exploration of the 'Witness of Word and Woodcut': Diehl, *Staging Reform*, 24; Deborah G. Burks, *Horrid Spectacle: Violation in the Theater of Early Modern England*, Medieval & Renaissance Literary Studies (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2003), Chapter 1.

³⁶ John T. McNeill, "John Foxe: Historiographer, Disciplinarian, Tolerationist," *Church History* 43, no. 2 (1974): 216–29. Foxe's opposition is discussed further in Chapter 2.

In the first edition, the preface ‘Against Persecution and the Execution of Heretics’ addresses these concerns, placing burning at the stake firmly in the Catholic armoury. ‘Who was the first that broughte in amongst Christians,’ he asks, ‘these recantations, faggottes and fire, and these lamentable funeralles by burninge of the liue bodies of menne, vnder the name of herctickes [*sic*], who, but only this flocke of religious menne and the cleargye?’ (*A&M* [1563], 183). Though the secular arm performs the execution, this merely confirms the Church’s terrible influence, implicating the state in its barbarity. In the constitutions of the Roman Church, he argues:

it is commaunded that an Heretike conuicte in any error (but how conuicte by autoritie rather then by the scriptures) should bee deliuered vnto the seculer power: neither is that yet sufficient that they doo so imbrew the seculer sworde with bloud, but that also with their malice, *they doo sharpen and whet the same*, whiche of it selfe is already sharpe enough. The wryters of the glose doo also adde this vnto it, to be burned. (*A&M* [1563], 185; emphasis added)

Like the Shepherd in *1 Henry VI*, Foxe makes distinctions based on the perceived horror of a punishment; ‘to be burned’ is a sharpening of the existing judicial armoury. Moreover, Foxe’s inclusion of the gloss’s additional malice moves the target of accusation by emphasizing that it is human hands—if not necessarily the gloss ‘wryters’ themselves—that have shaped these laws. Burning is not the weapon of the Church, nor is it the work of God. Burning is the particular pleasure of Rome’s bloodthirsty clerics.

These same clerics not only do the work of Antichrist; they delight in it as if it were ‘an high seruice vnto God’:

we haue heard report of Iohn Stocksley sometime byshop of London, that he did boste him self *when* he was euen at the point of death, geuing thankes vnto God with a loude voice *that* he had sent xxxi. Heretikes vnto the infernall fyer. Verelye these were wordes more fitter for a beaste then for a man. (*A&M* [1563], 186)

The Roman Church mandates a cruel punishment for heresy, and its clerics revel in its enforcement. Catholic clergy, in their perceived zeal for burning, do not perform what Foxe understands to be the true office of members of the Church. Evangelical ministers, conversely, have the inclination ‘rather to healpe those that had erred, and not to kil them’ (*A&M* [1563], 183). In these distinctions the book’s opening matter sets readers up to

encounter a murderous Roman Church, and a meek, persecuted, and charitable True Church.

Using similar rhetoric, for the second edition Foxe had written a preface ‘To all the professed frendes and folowers of the Popes procedynges’, which remained in all subsequent editions. In it he poses four questions to his Catholic readers, three of which concern the Church of Rome’s cruelty.³⁷ Foxe attaches epithets of cruelty to the Catholics by opposition, pointing to ‘the conditions and properties of the true church of Christ’. The distinction he draws is one of character:

here is restrayned the fierceness, reuenge, cruelty, and violence of mens affections. To which affections men beyng commonly subiect by nature, through grace and working of the Gospel, are altered, reformed, and chaunged to an other disposition: from stoutness to softnes: from violence to sufferaunce: from fiercenes to forbearyng: from pride to humilitie; from crueltie to compassion: from wylynes to simplicitie: from solemne singularitie, to humanitie and mekenes. (*A&M* [1570], 13)³⁸

In this list of oppositions, Foxe provides his reader with a checklist of behaviours against which the players in his history can be measured and classified.

Foxe’s binary categorization is of course heavy-handed, and yet his polemical need for such distinct characterization is readily apparent. A great number of those interacting with Foxe’s text were possibly untutored in—or perhaps even unconcerned by—the doctrinal difference that underlay the religious rift at the centre of Tudor life.³⁹ Foxe’s own concern for such individuals, or that of his printer, is evinced in Jennifer Rust’s study of the frontispiece, used as the title page for each of the unabridged editions. Images of the ‘True’ and ‘false’

³⁷ The first question asks how the Church of Rome can reconcile its cruel and tyrannical actions with the laws of Zion, whereby all Christians are obliged to exist peacefully together (Foxe cites Isaiah 11.6); the second concerns the reasons behind the Catholic hatred of Protestants, stating that the Protestants have never attacked the Catholics; the third question asks papists to consider whether or not the Church of Rome is in fact the first beast of Revelation, with the Pope as the second; only in the final question does Foxe raise the issue of a corporal versus a spiritual religion, touching upon the doctrinal tensions that separated the confessions (*A&M* [1570], 13–15).

³⁸ It is this ‘meek and mild’ behaviour that forms the basis of Loewenstein’s discussion of ‘fashioning martyrs’. See *Treacherous Faith*, 120–121.

³⁹ According to Christopher Haigh, ‘it is likely that most of those who lived in Tudor England experienced reformation as obedience rather than conversion’: *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 21.

Churches surround the title, with the central vertical axis of the page separating burning godly martyrs and hearers of God's word on the left from the papist heralds of the devil and Mass worshippers to the right (Figure 1.2).

While some critics emphasize the binary nature of the images, Rust argues that the symbolism is more nuanced than simply oppositional. It relies, she writes, 'on an implicit equivalence between the two sides that might provoke confusion in the reader untutored in the intricacies of reformation controversy'.⁴⁰ It was to dispel any such confusion, Rust argues, that the 1570 edition adds glosses to the frontispiece images. In a similar way, where the reader, listener, or viewer of Foxe might be doctrinally adrift, the robust characterizations within the text help to ensure that their reactions are in line with the godly interpretation of recent history: these burnings were persecution, not justice, and their sufferers martyrs. For those to whom doctrines might not be persuasive, the observation of cruelty could tip the balance in the reformers' favour.

⁴⁰ Jennifer Rust, "Reforming the Mystical Body: From Mass to Martyr in John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*," *ELH* 80 (2013): 638. Rust writes in departure from the arguments presented by Betteridge ("Truth and History," 149–50.) and Margaret Aston and Elizabeth Ingram ("The Iconography of the *Acts and Monuments*," 74–6.).

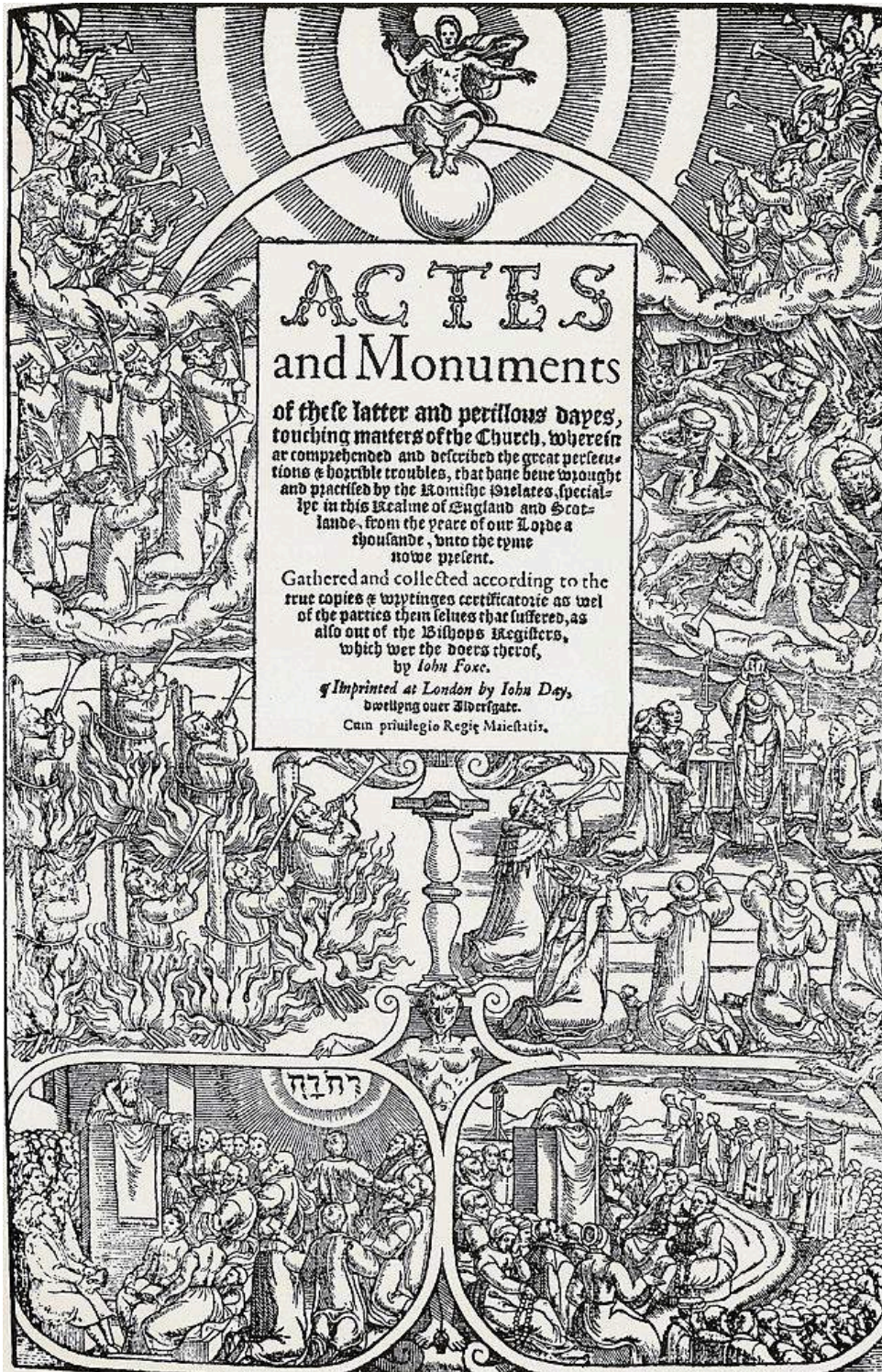


Figure 1.2: Frontispiece. *Actes and Monuments* (1563). From *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online*. Available at: http://www.johnfoxe.org/1563_titlepage.jpg.

To fully exploit the power of the visual in making distinctions, many of the acts of cruelty that Foxe commemorates—burnings, but also other aggressions—are illustrated to complement and reinforce his characterizations. Moreover, these depictions allow Foxe to deploy the language of drama to foreground the utility of his history. As Philip Sidney argued in his *Defence of Poesy* (c. 1580), bringing virtue to the masses was the especial task of the poet: whereas the philosopher ‘teacheth obscurely, so as the learned only can understand him’, ‘the poet is the food for the tenderest stomachs; the poet is indeed the right popular philosopher’.⁴¹ For Foxe the historiographer, whose art was supposedly unable to enter ‘into the gates of popular judgements’ without the aid of poetry,⁴² the media of the *Acts and Monuments* could help to elicit the effects Sidney reserves for poets, whose work could more easily provoke pity, and inspire moral reformation.⁴³ For example, the 1563 edition introduces the story of three women burnt at the stake in Guernsey on 18 July 1556:

At the tyme that the sayd good poore women were burning in the fyrre flames aboute them, the wombe of the sayde Paratine, shee beyng great with childe, brake with the heate of the sayd fyre, and thereby issued foorthe of her bodye a goodlye man chylde, which was taken vp, and handled by the cruell tormentours, and after they threw most spightfullye the same chylde into the fyre agayne, wher it was burned with the sely Mother, Graundmother, and Aunt, *very pitifully to behold*. (*A&M* [1563], 1613; emphasis added)

The pity that Foxe solicits is the mark of an audience witnessing tragedy: an acknowledgement of the event’s inevitability, competing with the horror at its realization. However, where the stage presented fictionalized and allegorical spectacles of suffering, the *Acts and Monuments* told the drama of a recent historical struggle, in as much bloody detail as Foxe could muster.

⁴¹ Philip Sidney, “The Defence of Poesy,” in *Sidney’s “The Defence of Poesy” and Selected Renaissance Literary Criticism*, ed. Gavin Alexander (London: Penguin, 2004), 18.

⁴² Sidney, “Defence,” 6.

⁴³ ‘[L]et but Sophocles bring you Ajax on a stage,’ wrote Sidney, ‘killing or whipping sheep and oxen thinking them the army of Greeks with their chieftains Agamemnon and Menelaus, and tell me if you have not a more familiar insight into anger than finding in the schoolmen his *genus* and difference’: Sidney, “Defence,” 17.

By 1583, Foxe had expanded the story to heighten its tragedy. He dwelled on how Perotine ‘did fall on her side, where happened a ruefull sight, not onely to the eyes of all that there stood, but also to the eares of all true harted christians, that shall read this historye’, labouring the necessity of Christian abhorrence, and adding that the child was ‘had to the Prouost, and from him to the Bayliffe, who gaue censure, that it should be caryed backe agayne and cast into the fire’ (*A&M* [1583], 1969). Though Foxe dismisses the idea of editorial amplification,⁴⁴ this later method of telling lengthens the presentation of the spectacle, adding texture and building tension by dwelling on the child’s nearness to rescue before he is cast back into the flames: the perpetrators, he suggests, had ample opportunity to redeem themselves. The accommodation of this narrative element drives home the Catholics’ gratuitous cruelty—a leitmotif of the text in general, and reinforced in this particular episode by its accompanying image (Figure 1.3). Foxe not only explained that the events unfolded ‘pitifully’; like Sidney’s poets, he allowed readers to ‘behold’ it for themselves.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ In 1563 he had urged that ‘here is nothing in this present history set forth, otherwise then hath bene faythfullye related’ (*A&M* [1563], 1613), and in 1570 added that ‘the horrible straungenes of the fact wilbe hardly beleued of some, but rather thought to be forged or els more amplified of me, then truth will beare me out’ (*A&M* [1570], 2168).

⁴⁵ It is tempting to suggest that Foxe’s woodcuts even provide examples of the responses he hoped to inspire. See, for example, the facial expressions of the figures to the left of the Guernsey women in Figure 1.3, or the stance of the woman to the right of the burning John Hooper in Figure 1.6, below. This is Deborah Burks’ suggestion as she reads ‘distress and disapproval’ in the face of an attendant officer at the scourging of Thomas Hinshaw (*A&M* [1563], 1770: <http://www.johnfoxe.org/woodcuts/f2079w.gif>), arguing that he presents a surrogate within the image for the sympathetic reader beyond the frame: “Polemical Potency: The Witness of Word and Woodcut,” in *John Foxe and His World*, ed. John N. King and Christopher Highley (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 265–6. However, while Burks’ argument is compelling, it discounts a wealth of research pressing the importance of emotions’ cultural contingency, particularly in physical performance. (For an introduction to the problems of historicizing emotion, see Barbara H. Rosenwein, “Worrying about Emotions in History,” *The American Historical Review* 107, no. 3 (2002): 821–45.) In the face of such evidence, the recognition of pity across historical boundaries must, in this study at least, remain perfunctory.

A Lamentable Spectacle of three women, with a feely infant braisting
out of the Mothers Wombe, being first taken out of the fire, and cast in agayne,
and fo all burned together in the Isle of Garnesey,
1556. Iuly. 18.



Figure 1.3: The Guernsey martyrs. First appeared in *A&M* [1563], 1613. From *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online*. Available at <http://www.johnfoxe.org/woodcuts/f198ow.gif>.

The woodcut, included in all editions of the *Acts and Monuments*, depicts the precise moment when the infant bursts forth from his mother's burning stomach, suggesting an editorial desire to shock and appal the book's readers and viewers.⁴⁶ As William Ian Miller has argued, 'violence can bear positive moral significations in certain settings; cruelty seldom

⁴⁶ The graphic nature of the images used in Foxe was common among tracts attempting to vilify Catholics. For example, illustrations by Theodor de Bry attest Spanish barbarity against the indigenous peoples of the Americas in the Dominican friar Bartolomé de la Casas' *Brevísima Relación de La Destrucción de Las Indias* (Seville, 1552). Like those of the later *Acts and Monuments*, de Bry's illustrations show Spaniards burning men and women at the stake, hanging them over fires, and tormenting their arms and feet with flames.

Similarly, Catholic writers documenting the brutalities against their co-religionists in the reign of Elizabeth used equally vivid images of the various stages of hanging, drawing, and quartering to elicit the same kinds of pity; see, for example, the illustrations in Richard Verstegan's *Theatrum Crudelitatum Hæreticorum Nostri Temporis* (Antwerp, 1587). This period of competitive martyrology is discussed further in Chapter 2.

can. Cruelty always bears with it a sense of disproportionality'.⁴⁷ The moment of greatest violence against the most innocent party (a new-born child) is portrayed to solicit the greatest abhorrence. Foxe and the illustrator both emphasize cruelty against the innocent. Imbalance, rather than justice, is the central motif.

It is precisely such pitiable moments that Foxe believes will cause Catholic readers to repent their part in the Roman Church's persecutions. From the earliest edition Foxe knew that the Catholics he encourages his evangelical and undecided readers to abhor—the 'doers' of violence—would be reading his text. Before addressing the papists, Foxe had pardoned himself to the godly readership:

suffer me a little by your licence, gentle reader to talke with these cruel bludsuckers, wherby they being admonished may repent, or least if they will not, they may behold to their great shame and rebuke, whether they wil or no, their wicked cruelty and great slaughters laide before them, as it were vppon a stage. (*A&M* [1563], 183)

Foxe hopes that by laying burning bodies before Catholic readers he may bring about conversion. For drama to make a man moral demanded not only the teaching of virtue's 'causes and effects', but also 'making known his enemy vice, which must be destroyed';⁴⁸ for Foxe, to make a man Christian required not only a pattern of godliness, but also a warning against doing the work of the Antichrist. Moreover, by presenting his history as if 'vppon a stage', Foxe invites the kind of semiotic slippage between theatre and scaffold that Foucauldian critics, discussed in the Introduction, are keen to note across early modern theatre and executions.⁴⁹ As we have seen, the book graphically and dramatically indulges Catholic violence to expose it; but this turn to the language of the theatre suggests another, more overtly polemical aspect of the theatricality of the *Acts and Monuments*.

Written for the first edition in 1563, and therefore before the developments in drama that would take place through the 1570s, Foxe's 'stage', if interpreted within its own

⁴⁷ William Ian Miller, *Humiliation: And Other Essays on Honor, Social Discomfort, and Violence* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993), 70.

⁴⁸ Sidney, "Defence," 14.

⁴⁹ See 'stage, *n.*', 4 and 5 in *OED* [Online].

theatrical context, suggests morality plays and other religious drama: the distinctions between good and evil that are made throughout the *Acts and Monuments* will be as obvious as if the papists were named ‘Vice’, or ‘Cruelty’. Indeed, in 1573, the reformed dramatic interlude *New Custom* presented Cruelty as a papist with a penchant for burning Protestants:

Crueltie. By the masse there is one thing makes me laugh hartely ha, ha, ha
 Avarice. I pray thee what is that?
 Crueltie. What? ha, ha, ha, I can not tel for laughing
 I would never better pastime desire
 Then to here a dozen of them howling together in the fier
 Whose noyse as my thinketh I could be compare:
 To a crie of houndes folowing after the Hare.
 Or a rablement of Bandogges barking at a Bear,
 ha, ha, ha.⁵⁰

Though John Bale’s *Three Laws* (1538) had shown Infidelitas and Pseudodoctrina threatening Evangelium with burning (‘Burne hym to ashes, and shewe to hym no pytie’; ‘The temporall power shall judge the to the fyre / At our accusement and holy relygyouse desyre’: *TL*, 1731, 137-8), *New Custom*’s Cruelty is a morality play caricature fleshed out with the realities of burnings that have already happened. In its presentation of the Romish clerics, Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments* makes the same style of connection between burning and delighting in cruelty, but in historical fact instead of allegory.

‘I do not think that we need to believe that Bishop Stephen Gardiner had toenails like claws,’ writes Patrick Collinson, ‘any more than that King Richard III was grossly deformed from birth’.⁵¹ While this is probably so, that did not stop Foxe utilizing the shorthand of theatrical characterization to malign Catholic clerics, and thereby defame their Church. The connection between morality plays and early modern theatre is well established,⁵² and the

⁵⁰ Anon., *A New Enterlude No Lesse Wittie: Then Pleasant, Entituled New Custome* (London: Fleetstreete, 1573), sig. C3v.

⁵¹ Collinson, “Truth, Lies and Fiction,” 67.

⁵² Hardin Craig provided an overview of correlations in “Morality Plays and Elizabethan Drama,” *Shakespeare Quarterly* 1, no. 2 (1950): 64–72. More recently, critics have examined the specific relationship between individual Elizabethan plays and their theatrical forebears. See, for example, Jeff

polemical link between burning and cruelty that I explore in the following section reverberates similarly in commercial theatre. As I show in the rest of the thesis, it is the same reputation that Dido seeks to cast upon Aeneas, that Tamburlaine brings upon himself, and that threatens to undermine the condemnations of both Alice Arden and Joan la Pucelle as they leave the stage to face the stake.

‘AN HYSTORY, AND NOT INUECTIUES’

Identifying cruelty to vilify the perpetrator was an established form of evangelical rhetoric stretching back to the burnings themselves. Following the burning of John Rogers in February 1555, the Spanish ambassador Simon Renard wrote to Philip of Spain to warn him of the palpable popular unease at the event. ‘The people of this town of London are murmuring about the cruel enforcement of the recent acts of Parliament on heresy,’ he wrote. His advice was simple: stop executions ‘unless the reasons are overwhelmingly strong and the offences committed have been so scandalous as to render this course justifiable in the eyes of the people’.⁵³ When he wrote again just four days later, his warning was even clearer:

the heretics [...] use as an argument the cruel punishments which they assert are being applied, with recourse to fire rather than doctrine and good examples, to lead the country back (to catholicism). They make the most of cases in which ecclesiastics lead evil lives, commit abuses, cause scandals and are unfit for the posts to which they have been appointed.⁵⁴

The facts that Renard sees evangelicals ‘making the most of’ are precisely the form of polemic that Foxe continued decades later. Individual members of the Catholic clergy are vilified for their questionable actions, and through them their Church is tainted.

Dailey, “Christian Underscoring in *Tamburlaine the Great, Part II*,” *The Journal of Religion and Theatre* 4, no. 2 (2005): 146–59; Lucy Munro, “Archaism, the ‘Middle Age’ and the Morality Play in Shakespearean Drama,” *Shakespeare* 8, no. 4 (2012): 356–67.

⁵³ #148. Simon Renard to Philip, 5 February 1555, Royall Tyler, ed., *Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, Relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain*, vol. 13 (London: Her Majesty’s Stationary Office, 1954), 138–139.

⁵⁴ #164. Simon Renard to Philip, 9 February 1555, Tyler, *Calendar of State Papers Spanish*, 13:151.

Though Foxe maligns the characters of many English Catholic clergy, two are prominent: Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, and Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. Both were key figures in the Marian burnings, and both captured the dramatic imagination, eventually gracing the stage as arch-villains in what Marsha Robinson has called ‘Foxean’ history plays of the seventeenth century.⁵⁵ The two played different parts, with Gardiner enjoying influence at court and pushing through the revival of the Heresy Act in Parliament, and Bonner then responsible for exercising the Act in London (over a third of those burnt in Marian England were resident in his diocese).⁵⁶ Together, Gardiner and Bonner represent unbridled cruelty of policy and practice.

When Mary came to power in 1553, Bonner was restored to the bishopric of London where he would earn his ‘Bloody’ reputation as a zealous persecutor of Protestants.⁵⁷ Though he was repeatedly pressured by Parliament to enforce the heresy laws, the *Acts and Monuments* remembers Bonner as an instigator. From the first edition Bonner occupied a frontline role in the process of persecution, with many interrogations from his own register incorporated into Foxe’s text. Bonner is repeatedly outwitted on doctrinal points by the martyrs, and less commonly (though still regularly), his frustration with their unwillingness to submit to orthodox opinion manifests in corporal punishment. To complement this outlet for his temper, Foxe characterizes Bonner with great attention to his physicality. For those interpreting the *Acts and Monuments* ‘as it were vppon a stage’, Bonner’s violence is rendered viscerally; Foxe’s history cements burning within the repertoire of the vice figure, creating a new precedent of cruelty with great dramatic potential.

Introducing him early in the Marian section as one who ‘wee shall often make mencion of’, Foxe suggests that ‘we shoulde wryte somewhat of hym likewise, who was

⁵⁵ Marsha S. Robinson, *Writing the Reformation: Actes and Monuments and the Jacobean History Play* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002). Such characterization of bishops, I argue, contributes to the development of Tamburlaine in Marlowe’s 2 *Tamburlaine*: see Chapter 4.

⁵⁶ Alexander, “Bonner and the Marian Persecutions.”

⁵⁷ See Kenneth Carleton, “Bonner, Edmund (d. 1569),” *ODNB [Online]*, n.d., accessed September 17, 2014.

almost nothing els (in one word to speake al his qualities) but a belly' (*A&M* [1563], 1170). The nod to Bonner's portly aspect (a physical attribute captured in some of the woodcuts, which Bonner himself confessed to be a great likeness) thoroughly corporealizes him.⁵⁸ Where the *Acts and Monuments* adopts the broader allegorical framework of the morality play in its conflation of 'Cruelty' and papistry, these depictions invoke the same register, though in visual vocabulary: Bonner is also Gluttony. The description and depictions convey not only a lack of self-control, but also his insatiable appetite for dealing punishments—the very same bloodlust that will help to condemn Tamburlaine (see Chapter 4). Foxe speaks of 'hys prodicious crueltye, in shedding of bloude, to which thing onelye he seemed to haue bene brought fourth of nature'. He continues, 'but because we wryte an hystory, and not inuectiues, we wyll leaue hym to hys Iudge' (*A&M* [1563], 1170). Though Foxe claims to leave judgement to Bonner's Creator, he invites readers to uphold his accusations. The story that follows is one of burning aggression, in which the 'invectives' that Foxe professes not to employ are solicited instead with accounts of the cleric's misdeeds.

In the story of Thomas Tomkins, a weaver burned in Smithfield in 1555, Foxe reports Bonner using fire to test the martyr's physical resolve before engaging in doctrinal arguments. As Foxe had clearly laid out in his prefaces, it is the duty of the cleric to persuade heretics with words. Instead, against Tomkins 'the bishop vsing a *strange* but a cruell practise, determind to begyn the matter another way'; like Bale's *Infidelitas*, Bonner thought that 'although he coulde not teache hym by argumentes, yet he myghte ouerthrow hym by a certain fore feelyng and horror of death' (*A&M* [1563], 1171). Foxe reports that Bonner called for a candle, and burned the right hand of Tomkins saying, 'if thou lykest the torment of the fire so well, I wyll make thee feele in this flame, what it is to bee burned, and then if thou bee wyse thou wylt change thy mynde' (*A&M* [1563], 1171). The corresponding

⁵⁸ Bonner's expression of the likeness is referenced by Aston, "The Illustrations: Books 10-12."

image shows a taunted Tomkins surrounded by clerics (Figure 1.4). Though other contemporary accounts report that Tomkins volunteered his hand to the flame to taunt Bonner, the woodcut dismisses that narrative, showing instead Bonner holding the martyr's hand over the candle.⁵⁹ This rendition emphasizes the Catholic clergy's weak command of scripture, highlighting instead their 'persuasion' by force.

The burning of Thomas Tomkins hand by Bifhop
Boner, who not long after burnt alfo his body.



Figure 1.4: The burning of Thomas Tomkins' hand. First appeared in *A&M* [1563], 1170.
From *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online*. Available at
<http://www.johnfoxe.org/woodcuts/f1568w.gif>.

Similarly, when Edmund Tyrrell meets the godly Rose Allin outside her house in 1557, he is moved to fury by her arguments and '[t]hen that cruell Tirrell taking the candle from her, helde her wriest, and the burninge candell vnder her hand, so long til the very

⁵⁹ Simon Renard wrote to the Emperor that a 'certain burgess of London, who was being questioned by the bishop as to whether he would endure fire, *asked to be tried*, and when a lighted candle was brought he held his hand in the flame without withdrawing it'. Renard to the Emperor, 27 March 1555. Tyler, *Calender of State Papers Spanish*, 13:147-49, emphasis added.

sinowes crackte in sonder' (*A&M* [1563], 1687). Such cruelty, Foxe suggests, simply whets the clerics' appetite. Indeed, in the case of Tomkins, 'this Bonner hetherto not contented, with *the* burning of his hande, neuer rested vntyll he had consumed his whole body into ashes' (*A&M* [1563], 1171). Foxe's message is clear: burning fuels burning.

While interrogating evangelicals Bonner is shown glutting on their pain. Instead of doctrinal and exegetical arguments, he attempts to guide his flock with fire. In stark opposition to such physicality, his clerical superior, Gardiner, is characterized as a sly operator, doing Rome's work through subtlety and sophistication. The villainous orchestrative powers that Gardiner possesses are readily perceptible on the medieval and early modern stages, from the likes of the stock Vice, through Shakespeare's Iago, and even into theatricalizations of the Bishop himself.⁶⁰ In the *Acts and Monuments*, this characterization adds a subtle underhandedness to the depiction of the Roman Church. As well as those doing visible evil, there were also clerics pulling strings behind the scenes, to ensure the continuation of 'tragedies and fires'.

In 1554, it was Gardiner who had managed to push the revival of the Heresy Acts through Parliament just one year after his return to the Privy Council with Mary's accession.⁶¹ For Foxe, Gardiner is a different form of threat to the more viscerally imagined clerics of his history:

For as Boner, Story, Thornton, Harpsfield, Dunning, with other, were occupied [*sic*] in putting *the* poore braunches of Gods Sainctes to death: so this Bishop for his part bent all his deuyses & had spent all hys powder in assaying *the* roote, & in casting such a platforme [...] to buyld hys popery vpon, as he thought should haue stand for euer and a day. (*A&M* [1570], 1991)

⁶⁰ In both Thomas Heywood's *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody* (c. 1603) and Samuel Rowley's *When You See Me, You Know Me* (c. 1604-5), Gardiner steps on the stage as the 'wily Winchester' of Foxe's history, which as I will show is itself a theatrical caricature.

⁶¹ C. D. C. Armstrong, "Gardiner, Stephen (c.1495-1555)," *ODNB [Online]*, n.d., accessed August 1, 2014.

Where Bonner's power is expressed in scourging,⁶² Gardiner's is 'spent' in rhetoric. Foxe's Gardiner, like Marlowe's Tamburlaine, though smart and eloquent, is 'vain glorious, full stuff and puffed up with arrogancy, and drowned in his own conceit', and his 'subtile practises, and pretended purposes and dissimulating conueiance did not only augment, but also exceeded all his other euils' (*A&M* [1563], 805-6).

By the 1530s Gardiner's subtlety had earned him the title of 'Wily Winchester', and early evangelicals saw in him the Antichrist's chief agent in England.⁶³ In the *Acts and Monuments*, 'wily winchester' is the man who during the protectorate 'vnder pretense of geuing sage counsell craftely goeth about to incense & set the lord Protector against all good men & Godly procedings' (*A&M* [1563], 788; gloss). He is not merely the nemesis of the learned reformers, but a threat to the godly monarch himself. While recounting the reign of Mary, Foxe pushes this threat further. He reports a rumour that while Elizabeth was imprisoned in the tower 'a wrytte came downe from certayne of the Counsell for her execution' and that 'wily Winchester was the onely Dedalus and framer of that ingine'.⁶⁴ If the Queen had not been cleared of the crimes for which she was accused by 'the Lordes most gracious counsell', Gardiner '(no doubt) in that one day had brought this whole realme into woful ruine' (*A&M* [1570], 1991). Where Bonner hounded the evangelical people, Gardiner threatens the coming of a monarch under whose leadership the fiery persecutions would subside. By threatening the life of Elizabeth, Gardiner is shown to shake the very foundation

⁶² In the episode of the Islington Martyrs, Bonner beats both Thomas Hinshaw and John Milles who have been trusted to his care for interrogation. Hinshaw 'with out any enforcement of his part, offered himselfe to the beating, and did abide the fury of the said Boner, so long as the fat pached bishop could endure with breath, and till for wearinesse he was faine to cease, and geue place to his shame full act. he had two willow rodde, but he wasted but one, and so left of' (*A&M* [1563], 1772). The polemical aspects of the episode and corresponding woodcut are the subject of Burks, "Polemical Potency."

⁶³ Michael Riordan and Alec Ryrie, "Stephen Gardiner and the Making of a Protestant Villain," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 34, no. 4 (2003): 1039-63.

⁶⁴ Audiences at Heywood's *I If You Know Not Me* would see precisely this in dumb show, with two angels preventing Gardiner and his friars from assaulting a sleeping Elizabeth—a testament to the theatricality suggested in Foxe's rendering.

of the readers' present. If Gardiner had not been stopped, Foxe implies, the burnings may never have ceased.

A villain as established as Gardiner could even be held accountable for troubles that otherwise sat awkwardly within Foxe's clearly defined battle between 'True' and 'false'. As Riordan and Rylie observe, it was Gardiner who took the blame for the burning of John Lambert in 1538, whose prosecutors had included Thomas Cromwell, Archbishop Cranmer, and Robert Barnes.⁶⁵ '[T]hrough the pestiferous and craftye counsaile of thys one Byshop of Winchester,' writes Foxe, 'Sathan (which oftentimes doth rayse vppe one brother to the destruction of an other) dyd here perfourme the condemnation of this Lambert, by no other ministers, then Gospellers them selues' (*A&M* [1570], 1322).⁶⁶ He continues:

This vndoubtedly was the malicious and crafty subtiltye of the Byshop of Winchester, which desired rather, that the sentence might be read by Cromwell, then by any other, so that if he refused to do it, he should likewise haue incurred the lyke daunger. (*A&M* [1570], 1323)

While Foxe's claims are outrageous, the wider context of his history provided insulation against attack. As he had written regarding Gardiner's objections to Bale's *Examinacyons of Anne Askew*, 'let euery Christian reader iudge, whether is more to be credited of these two, she that was persecuted, or he that was *the* persecuter' (*A&M* [1563], 806). Sufferers could not be persecutors in this reforming drama, and neither could they be at fault. Rather, for every reader (or at least every reader that Foxe could call truly Christian) the guilty party was clear.

Though quick to use Gardiner's villainy to smooth over evangelical embarrassment in the case of Lambert, Foxe was also able to rely on Catholics' own dislike of the bishop to bolster his portrayal. Detailing Anglo-French relations in the reign of Henry VIII, Foxe includes a letter written by none other than Edmund Bonner, in which he complains to

⁶⁵ Riordan and Rylie, "Stephen Gardiner and the Making of a Protestant Villain," 1050–1051.

⁶⁶ As Riordan and Rylie point out, Robert Persons took issue with this unlikely statement in *A treatise of three conversions of England*. See "Stephen Gardiner and the Making of a Protestant Villain", n. 64.

Cromwell of an inhospitable reception from Gardiner. Bonner was travelling through France, called by the King to return from the Emperor and occupy Gardiner's ambassadorial role. According to Foxe, Gardiner was to furnish Bonner in line with his needs and return to England—an obligation he refuses to fulfil. In his glosses on Bonner's letter, Foxe points out that 'Winchester wil do nothing for Doctor Boner', and his arguments over whether Bonner should be offering him thanks are identified as another example of 'Winchesters olde sophistication' (*A&M* [1570], 1281). Bonner may be a villain himself in the *Acts and Monuments*, but even he disliked Gardiner, and felt the brunt of his unchristian behaviour. In emphasizing these fractious feelings between Catholics, Foxe labours their lack of charity even between themselves. Unlike the evangelicals, nominally charitable in their treatment of heretics and each other, the Catholic clergy are characterized by a cruel and spiteful individualism: Gardiner is the Avarice to Bonner's Gluttony.

As these cases suggest, the villainy of the Catholic clergy is established in the material world and on a personal level; Foxe emphasizes Catholic clergymen's actions of wilful cruelty, both physical and psychological. These near-parodic characterizations in the *Acts and Monuments* gave recent-historical faces to the sins of the Catholic Church. In so doing, they created villains that would haunt Protestant histories for centuries. They also marked the beginning of a correlation between papists, cruelty, and burning that would only become stronger following a succession of fiery Catholic threats.⁶⁷

On the other side of the drama, the sufferers of this cruelty were important for posterity, despite Foxe's seeming reluctance to emphasize their centrality in his story. In the final section of this chapter, I turn from Foxe's presentation of the perpetrators of burning to his remembrance of its victims. Martyrs, far more than their pursuers, are acutely visible in

⁶⁷ In later editions that extend Foxe's work, the inclusion of events such as the Armada and the Gunpowder Plot continued this established rhetoric.

the *Acts and Monuments*, and evangelical readers are encouraged to witness, internalize, and be enlightened by the image of their burning at the stake.

‘ALWAYES IN SIGHT’

In choosing the title *Acts and Monuments*, Foxe sought to distance his work from the hagiographical writing he meant to supplant; he wanted to tell the full history of the Church, not simply the potted histories of its most prominent individuals in the manner of *The Golden Legend*.⁶⁸ He declined the label of martyrologist, and did not think of his history as the *Book of Martyrs*. Writing in the 1570 edition to defend his work against the accusations of ‘Alan Cope’—the pseudonym of Catholic apologist Nicholas Harpsfield, who attacked the first edition of the *Acts and Monuments* in his *Dialogi sex* (1566)—Foxe turned to sophistical argument:

And if ye thinke it muche, that I woulde exemplifye these, whom you call traytours in the booke of martyrs: first ye must vnderstand, that I wrote no such booke bearyng the title of the booke of martyrs. I wrote a booke called the Actes and Monumentes, of thinges passed in the churche. (*A&M* [1570], 715)⁶⁹

As Harpsfield’s implied objection to the word ‘martyr’ demonstrates, the term was loaded; the labels applied to the executed individual, and the execution itself, were the site of semiotic contest. As Thomas Freeman observes, martyrologists (even those who denied the title) faced a great challenge: ‘[a]lmost invariably the martyrs whom they wished to glorify had been executed in the same ways in which the most heinous criminals were executed. Martyr of God or common criminal? How could one tell the difference?’⁷⁰ To make

⁶⁸ Caxton’s English version of Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda Aurea* had appeared in 1483, and had reached nine editions by 1527. See Sherry L. Reames, *The Legenda Aurea: A Reexamination of Its Paradoxical History* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).

⁶⁹ The cause of this particular contest, where Harpsfield has interpreted one of Foxe’s ‘martyrs’ to be the fifteenth-century sorceress the Witch of Eye, is discussed further in relation to 2 *Henry VI* in Chapter 2.

⁷⁰ Thomas S. Freeman, “‘Imitatio Christi with a Vengeance’: The Politicisation of Martyrdom in Early Modern England,” in *Martyrs and Martyrdom in England, 1400-1700*, ed. Thomas S. Freeman and Thomas F. Mayer (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2007), 35. Freeman’s comment is in reference to the

Freeman's point more subtly, Foxe's martyrs were not only executed 'in the same ways' as 'the most heinous criminals'—they were executed *as* the most heinous criminals. By taking issue with the label attributed to the burning body, Harpsfield directly attacked one of Foxe's most powerful polemical tools: the rhetoric of martyrdom.

Despite Foxe's sophisticated response to Harpsfield, the *Acts and Monuments* was inevitably read for its depiction of evangelical martyrs; within the same edition, the first volume ended with a colophon preceded by the decisive announcement: 'The end of the first Volume of the booke of martyrs' (*A&M* [1570], 961). The volume that followed, replete with narratives of the burning of evangelicals from the reign of Henry through to 1558, truly was a book of martyrs. Its narrative progressed from figure to figure, charting lives from conversion to stake. Foxe even used the new edition to build upon the foundations of martyrology that he had laid in the first. In the 1570 edition, the second volume held more than twice the number of images as the first, and the majority depicted martyrs at various stages of execution.⁷¹ These latter parts of Foxe's history were further expanded and, as we shall see, the additions were heavily invested in the links between burning and martyrdom that Foxe had already presented in 1563.

In the different prefaces of the second edition, Foxe recommends the lives of the martyrs as the most useful aspect of his text for godly readers. Where Catholics were to read the text in shame, the godly and the undecided were to view suffering martyrs as exemplary Christians. In the 1570 epistle to the Queen, Foxe justifies his use of the 'popular tounge' in place of learned Latin to this end, arguing that it is 'the necessitie of the ignorant flocke of Christ':

reuse of one of the *Acts and Monuments* woodcuts in a petty treason pamphlet, discussed in Chapter 5. See also the discussion of William Burton's portrayal of Francis Kett in Chapter 2.

⁷¹ Edward Hodnett, *Image and Text: Studies in the Illustration of English Literature* (London: Scolar Press, 1982), 31; Ruth Samson Luborsky, "The Illustrations: Their Pattern and Plan," in *John Foxe: An Historical Perspective*, ed. David Loades (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 67–84.

REMEMBERING BURNING

Who, as they haue bene long ledde in ignoraunce, and wrapt in blindnes for lacke specially of Gods word, & partly also for wanting the light of history, pitie I thought but that such shuld be helped, their ignorance relieued, and simplicities instructed. (*A&M* [1570], 9)

The use of the vernacular is an effort to instruct the English in godliness by bringing to them ‘the light of history’. The light he most wishes them to see, it transpires, is the light of the martyrs, brought about by the flames of their execution.

Reformed theologians—including Foxe’s friend, the apocalyptic thinker John Bale⁷²—made a distinction between the ‘visible’ and ‘invisible’ churches in an effort to address the Roman Church’s historical predominance. The reformed expression of the relationship between the two was complex, and readily confusing:

Who beholding the Church of Rome to be so visible and glorious in the eyes of the world, so shynyng in outward beauty, to beare such a porte, to cary such a trayne and multitude, and to stand in such hie authoritie, supposed the same to be onely the right Catholicke mother. The other because it was not so visibly knowne in the worlde, they thought therefore it could not be the true Church of Christe. Wherein they were farre deceaued. For although the right Church of God be not so inuisible in the world, that none can see it: yet neither is it so visible agayne that euery worldly eye may perceauie it. For like as is the nature of truth: so is the proper condition of the true Church, that commonly none seeth it, but such onely as be the members and partakers therof. (*A&M* [1570], 3)

The True Church is paradoxically both True and invisible because of its persecution. To address this invisibility, and bring the flock back into the fold, running through Foxe’s accounts of the Marian martyrdoms is a conceit linking light, sight, and death by fire, which endeavours to embody the invisible Church in history. By witnessing the burning of evangelicals in the *Acts and Monuments*, the True Church gained, and was to retain, its visibility.

When addressing the masses he hopes to enlighten—‘the true Christian reader’—Foxe speaks of ‘the vtility and fruite to be taken of this history’ (*A&M* [1570], 12), suggesting that it is the martyrs who should be studied most keenly: it is ‘meete for

⁷² Bale’s distinction between the two Churches, to which Foxe probably owes his greatest debt, is most fully elucidated in his *Image of Both Churches* (c. 1545). See Gretchen Minton, *John Bale’s “The Image of Both Churches”* (Dordrecht; London: Springer, 2013).

Christians to conserue in remembraunce the liues, Actes and doings, not of bloody warriours, but of mylde and constant Martyrs of Christ'. Such stories 'serue not so much to delight the eare, as to garnish the lyfe, to frame it with example of great profite'. He continues:

I haue good cause to wish, that like as other subiectes, euen so also Kings and Princes, which commonly delite in heroicall stories, would diligently peruse suche monumentes of Martyrs, and lay them alwayes in sight, not alonely to read, but to follow, and would paint them vpon their walles, cuppes, ringes, & gates. (*A&M* [1570], 11)

The martyrs, Foxe insists, must be visible to all. The invisible Church, made visible through its persecution, must be kept 'alwayes in sight', and Foxe's history is constructed to achieve that: his martyrs and the flames that burn them are the spectacular centrepiece of the *Acts and Monuments*. It is the visual poetics of the book, and its renderings of dramatic moments of burning, that achieve the edification for which its compiler strives.

Stylistically, a number of the 1563 woodcuts indulge in Foxe's emphasis on the metaphorical application of the martyrs' deaths: that is, their contribution to the visibility of the True Church. These images are rhetorically consistent with the text, and that same rhetoric was then built upon as the corpus of the *Acts and Monuments* expanded. With the addition of further eyewitness accounts and woodcuts the centrality of fire and burning, and its role in Foxe's drama of reformation, became more apparent: the combination of illustrative style and governing rhetorical principle come together in the *Acts and Monuments* to present the narrative of the True Church emerging from the shadows of the corrupt Roman Church by the light of its martyrs. As Deborah Burks has argued, the composite is important: 'the work owes its polemical force to the combined witness of word and woodcut'.⁷³ However, the style of the first-edition woodcuts must be understood as

⁷³ 'Taken by themselves, these images might be described as lurid; certainly they possess a visceral power. However, it may be misleading to take the woodcuts *by themselves* when considering the polemical effectiveness of the *Acts and Monuments*, although they are undeniably engaging and demand attention in their own right,' writes Burks, "Polemical Potency," 263.

images of a kind, before developing an understanding of how they help to create Foxe's wider message, rather than merely depict its episodes in his history.

Foxe's second Latin history, the *Rerum in Ecclesia gestarum* (1559), had only four woodcuts, three of which depicted executions:⁷⁴ William Gardiner, an English merchant executed in Portugal in 1552, is shown dangling above the fire that will consume him; John Hooper stands praying atop a table that separates him from the fire; and Thomas Cranmer offers his right hand to the rising flames around him.⁷⁵ The stylistic difference between these images and their replacements in the *Acts and Monuments* is striking. Where the illustrator of the *Rerum* had kept the martyrs distanced from the fire, the *Acts and Monuments* depicts a more graphic interchange between martyr and flame—a choice most apparent in the portrayals of John Hooper (Figures 1.5 and 1.6).

In 1559, as Margaret Aston and Elizabeth Ingram have observed, '[t]he horror of the scene is left to the reader's imagination'.⁷⁶ Hooper is seen fully clothed, and separated from the raging fire that will engulf him. The same is true of the *Rerum*'s Cranmer: the archbishop stands atop a board which rests on the faggots, and is seen bathing his right hand in ghostly flames that appear not to make contact (Figure 1.7). By contrast, in 1563 the images depict the actual process of burning. Martyrs are no longer separate from the fire, but its fuel; the flames, instead of posing a threat, become part of the martyrs and their purpose.

⁷⁴ The first showed Lord Cobham in his armour—a militarization that would be tempered for his appearance in the *Acts and Monuments*. John Foxe, *Rerum in Ecclesia Gestarum, Quæ Postremis & Periculosus His Temporibus Euenerunt, Maximarumq; per Europam Persecutionum, Ac Sanctorum Dei Martyrum, Cæterarumq; Rerum Si Quæ Insignioris Exemplisint, Digesti per Regna & Nationes Commentarij* (Basel, 1559), 97. The corresponding image from *A&M* [1563], 329 can be found in *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online* at <http://www.johnfoxe.org/woodcuts/fo677w.gif>.

⁷⁵ Foxe, *Rerum in Ecclesia Gestarum*, Gardiner at 209; Hooper at 297; Cranmer at 726. The image used for Hooper was also used to represent Jan Hus in the *Rerum*'s second part. See 'Commentary on the Woodcuts for Book 11' in *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online*.

⁷⁶ Aston and Ingram, "The Iconography of the Acts and Monuments," 84.

REMEMBERING BURNING

GESTARVM COMMENTARIL
DE DIVINO AC SINGVLARI CHRISTI MI- 297
nistro, Episcopo, & martyre, D. Ioan. Hoopero, Nicolai
Galloti carmen.



Figure 1.5: The burning of Thomas Hooper. From John Foxe, *Rerum in Ecclesia Gestarum* (1559), 297.



Figure 1.6: The burning of John Hooper. First appeared in *A&M* [1563], 1133. From *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online*. Available at: <http://www.johnfoxe.org/woodcuts/f1544w.gif>.

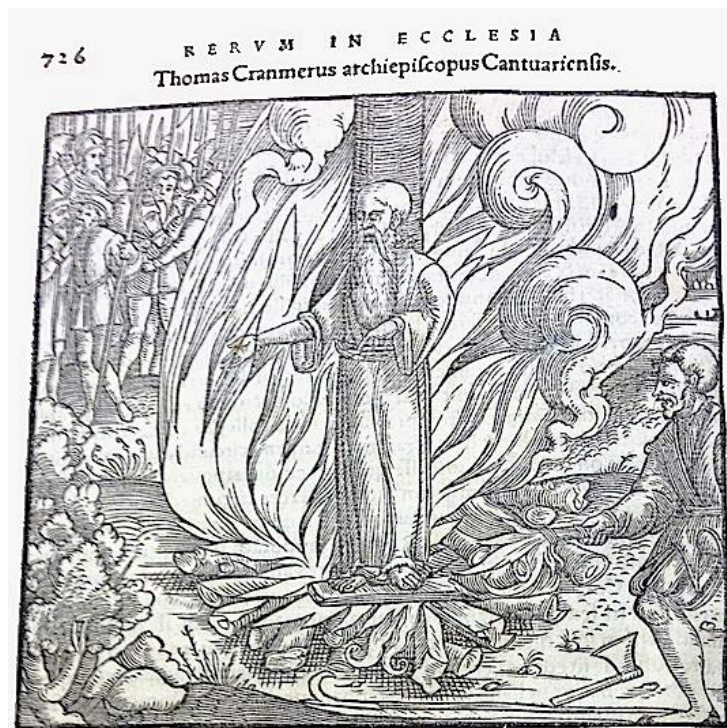


Figure 1.7: The burning of Thomas Cranmer. From John Foxe, *Rerum in Ecclesia Gestarum* (1559), 726.

As these images show, in 1563 the bodies of the martyrs are laid bare, a fact which for John King emphasizes ‘both the humanity and physical suffering of the martyrs’, but is also surely an effort toward realist depiction: clothing is unlikely to last long amid flames, and a number of martyrs are said to have given their outerwear away before facing the fire (or, like Hooper, were forced to remove it).⁷⁷ The image of Hooper certainly attempts to render the text faithfully. The second fire that was kindled (the first, made of green wood, had failed to catch fully) ‘did burne his heare & swel his skin a litle’; however, not until the executioner’s third attempt did the gunpowder take, and he became:

blacke in the mouth, and his tonge swollen, that he could not speake: yet his lippes went, till they wer shrounke to the gommes: & he did knocke his brest with his hands vntill one

⁷⁷ King, *Foxe’s Book of Martyrs and Early Modern Print Culture*, 193. Foxe reports that Hooper took off his vestments voluntarily, but was forced to remove his doublet and hose by the presiding sheriff (*A&M* [1563], 1130).

of his armes fel of, and then knocked still with the other, what time the fat, water, and bloud dropped out at his fingers endes. (*A&M* [1563], 1131)

Regarding the choice to depict Hooper's arm having fallen into the flames, what Aston and Ingram call a 'form of pictorial shock tactics' may simply represent the efforts of a talented and realist artist—though the chosen moment certainly adds to the papist cruelty of the scene, as with the Guernsey women (Figure 1.3).⁷⁸

The Hooper cut is one of a number from the 1563 edition that harness a singular artistic style characterized by such brutal realism. Though anonymous, the artist's style is readily recognizable: fire plays about the martyrs' upper bodies, which become a support for the flames. In the image of Thomas Haukes at the stake, for example, flames issue from the martyr's chest (Figure 1.8). But in the case of John Lambert (executed in 1538), the importance of this support is made clear in the 1570 additions to the text. In the 1563 woodcut of Lambert, his fingers support individual flames (Figure 1.9), which in 1570 Foxe draws attention to specifically: Lambert is said to have suffered 'fingers flaming with fire' (*A&M* [1570], 1323).⁷⁹ The care that Foxe takes here to highlight Lambert's body fuelling the fire is an expansion consistent with his rhetoric of visibility: the martyr's burning body creates the light necessary for the True Church to be seen and known. The addition uses the success of the visual rhetoric to clarify Foxe's message.

⁷⁸ Aston and Ingram, "The Iconography of the *Acts and Monuments*," 86.

⁷⁹ Thomas Betteridge suggests that when Foxe breaks his narrative to direct his reader to the woodcut of Lambert's martyrdom, he is 'mutually validating and authorizing relationship between image and word', and betraying his 'unease over the ability of words or images to produce the "truth" of the martyr's suffering on their own', "Truth and History," 155. Betteridge's emphasis of the correspondence works on a literal, factual plane; I extend this to argue for a stylistic and rhetorical correlation.

¶ The Martirdome of Thomas Haukes in Essex, at a Towne called Coxehall. Anno. 1555, Iune. 10.

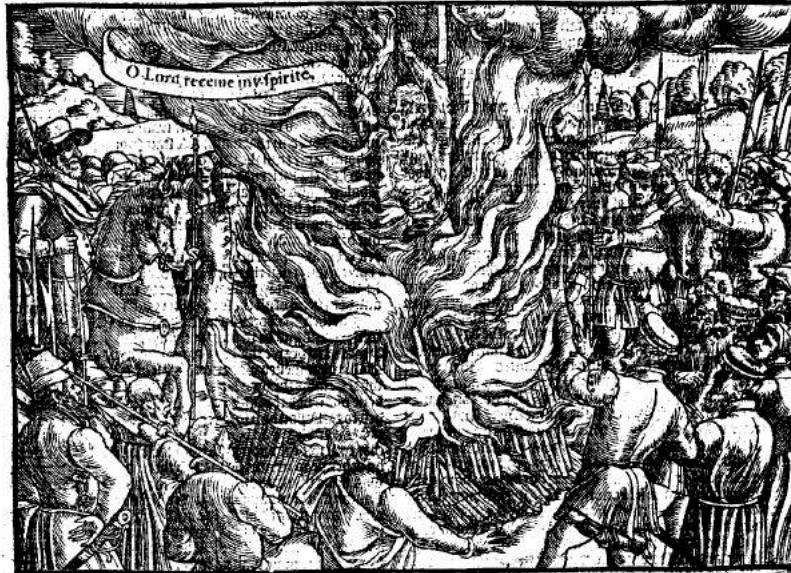


Figure 1.8: The burning of Thomas Haukes. First appeared in *A&M* [1563], 1230. From *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online*. Available at: <http://www.johnfoxe.org/woodcuts/f1627w.gif>.

The order and maner of the burning of the constante
Martyr in Christ, Iohn Lambert.



Figure 1.9: The burning of John Lambert. First appeared in *A&M* [1563], 625. From *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online*. Available at: <http://www.johnfoxe.org/woodcuts/f1158w.gif>.

In pictures of this style the realism allows the flames to disrupt the martyrs' bodily integrity, and the two separate entities are portrayed as one. In the image of Hooper, the melting fat of his arms and legs suggests the texture of a candle, with the martyr's body forming the supporting wax for the flame—a texture more readily palpable in the hand-coloured versions of the same image found in the exquisite 1570 editions housed in the Holdsworth Collection at Cambridge University Library, and in the Wren Collection at Trinity College, Cambridge. The same texture is equally visible in the images of Haukes, Lambert, and others of the same style. With the martyrs portrayed as literal fuel for the flames, they are allowed to be the creators of light—an important symbol both in the Bible and in the *Acts and Monuments*. Where papists have used candles as precursors to the stake for the torture of evangelicals, Protestants at the stake reclaim the process of their burning. If presented and remembered as part of the fire, the martyrs can keep the reformation burning.

It is to this physical rhetoric that Hugh Latimer is famously credited with turning at the point of his death in 1555. As he comforts Nicholas Ridley, with whom he will share the fire, the enlarged 1570 edition gives the words of Polycarp to Latimer: 'Be of good comfort M. Ridley, and play the man: we shall this day lyght such a candle by Gods grace in England, as (I trust) shall neuer be put out' (*A&M [1570]*, 1976). Though the historical accuracy of the statement has been called into question, the rhetoric is stridently appropriate, and even prophetic.⁸⁰ As well as firmly rooting the Marian martyrs in the tradition of the

⁸⁰ Tom Freeman suggests that though our evidence casts strong doubt on the veracity of the comment, Foxe is unlikely to have invented it. Rather, the 'alternative is that someone reported it to Foxe, between the printing of the first and second editions, [...] and Foxe seized on this report with alacrity': "Text, Lies, and Microfilm: Reading and Misreading Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs,'" *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 30, no. 1 (1999): 44.

The line would continue to be quoted in Protestant polemic throughout the seventeenth century, in various corruptions. See, for example, *The Burning of the Whore of Babylon, As it was Acted, with great Applause, in the Poultry, London, on Wednesday Night, being the Fifth of November last, at Six of the Clock* (London: R.C., 1673). The author opens with the virulently anti-papist observation that: 'It was the saying of good Bishop *Latimer* to his fellow-Sufferer, when he came to dye at the Stake in *Oxford*, *Be of good cheer Brother, for we shall light such a a [sic] Fire this day in England, as by God's Grace the Papists shall never be able to quench it*; and how much this hath been verified, let the World judge' (1).

early church, John King suggests that this particularly literary addition to the narrative includes an allusion to the Sermon on the Mount, in which Christ states:

You are the light of the world. A city on a hill cannot be hid. Nor do men light a lamp and put it under a bushel, but on a stand, and it gives light to all in the house. Let your light so shine before all men, that they may see your good works and give glory to your Father who is in heaven. (Matthew 5:14-16)⁸¹

Latimer's final utterance *in extremis*, King adds, utilizes a similar scriptural emphasis: 'Well, there is nothing hid but it shall be opened' (Matthew 10:26). The historical link to Polycarp and these scriptural echoes provide further reiterations of Foxe's initial promise to Elizabeth that he would bring forth 'the light of history'. Moreover, the dramatic progression of the narrative adds again to the rhetoric with the details it incorporates.

As Latimer and Ridley went to their deaths at the stake in Oxford, Foxe relates that Master Richard Smith delivered a 'scant' sermon of quarter of an hour, wherein he 'alleged that the goodnes of the cause, and not the order of death maketh the holynes of the person' (*A&M* [1570], 1975-76). Smith's text of choice, the particularly trenchant 'If I yeld my body to the fire to be burnt, and haue not Charity, I shall gayne nothyng therby' (1 Corinthians 13:3),⁸² aimed to emphasize Latimer and Ridley's position outside the Church at the point of their deaths. Yet the *Acts and Monuments* uses the context provided by the sermon to turn Latimer's words into a compulsion for readers to remember. Using the metaphor of feeding a light to promote endurance, this expanded version of the episode suggests that it is important to continue the work begun by these figures—lest the reforming Church, in the chiding words of Smith, 'gayne nothyng therby'.

Whether or not the additions to the Latimer and Ridley narrative are historically accurate, they form part of the consistent rhetoric that Foxe implied at the outset of the

⁸¹ Quoted in John N. King, "Fiction and Fact in Foxe's Book of Martyrs," in *John Foxe and the English Reformation*, ed. David Loades (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997), 24. *The Geneva Bible* gives 'Ye are the light of the worlde. A citee that is set on an hill, cannot be hid. Nether do men light a candel, and put it vnder a bushel, but on a candelsticke, & it giueth light vnto all that are in the house. Let your light so shine before men, that they may se your good workes, & glorifie your father which is in heauen'.

⁸² Verse as given in *A&M* [1570], 1975. *The Geneva Bible* gives 'And thogh I fede the poore with all my goods, and thogh I giue my bodie, that I be burned, and haue not loue, it profiteth me nothing'.

edition, directing readers to the moment of brutality and rendering it historically productive. To remember such burning—to keep the martyrs ‘always in sight’—is to do justice to those who have suffered horrible injustices.

Foxe’s compulsion for readers to remember the redemption of those that burned is the counterpart to papist cruelty in his revisionist interpretation of the stake. In the theatre, when figures like Dido burn, or when Alice Arden and Joan la Pucelle are sentenced to the stake, the mirror image of the barbarity of those using burning is the legacy of martyrdom for those who suffer it.

* * *

In the *Acts and Monuments* the burning body was made visible in all its horror to a generation of people for whom executions by burning were a rare occurrence. The work delivered a dualistic message of polemical clarity: to execute by burning was to act beyond justice, and to die at the stake was to suffer martyrdom at the hands of papists. By way of the continuing influence of this monumental history, the Elizabethan public was encouraged to respond to burning in line with such views. Furthermore, Foxe’s theatricalized polemical presentation of Catholics’ employment of the stake introduced burning into the dramatic vocabulary of villainy—a conflation of history and theatricality that we will see negotiated in the plays discussed in the rest of this thesis.

Following the four editions in which Foxe and Day were directly involved, the *Acts and Monuments* continued to be published in further unabridged editions, with nine full editions before 1684.⁸³ Alongside these there were numerous abridgements, and prints of some of the woodcuts were available as single-sheets during the seventeenth century,

⁸³ After the editions during Foxe’s lifetime, there were unabridged editions in 1596, 1610, 1632, 1641, and 1684 that took the liberty of adding recent events to the end of Foxe’s collection. See Damian Nussbaum, “Appropriating Martyrdom: Fears of Renewed Persecution and the 1632 Edition of *Acts and Monuments*,” in *John Foxe and the English Reformation*, ed. David Loades (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1997), 178–91.

presumably for display on walls in both homes and institutions.⁸⁴ Beyond holistic reproductions, the *Book of Martyrs* had a series of disparate discursive and material afterlives beginning almost immediately. Foxe's polemical rhetoric of burning as barbarity entered the Protestant consciousness, and Day's investment in the visual apparatus of the books ensured material perpetuation.

The *Acts and Monuments* therefore represents a cultural repository. As Patrick Collinson has demonstrated in various studies, 'relatively cheap and ephemeral publications fed into Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* and out again, as broadsheets, pamphlets, abridgements, playtexts'.⁸⁵ As the following chapter explores, this outward-flowing influence stretched far beyond the literal reproduction of material. The popularization of martyrology to which Foxe contributed undoubtedly paved the way for a greater textual interest in the site of execution. As Paul Friedland has argued in the case of early modern France, the murder pamphlet genre is a direct descendent of semiotic wars over the executed heretic, bringing the execution itself into the discursive limelight.⁸⁶ In England, Foxe's close focus on the injustice of the stake paved the way for putting justice, and particularly religious justice, on trial. These concerns, as the rest of this thesis explores, overlapped with the concerns of the stage.

In the following chapter, I explore how the *Book of Martyrs* was entrenched in the Elizabethan imagination, perceptibly affecting its interactions with the few contemporary instances of burning at the stake. When records of these events move into print, aspects of

⁸⁴ Tessa Watt demonstrates that the large woodcut of '10 Persecutions' was a single-page print available individually almost a century later: *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 158. Julian Roberts and Elizabeth Evenden write that 'Sometimes these illustrations, particularly the detachable ones, were removed to end up in collectors' frames', "Bibliographical Aspects of the Acts and Monuments," in *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online* (Sheffield: hriOnline, 2011).

⁸⁵ Patrick Collinson, "John Foxe as Historian," in *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online* (Sheffield: HRI Online Publications, 2011), <http://www.johnfoxe.org>. See also Collinson, "Truth, Lies and Fiction"; Collinson, "John Foxe and National Consciousness"; Kastan, "Little Foxes."

⁸⁶ Paul Friedland, *Seeing Justice Done: The Age of Spectacular Capital Punishment in France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). This is discussed further in Chapter 5.

REMEMBERING BURNING

Foxe's historiographical techniques are in evidence. Moreover, Foxe's conceptualization of burning contributed to broader debates over judicial semiotics that raged in the wake of Elizabeth's war against Rome: the injustice of papists burning heretics was pitted against the nominal justice of the Elizabethan regime's execution of Catholic traitors. These debates, I argue, led to a contemporary theatre concerned with the nature of not only justice, but also its dark shadow, injustice. Informed by the broader concerns of this theatre of injustice, the remaining chapters of this thesis then examine the specific place of burning within it.

2

Foxean Injustice on the Early Modern Stage

Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* wrote England's reformation as a crude and unfinished drama of injustice, pitting aggressors against sufferers in a battle over the Church. Its rhetoric designated the practice of burning heretics as a papist cruelty, an act to be read as the mark of a persecuting regime. In this chapter I demonstrate the impact that the *Acts and Monuments* had on judicial semiotics in Elizabethan England, and how the broad-reaching unease around religious violence that this initiated then affected the stage.

In the first part of the chapter I explore how far Foxe's rhetoric of cruelty and martyrdom was entrenched in the Elizabethan consciousness. Elizabethan burnings were viewed as papist cruelty, and the historic burnings were used as a counterpoint to defend Elizabeth's prosecution of Catholic traitors. The second and third parts of the chapter then argue that these debates help to shape early modern drama. First, I show that the stage's interest in the performance of justice could also include sceptical presentations of judicial spectacles. Then, using the example of Eleanor Cobham's penance in Shakespeare's *2 Henry VI*, I suggest that the tableaux of the *Acts and Monuments* provide a pattern for viewing the punishment that the Duchess endures. Shakespeare's plays have long been understood to have shaped, and been shaped by, contemporary culture, and in recent years this has

included critical interest in law and the theatre.¹ Execution, too, has engaged critics; entire volumes have focused specifically on Shakespearean punishment.² Shakespeare's drama, therefore, seems a fitting place to demonstrate the impact of debates around judicial semiotics taking place in the 1580s. Eleanor's penance gives our first glimpse of the utility of *Acts and Monuments* rhetoric on the stage, in a punishment that Foxe's history itself had commemorated.

Often, drama scholars using the *Acts and Monuments* as a context for theatre treat it as 'source' material in the most literal sense.³ However, this reading of the relationship between page and stage looks at the broader contribution of the *Acts and Monuments*. It demonstrates, as David K. Anderson has for *King Lear*, that the perceived cruelty of religious violence was a crucial imaginative context for post-reformation theatre.⁴ *2 Henry VI*, though often debased at the hands of editors and critics,⁵ demonstrates a keen awareness of the

¹ See, for example, Constance Jordan and Karen Cunningham, eds., *The Law in Shakespeare*, Early Modern Literature in History (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010). Contract law has proved particularly fertile ground: see A. G. Harmon, *Eternal Bonds, True Contracts: Law and Nature in Shakespeare's Problem Plays* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004); Rebecca Lemon, *Treason by Words: Literature, Law, and Rebellion in Shakespeare's England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006).

² Gillian Murray Kendall, ed., *Shakespearean Power and Punishment* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1998); William M. Hawley, *Shakespearean Tragedy and the Common Law: The Art of Punishment*, Studies in Shakespeare 7 (New York: Peter Lang, 1998).

³ See, for example, Geoffrey Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, 5 vols. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1957); Robinson, *Writing the Reformation*. A significant exception to this approach is Huston Diehl's *Staging Reform*. Diehl argues convincingly for the importance of the *Acts and Monuments* in dramatic treatments of iconoclasm.

⁴ David K. Anderson, "The Tragedy of Good Friday: Sacrificial Violence in *King Lear*," *ELH* 78 (2011): 259–86. Anderson's more recent book-length exploration of these ideas views this contribution as central to the development of the tragic genre: see his *Martyrs and Players in Early Modern England: Tragedy, Religion and Violence on Stage* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2014). I will return to Anderson's arguments in the Conclusion.

⁵ Editors continue to contest both the date and order of the composition of the *Henry VI* plays. E. M. Tillyard, Andrew Cairncross and Michael Hattaway (among others) have supported the continuous and chronological authorship of the plays, while in the latest Arden edition Roland Knowles argues for the composition of *2* and *3 Henry VI* prior to the composition of the *First Part*, in the tradition of E. K. Chambers (1923) and John Dover Wilson (1952). See Rowland Knowles, "Introduction," in *King Henry VI, Part 2*, The Arden Shakespeare (London: Arden, 2013). Regardless of their composition order, it is widely acknowledged that the plays are among the first composed, at least in part, by Shakespeare, and were therefore written in the late 1580s or early 1590s.

contemporary political climate with regard to punishment for heresy and treason—conceptualized here in terms of burning and ‘not burning’.

BURNING AND ‘NOT BURNING’: AN ELIZABETHAN CONTROVERSY

As established in Chapter 1, only six heretics suffered the fate of burning in Elizabeth’s reign. Yet when these rare executions did take place, surviving accounts bear traces of the influence of the *Acts and Monuments*. When Elizabeth’s executioners burned criminals, it was to a Foxean interpretive framework that onlookers and contemporary commentators turned.

Ahead of the first Elizabethan burnings in 1575, Foxe had himself written to both the Queen and her Council to warn them of the interpretation their actions would face, should the burning of two Dutch Anabaptists go ahead. ‘I defend them not’, he had written:

these errors should be repressed, and I rejoice that no Englishman is infected therewith. It is the manner of their punishment which shocks me. To burn up with fiery flame, blazing with pitch and sulphur, the living bodies of wretched men who err through blindness of judgement rather than deliberate will, is a hard thing and belongs more to the example of Rome than to the spirit of the gospel. [...] And so I dare for Christ’s sake beseech your majesty to spare, it if may be, the lives of these wretched men, at least so far that this horror may be stopped, and changed into another kind of punishment. There are banishments, close confinements, there are chains, there are perpetual exiles, there are brandings and floggings or even gibbets. This one thing earnestly I beg, that you suffer not the pyres and flames of Smithfield, so long laid to sleep under your blessed auspices, to rekindle now.⁶

For Foxe, to burn was to perform the bidding of the Romish Antichrist, and almost any other punishment at all would be preferable. To reinstitute the stake would be perceived as renewed persecution, and a turn to the brutalities associated with papistry.

When the Dutchmen were eventually burnt at the stake in Smithfield, one eyewitness account attests the accuracy of Foxe’s warning. On 22 July Jan Pieterss and Hendrick Terwoort were finally brought to face the fire after four months in prison. Their stake had been erected three days earlier, both as a final threat and an advertisement for the event. In

⁶ Quoted in J. F. Mozley, *John Foxe and His Book* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1940), 86–7.

Stow's summary record, they 'died in great horror with roaring and crying'—behaviour ill befitting martyrs.⁷ However, Jacques de Somere, a Dutch Calvinist living in London at the time of the execution, wrote a fuller account in a letter to his mother in Ghent. The men, he writes, were 'in Smithfield (*where they formerly used to burn persons belonging to our religion*) most miserably burnt alive at a stake, till consumed to ashes, without any strangling or gun powder, according to the custom of the country'.⁸ He continues:

*I doubt not but that the queen consented to it with reluctance, but was persuaded thereto by some papists or other perverse persons and enemies of the truth, of whom there are many here; who made her believe that the Anabaptists (which religion is unknown to this nation), not only deny God and Christ; and thus overthrow the salvation of souls, but that they also reject all secular politics, laws, and authorities, and instigate the people to sedition and rebellion, teaching that the office of the magistracy is ungodly and unchristian, whereby mostly, I doubt not, she became incensed against them, so that she would not even receive their supplication.*⁹

As per Foxe's warning, de Somere reads the execution as a mistake; the punishment he has witnessed belongs to history, and to Catholic barbarity—only 'papists or other perverse persons' would use it. The possibility that evangelicals of any kind organized execution by burning is unthinkable, and de Somere sees not an isolated contemporary crisis but a terrifying repetition of history.

Similarly, when the nonconformist minister William Burton published *Dauids evidence, or, the assurance of Gods love* (1592), a collection of sermons given in Bristol, he referred to another Elizabethan burning assuming that his readers would adopt the same Foxean interpretation. While a minister at Aylsham in Norwich, Burton had witnessed the execution of Francis Kett—an Arian burnt at the stake in the castle ditch in 1589. The description of the execution that Burton later published in his sermons has a familiar ring:

⁷ Stow, *Annals*, 1151. For Patrick Collinson, this statement denies their martyrdom—an interpretation that would agree with my exploration. See "Truth, Lies and Fiction," 58–59.

⁸ Thieleman J. van Braght, *Martyrs Mirror of the Defenseless Christians Who Baptized Only Upon Confession of Faith, and Who Suffered and Died for the Testimony of Jesus, Their Savior, From the Time of Christ to the Year A.D. 1660*, trans. Joseph F. Sohm (Waterloo, Ontario: Herald Press, 1999), 1021. Emphasis added. The work's alternative title, *The Bloody Theater*, suggests the broader sharing of method with Foxe's martyrology.

⁹ van Braght, *Martyrs Mirror*, 1021. Emphasis added.

yet as monstrous as he was in opinion, see how holy he would seeme to be in his outward conuersation. The sacred Bible almost neuer out of his handes, him selfe alwayes in prayer, his tounge neuer ceased praying of God, when he went to the fire he was clothed in sackcloth, he went leaping and dauncing: being in the fire, aboue twentie times together, clapping his handes, he cried nothing, but blessed be God, blessed be God, blessed be God, and so continued vntill the fire had consumed all his neither parts, and vntill he was stifled with the smoke that he could speake no longer[.]¹⁰

Burton's description would not seem out of place in the *Acts and Monuments*. Like Hooper, Kett is poorly attired; like Latimer and Ridley, he goes to his death gladly and without fear.¹¹ Here, however, the sufferer only *appears* holy: he is of 'monstrous', and not godly, opinion, despite 'how holy he would seeme to be'. While Thomas Freeman has suggested that martyrologists faced 'major challenges' when rewriting heinous criminal executions,¹² in Burton's sermon the inverse is true; Kett is a heretic, and the preacher goes on to labour the dangers of misinterpreting this event as martyrdom. Rather than allowing the description of Kett's burning to speak for itself, Burton sets up the conventions of martyrdom to subvert them.

Aware of the culturally dominant response to a body in flames, Burton sought to clarify the execution of Kett as the performance of justice, and the right way to deal with a heretic. He continued:

But shall we thinke that the Lord tooke any delight in the prayers or prayes of such a deuill incarnate? farre be it from vs. A straunge and fearefull example of a desperate, of a hardened, and a cursed creature, and yet not to be wondered at, for the deuill hath his souldiers, and martyrs aswell as the Lord, and oftentimes they are more resolute in the deuils quarrell, then some are in Gods quarrel. As for his willing and ready going, with his constant enduring, it was no more then is perfourmed by such as hang them selues, or drowne themselues, but what pleasure hath the Lord in the sacrifices of such?¹³

By aligning Kett with the devil, and accusing him of suicide, Burton mars the constancy of a man who self-consciously strives to portray devout heroism—an argument that was utilized across confessional lines to undermine the holiness of the martyrs of other sects, and

¹⁰ William Burton, *Dauids Euidenece [sic], Or, The Assurance of Gods Loue Declared in Seuen Sermons* (London, 1592), 138.

¹¹ On the joyfulness of martyrs, see the discussion of *Dido* in Chapter 3.

¹² Freeman, "Imitatio Christi with a Vengeance," 35.

¹³ Burton, *Dauids Euidenece [sic]*, 138–9.

discussed further in relation to Dido and burning widows in Chapter 3. The martyrological paradigm is acknowledged (as its pervasiveness necessitates), but it is then deliberately undermined to counter Kett's theological difference, and legitimize his execution in the eyes of those who, like Foxe and de Somere, might believe that burning is solely the work of the Antichrist.

At the same time as reactions to contemporary burning demonstrated the successes of evangelical rhetoric, the Elizabethan government came under fire for its treatment of Catholics. Since the beginning of Elizabeth's reign her government had enacted treason laws to constrain the power of Catholics, using great care to delineate these crimes as civil-political, rather than religious. However, the laws were often religiously defined, and became increasingly wide-ranging as the reign progressed. 1 Eliz. 1 c. 1 (1559) prohibited the maintenance of the Pope's jurisdiction, whether by word, deed, or act; a third offence carried the penalty for high treason: death and forfeiture. A complementary statute of the same year proclaimed the compulsory use of the Book of Common Prayer, with financial penalties for infractions (1 Eliz. 1 c. 2). Elizabethan England was, at least on the books, a hostile environment for Catholics from the outset.

Following Elizabeth's excommunication in 1570, 13 Eliz. 1 c. 2 (1571) forbade publication of materials from the See of Rome in England, again carrying the penalties of high treason. The legislation encouraged citizens to turn each other over to the law, with receivers of *Agnus Deis* to be punished along with givers unless they reported the gift to a Justice of the Peace (JP) within three days (JPs then had to pass the case to the Privy Council within two weeks, or face the same repercussions). A decade later, building pressure from the Continent brought 23 Eliz. 1 c. 1: withdrawing anyone from the state religion or to be so withdrawn constituted high treason, while saying or hearing Mass incurred vast monetary fines. From 1585, entering the Queen's dominions after ordination overseas was treason, and receiving such a guest felonious (27 Eliz. 1 c. 2). In the words of John Chapman, '[i]f we are

to regard only rules of positive law, Edmund Campion, and the rest of the Elizabethan martyrs, were guilty of treason'.¹⁴

What is perhaps obvious from the listing of statutes is that this form of 'treason' was in many ways a legal fallacy: this was religious persecution. Accordingly, the English Jesuit Edmund Campion (executed in 1581) was venerated as a martyr immediately by English Catholics, and other Catholic priests punished as 'traitors' (that is, hanged, drawn, and quartered) found their way into print as Catholic martyrs. The genre was led by the likes of Robert Persons and William Allen, and their narrative aimed to rival that of the *Acts and Monuments*.¹⁵ English Catholics felt persecuted, and on the Continent England was seen as a cruel and persecutory state.¹⁶ As Peter Lake and Michael Questier have shown at length:

Just as Romanists recast legal processes as ecclesiastical conflict, protestant propagandists tried to influence the categories, both religious and political, into which the events on the scaffold might be put by the spectators and readers of the cheap pamphlets that recounted the proceedings.¹⁷

The necessity for such careful distinction, I argue, was a development of the polemical success of Foxe's semiotics of punishment. Not only did Foxe's stories impact the way that scaffold audiences viewed Elizabethan burnings, they also were ripe for reappropriation by Catholic polemicists. However, they provided the means for the rebuttal of Catholic claims, too: Protestant propagandists used Foxe's narratives of burning to make careful distinctions

¹⁴ John H. Chapman, "The Persecution under Elizabeth," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 9 (1881): 25.

¹⁵ Works that followed swiftly after Campion's execution include: William Allen, *A Briefe Historie of the Glorious Martyrdom of Xii Reuerend Priests* (Rheims, 1582); Robert Persons, *De Persecutione Anglicana Libellus* (Romæ, 1582). Later, in 1587, came Richard Verstegan's *Theatrum Crudelitatum Hæreticorum Nostri Temporis*. The *Theatrum* contained thirty engraved plates depicting the cruelty of evangelicals which, like the woodcuts in the *Acts and Monuments*, aimed to emphasize the inhumanity of the punishments dealt.

¹⁶ In March of 1583, Dr. William Parry reported to Cecil from Venice that Persons' *De persecutione* 'hath raised a barbarous opinion of our cruelty. I could wish that in those cases it might please her Ma. to pardon the dismembering and quartering': British Museum, Lansdowne MSS., Vol. xxxvii, No. 32, quoted in Thomas H. Clancy, *Papist Pamphleteers: The Allen-Persons Party and the Political Thought of the Counter-Reformation in England, 1572-1615* (Chicago, IL: Loyola University Press, 1964), 130-31.

¹⁷ Peter Lake and Michael Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England* (London: Yale University Press, 2002), 244.

between the suffering of evangelical martyrs and the just punishment of Catholic ‘traitors’, even if Foxe himself was against the latter.¹⁸

In response to growing unease around England’s treason laws, Elizabeth’s Lord Treasurer William Cecil penned *The Execution of Justice in England* (1583) to defend the country’s practices to foreign audiences. In a manner characteristically verbose, Cecil argued that:

all persons both within the realm and abroad may plainly perceive that all the infamous libels lately published abroad in sundry languages, and the slanderous reports made in other princes’ courts of a multitude of persons to have been of late put to torments and death only for profession of the Catholic religion, and not for matters of state against the Queen’s Majesty, are false and shameless and published to the maintenance of traitors and rebels.¹⁹

The Catholic libellers’ rhetoric, Cecil suggests, extended only to the listing of the names of those who had suffered under Elizabeth, ‘to make the matter seem more horrible or lamentable’.²⁰ Countering that those listed number no more than sixty, even by the Catholics’ own records, Cecil suggests comparison with a significant persecution from living memory:

or rather with their stony and senseless hearts not regarding, in what cruel sort in the time of Queen Mary, which little exceeded the space of five years, the Queen’s Majesty’s reign being five times as many, there were by imprisonment, torments, famine, and fire, of men, women, maidens, and children, almost the number of four hundred[, beside such as were secretly murdered in prisons]; and of that number above twenty that had been archbishops, bishops, and principal prelates or officers in the Church, lamentably destroyed, and of women above threescore, and of children above forty, and amongst the women, some great with child, [and one] out of whose body the child by fire was expelled alive and yet also cruelly burned; examples beyond all heathen cruelty. And most of the youth that then suffered cruel death, both men, women, and children (which is to be noted), were such as had never by the sacrament of baptism or by confirmation, professed, or was ever taught or instructed, or ever had heard of any other kind of religion, but only of that which by their blood and death in the fire they did as true martyrs testify.²¹

¹⁸ As G. R. Elton demonstrates, Foxe advocated the gentle treatment of both Jews and Catholics, always favouring conversion and mercy over persecution and violence: *Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government*, vol. IV, Papers and Reviews 1982-1990 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 186. See also Anderson, *Martyrs and Players*, 51.

¹⁹ William Cecil, *The Execution of Justice in England*, ed. Robert M. Kingdon (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1965), 20.

²⁰ Cecil, *Execution of Justice*, 20.

²¹ Cecil, *Execution of Justice*, 20.

Cecil's argument here hinges on both the quantity and quality of executions that took place: the Catholics killed more people, they killed the innocent, and they killed them more atrociously. Where the killing of traitors is just, burning is persecution—the 'other' of true justice. Cecil's example of 'heathen cruelty' is one of the most standout images of the *Acts and Monuments*—the execution of the Guernsey women (see Figure 1.3). By using a harrowing example of fiery Marian punishment as the counterpoint to the present, Cecil attempted to establish a direct opposition between the two (Cecil, of course, says nothing of the Anabaptists who had burned in 1575, nor of the man and woman burned by the zealously reformist Edwardian church).²²

In each of these instances of Elizabethan interactions with the stake and its historiography, both the papist associations of the punishment and the martyrological possibilities of sufferance come to the fore. Despite the continued, though rare, use of burning in Elizabethan England, being a regime that burns (particularly a regime that burns to punish for religious beliefs) was, in the eyes of many, to be a persecuting one. The rest of this chapter argues that these tensions around the stake, and more broadly around the scaffold, had a perceptible impact on the staging of justice.

STAGING JUSTICE

In 1678 Thomas Rymer compared early-seventeenth-century tragic drama with that of classical authors. His English predecessors, he argued, were poor imitators of the tragic form. Amid the catalogue of failures he observed, Rymer found English dramatists' 'poetical

²² Joan Bocher and George van Parriss were both burned during Edward's reign, she in 1550, and he in 1551. Bocher was a favourite example for Robert Persons, who used her trial and execution as an example of the evangelical church's hypocrisy and brutality; see *A Treatise of Three Conuersions of England from Paganisme to Christian Religion* (Saint-Omer, 1603), II, 496.

justice' inadequate.²³ Sophocles and Euripides, he argued, laboured to teach; their craft improved the audience while pleasing them. Poets wishing to please, thought Rymer, should override the sometimes-seeming happenstance of nature and provide fitting retribution for their characters (whether in 'rewards or punishments') to teach effectively,²⁴ arguing that Aristotelian '*pitty*' comes only when audiences see 'others suffer more than their fault deserv'd', with an emphasis on viewing—precisely the kind of pity Foxe aimed to provoke (see Chapter 1).²⁵ For Rymer, there should be no '*Hell* behind the *Scenes*'; rather, 'the fire must roar in the conscience of the *Criminal*, the *fiends* and *furies* be conjur'd up to their faces, with a world of *machine* and horrid spectacles'. Justice must be unrelenting, and within the confines of the play's dramatic action. The consequences—and consequences they must be—of the characters' choices should be made obvious 'e're the *Malefactor* goes off the *Stage*'.²⁶

However, rather than the ideals he seeks, Rymer finds instead a poor imitation in the drama of the early seventeenth century. Yet, although he finds it uninspired, he identifies a different concern in English tragedy: the justice of the scaffold. Disparaging the seeming moral of the *Tragedy of Rollo* (a collaborative Jacobean play also known as *The Bloody Brother*), he writes:

The sense must be this; '*He that sheds the blood of man, by man shall his blood be shed.*' And if this be all, where's the Wonder? Have we not every day cried in the Streets, instances of God's *revenge* against *murder*, more extraordinary, and more poetical than all this comes to? If this be Poetry, *Tyburn* is a better and more ingenious *School of Vertue*, than the *Theatre*.²⁷

Rymer clearly intended to debase prosaic justice—that meted at the scaffold—as the topic of poetry. However, this particular observation (and perhaps *The Tragedies of the Last Age*

²³ Rymer is credited with coining this critical term (now more commonly 'poetic justice'): Thomas Rymer, *The Tragedies of the Last Age Consider'd and Examin'd by the Practice of the Ancients and by the Common Sense of All Ages in a Letter to Fleetwood Shepheard, Esq.* (London, 1678), 23.

²⁴ Rymer, *Tragedies of the Last Age*, 13–14.

²⁵ Rymer, *Tragedies of the Last Age*, 25.

²⁶ Rymer, *Tragedies of the Last Age*, 26.

²⁷ Rymer, *Tragedies of the Last Age*, 25.

Consider'd more broadly) suggests that the classical notions of tragedy are not the only, nor indeed the best, models through which we can understand violence in early modern drama. Often, and contrary to James Shapiro's assertion that staging executions was taboo (and seen as 'trespassing' on the 'royal prerogative'), the theatre had a keen interest in the performance of prosaic justice.²⁸

In *Two Lamentable Tragedies* (1601), for example, Thomas Merry and his sister Rachel are convicted as murderer and accomplice, and hanged at the close of the play. Not only were their executions staged faithfully, but they borrowed directly from the state as source material; Merry and his sister had been executed at Smithfield in September 1594 for the murder they had committed in August.²⁹ The theatre, then, graphically imitated the state spectacle not far from its first and true performance. Moments before the staging of their end, the play's Chorus even alludes to this mimicry: 'Your eyes shall witness of their shaded tipes / Which many heere did see perform'd indeed' (*TLT*, sig. I2v).³⁰ Theatre could self-consciously repeat state violence for the (re)viewing pleasure of the audience.

²⁸ Shapiro has argued that the theatre could not be permitted to imitate state spectacle for fear of the latter losing its power through familiarity or ambiguity; *The Spanish Tragedy's* Pedringano, he argues, is an exception to this rule ("'Tragedies Naturally Performed': Kyd's Representation of Violence," in *Staging the Renaissance: Reinterpretations of Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama*, ed. David Scott Kastan and Peter Sallibrass (New York: Routledge, 1991), 100.). However, a number of plays present prosaic execution. As well as the hanging in *Two Lamentable Tragedies*, discussed below, hanging was performed in *Sir Thomas More* (c. 1594), and disembowelling in *The Battell of Alcazar* (1594)—complete with the use of '3 violls of blood & a sheeps gather', 'a bladder holding liver, heart and lungs and one small flask of blood for each victim to burst open'—to perform the execution and disembowelling of three characters. (See Gurr, *Shakespearean Stage*, 224. The instruction itself can be found in an extant prompt book for the play: British Museum, MS. Add. 10449, fol. 3.) On the staging of beheading, and for more on the prevalence of executions on stage, see Owens, *Stages of Dismemberment*.

²⁹ These dates are confirmed by evidence from the Stationer's Register, detailing licenses issued in August and September for ephemeral literature now lost. See Edward Arber, ed., *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London: 1554-1640*, vol. 2 (London: Stationer's Company, 1875), 658–9.

³⁰ Robert Adger Law uses the evidence from the Stationer's Register and these lines to date the original composition of the play to the latter half of 1594. See Robert Adger Law, "Yarlington's 'Two Lamentable Tragedies,'" *The Modern Language Review* 5, no. 2 (1910): 167–77. While Law's argument for Robert Yarlington as the author of the plays seems implausible (Yarlington has been suggested by other scholars, after the evidence of W. W. Greg, as merely a scribe), his dating is tempting, particularly as it would place the play in closer proximity to other plays featuring this form of staging, such as *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Sir Thomas More*.

When the final scene begins, Merry and Rachel enter ‘*to execution with Officers with Halberdes, the Hangman with a lather &c.*’ (sig. K1v). Tantalizing as the ‘&c.’ is for the critic interested in the logistics of staging, it suggests a theatrical familiarity with the process to be followed and the equipment to be used, while ‘*Halberdes*’ signify the official nature of the execution.³¹ By marking such scenes as judicial in this way, dramatists left their spectacles open to the same forms of judgement as the scaffold. In the *Acts and Monuments* woodcuts, the halberds of judicial ceremony pepper the crowds, emphasizing the state’s role in these burnings (see, as examples, Figures 1.3 and 1.5). The result is not the depiction of justice, but rather the depiction of official complicity in cruelty and injustice. As I will discuss below, the implications of halberds could be similar on the stage. However, sometimes the suggestion of state injustice was more overt.

In John Fletcher and Philip Massinger’s politically topical play *Sir John van Olden Barnavelt* (1619) the executioner beheads Barnavelt onstage before asking, ‘is it well don mine Heeres?’³² For critic Margaret Owens, the executioner’s remark has theatrical implications: as well as marking the beheading complete, it asks the audience whether the company have done well in simulating a judicial execution.³³ The actor-executioner actively covets an assessment of his theatrical verisimilitude.

However, the executioner’s question seems also to foreground issues of judicial legitimacy: ‘is it well don’ may imply ‘is this killing done in accordance with moral right?’³⁴ Indeed, for a controversial play that based its action on contemporary political events and was censored by both political and religious authorities, the question is pertinent.³⁵ Executed

³¹ Other staged scenes utilizing this shorthand to demonstrate official sanction include *The Spanish Tragedy* (III.i), *The Duchess of Suffolk* (sig. G3v), and at the penance of Eleanor Cobham, discussed below.

³² Wilhelmina P. Frijlink, ed., *The Tragedy of Sir John Van Olden Barnavelt* (Amsterdam: H. G. Van Dorssen, 1922), l. 2996.

³³ Owens, *Stages of Dismemberment*, 141.

³⁴ ‘well’, *adv.* and *n.4* in OED [Online], esp. A 1a and c.

³⁵ T. H. Howard-Hill, “Buc and the Censorship of *Sir John van Olden Barnavelt* in 1619,” *Review of English Studies* 39, no. 153 (1988): 39–63.

by a man who has won the privilege of killing him while playing at dice, Sir John's death blow interrupts his final prayer: Fletcher and Massinger's audiences might well have deemed the execution not well done at all.³⁶ However, the executioner's question reaches beyond the immediate context of Jacobean drama, and as a popular concern certainly precedes it.

As with the censorship applied to *Barnavelt*, the presentation of justice proved an issue for censors in the later years of Elizabeth's reign. The second edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1587), expanded and overseen by Alexander Fleming, provides clear examples of the censorship applied to contemporary judicial material. In her discussion of the two stages of censorship undergone by the edition, Cyndia Clegg notes that derogatory comments about the English justice system were the targets of the first round of cuts to the *History of England* section: 'although they do not always eliminate the report of the event that gave rise to the disparaging remarks', censors were ruthless with opinions which called attention to possible miscarriages of justice by the English.³⁷ Correspondingly, the *Chronicles*' account of the execution of two seminary priests found guilty of treason disappeared altogether with the cuts, as did the report of rumours spread by Edmund Campion's followers that his execution was to punish his religion, rather than his crimes against the state. Evidently, the censors endeavoured to withhold material that might suggest the English state was persecuting Catholics on account of their religion.

A second round of cuts removed two further tales of English justice gone awry: the trials and executions of Foule of Rie and Joan Cason. Foule was the victim of a rushed mayoral trial, and was executed for stealing from his wife (the incident took place in 1547).³⁸ Joan, accused of bewitching a three-year-old girl, was fortunate to find her charge

³⁶ The same concerns plague Hamlet, who expresses his unease at the prospect of killing Claudius while on his knees; to kill the King while he 'is a-praying' would send him straight 'to heaven' (*H*, III.iii.73-4).

³⁷ Cyndia Susan Clegg, "Censorship," in *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles*, ed. Paulina Kewes, Ian W. Archer, and Felicity Heal (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 57.

³⁸ See Annabel Patterson, "Foul, His Wife, the Mayor, and Foul's Mare: The Power of Anecdote in Tudor Historiography," in *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain: History, Rhetoric, and Fiction*,

lessened by the jury during the trial, only to be overcome by a lawyer who insisted that the lesser crime was still punishable by death.³⁹ Understandably, Joan's execution prompted outrage in the community that had endeavoured to save her. On these occasions, as with the Catholic priests, allegations of miscarriages of justice were a source of embarrassment for the English state, and were therefore suppressed in printed literature by its censors. While these events were all accounts from living memory, they highlight the acute sensitivity of both the Elizabethan state and its population to the intimation or perceived occurrence of injustice. On the stage, and with greater historical distance, these same issues could be presented for scrutiny.

STAGING INJUSTICE IN 2 *HENRY VI*: ELEANOR'S BURNING TAPER

Topical religious analysis of the *Henry VI* plays has concentrated on *Part III* due to an ahistorical moment which links it with a contemporary legal battle taking place in Shakespeare's native Warwickshire. In both the Octavo (1594) and Folio texts of 3 *Henry VI*, a messenger with an acute knowledge of the surrounding area approaches Warwick and his army near Stratford. In the Folio, he is identified as 'Somerville'. For Randall Martin and John Cox, this naming connects Shakespeare's drama with the famous Arden treason case of 1583, wherein John Somerville and his father-in-law Edward Arden were found guilty of plotting to assassinate the queen.⁴⁰ Somerville was found hanged in his cell the day before the execution was due to take place, while Arden met the scaffold on 20 December 1583—

1500-1800, ed. Donald R. Kelley and David H. Sacks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 159-78, esp. 176-178.

³⁹ Joan was tried on 19 April 1586. For more information on the case and its censorship, see Annabel Patterson, *Reading Holinshed's Chronicles* (Chicago, IL; London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 225-233.

⁴⁰ See Randall Martin, "Rehabilitating John Somerville in 3 Henry VI," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 51, no. 3 (2000): 332-40; John D. Cox, "Local References in 3 Henry VI," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 51, no. 3 (2000): 340-52.

not coincidentally, three days after the first publication of Cecil's *Execution of Justice*.⁴¹ For Martin, the name is an attempt to rehabilitate Somerville, whose condemnation was unjust in view of his mental incapacitation (a state recognized implicitly by Cecil, and explicitly by Cardinal Allen).⁴² In addition, Lily Campbell has convincingly demonstrated the case's impact on other aspects of the play, confirming state violence of the 1580s as an important context for *3 Henry VI*.⁴³

Here, I focus instead on *2 Henry VI*. Across the *Henry VI* plays, justice is a recurrent motif, particularly as administered by a state authority. In *2 Henry VI* specifically, we witness a condemnation of treasonous sorcery (2H6, II.iii), as well as Horner's trial by combat (I.iii), and the display of Jack Cade's head following his rebellion (V.i). In each of these instances justice itself is tried, and audiences are forced to consider the propriety and symbolism of a range of punishments.

Especially revealing is Eleanor Cobham's penance for sorcery—a sentence that commutes the statutory burning that her female accomplice is handed, before moving offstage to suffer. Looking at the dramatic presentation of this punishment exposes the contemporary unease toward religious persecution, and burning in particular, that haunts this play. Eleanor Cobham, sentenced to penance and exile in *2 Henry VI*, proved a controversial presence in John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*. Her punishment, and its religious connotations, led Foxe to praise her alongside his martyrs—prompting the ire of his

⁴¹ Randall Martin discusses Cecil's precision in dating his work on its title page as 17 December 1583—one day after the men's indictment, and three days prior to their execution—as a deliberate step in justifying their punishment. See "Rehabilitating John Somerville," 335, and n. 10.

⁴² Martin, "Rehabilitating John Somerville." Somerville is said to have been mentally ill when he made his threats against the queen. Polemicists dealing with the events suggested that he was strangled in his cell by guards who did not want his mental deficiencies to be recognized by those present at his execution, though it was stated that he committed suicide. See William Wizeman, "Somerville, John (1560-1583)" in *ODNB [Online]*.

⁴³ Campbell demonstrates that the invective of John Leslie's *A Treatise of Treasons Against Q. Elizabeth, and the Crowne of England* ([Paris], 1572/3) was a source for some of the insults in *3 Henry VI*. See Lily B. Campbell, *Shakespeare's "Histories": Mirrors of Elizabethan Policy* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1947), esp. 322.

religious opponents. In Shakespeare's rendering Eleanor's punishment is used to draw attention to her entrapment: the playwright courts the widely recognizable visual poetics of the *Acts and Monuments* to invite scrutiny of the justice performed, a format we will see again in the likes of *Dido, Queen of Carthage* and *Tamburlaine*, both discussed in Part II. Without arguing for Shakespeare's allegiance to either side of the confessional divide, this final section looks at the ways in which the play courts public attitudes to historical judicial punishment.⁴⁴ Shakespeare presents Eleanor's punishment onstage as a moment of questionable 'justice' for the scrutiny of a society that was sensitive to burning as religious persecution, and wary of 'treason' as a brutally punished legal fallacy.

Margery Jourdain (the 'Witch of Eye'), who is condemned with Eleanor Cobham and her fellow sorcerers for calling forth a spirit to give a prophecy on the King, is sentenced to burn at the stake. Like Joan la Pucelle in *Part I*, she is taken offstage to suffer. For the Duchess, however, this sentence is mitigated to the performance of penance followed by exile. Eleanor's penance is then performed on stage in a tableau that brings religious symbolism to the fore; in this performance the meaning of the punishment is complicated, and Eleanor's guilt is contested through action. Where Joan la Pucelle's guilt is ultimately affirmed without the tempering of a spectacular execution (as explored in Chapter 6), the Duchess's punishment is used to highlight the external orchestration of her downfall.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Shakespeare's religious inclinations have long been debated, with critics and historians adopting diametrically opposed, as well as more nuanced, positions. Peter Milward argued for Shakespeare's Catholicism, for example, while Donna Hamilton reads the didacticism of Protestantism into some Shakespearean drama: Milward, *Shakespeare's Religious Background* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1973); Hamilton, *Shakespeare and the Politics of Protestant England* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1992). More recently, the collection *Lancastrian Shakespeare* explores the possibility of Shakespeare's connection with a group of Warwickshire Catholics, and his father's ongoing Catholic faith: Richard Dutton, Alison Findlay, and Richard Wilson, eds., *Theatre and Religion: Lancastrian Shakespeare* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003). Here, where I am concerned with the ways of viewing Eleanor's punishment, the religious sympathies of the author are not directly relevant.

⁴⁵ Both Nina Levine and Lawrence Manley have discussed Eleanor's questionable guilt. Here, I wish to further this argument by observing the role of the punishment itself in that questioning. See Nina S. Levine, *Women's Matters: Politics, Gender, and Nation in Shakespeare's Early History Plays* (London: Associated

In 2 *Henry VI* the King himself issues ‘the sentence of the law’ (2*H6*, II.iii.3). Henry’s speech is regal and commanding—a marked contrast to his various dealings with the rebels earlier in the play, lending a formal gravity missing from the condemnation of Joan in *Part I*. Henry’s sentencing is measured, concise, and final; as he promised upon their capture, he has ‘poise[d] the cause in Justice’ equal scales’ (II.i.200). Yet in the performance of the punishment for this collaborative crime, the lens of justice focuses on a single character. Four lines only serve to condemn Eleanor’s accomplices: Southwell, Hume and Bolingbroke will hang beside a burning Jourdain in Smithfield—a curious curtailment of the hanging, drawing, and quartering expected for men in such cases of high treason (II.iii.5-8).⁴⁶ Thus sentenced, they leave our sight forever. Eleanor, however, is to enact her designated penance (a concession to her nobility, and a mitigation of the burning handed down to Jourdain) in view of the audience.

When Eleanor returns to the stage in II.iv, it is ‘*in a white sheet, and a taper burning in her hand*’ (II.iv.sd). Or, as *The First Part of the Contention* (1594) more fully expresses it: ‘*Enter Dame Elnor Cobham bare-foote, and a white sheete about her, with a waxe candle in her hand, and verses written on her backe and pind on*’. In this earlier direction, the Officers that follow her come ‘*with billes and holbards*’, marking the display with the kind of judicial solemnity discussed above.⁴⁷ Whether the latter is a memorial reconstruction,⁴⁸ or an earlier

University Presses, 1998); Lawrence Manley, “From Strange’s Men to Pembroke’s Men: 2 ‘Henry VI’ and *The First Part of the Contention*,” *Shakespeare Quarterly* 54, no. 3 (October 1, 2003): 253–87.

⁴⁶ Bolingbroke in fact was hanged, drawn, and quartered, while Southwell died in prison in the Tower of London. See G. L. Harriss, “Eleanor Cobham,” in *ODNB [Online]*, n.d., accessed September 27, 2015.

⁴⁷ *The First Part of the Contention Betwixt the Two Famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster, with the Death of the Good Duke Humphrey* (London, 1594), sig. D2v.

⁴⁸ This theory, first articulated fully in the early twentieth century in W. W. Greg’s edition of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, suggests that the ‘bad quartos’ of Shakespeare plays are the product of actors remembering their parts onto the page for publication. *Shakespeare’s Merry Wives of Windsor, 1602*, ed. W. W. Greg (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910).

version of a text revised later,⁴⁹ the similar directions confirm that Eleanor's penance was performed on the Elizabethan stage.

The historical Eleanor's penance was the subject of controversy in this period, and the nature of her crime was debated in print. While the play does not engage directly with these debates, bringing the penance *onstage* allows Shakespeare to utilize the visual poetics of Protestant martyrology to bring these controversies to the audience's attention. The Duchess's guilt should appear beyond doubt—the audience witness her presiding over the necromantic conjuration (I.iv), just as they witness Joan's witchcraft. However, the play's performance of the penance interacts with the contested history of Eleanor Cobham and the evangelicals and proto-Protestants of Foxe's history, highlighting the instability of the regime by which she is condemned.

The story of Eleanor's punishment is told in various contemporary historical sources that Shakespeare is known to have consulted. Holinshed's *Chronicles* records that the Duchess 'was inioined to go through Cheapside with a taper in her hand', for example, citing Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon*.⁵⁰ As Dominique Goy-Blanquet observes, however, the fullest account of Eleanor's penance comes from the *Mirror for Magistrates*, a compendium history in the form of first-person tragic laments, first published in 1559.⁵¹ In the *Mirror*, Eleanor tells how she had:

With Taper burning, shrouded in a sheete
Three dayes a row, to passe the open streate.

⁴⁹ Steven Urkowitz presents the revision argument for these plays in "Texts with Two Faces: Noticing Theatrical Revisions in 'Henry VI, Parts 2 and 3,'" in *Henry VI: Critical Essays*, ed. Thomas A. Pendleton (New York; London: Routledge, 2001), 27–37.

⁵⁰ Raphael Holinshed, *Chronicles [1587]*, VI:622. In 1548 Edward Hall had also recorded that the Duchess was 'conuict & iudged, to do open penaunce, in. iij. open places within the cite of London, and after that adiudged to perpetuall prisone in the Isle of Man', *Hall's Chronicle; Containing the History of England, during the Reign of Henry the Fourth, and the Succeeding Monarchs, to the End of the Reign of Henry the Eighth, in Which Are Particularly Described the Manners and Customs of Those Periods*. (London: Printed for J. Johnson; F. C. and J. Rivington; T. Payne; Wilkie and Robinson; Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme; Cadell and Davies; and J. Mawman, 1809), 202.

⁵¹ Dominique Goy-Blanquet, *Shakespeare's Early History Plays: From Chronicle to Stage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 96–7.

Barelegd, and bare foote, to al the worldes wonder.⁵²

The wording—which we find lifted into the 1594 stage direction—suggests, in Goy-Blanquet’s analysis, that the playwright took his information from this source, rather than the prose chronicles. This proposition is readily bolstered by the comparable temperament of the two Eleanors. In 2 *Henry VI*, it is the pride and decadence of the Duchess that prompts the vexation of Queen Margaret:

[...] that proud dame, the Lord Protector’s wife,
She sweeps it through the court with troops of ladies,
More like an empress than Duke Humphrey’s wife.
Strangers in court do take her for the Queen. (2*H6*, I.iii.76-79)

Eleanor is conspired against because she threatens the Queen, and her own character interacts with the malignity of others to bring about her downfall.

Yet in this theatrical characterization an element of the *Mirror* is missing. The *Mirror for Magistrates* depicts Eleanor’s crime in language that foreshadows her punishment. In accordance with the *Mirror*’s talionic principles—more suitable to Rymer’s ‘poetical justice’—Eleanor denounces her life’s sumptuous pursuits in fiery language:

The brondes of pryde so in my breast did burne
As the hot sparkes, burst forth in open showe,
And more and more the fyre began to glowe,
Without quenching, and dayly did encrease,
Til fortunes blastes with shame did make it cease.⁵³

The burning of her pride resulted in the burning of a taper, the latter a signal drawing unwelcome recognition to an otherwise attention-seeking, ambitious, and lavish figure. Immediate attention is then followed by banishment: the character coveting recognition is to be dismissed entirely. This ‘like for like’ symmetry—fire for fire—is lost within the play.

Shakespeare’s Eleanor remains covetous and aspirant. She has ‘ambitious thoughts’ which draw her husband’s censure (I.ii.18). She is ‘presumptuous’ and ‘ill-nurtur’d’ (I.ii.42).

⁵² William Baldwin, *The Mirror for Magistrates*, ed. Lily B. Campbell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938), 436, ll. 139–141.

⁵³ Baldwin, *The Mirror for Magistrates*, 433–434, ll. 52–56.

She does not, however, burn. Instead, the burning metaphor is shifted into the personality of other characters. For example, at the close of the play, an assuming York threatens to ‘heat’ his enemies ‘thoroughly anon’, while Old Clifford warns in response, ‘Take heed, lest by your heat you burn yourselves’ (V.i.159-60)—a moral lesson more akin to the *Mirror’s* presentation of Eleanor. York’s aspiration is the same as Eleanor’s: both covet the crown. But for Eleanor, whose punishment we see performed in this play, the elemental correspondence between crime and punishment is lacking. Her penance therefore stands to be interpreted without internal foreshadowing, in place of which the *Acts and Monuments* could provide a thoroughly partisan frame of reference.

In 1563 Foxe had presented Eleanor Cobham as ‘a woman nothing at all degenerating from her stock’. Eleanor, he continued, had for ‘none other thing of her but that for suspicion of heresie, that is to say, for the loue and desire of the truth’ been banished ‘by the papists’. On the same page, Foxe adds to his anecdote of ‘cruelty vpon wemen’, couched in the language of victimization, by noting one ‘certaine lady Surnamed yong’ who ‘perseuer[ed] euen vnto the fier’ for the truth of the gospel in 1490 (*A&M* [1563], 423).

By 1570, this ‘hastely rashed vp’ section was enlarged to counter the arguments of ‘Alan Cope’, the pseudonym of Catholic controversialist Nicholas Harpsfield who had attacked Foxe at length in his *Dialogi sex* (1566).⁵⁴ Harpsfield pointed out that Eleanor Cobham had really been indicted for treason by sorcery, and suggested that Foxe’s Lady Young (supposedly executed in 1490) was in fact Margery Jourdain, the Witch of Eye (executed in 1441). Foxe’s nine-point rebuttal of the assault swelled his text on the subject from one paragraph to three folio pages, among which the most important for our purpose here is Foxe’s sixth point: to deny Eleanor’s treason, Foxe distinguishes between types of crimes by the severity of the punishment suffered:

⁵⁴ Alan Cope, *Dialogi Sex Contra Summi Pontificatus, Monasticae Vitae, Sanctorum, Sacrarum Imaginum Oppugnatores, et Pseudomartyres* (Antwerp, 1566).

Sixtlye, it is not to be supposed, if any suche hye treason had bene wrought or pretended agaynste the kinges person by these, that eyther the Duches shoulde so escape with bearing a taper and banishment: or that Iohn Hume should be pardoned his life, the fact being so heynous that neyther any durste aske hys pardon, nor if it had ben asked, it had not ben like to be graunted. (*Actes and Monuments* [1570], 853)

In fact, Eleanor's mitigated punishment had been the result of the general reluctance of the ecclesiastical courts to hand down capital sentences; hers had since become a precedent case in instances of sorcery against the king.⁵⁵ Foxe was objectively wrong. Yet 'bearing a taper' in the *Acts and Monuments* is the mark of one tried on the basis of their beliefs. Indeed, it is the taper that distinguishes Eleanor from the men and women performing penance in Elizabethan England, most of whom were made to bear 'a white rod', or staff. Moreover, Elizabethan penance was mostly performed by those found guilty of sexual crimes—adultery and childbearing outside of marriage. The candle, and with it fire, is instead the punishment of those abjuring heretical doctrines.⁵⁶ Eleanor's punishment is therefore a historically contested signifier.

By placing Eleanor among his martyrs, Foxe was dealing consistently with the records of fifteenth-century penal practices. Elsewhere in the *Acts and Monuments*, and particularly in its history of the fifteenth century, penance is a central part of the persecution suffered by the True Church. In the story of the punishment of John Florence, for example, Foxe tells of how the turner was forced to do penance in his hometown in 1424:

Three Sondayes in a solemne procession in the Cathedrall church of Norwiche, he shoulde be displd [*sic*] before all the people. The lyke also should bee done about hys parish church of Shelton, three other seuerall Sondayes, he beyng bare headed, bare footed & bare necked, after the manner of a publicke penitentie, his body beyng

⁵⁵ Manley, "From Strange's Men to Pembroke's Men," 265.

⁵⁶ The 'white rod' is found in the various county records analyzed by Dave Postles. Postles also gives the standard penance of the late-medieval heretic: 'elaborate processional procedure was itemised in almost all the prosecutions of heretics: nude except for a white sheet, barelegged and barefooted in the penitential manner; carrying a candle; marked out by the symbol of the faggot or bearing a bundle of faggots on his back; required to perambulate the markets or the four corners of the market; preceded by the apparitor and followed by the curate wearing a surplice and carrying a rod pointing at the penitent; and whipped and disciplined at each station of the market'. See "Penance and the Market Place: A Reformation Dialogue with the Medieval Church (c. 1250-c. 1600)," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 54, no. 3 (2003): 445.

couered with a canues shiert, and canues breches, carying in hys hand a taper of a pounce wayght, and that done he was dismissed. (*A&M* [1570], 803)

Similarly, in 1428, Thomas Pye and John Mendham were punished as part of a group following the Wycliffite scholar William White. Pye and Mendham were made to do penance after they abjured, while White was burned along with ‘father Abraham of Colchester, and John Waddon Priest’ (*A&M* [1570], 806). Foxe takes his narrative of their penance from the directions given in the Bishop of Norwich’s letter, which sentences the men to:

a solemne procession, sixe seuerall sondayes, and three displynges [*sic*] aboute the market place of Harelston of our sayde dioces, three pryncipall market dayes, bare necked, head, legs, and feete, theyr bodies being couered onely with their shiertes and breches, eyther of them carying a taper in his hand of a pound waight, as well round about the Churche, as about the market place, in euery of the foresayd appoynted dayes. (*A&M* [1570], 806)

Following the penance, the men’s tapers were to be ‘offer[ed] vnto the highe aultar of the paryshe church of Alborough at the time of the offertory of the hye Masse the same daye’ (*A&M* [1570], 806). For the orthodox ministers, the penitents’ tapers marked their return to the Catholic Church. For Foxe, however, they were emblems of persecution.

In the woodcuts that accompany these episodes, the correlation with Eleanor’s penance, which comes less than fifty pages later, is clear (see Figures 2.1 and 2.2). These men suffer in white; their bare feet carry them through the streets, and their tapers burn in their hands. Though Eleanor’s punishment is not illustrated, the similarity of these images to one another suggests that Foxe and his readers should imagine the same punishment for the Duchess. More importantly, and as Foxe made clear, by virtue of this punishment, she could be held in the same esteem, and viewed as persecuted in the same way.

FOXEAN INJUSTICE

The displing of Iohn Florence.



Figure 2.1: The disciplining of John Florence. First appeared in *A&M* [1570], 803. From *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online*. Available at: <http://www.johnfoxe.org/woodcuts/fo693w2.gif>.



Figure 2.2: The Penance of Thomas Pye and John Mendham. *The first volume of the ecclesiastical history contaynyng the actes and monumentes [...]* (1570), 2 vols. In the Wren Collection at Trinity College, Cambridge, C.17.24-5. Vol. 1, 786.

But the rest of the *Acts and Monuments* develops the role of penance in the narrative of reformation. Later in the text a similar penance is paid by James Bainham, an evangelical investigated under Thomas More's Henrician anti-heresy campaign. Bainham was made 'to go before the Crosse in procession at Paules, and to stand before the preacher duryng the Sermons at Paules Crosse, with a Fagot vpon his shoulder' (*A&M* [1570], 1209). The text presents little in common with the punishment of the Duchess of Gloucester, or even with the Wycliffites of the fifteenth century; yet, in the accompanying woodcut image the correlation is clear (Figure 2.3).



Figure 2.3: The Penance of James Bainham. First appeared in *A&M* [1570], 1209. From *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online*. Available at: <http://www.johnfoxe.org/woodcuts/f1063w.gif>.

As with the Wycliffites, Bainham's bare feet are visible beneath his white robe,⁵⁷ and his taper has become more stylized. However, prominent in this image, alongside the taper, is the faggot observed by the text. Presenting both together, this image bridges the gap between Wycliffite penance and the burning of evangelicals. The two punishments are linked in their service to the True Church, and their sufferance at the hands of papists.

Within the bounds of the Bainham image (in the historical moment) it is the presiding tonsured priest who directs interpretation. The sins of the penitent are expounded and his erroneous beliefs refuted in the sermon accompanying the event. Moreover, Bainham is separated physically from those around him; he stands solitary, the potential object of ridicule. However, in Foxe's text, the image illustrates suffering in the name of truth, and the bundle of faggots presages the punishment yet to be suffered: Bainham's penitence was short-lived, and he burned at the stake only two months later, a fate that the *Acts and Monuments* illustrates with another woodcut (*A&M* [1570], 1211).

In each image, the taper is at the centre of the visual symbolism. Its burning flame draws the eye, and is the light by which the evangelical ethos resonates. As Chapter 1 explored, candles are a recurring image in the *Acts and Monuments*, both as an emblem of Catholic ritual and torment, and of the birth and continuation of reformed truth. Eleanor's staged penance is therefore richly symbolic in the Protestant tradition, with the burning taper at the centre of the symbolism. Unlike the faggots that are yet to be lit in the Bainham image, the flame of the candle symbolizes the torment that would be endured by the faithful, but also the birth and continuation of truth that such torment will achieve—a symbolism all the more profound in retrospect.

⁵⁷ In the coloured edition of the 1570 *Acts and Monuments* housed in the Wren Collection of Trinity College, Cambridge (C.17.24 and C.17.25) Bainham's robe is painted white (vol. 2, 1209), as is John Florence's loincloth (vol. 1, 782; here in black and white as Figure 2.1), and those worn by Thomas Pye and John Mendam in an image of their taper-bearing penance (vol. 1, 786; here as Figure 2.2).

Eleanor Cobham's penance, as the commuted sentence of burning, links her even more directly in penal practice to both the penitent Wycliffites and the evangelical heretics of the reformation, despite her historical conviction for treason; in *2 Henry VI*, the sentence dealt to the Witch of Eye still hovers as the possibility she has escaped, even though the Duchess does not carry a faggot. Indeed, as I will discuss further in Chapter 5, for women accused of domestic treasons in particular, this kind of semiotic ambiguity with those convicted of heresies continued into Elizabeth's reign. In this play, consistent with her fifteenth-century disciplining, and yet imbued by hindsight and Protestant historiography with the same significance of the stake she avoided, Eleanor's penance begs caution in the interpretation of her punishment.

Editors have suggested that passages in Foxe are echoed in *2 Henry VI*,⁵⁸ and as I have argued above, many of Shakespeare's audience members would be familiar with the narratives and motifs of the *Acts and Monuments* too. However, it is not my intention to suggest that Shakespeare used Foxe's depiction of Eleanor as the basis for his representation. The performance of penance on stage is not a direct comparison of Eleanor with the evangelical martyrs of the *Acts and Monuments*, and the Duchess is not innocent of the charges she faces. This penance is, however, a shorthand reminder of the uncertainty of the 'justice' we witness.

As with the illustrations of penance in the *Acts and Monuments*, the taper glowing on stage is a trick to draw attention, and operates at the centre of the action's visual poetics. In *1 Henry VI*, 'bonfires' are to mark the victory of the English in France (*1H6*, I.i.153-154), and at the close of *2 Henry VI*, York demands their kindling as a symbol of the rightfulness with which he enters the capital to claim the kingship (*2H6*, V.i.1-4). Fire in these plays, as in

⁵⁸ See, for example, Knowles, ed., for the Cardinal's assessment of Duke Humphrey's character (I.i.155-159 in his edition).

society, is a signifier.⁵⁹ In Eleanor's case, the fire of the taper signifies her isolated standing in a play-world that has conspired against her.

As she traverses the stage, the Duchess draws attention to her punishment's various aspects through laments: 'The ruthless flint doth cut my tender feet,' (II.iv.34), she announces, and passers by merely 'laugh' at her pain (II.iv.35). Gloucester even turns away, too sentimental to watch his wife suffer (II.iv.86). Eleanor, like the persecuted penitents in Foxe's woodcuts, is isolated and redefined by the regime that punishes her. In the absence of a priest, her crimes are described on 'papers on [her] back' (II.iv.31); she knows that her 'shame will not be shifted with [her] sheet' (II.iv.107), but rather that this penance will come to define her. Yet the audience looking on the spectacle, rather than experiencing it from within the community of the play, is placed in the perspective of Foxe's readers (rather than the attendants of the sermon, or those witnessing the whipping of Wycliffites). Audiences possess greater knowledge than the husband who turns away, or even the King who passes down the sentence: the audience is aware of the corruption and injustice of the state. Eleanor, we know, was entrapped.

Moments before the conjuration scene that condemns the Duchess, Hume confesses to the audience that the Cardinal and Suffolk are conspiring for Gloucester's downfall. Thus, despite witnessing Eleanor soliciting Hume to bring together conjurers for her purposes, he admits the fact that the Cardinal and Suffolk having paid him to 'undermine the Duchess / And buzz these conjurations in her brain' mitigates her guilt (I.ii.98-99). Eleanor's own role in her crime is destabilized. These nuances of guilt and innocence are brought together in the performance of penance in Act 2—a moment that does not argue that Eleanor Cobham is a religious martyr, but does exploit the contemporary and cumulative symbolism of the punishment to question the machinations of justice. As Eleanor traverses the stage with her

⁵⁹ Bonfires generally heralded good news in early modern England. They were ordered, for example, at the uncovering of the Babington plot, discussed below. See Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, 76, and passim.

taper, the audience is forced to assess in which party the greater portion of guilt resides: the individual, or the fragmented state that worked against her.

Eleanor Cobham did not burn at the stake—neither historically, nor on Shakespeare’s stage. Yet in *2 Henry VI*, this distinction does not matter. The commuted penance that Eleanor performs for the audience presents a theatrical tableau still recognizable from the *Acts and Monuments* as a way station on the road to the stake, and a marker of the persecuted Church. Within the play this visual echo calls audiences to view with caution and scepticism. As contemporary England argued over the propriety of punishments, Eleanor’s penance uses fire, and its martyrological rhetoric, to draw these debates onto the stage.

By isolating this instance of historical punishment in *2 Henry VI* and reading it alongside the *Acts and Monuments*, its engagement with debates regarding the legitimacy of justice is made clear. Eleanor’s penance exposes the fine line between justice and injustice, bringing the importance of perspective and the precariousness of evidence to the forefront of the audience’s attention at moments of sentencing and punishment. Moreover, it does so by staging a form of punishment with explicit, recent historical links to the stake.

* * *

In this chapter, burning has been located at the very heart of debates concerning the propriety of religious execution, which in turn have been shown to structure the performance of justice on the Elizabethan stage. The pervasive influence of the *Acts and Monuments* in Elizabethan thought was seen in accounts of contemporary burnings, while Cecil’s establishment rhetoric rendered burning the absolute expression of injustice. In the theatre, Elizabethan unease concerning injustice is manifest in *2 Henry VI*’s interaction with prosaic justice. Eleanor Cobham is not burned, yet the handling of her punishment shows the influence of a religious and political climate dealing with the legacy of the Marian counter-reforming burning campaign. Eleanor’s punishment presents in microcosm the themes to be explored more broadly in the chapters that follow—in the wake of the *Acts and*

Monuments, the symbolic relationship between fire, the stake, and injustice is brought to the fore in performances of burning.

The rest of the thesis concentrates on a diverse set of theatrical moments related to burning at the stake, and to the rhetoric of the *Acts and Monuments*, to further refine the nuances of this relationship, and demonstrate its dramatic range. In the remaining chapters the *Acts and Monuments* itself, along with its influence on contemporary notions of justice and burning, will be invoked as a paradigm that informs the theatregoers and playwrights of Elizabethan London. In Part III, I return to the problematic place of burning in English justice, and also to the *Henry VI* series, but what follows in Part II is an extension of the analysis of fire spectacles and their relationship with the *Acts and Monuments*. Like Eleanor Cobham's penance, Dido's suicide and Tamburlaine's book bonfire create theatrical tableaux that recall fiery scenes from the *Acts and Monuments*. Chapters 3 and 4 explore the impact that the recognition of such tableaux—and the rhetoric that should accompany them—might have had on audience interpretation of the plays that stage them.

PART II

FIRE SPECTACLES & PROTESTANT MARTYROLOGY

3

Dido's Pyre: Martyrdom and Suicide in *Dido, Queen of Carthage*

In assessing the dramatic and historical contexts of the period under study, Part I of this thesis demonstrated not only the inherent theatricality of the *Acts and Monuments*, but also the fertility of the Elizabethan theatre for sharing both spectacle and narrative with the contemporary penal system. Moving away from the familiar Foucauldian ‘theatre of the scaffold’ and ‘scaffold in the theatre’, I turned instead to the performance of potential injustices as informed by the Foxe’s revisionist interpretation of the semiotics of the stake. In the remaining chapters, each of which focuses on a single play, I will explore the ways in which these contexts can inform our reading of the drama, and how, in turn, plays attempt to shape audience responses to the controversial fate of burning at the stake. This part will focus on fiery dramatic spectacles—in which, even while there is no execution by fire, burning at the stake is indirectly reflected and refracted—while Part III explores plays in which historical figures are sentenced to burn. For fiery spectacles, I turn to Christopher Marlowe.

In 1627, over three decades after Marlowe’s premature death, Michael Drayton eulogized that ‘his raptures were / All ayre, and fire’.¹ Though Drayton could have been describing the disposition of the poet himself, his words certainly speak to the choleric spirit

¹ Michael Drayton, “Elegy to My Most Nearly-Loved Friend, Henry Reynolds (1627),” in *Minor Poems*, ed. Cyril Bret (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), 110.

of many of Marlowe's dramatic creations. Marlowe's plays take as their subject, universally, characters whose burning passions govern their actions and their interactions with the world around them. From Tamburlaine's 'frowning browes and fiery lookes' (*T1*, I.ii.56), to the Duke of Guise, animated by 'those never dying flames, / Which cannot be extinguisht but by bloud' (*MP*, ii.35-6), Marlowe's characters are driven by inner heat. Dido's passion is pure fire—her love for Aeneas is felt as 'these flames', which she imagines kindled by 'his burning armes' (*D*, III.iv.22-3); Faustus makes his ascent as one 'seated in a chariot burning-bright' (*F*, Chorus II.5); Barabas confesses that he acts 'through a burning zeale' (*JM*, II.iii.87); and in *Edward II* we see both the King threatening to use fire with force (*E2*, iv.99-100; xi.180; xviii.44) and the aspirational Mortimer urging for 'a burning zeale, / To mend the king, and do our countrie good' (iv.256-7).

Moreover, excepting 1 *Tamburlaine*, each of Marlowe's seven plays makes use of fire, heat, or burning as a threat to bodily integrity. In *The Massacre at Paris*, this comes only in contemplation: discussing how best to dispose of the corpse of the Protestant Admiral, the first victim of the League Massacre, two soldiers debate the merits of burning the body (*MP*, xi). However, in the rest of Marlowe's canon, burning comes to fruition. In 2 *Tamburlaine*, Olympia burns the bodies of her husband and son to save them from defilement (*T2*, III.iv.33), while Tamburlaine condemns Qur'ans to the flames (V.i.186). In the remaining plays, Marlowe's protagonists meet fiery ends: Dido commits suicide in a bonfire of her departed lover's belongings (*D*, V.i.310-3); in the B-text of *Doctor Faustus*, Marlowe's scholar is dragged screaming into the fiery depths of hell to be torn limb from limb (*F*, Appendix B, xiiia); Barabas the Jew is boiled alive in a cauldron at the close of *The Jew of Malta* (*JM*, V.v.62); and finally King Edward is thrust with a glowing poker (*E2*, xxii.110).

Despite these many fires, the only characters within Marlowe's corpus that might legitimately be deemed martyrs are the Huguenots of *The Massacre at Paris*; they are in fact

commemorated in Foxe's final edition of the *Acts and Monuments* in 'A briefe Note concerning the horrible Massaker in Fraunce. an. 1572', just before the work's conclusion (*A&M* [1583], 2175-77). However, although Marlowe's choice of subject matter in this play attests his interest in sectarian politics and violence, its lack of fire spectacle as it survives dulls its utility for my purposes here.

In this chapter and that which follows I will offer readings of the two Marlovian fire spectacles that have closest kinship to burning at the stake: Dido's pyre, and Tamburlaine's book burning. Both spectacles share visual similarities with the judicial punishment that this thesis investigates. In particular, they refract its commemoration in the *Acts and Monuments*; Foxe's text offers comparable tableaux and an interpretive framework for viewers of both Dido's suicide and Tamburlaine's book burning.

As has already been discussed, burning at the stake was a deeply ambiguous trope in Elizabethan England. Here I will demonstrate how Marlowe's plots court these ambiguities by choosing to bring fire onto the stage, as well as offering a reading of them informed by the rhetoric of Protestant and wider reformation polemic. Although Marlowe's plays might be characterized by their provocative ambivalences, they offer spectacles that encourage partisan interpretation. The playwright courts the controversies around this most equivocal juridical phenomenon to add the depth of those debates to his drama.

* * *

I begin with *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, but not as Marlovian juvenilia, a sub-standard precursor to his later, more successful theatrical endeavours for the public stage;² rather, I begin with *Dido* as a complex and provocative play that deeply influenced the playwright's dramatic practice, and seemingly even stuck in the mind of posterity's favourite,

² Paul Kocher, for example, suggested that the play was 'too literal a rendering of the *Aeneid* to be significant', *Christopher Marlowe: A Study of His Thought, Learning, and Character* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1946), 175.

Shakespeare.³ Following Martin Wiggins' persuasive re-dating of the play to 1588, for a children's company,⁴ it now seems more appropriate to brush aside inherited critical prejudice and appreciate *Dido*'s merits as part of Marlowe's 'professional' canon.

The heroine's suicide was probably staged using the trap and open flame, in a manner similar to the methods directed more fully in Heywood's *The Brazen Age* (1611), discussed in the Introduction. Taking this staging as recommended by the text, this chapter focuses on Marlowe's depiction of Dido's death, which deliberately alters Virgil's telling of the story in the *Aeneid*. Although *Dido* is often received as Latin 'translation' (in Roma Gill's Oxford series of *The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe*, *Dido* appears in volume 1, 'Translations', alongside *All Ovids Elegies*, *Lucans First Booke*, and *Hero and Leander*), Marlowe's representation of Dido's death—like his rendering of a number of the *Aeneid*'s episodes⁵—is unique, and unprecedented in early modern renditions of the story: this Dido does not commit suicide by sword. Instead, she burns herself to death.

This deviation from Virgil further complicates our understanding of Marlowe's negotiation of classical sources. While it has long been established that Marlowe's Dido owes as much to Ovid as she does to Virgil,⁶ I wish to argue here that in selecting a fire-only suicide for his heroine, the playwright not only engaged more deeply with the historical (contra-literary) tradition of Dido, but also perhaps ranged more widely within the classics, including tropes from Greek tragedy. He also created a spectacle that more deeply roused his

³ For the significant, and 'haunting', legacy of this play in the works of Shakespeare, see Laurie Maguire and Emma Smith, "What Is a Source? Or, How Shakespeare Read His Marlowe," in *Shakespeare Survey*, ed. Peter Holland, 68 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).

⁴ Wiggins, "When Did Marlowe Write *Dido, Queen of Carthage*?" My reading of 2 *Tamburlaine*'s perceptible interest in the Dido traditions, explored later in this chapter, would suggest *Dido*'s authorship to be very soon after, or even alongside, the second *Tamburlaine* play.

⁵ For details of instances in which Marlowe's story differs from that of Virgil's, see Wiggins, "When Did Marlowe Write *Dido, Queen of Carthage*?" 523–524.

⁶ Diane Purkiss, for example, calls the play an 'Ovidian farce': "The Queen on Stage: Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage* and the Representation of Elizabeth I," in *A Woman Scorn'd: Responses to the Dido Myth*, ed. Michael Burden (London: Faber and Faber, 1998), 151. See also Lucy Potter, "Marlowe's Dido: Virgilian or Ovidian?," *Notes and Queries* 56, no. 4 (2009): 540–44.

audience's consternation by presenting a contemporarily-charged spectacle of suicide. For an audience in Elizabethan England, Dido's pyre is imbued with religious significance.

Earlier in the decade that Marlowe would pen his tragedy, Richard Stanyhurst's ill-received Virgilian translation *Aeneis* (1582) had interpreted the hero Aeneas in martyrological terms; Stanyhurst had befriended the wandering Jesuit Edmund Campion, whose travails in religious exile he saw as akin to those of Virgil's hero, and this experience appears to be reflected in his translation.⁷ Though Dido's paganism categorically prevents her consideration as a martyr in the Christian tradition (as does Aeneas'), I suggest that Marlowe's choice of suicide encouraged audiences to identify her within that context. Not only is burning at the stake enough to be considered for martyrdom (for example, in the case of Burton and de Somere's descriptions of Elizabethan Anabaptists that we have seen), but other, more alien forms of burning could encourage such readings—witnessed below in an exploration of early modern travellers' attitudes to the Hindu practice of widow burning. Post-reformation ways of reading fiery deaths, it transpires, could traverse cultural and geographical, as well as historical, boundaries.

However, Marlowe utilizes audience compassion for victims of burning not to celebrate Dido's death, but rather to make more explicit the absurdity of such suicidal 'martyrdom' at a point when Christians of all creeds were questioning and denouncing the martyr-claims of others.⁸ In the playwright's final creative flourish, both Iarbas and Anna

⁷ Stanyhurst's translation was certainly known to Thomas Nashe, Marlowe's potential collaborator on *Dido*, who mocked its impenetrable rendering of Virgil's Latin in his address 'To the Gentlemen Students' at the beginning of Robert Greene's *Menaphon: Camillas Alarum to Slumbering Euphues, in His Melancholie Cell at Silixedra* (London: Thomas Orwin, 1589), sigs. **4v–A1r. On Stanyhurst's translation, see Sheldon Brammell, *The English Aeneid: Translations of Virgil, 1555-1646* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015).

⁸ Cecil had described Campion as a pseudo-martyr in 1583, and successive Catholic martyrologies had used the same terminology to discredit the figures of the *Acts and Monuments*, with each side branding its opposite an absurd parody of true martyrdom. Cecil, *Execution of Justice*, 18. For the development of the terminology as it developed from Cecil up to 1610, see Anthony Raspa's Introduction in John Donne, *Pseudo-Martyr: Wherein out of Certain Propositions and Gradations, the Conclusion Is Evicted, That*

follow Dido into the fire. Not only was 'self-martyrdom' impossible in the sixteenth century, but also Iarbas' and Anna's deaths are the result of spontaneity, rather than the support of well-evinced, closely held affections. Their suicides undermine their purpose, but in so doing they also undermine Dido's. In *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, Marlowe uses the cultural significance of burning in order to make a mockery of the lovesick 'heroism' of his classical heroine.

DIDO'S DEATH: MARLOWE AND THE LATIN TRADITION

In the *Aeneid*, Virgil is explicit about Dido's method of suicide at the end of Book IV:

*[Dido] interiora domus intrumpit limina, et altos
conscendit furibunda rogos, enseque recludit
Dardanium, non hos quaesitum munus in usus.* (*Aeneid*, IV.645-7)⁹

As she mounts the pyre with an unsheathed Trojan sword—a legacy of her lover that was not intended for such purposes—Dido's intentions are overt. The sword's tragic role is, of course, for the Queen to fall upon (*Aeneid*, IV.663-5). Not only is her suicide thus traditionally heroic, but it also acts as a poetic counterbalance to Aeneas' will to depart: the hero frees his ship from the harbour by cutting the rope with a sword conceivably gifted to him by Dido (*Aeneid*, IV.479-80).¹⁰ Dido's death is therefore a catastrophic, but very clear, escalation of Aeneas' abandonment; the two events are poetically linked.

In Marlowe's *Dido*, the Queen's death is less readily decipherable. Without the descriptive mode of epic, and with only sparse direction in the scene, the Queen's final actions must be pieced together from dialogue—that of Dido herself, and the reactions of both Anna and Iarbas. As I have discussed in the Introduction, this almost certainly involved

Those Which Are of the Romane Religion in This Kingdome, May and Ought to Take the Oath of Allegiance, ed. Anthony Raspa (Montreal; London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), xv ff.

⁹ All quotations from the *Aeneid* are from Virgil, "Aeneid," in *Virgil*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, Rev. ed., vol. 2, 2 vols., Loeb Classical Library (London: W. Heinemann, 1916).

¹⁰ See H. Akbar Khan, "Dido and the Sword of Aeneas," *Classical Philology* 63, no. 4 (1968): 283-85.

fire on stage. Even in presenting Dido's death in this way Marlowe resolves a question that the *Aeneid* had left unanswered: does Dido light the pyre herself, or is it only done once she is dead?¹¹ Anna is able to climb the pyre to assist her sister in the *Aeneid*, and Dido only expires with the intervention of Iris at the will of a sympathetic Juno (*Aeneid*, IV.693-5). Conversely, the pyre that Marlowe's Dido dies upon is certainly already burning, and her loving sister can do nothing to help: '*Dido* in these flames / Hath burnt her selfe', Anna laments to Iarbas (*D*, V.i.314). Moreover, the pagan gods, despite their roles elsewhere in the play, have no place in this spectacle.

However, most curious about Marlowe's pyre is that it appears to be the *only* method of violence that his Dido inflicts upon herself. Nearly twenty lines before her final exit, Dido narrates her feeding of the fire. First into the flames is the offending *ensem Dardanium*:

Here lye the Sword that in the darksome Cave
He drew, and swore by to be true to me,
Thou shalt burne first, thy crime is worse then his. (V.i.295-7, emphasis added)

Following the sword are Aeneas' 'garment' and his 'letters, lines, and perjurd papers all' (V.i.298, 300). Finally, the Queen descends into the shadows (V.i.313).

Thus far, this subtle deviation from Virgil has escaped the notice of Marlowe scholars, even while the play's other Marlovian innovations have garnered interest.¹² The difference may at first seem inconsequential, but greater attention to the historical tradition of Dido marks this departure as even more remarkable. Virgil's Dido was a bastardization of an already ambiguous historical figure, and these competing traditions were well known

¹¹ Whether Dido lights the pyre is left unresolved by Virgil. See Ellenor Swallow, "Dido's Pyre," *The Classical Weekly* 45, no. 5 (1951): 65-68.

¹² The Jupiter/Ganymede framing, for example, has received individual attention: Clare Kinney, "Epic Transgression and the Framing of Agency in *Dido Queen of Carthage*," *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 40, no. 2 (2000): 261-76. The absence of a sword in the death of Marlowe's Dido is not covered by Wiggins' list of differences in "When Did Marlowe Write *Dido, Queen of Carthage*?"

from Virgil's day through to Marlowe's.¹³ In all versions of the story, Dido begins life as a Phoenician princess forced to abandon her homeland when her brother Pygmalion, the king of Tyre, kills her husband (named either Acerbus or, in Virgil, Sychaeus). The princess then goes into exile, taking with her the wealth of both her husband and her brother, before founding Carthage on land gained from the Libyan king Iarbas (or Hierbas) through wily sophistry, and the shredding of an ox's hide. From this point on, the discrepancies proliferate.

In the 'historical' Dido story, the heroine (known mostly as Elissa) successfully builds her city in Carthage without ever encountering Aeneas.¹⁴ Her suicide is prompted by the prospect of marriage to Iarbas, who pursues her as a suitor, and in some versions threatens to destroy her city if she does not consent to marry him. Faithful to the memory of her beloved husband, and goaded variously, depending on the narrative, by her townspeople and by Iarbas, she chooses to take her own life rather than remarry. In some versions the Queen warns her townspeople of her suicide, and they then help with the building of her pyre. Instead of marrying Iarbas, Dido then abandons wedding preparations to climb the pyre and slay herself with her sword. The 'historical' Dido is, therefore, an icon of female chastity and a martyr to civic duty.

In the Virgilian tradition, Dido's Carthage is a way station on Aeneas' journey to Rome—impossible, to defenders of the historical tradition.¹⁵ The Queen shows Aeneas and his men great hospitality, and eventually falls in love with her visitor. It is when divine

¹³ In the summary that follows, I have synthesized materials that are discussed in a number of critical studies. See, for example: Margaret W. Ferguson, *Dido's Daughters: Literacy, Gender, and Empire in Early Modern England and France* (Chicago, IL; London: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 19–20; Roger Savage, "Dido Dies Again," in *A Woman Scorn'd: Responses to the Dido Myth*, ed. Michael Burden (London: Faber and Faber, 1998), 4–7.

¹⁴ The first instance of Dido's story comes in a fragment of Timaeus of Taormina, from the third century BC. James Davidson, "Domesticating Dido: History and Historicity," in *A Woman Scorn'd: Responses to the Dido Myth*, ed. Michael Burden (London: Faber and Faber, 1998), 65, and n. 1.

¹⁵ The trials of the historical Dido are most often dated to the ninth century BC, while Aeneas' journey to Rome supposedly took place some time between the fourteenth and twelfth centuries BC; Aeneas was therefore long dead before Dido fled from her family.

machinations force him to leave that Dido is driven, in broken-hearted frenzy, to build a pyre for her body, and take her life with *his* sword.

Marlowe, like Spenser, almost certainly knew both versions of the story.¹⁶ The poetic tradition was readily inherited from the classics, through both the *Aeneid* and Ovid's interpretations of it.¹⁷ The historical tradition found favour with the Church fathers (though Augustine had famously cried for Virgil's Dido), and this Dido was widely cited in both letters and sermons as an example of chastity.¹⁸ Among the poets, Boccaccio led Petrarch in the reclamation of the historic Dido's honour, and in England John Lydgate and Geoffrey Chaucer showed familiarity with both traditions.¹⁹ However, in none of these examples would Marlowe find precedent to abandon the sword entirely, and burn his heroine outright. Even in his own translation of *All Ovids Elegies*, he had spoken of 'poore *Dido* with her drawne sword sharpe'.²⁰

In a discussion of the visual tradition of Dido's death, Margaret Franklin has suggested a marked difference in the illustration of the two traditions in medieval works: in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscript illuminations, illustrations of the Virgilian Dido often show a figure slumped over a sword in a display of deliberate self-violence—a contrast to the non-Virgilian depictions which show a more dignified Dido plunging a small knife

¹⁶ On Spenser's use of both Dido traditions, see John Watkins, *The Specter of Dido: Spenser and Virgilian Epic* (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 1995), Chapter 5.

¹⁷ Both Virgil and Ovid were regularly taught in grammar schools and universities across England in the sixteenth century. Marilyn Desmond, *Reading Dido: Gender, Textuality, and the Medieval Aeneid*, *Medieval Cultures* 8 (Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 4, n. 15; Lisa Jardine, *Still Harping on Daughters: Women and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare* (Brighton: Harvester, 1983), 192.

¹⁸ Augustine, *The Confessions*, trans. Henry Chadwick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), I.13.20–21. Mary Louise Lord, "Dido as an Example of Chastity: The Influence of Example Literature," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 17 (1969): 22–44, 216–32; David Scott Wilson-Okamura, *Virgil in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 235.

¹⁹ Lydgate introduced the distinction between the two Didos to England with his *Fall of Princes*, and in 1490 the printer William Caxton included it in a translation of a French romance alongside a description of Dido's affair with Aeneas. See Watkins, *The Specter of Dido*, 51.

²⁰ Christopher Marlowe, *All Ovids Elegies*, ed. Roma Gill, vol. 1 Translations, *The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), II.xviii.25.

into her breast.²¹ Not even in the visual history of either tradition would Marlowe find the grounds for the replacement of the heroic sword with the funeral pyre alone.

However, in at least one early modern depiction of Dido's death, the artist seems to take inspiration from contemporary religious polemic, depicting fire alone as the cause of her death. The Siena 'sieve' portrait of Elizabeth I is thought to have been produced in the early 1580s (Figure 3.1).²² A number of similar 'sieve' portraits exist from the period, linking Elizabeth with the classical virgin Tuchia, who proved her virginity by carrying water from the river Tiber to the temple of Vesta in a sieve.²³ In the Siena portrait, Elizabeth stands before a pillar decorated with nine inlaid medallions depicting moments from the story of Dido and Aeneas. The artist's royal flattery arises through comparison: Elizabeth is either like Aeneas in prioritizing her nation over her heart, or unlike him in having never succumbed to the pressures of lust.²⁴ Elizabeth is the opposite of the sensual Dido, whose fate depicted at the top of the pillar offers a warning to those who do succumb.²⁵

²¹ Margaret Franklin, "Mantegna's 'Dido': Faithful Widow or Abandoned Lover?," *Artibus et Historiae* 21, no. 41 (2000): 116, n. 22. These observations are made in the context of Franklin's argument that Andrea Mantegna's 'Dido', who holds Sychaeus' urn and stands composed before an unlit pyre, is not the love-mad Queen of Virgil but the constant widow of history—a convincing analysis that proves the importance of the Queen's end in interpreting the nature of her tragedy.

²² The attribution and dating of the painting, discovered in the attic of a Medici palace in Siena in 1895, are discussed in Roy Strong, *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987), 101–2. Strong places the painting at around 1580–1.

²³ Watkins, *The Specter of Dido*, 125; Craig Kallendorf, *The Other Virgil: "Pessimistic" Readings of the Aeneid in Early Modern Culture*, Classical Presences (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 112–4.

²⁴ See, for example, Roy Strong, *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 66–8; John Pope-Hennessy, *The Portrait in the Renaissance* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1966), 253–4.

²⁵ Deanne Williams, "Dido, Queen of England," *ELH* 73, no. 1 (2006): 39, 41.

Figure 3.1: Queen Elizabeth I. The Siena 'sieve' portrait, c. 1580-1. Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, Italy. [Redacted for eThesis due to copyright.]

With its competing celebratory and censoring imagery, the painting has often been discussed in relation to the controversy of the Queen's marriage negotiations with the French Duke d'Alençon, and critics have convincingly read these same fears into Marlowe's presentation of Dido: *Dido* is a warning to Elizabeth.²⁶ Here, I therefore wish to note only the portrait's rendering of Dido's suicide, at the very top of the ekphrastic pillar (Figure 3.2). Standing upright, next to a pillar, in flames kindled upon a small bundle of wood, a naked

²⁶ Doris Adler, "The Riddle of the Sieve: The Siena Sieve Portrait of Queen Elizabeth," *Renaissance Papers*, 1978, 1-10; Lowell Gallagher, *Medusa's Gaze: Casuistry and Conscience in the Renaissance* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991), 123-40; Kallendorf, *The Other Virgil*, 114.

On Marlowe's negotiation of these tropes, see, for example, Purkiss, "The Queen on Stage"; Williams, "Dido, Queen of England," 43; Chloe Kathleen Preedy, *Marlowe's Literary Scepticism: Politic Religion and Post-Reformation Polemic* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012), 99. Similar impetus probably incentivized William Gager's *Dido*, a Latin play performed at Christ Church, Oxford on 12 June 1583 to entertain the visiting Polish prince Albertus Alasco. It is unlikely that Marlowe knew this play, which was not printed.

woman raises her arms to the sky. Neither sword nor wound is discernable. Like Marlowe's, then, this Dido is alive in the fire. The gesture of her arms even suggests prayer—a significant departure from Virgil's Dido, whose elbows provide only a weak support as her life slips away (*Aeneid*, VI.690).

Figure 3.2: Medallion detail. From the Siena 'sieve' portrait, c. 1580-1. Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, Italy. [Redacted in eThesis due to copyright.]

More than any that had gone before, this post-reformation Dido recalls death at the stake. The stance of the figure, the stylistic flames, and even the classical pillar (suggestive of the stake to which so many heretics had been tied) all recall the performance of martyrs during the Marian counter-reformation. More specifically, the correlation with the women of the *Acts and Monuments* is particularly striking. Compare, for example, woodcuts in Chapters 1 and 5 of this thesis. Where Cicelie Ormes' femininity is foregrounded in the woodcut of her suffering through the seeming translucence of her smock (see Figure 5.2), the Dido presented in the Siena 'sieve' portrait recalls more acutely the uniquely brazen nudity in the portrayal of the Guernsey women burned in 1556 (Figure 1.3). In the Guernsey image, Perotine Massey's naked figure facilitates the depiction of her son's shocking premature birth, but it also enforces all three women's jeopardy in the hands of the Catholics who

punish them. Thus laid bare, Massey's body is sexualized to foreground its helplessness. In adopting this iconography, perhaps even knowingly, the Siena portrait adopts the characterization of feminine vulnerability that at least three editions of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* had set out before it (the fourth edition would of course be published in 1583). Where the Guernsey women are vulnerable to papist atrocity, the portrait's Dido, equally vulnerable, is ruined by male conquest.

As this image intimates, dismissing the sword from Dido's death can encourage viewers to interpret it in light of their attitudes toward burning—attitudes which, as I have explored, were forcefully shaped by the *Acts and Monuments*. Marlowe's alteration, I wish to suggest, is a deliberate and aesthetically driven modification of the *Aeneid* to adopt the rhetoric around burning that had built up in Elizabethan England. His tragic Dido does not exonerate Aeneas by casting away his sword—she explicitly intends to 'make *Aeneas* famous through the world, / For perjurie and slaughter of a Queene' (*D*, V.i.293-4). But by suggesting that Aeneas forced Dido to *burn*, Marlowe imports the shadow of the reformation's religious register into his classical tragedy. Virgil's tale of Dido and Aeneas is already morally complex, but as the heroine burns in *Dido, Queen of Carthage* the question of agency takes on a more urgent pertinence.

However, before embarking directly on a comparison between the actions of Dido and the rhetoric and iconography of Foxe's martyrology, I wish to explore another tradition that Marlowe's innovation courts, which itself shares links with the rhetoric of martyrdom: widow burning.

BURNING WIDOWS: A GREEK PRECEDENT?

In every version of the Dido myth, the Queen of Carthage is a widow—despite the consternation that the label stirs in Shakespeare's Antonio in *The Tempest* (*T*, II.i.78). It is as a widow that she departs from Tyre, and as a widow that she dies in Carthage. Her burning

in *Dido* is, therefore, the self-immolation of a widow. In the Virgilian permutation that Marlowe adopts for his play, Dido's death is a reaction to the loss of Aeneas, prompted by her bereavement. Aeneas is neither dead, nor Dido's husband; yet the Queen's firm faith in the strength of their marital agreement leaves her widowed once again when he leaves, as Sychaeus' death had left her years before. It is therefore with the things he left behind (all that she can muster of his remaining presence) that Dido builds the fire in which she takes her life. Among the items that she burns is 'the garment which [she] cloath'd him in, / When he first came to shore' (*D*, V.i.298-9). This is 'the garment which *Sicheus* ware' (II.i.80), and in giving it to Aeneas Dido paves the way for her to cement their love with the trappings of a marriage in their meeting at the cave:

Sicheus, not *Aeneas* be thou calde:
The King of *Carthage*, not *Anchises* sonne:
Hold, take these Jewels at thy Lovers hand,
These golden bracelets, and this wedding ring,
Wherewith my husband woo'd me yet a maide,
And be thou king of *Libia*, by my guift. (III.iv.59-64)²⁷

Marlowe's Aeneas is not Virgil's (as Dido recognizes when he comes ashore, II.i.100-1). He is instead a new Sychaeus, whose abandonment makes fresh the wounds of widowhood. Aeneas may only leave the shores of Carthage, but his abandonment is tantamount to death in this Dido's eyes. With these emphases, Marlowe takes significant pains to demonstrate that his Dido is a twofold widow.

When conceived as widow burning, the Queen's self-immolation in the final act of *Dido* may be seen to inherit more broadly from classical tradition than may have previously

²⁷ As Gordon Williams shows, in Virgil's Rome 'marriage could exist without ceremony and formality, simply by consent of both parties' (*Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 372-3). Dido's interpretation of the cave encounter in the *Aeneid* is therefore not illegitimate. Marlowe here stresses Dido's commitment to this reading of events with the paraphernalia of a wedding ritual, and the perceived interchangeability of Aeneas and Sychaeus.

For early modern England, Subha Mukherji has demonstrated the significance that the exchange of rings could bear, although the intention of the giver was often a point of contention, both in law and in drama. See *Law and Representation in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 32-37. For an analysis of the bond in *Dido*, see Preedy, *Marlowe's Literary Scepticism*, Chapter 3.

been recognized. Although the staging of Dido's suicide in *Dido, Queen of Carthage* has no known precedent in English theatre, it is possible that the young Marlowe took his inspiration from a Greek dramatic spectacle which for one recent critic marks the most 'daring moment in the history of the stage': the suicide of the widowed Evadne in Euripides' *Suppliant Women*.²⁸

In an article that convincingly places Greek prose in Marlowe's hands, Neil Rhodes has suggested that the story of Olympia in 2 *Tamburlaine* might owe something to Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, in which the hero Cyrus captures Panthea, wife of Abradates, during battle.²⁹ When Panthea is later confronted with her husband's dead and dismembered body she is overcome with grief. After dissembling to be left alone with the body and her maid, she instructs the maid to bury her with her husband, before laying her head upon his chest and taking her life with a sword.³⁰ In the broadest terms, the plots align, and Olympia's final suicide by sword echoes that of Panthea (though Olympia of course tricks Theridamas into killing her: T2, IV.ii.81). But Olympia's first attempt at suicide was an endeavour more closely resembling Dido's than Panthea's: though she suggests that she will stab herself as she has her son, Olympia wants to burn on her husband's pyre. When found by Techelles and Theridamas, she is:

Killing my selfe, as I have done my sonne,
Whose body with his fathers I have burnt,
Least cruell Scythians should dismember him. (III.iv.35-37)

For this end, Marlowe would also find precedent in the Greeks, but in tragedy.

²⁸ 'Nothing like [this] ever took place in fifth-century tragedy before or after *Supplices*,' writes Rush Rehm, 'and it would be hard to find a more theatrically daring moment in the history of the stage', *Greek Tragic Theatre* (London: Routledge, 1992), 129.

²⁹ Neil Rhodes, "Marlowe and the Greeks," *Renaissance Studies* 27, no. 2 (2011): 199-218, esp. 209. William Barker's translation of the *Cyropaedia* into English was first printed in London in 1552, with further editions in 1567 and 1632.

³⁰ The story of the capture and suicide of Panthea is found in Book V of the *Cyropaedia*. For Marlowe's most contemporary translation of these events, see Xenophon, *The VIII. Bookes of Xenophon, Containinge the Institutio[n], Schole, and Education of Cyrus, the Noble Kynge of Persye*, trans. William Barker (London, 1567), sigs. N2v-U3r.

Though critical consensus has for many years concluded that early modern dramatists took their classical inspiration from the Romans (the influence of Seneca is well documented, for example),³¹ the importance of Greek theatre is beginning to be acknowledged. Tanya Pollard's work has demonstrated the availability of Greek playtexts in early modern England, especially in Latin translation, while others have begun to explore the possibility that Shakespeare's drama owes something to the Greeks.³² Of the Greek playwrights, Euripides was certainly one of the most popular, and Latin translations of his work were available during Marlowe's school and university career. After Erasmus's translation of *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia at Aulis* (1506), full editions of Euripides' plays appeared. Greek texts of *Euripidis Tragoediae octodicem* were printed in Basel through the mid-sixteenth century, and in 1558 Guilemus Xylander printed a collection of Philipp Melancthon's Latin translations, with a revised edition printed in 1562.³³

In *The Suppliant Women* (c. 423 BC), included in these eighteen tragedies, Euripides tells the story of the trials faced by the women from Argos as they attempt to reclaim the bodies of their sons and husbands who died in the attack on Thebes. As Pollard has noted of

³¹ See, for example, Gordon Braden, *Renaissance Tragedy and the Senecan Tradition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); Robert S. Miola, *Shakespeare and Classical Tragedy: The Influence of Seneca* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); Howard Borland, *Neoclassical Tragedy in Elizabethan England* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2009).

³² Tanya Pollard, "Greek Playbooks and Dramatic Forms in Early Modern England," in *Formal Matters: Reading the Materials of English Renaissance Literature*, ed. Allison Deutermann Kiséry and Andrew K. Deutermann Kiséry (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 99–123. Pollard stresses here the impact of Greek theatre on the form of English drama. For content borrowing more akin to the influence to be traced here in Marlowe, see the following on Shakespeare: Douglas B. Wilson, "Euripides' *Alcestis* and the Ending of Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*," *Iowa State Journal of Research* 58 (1984): 345–55; Laurie Maguire, *Shakespeare's Names* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 97–104; Sarah Dewar-Watson, "The *Alcestis* and the Statue Scene in *The Winter's Tale*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (2009): 73–80. In a similar vein, A. D. Nuttall suggests that Shakespeare in particular had the ability to access Greek originals through sensitive readings of their transmitting texts: "Action at a Distance: Shakespeare and the Greeks," in *Shakespeare and the Classics*, ed. Charles Martindale and A. B. Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 209–22. For Euripides' *Suppliant Women*, similarities with the structure and content of the first act of Fletcher and Shakespeare's *The Two Noble Kinsmen* has been recognized: John Fletcher and William Shakespeare, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, ed. Lois Potter (London: Arden, 2015), 46.

³³ Donald J. Mastrorarde, *The Art of Euripides: Dramatic Technique and Social Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 9–10.

Hecuba, it is women, and especially mothers, that drive *The Suppliant Women*.³⁴ The action begins with elderly women (mothers of sons lost in the attack) who plead with Aethra, mother of Theseus, to have their sons' bodies returned to them for burial.³⁵ Theseus himself returns the bodies, which are all to be burned in a communal pyre and their ashes returned to their families. Capaneus, however, is to be burned separately because he died by the hand of Zeus; in what is perhaps a telling parallel for Tamburlaine, he was struck down with a thunderbolt for his blasphemy.³⁶

It is while this separate burning is taking place that Evadne, Capaneus' widow, making her first and only entrance in the play, appears 'above the temple. She is splendidly dressed, perhaps a bride'.³⁷ From the roof of the *skênê* (the building behind the stage in which actors in Greek theatre changed their masks and costumes) she announces her intentions:³⁸

And <now> it is to him I have come, running
 crazed from my house
 to enter upon the same
 pyre blaze and burial,
 to bring my toilsome life and its labors
 to a toilless end in Hades.
 The most pleasurable death, you know,
 is to die with one's dearest as he dies,

³⁴ Tanya Pollard, "Conceiving Tragedy," in *Shakespearean Sensations: Experiencing Literature in Early Modern England*, ed. Katherine A. Craik and Tanya Pollard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 90–1.

³⁵ *Two Noble Kinsmen* of course sees the three Queens addressing Theseus directly for the loss of their husbands (TNK, li).

³⁶ As I argue in the following chapter, Tamburlaine's death is ambiguous, but certainly carries the hallmarks of divine chastisement.

³⁷ Euripides, "Suppliant Women," in *Euripides*, trans. David Kovacs, vol. 3, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 1998), 111.

³⁸ As with the scene of Dido's suicide in *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, the staging of this spectacle is contested. From the text of her speech it is clear that Evadne is above the main playing arena. Ian Storey suggests that the pyre 'does not have to have been visible to the spectators; all that is needed is some smoke behind the *skênê*. Some sort of soft landing could have been constructed behind the *skênê*-building, or possibly behind the wall of the *theatron* [...]. The *ekkyklêma* will have been in place behind the double doors. It was itself a raised platform and mattresses or whatever could have been placed on top to cushion the actor's fall': *Euripides: Suppliant Women*, Duckworth Companions to Greek and Roman Tragedy (London: Duckworth, 2008), 117. Donald Mastronarde has suggested that a crane might have been used to both raise and lower the actor: "Actors on High: The Skene Roof, the Crane, and the Gods in Attic Drama," *Classical Antiquity* 9, no. 2 (1990): 281, and n. 2.

if fate so ordains.³⁹

The 'crazed' running that David Kovacs renders in English was, in Melanchthon's sixteenth-century Latin translation of the passage, rendered as *furens*: frenzy.⁴⁰ Those who knew their Virgil would here see parallels with Dido. In an early passage of Book IV of the *Aeneid*, the Queen of Carthage is memorably likened to a frenzied deer when first affected by Cupid's arrow: '*uritur infelix Dido totaque vagatur / urbe furens, qualis coniecta cerva*' [Unhappy Dido burns, and through the city wanders in frenzy—even as a hind] (*Aeneid* IV.68-9). The frenzy, love, and fire that are united in Virgil's comparison come together literally in Dido's suicide, and also in Melanchthon's *Supplices*: burning widows are frenzied women.

Unlike Dido, who takes her life without interruption, Evadne's resolve to burn is discussed with her father, Iphis, who attempts to prevent her suicide: 'I will not consent to your doing this,' he cries up to her.⁴¹ But Evadne remains steadfast; having told her father that her nuptial clothing has 'a glorious aim', she jumps into the flames to be 'kind' to both herself and her husband.⁴² For some translators, Kovacs' 'kindness' is simply the pursuit of 'joy'.⁴³ Self-immolation is her road to bliss.

Within the play, Evadne's suicide is contentious. What she perceives as glorious is shameful to her father ('My daughter, hush! Do not say this before the crowd'),⁴⁴ and when it is done he mourns in measure equal to the bereaved mothers at the opening of the play (Iphis' lament spans over thirty lines in Greek). However, Evadne had promised to emerge

³⁹ Euripides, "Suppliant Women," 113, 115. The <now> of Kovacs' translation marks an edit of the Greek from U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf's 1875 edition.

⁴⁰ '*Accepsi currens ex meis / Aedibus furens*', Euripides, *Euripidis Tragœdiæ, Quæ Hodie Extant, Omnes, Lat. Soluta Oratione Redditæ, E Prælectionibus P. Melanthonis*, trans. Philipp Melanchthon (Basel, 1558), 446.

⁴¹ Euripides, "Suppliant Women," 121.

⁴² Euripides, "Suppliant Women," 119, 121.

⁴³ See, for example, Euripides, "Suppliants," in *Euripides*, trans. Arthur S. Way, vol. 3, 4 vols., Loeb Classical Library (London: William Heinemann, 1912), 493-599, l. 1071.

⁴⁴ Euripides, "Suppliant Women," 121.

from her death as victorious 'Over all the women the sun looks on',⁴⁵ and it is her words that cue later commentators' interpretation of the play. As Ian Storey points out, of the cast of *Suppliant Women*, it is Evadne who survived for posterity: she is an exemplar in Latin literature but, like the historical Dido, and contrary to Melanchthon's translation, 'her death becomes not an example of *furor* ("madness") but of *fides* ("loyalty")'.⁴⁶

Indeed, even had he not read Euripides, Marlowe is certain to have encountered Evadne in her role as exemplar. In Book VI of the *Aeneid*, she appears in the underworld alongside Dido, who memorably snubs Aeneas and returns to the spirit of her husband Sychaeus (*Aeneid*, VI.469-74). In the afterlife, Virgil places Dido in the Fields of Mourning with the company of Phaedra, Procris, Eriphyle, Evadne, Pasiphae, Laodamia, and Caeneus (*Aeneid*, VI.440-447). The list is long, but the central trope that connects them is explicit: they are women (including the gender-ambiguous Caeneus) whose deaths were caused by grief.

Each of the women ended her life violently, but Evadne and Laodamia burned to death. Upon the news of her husband Protesilaus' death at Troy, Laodamia had his likeness created in an image, which she would not let out of her sight. When her father Acastus had the image burned to help assuage his daughter's grief, Laodamia threw herself into the fire along with it, and there perished.⁴⁷ It is this shared fate of Evadne and Laodamia that John Dryden would exploit when he altered Virgil's Latin order in his 1697 translation of the *Aeneid* to bring the two together as 'Unhappy both, but loyal in their loves'.⁴⁸ 'Unhappy', that is, in their death, but admirable in their loyalty, as their Latin reception attests.

⁴⁵ Euripides, "Suppliant Women," 121.

⁴⁶ Storey, *Euripides: Suppliant Women*, 124-5.

⁴⁷ Like the Dido myth, there are competing versions of Laodamia's fate. In other iterations she kills herself with a sword. See James Reeson, *Ovid Heroides 11, 13, and 14: A Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 115.

⁴⁸ Dryden introduces each of the women as part of a descriptive pair (Procris and Eriphyle, Pasiphae and Phaedra, Laodamia and Evadne), with Caeneus explored alone: Virgil, *The Aeneid*, trans. John Dryden (London: Wordsworth, 1997), VI.602-609.

Once again like Dido, both Evadne and Laodamia find their way into the works of Ovid—whose influence on Marlowe's canon, and on *Dido, Queen of Carthage* in particular, is well documented.⁴⁹ Laodamia, like Dido, appears in the *Heroides*. In her epistle (*Heroides*, XIII), she urges Protesilaus to exercise caution in the war against Troy, and, as with Dido's pleas to Aeneas, the pathos of her words comes in the knowledge of her foregone fate. However, it is in the opening of the *Ars amatoria* that both women are evoked as unequivocal examples of wifely piety. Of Evadne's fiery fate Ovid is explicit: "Take me, Capaneus; we will mingle our ashes," cried the daughter of Iphis, and leapt into the middle of the pyre'.⁵⁰ Here, the widow's imagined desires are clear: Evadne hopes to go *with* Capaneus into the afterlife; to mingle their ashes at the point of his death ensures this fate, while her leap displays to those who witness it her fidelity.

It is precisely this sentiment that Olympia claims as Techelles and Theridamas attempt to capture her. Like the historic Dido, the widowed Olympia would rather burn than be controlled by martial men. Though Tamburlaine's soldiers make their desire to capture and not kill Olympia known immediately, still she desires to die, and begs:

Take pitie of a Ladies ruthfull teares,
That humbly craves upon her knees to stay,
And cast her bodie in the burning flame
That feeds upon her sonnes and husbands flesh. (*T2*, III.iv.69-72)

Like Evadne, Olympia wants to burn with the flesh of her husband. Thus will she be delivered from her fearful situation, and reunited with her family in the afterlife, for her pious action. Yet Olympia's piety garners not simply pity, but adoration: Techelles thinks that the murder of her son was 'bravely done, and like a soldier's wife', deems it worthy of reward, and believes that Tamburlaine '[w]ill match [her] with a viceroy or a king' (III.iv.38,

⁴⁹ M. L. Stapleton's *Marlowe's Ovid: The Elegies in the Marlowe Canon* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014) provides an excellent account of the continued impact of Ovid's poetry in Marlowe's work after the translations. For *Dido*, the Ovidian influence has been charted in Antonio Ziosi, *La Didone Di Marlowe: Virgilio E Ovidio Sulla Scena Elisabettiana* (Roma: Carocci, 2011).

⁵⁰ Ovid, "Artis Amatoriae I-III," in *The Art of Love, and Other Poems*, trans. J. H. Mozley, Loeb Classical Library (London: William Heinemann, 1929), 3.21-2.

41). Similarly, on the strength of her attempt to burn, and the chastity with which it is associated, Theridamas falls immediately in love (III.iv.78-9). In line with the Roman tradition of interpreting the Greeks, Olympia's actions are deemed heroic within the play—even worthy of the enemy's praise and celebration.

Though it is a great leap to suggest that the same admiration shown by fictional soldiers at the attempted suicide of Olympia in *2 Tamburlaine* might be relied upon in the audience at the suicide of Dido, contemporary accounts of widow burning suggest that it might at the very least be possible. Elsewhere in print, the same sentiments were expressed from the pens of English and other European travellers who had confronted widow burning while exploring eastward. As European traders continued their mercantile expansion in the sixteenth century, those at home explored vicariously through accounts written by returning travellers; authors capitalized on the novelty of their experiences, sensationalizing their encounters in the Indian subcontinent. Among the episodes narrated frequently by returning travellers was the Hindu custom of burning widows. In the reactions to such widow burning, we find a popular response to the kind of spectacle that Marlowe brings onstage.

INTERPRETING THE WILL TO BURN

The Hindi term 'sati'—or sometimes, in colonial English, 'suttee'—translates literally as 'virtuous woman', and is used to describe a woman who burns herself after the death of her husband. Usually, the widow burns on her husband's funeral pyre (as in the case of Evadne, and attempted by Olympia), but in some cases she burns on a separate pyre with an item belonging to him—a variant of the more widely recognized custom that speaks directly to the actions of Marlowe's Dido.⁵¹ In the twentieth century, the practice of the rite has made headlines as an act of misogynistic barbarity (the immolation of nineteen-year-old Roop

⁵¹ Andrea Major, ed., *Sati: A Historical Anthology* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007), xix, and n. 9.

Kanwar caused international outrage in 1987),⁵² but in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries widow burning forced Western travellers not only to describe the alien spectacle they had witnessed, but also to attempt to understand and explain it for their readers. In these explanations, travellers sought to familiarize the rite at the same time as they distanced it from European practice.

In description and illustration the early modern experience of sati suggests that it bears great resemblance to the dramatic spectacle presented by Euripides, and later gestured towards in *Dido*. Set as it is in the historically and geographically alien world of Carthage, Marlowe's play would present his audience with similar issues of interpretation as those faced by European travellers in India. These travel narratives therefore offer the chance to recapture contemporary reactions to the self-immolation of women that Marlowe might have expected from his audience. Travellers' assumptions were by no means homogenous, but among their diverse response to sati is the acknowledgment of a kinship with martyrdom, though one that, at least in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, does not always reflect well on the widow.

In 1588, around the time of the performance of *Dido*, the travels of the Italian merchant Caesar Frederick, who traversed the East from 1563 to 1581, were translated into English by Thomas Hickcock and published in London. The work contains a detailed description of sati, which the writer appears to have witnessed first-hand.⁵³ Frederick writes that in Hindu culture, 'if a married man die his wife must burne hir selfe alive, for the loue of

⁵² See Andrea Major, *Pious Flames: European Encounters with Sati, 1500-1830* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006), 1-2.

⁵³ As the genre developed, descriptions of sati would find their way into texts even if the author appeared not to have witnessed the spectacle himself. Andrea Major, "'Eternal Flames': Suicide, Sinfulness and Insanity in 'Western' Constructions of Sati, 1500-1830," *International Journal of Asian Studies* 1, no. 2 (2004): 249.

hir husband, and with the bodye of hir husband'.⁵⁴ On the morning of the burning, he continues, 'she goeth out of hir house very earlye, either on Horsesbacke or one [*sic*] an Eliphant, or else is borne by eight men on a small stage'. She then, 'being appareled like to a Bride,' is 'carried rounde about the Cittye, with hir hayre downe about hir shoulders, garnished with Jewels & flowers, according to the estate of the partye, and they goe with as great a ioye as Brides too in *Venis* to the nuptials'.⁵⁵

The parallels between the theatrics of sati and the dramatic spectacle of *Suppliant Women* are readily apparent; and, as Frederick's description continues, the bride's interpretation of the events is an echo of the words of Euripides' Evadne: the widow 'singeth through the citie as she passeth, and saith, that shee goeth to sléepe with hir déere spowse and husband', while those accompanying her feast 'with great ioye and gladnesse, as though it were hir marriage daye'.⁵⁶ Like Evadne, the sati is dressed for a wedding. However, Frederick does not compare this to classical narratives of female heroics; rather, he compares the tableau of sati and the woman's conduct to the spectacle of Venetian brides that he has witnessed at home in Italy. This form of spectating—travellers' collation of new, foreign spectacles with known, home contexts—has been widely acknowledged by critics working with early modern Europeans' accounts of sati.

In *Burning Women*, for example, Pompa Banerjee queries why, in travellers' rationalizations of widow burning, they did not 'use the analogy of witchburning in their own countries to explain the alien custom of sati to their audiences, as the outcome was burning women in both situations'.⁵⁷ She argues that the absence of overt acknowledgements of the visual similarities between the spectacles (which Banerjee explores to great effect

⁵⁴ Caesar Frederick, *The Voyage and Trauaile: Of M. Caesar Frederick, Merchant of Venice, into the East India, the Indies, and Beyond the Indies*, trans. Thomas Hickock (London: Richard Jones and Edward White, 1588), 9–10.

⁵⁵ Frederick, 10.

⁵⁶ Frederick, 10.

⁵⁷ Pompa Banerjee, *Burning Women: Widows, Witches, and Early Modern European Travelers in India* (New York; Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003), 31.

across eighteen contemporary images) stems from Europeans' desire to distance and 'other' the Hindu rite from the judicial practice they knew at home.⁵⁸ However, the homogenized, pan-European approach to the 'witch craze' that Banerjee presents elides important differences between English and Continental judicial practice: English travellers, and English consumers of travel narratives, would not be accustomed to watching witches burn at the stake (some commentators even went so far as to lament the practice's absence in England).⁵⁹ Most appropriate within the *English* context would be the burning of petty traitors (which Banerjee discusses)⁶⁰ and, more important here, the execution of heretics.

In 1995, Kate Teltscher observed the spectacular similarities between early modern accounts of sati and Foxe's rendering of the executions of evangelicals in the *Acts and Monuments*.⁶¹ In so doing, Teltscher's reading echoed the kind of associative interpretation that has characterized European accounts of sati through the ages—as attested by Frederick's comparisons with brides in Venice. Yet it is not just the modern critic who can observe the similarities with spectacles of martyrdom: while they avoided direct comparisons with witchburning, early modern travellers *did* make allusions to martyrdom. As Andrea Major

⁵⁸ Banerjee, *Burning Women*, 85.

⁵⁹ In 1582, one pamphleteer, calling for harsher punishment of witches in England, wrote that 'the magistrates of forren landes, noted so precisely, that weighing the qualitie of the cryme, they kept a due analogie and proportion of punishment, burning them with fire, whome the common lawe of Englande (with more measure of mercie then is to be wished) strangleth with a rope'. W. W., "A True and Just Recorde (1582)," in *Early Modern Witches: Witchcraft Cases in Contemporary Writing*, ed. Marion Gibson (Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2000), 76.

⁶⁰ Banerjee's Chapter 4 explores how a number of travellers assumed the widows to be guilty of poisoning their husbands, or explained that the practice had at least originated as a deterrent to prevent mariticide. See also her "Hard to Swallow: Women, Poison, and Hindu Widowburning, 1500-1700," *Continuity and Change* 15, no. 2 (2000): 187-207. For my discussion of petty treason and its connection to martyrdom, see Chapter 5.

⁶¹ Quoting the death of Joyce Lewes from the *Acts and Monuments* (see *A&M* [1563], 1700) alongside a description of sati from Nicholas Withington's travels (1612-16), Teltscher notes that '[i]n both accounts, attention is concentrated on the conduct of the dying woman and what it reveals of her mental state. The role of the eyewitness is thus central to both; the observer personally verifies the women's fortitude, authenticating the unbelievable act'. Kate Teltscher, *India Inscribed: European and British Writing on India, 1600-1800* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995), 65-66.

has noted, by the mid-eighteenth century commentators on sati were making explicit references to the Christian martyrs of the reformation. John MacDonald queried:

Why should I think this woman has done wrong? She has done this to obtain heaven and God's favour; and have not the greatest and most learned men in England and other Christian countries done the same, who had the Bible to direct them?

In a similar vein, John Holwell, a surgeon with the East India Company, vindicated the sati by entreating his readers to remember that England's 'own history affords illustrious examples in both sexes of voluntary sacrifices by fire, because they would not subscribe even to a different mode of professing the same faith'.⁶² Travellers were making the connection between sati in India, and historical martyrs at home.

Even in the early seventeenth century, travellers had acknowledged the shared impetus of the Indian widows and martyrs, though their intention in marking the similarity was different from later travellers. Edward Terry, who arrived in India in 1616 as the private chaplain to diplomat Sir Thomas Roe, wrote that 'many yong women are ambitious to die with honor (as they esteeme it), when their fiery love brings them to the flames (as they thinke) of martyrdom most willingly'.⁶³ The Oxford-born and -educated Henry Lord, who served as a chaplain at an English factory in Surat from 1624 to 1629, published an account of his time in India upon his return; he related sardonically that the sati 'maketh herselfe a Martyr to approoue her loue'.⁶⁴ Despite their use of the language of martyrdom, it is clear

⁶² John MacDonald, *Memoirs Of An Eighteenth Century Footman, Travels 1745-1779* (London: Routledge, 1927), 160; John Zephaniah Holwell, "The Religious Tenets of the Gentoos [1767]," in *The British Discovery of Hinduism in The Eighteenth Century*, ed. P. J. Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 96. Both are cited in Andrea Major, "Pompa Banerjee, Burning Women: Widows, Witches and Early Modern European Travellers in India," *Medieval Feminist Forum* 41, no. 1 (2006): 101, n. 3. For a further exploration of the eighteenth-century sympathy for women performing sati, see Major's own *Pious Flames*.

⁶³ Edward Terry, "A Voyage to East India," in *Early Travels in India, 1585-1619*, ed. William Foster (London: Oxford University Press, 1921), 328.

⁶⁴ Henry Lord, *A Display of Two Forraigne Sects in the East Indies: Vizt: The Sect of the Banians the Ancient Natiues of India and the Sect of the Persees the Ancient Inhabitants of Persia, Together with the Religion and Maners of Each Sect* (London, 1630), 69.

that these earlier writers did not see the sati as a martyr. Not only is the sati pagan, but suicides, of course, could not be martyrs:

[e]ven when devout Christians earnestly desired martyrdom, [...] they and their contemporaries drew a sharp distinction between people killed for actions consistent with religious commitment—which might involve considerable danger or even deliberate provocation—and people who took their own lives.⁶⁵

In the Protestant martyrological tradition (as well as in Catholic and Anabaptist ones) to take one's own life could not bring martyrdom: 'the phrase "to martyr oneself" is an oxymoron when applied to the early modern period; to be reckoned a martyr, one had "to be martyred"'.⁶⁶

Yet despite the impossibility of legitimate martyrdom for these women, each man distinguishes sati from the solely judicial spectacle of witchburning that Banerjee's work seeks to compare by recognizing the widow's agency. Indian widows are perceived to enter the fire voluntarily, motivated by love and the pursuit of noble and pious death.⁶⁷ To the viewer inclined to see it so, the sati's leap into the flames was not suicide; rather, like Euripides' Evadne and Marlowe's Olympia, it was a reunion with her husband, conceived as remarriage and (contrary to Iphis' condemnation) worthy of celebration. It is in this conception, as well as in the more obvious visual similarities, that the widow's conduct may be read as analogous to the deaths of Foxe's martyrs: both the widow and the martyr seek to give eternal voice to their fidelity through burning.

At the close of the 1583 edition of the *Acts and Monuments*, Foxe used his final 'Admonition to the Reader' in part to reflect upon the behaviours exhibited by his martyrs. There he speaks of a collection of sufferers in the foregoing pages who:

⁶⁵ Gregory, *Salvation at Stake*, 104–5.

⁶⁶ Gregory, *Salvation at Stake*, 105.

⁶⁷ Other narratives emphasize that the women are goaded to take their lives. Nicholas Withington, for example, relates that 'if any one of them purpose to burne and (after ceremonies done) bee brought to the fyer, and there, feelinge the scorchinge heate, leape out of the fyer, her father and mother will take her and bynde her and throwe her into the fyer and burne her per force; but such weaknesse seldome happeneth amonste them': "A Brief Discoverye of Some Things Best Worth Noteing in the Travells of Nicholas Withington," in *Early Travels in India*, ed. William Foster (New York: Oxford University Press, 1921), 220.

were neuer so merrye before in all theyr liues, some leapt for ioye, some for tryumphe woulde put on theyr Scarfes, some theyr wedding garment goyng to the fire, other kissed the stake, some embraced the Fagottes, some clapt theyr handes, some song Psalmes. (*A&M* [1583], 2137)

Even if they do not cause it, Foxe's martyrs celebrate their deaths—an indication that we, the readers, should perhaps do the same. As Foxe suggests, holy joy is a key trope throughout the *Acts and Monuments*, with martyrs routinely expressing pleasure in the face of death by singing and clapping through their executions (precisely the kind of behaviour that William Burton warned his flock against misinterpreting).⁶⁸ Hooper, Foxe reports, would like Polycarp have willingly stood at the stake without chains had his executioners allowed him; instead, he was forced to accept one chain in place of the proffered three (*A&M* [1563], 1132). The goal, of course, was to demonstrate fortitude in the face of adversity, and confidence in the defence of the gospel; as Donald Kelley quipped, the martyrs' conduct was 'a form of mimesis—*imitatio Christi* with a vengeance'.⁶⁹

The trope of marriage in martyrdom was not new to Foxe, but rather longstanding and used across religious denominations in the period; Brad Gregory notes Thomas More's description of Carthusian monks 'cheerfully going to their deaths as bridegrooms to their marriage' in 1535.⁷⁰ However, most important to this discussion of *Dido* is the devotional and marital aspect of such merriment. In his summary, Foxe remembers martyrs facing the fire in 'wedding garments', which the fuller text attests: John Bradford, for example, is described praying with his 'wedding garment', 'a cleane shirte that was made for his burnynge' (*A&M* [1563], 1244), while Rawlins White requests that his wife 'should make ready and send vnto hym his wedding garment, meaning a Shiirt which afterward hee was burned in' (*A&M* [1570], 1766-1767). For the martyrs of the *Acts and Monuments* the

⁶⁸ Burton's sermons are discussed in Chapter 2.

⁶⁹ Donald R. Kelley, "Martyrs, Myths, and the Massacre: The Background of St. Bartholomew," *American Historical Review* 77, no. 5 (1972): 1328. See also Freeman, "'Imitatio Christi with a Vengeance.'"

⁷⁰ Gregory, *Salvation at Stake*, 258. The description is from William Roper's *Lyfe of Thomas More* (c. 1556).

'wedding garment' acted as a symbol of fidelity; as visual shorthand it invited spectators to accept the rhetoric of marriage within which many martyrs, inspired by Revelations, already conceived their actions.⁷¹ Their joy in death comes from the knowledge that they will be remembered above all for their loyalty to Christ and to the gospel.⁷²

In Foxe's theatrical work he had utilized this same shorthand in the apocalyptic comedy *Christus Triumphans*, a play most probably written at the height of the Marian persecutions.⁷³ In the play, Foxe presented the True Church as 'Ecclesia, the bride of Christ', who conjures up pity with an image of destitution: 'I'm a widow, bereft of my goods, and an exile cut off from my country'.⁷⁴ Ecclesia endures torment and insult throughout the play from Foxe's allegorical Pope, Pseudamnus, but in the final scene she prepares for the arrival of her bridegroom, for whom she is dressed in garments that have been delivered to her during her prayers:

*Here from the upper part of the theater, when the curtains open, are shown as if from heaven thrones with books placed upon them. At the same time garments are lowered in which Ecclesia is dressed and prepared for the wedding.*⁷⁵

Ecclesia, the persecuted but faithful bride of Christ, is rewarded for her fidelity with marriage to the Lamb of God. She may not burn, but Ecclesia's final union with Christ is staged as a marriage that expresses eternal love and devotion.

For the martyrs of the *Acts and Monuments*, suffering at the stake could be reconceived as an apocalyptic ceremonial wedding in the same manner: the ultimate proof of

⁷¹ The appearance of the Bride of Christ is given in Revelation 19:7; 21:2, 9-10. On the increasing importance of the Book of Revelation to Foxe's conception of history, see Betteridge, "From Prophetic to Apocalyptic: John Foxe and the Writing of History."

⁷² For further discussion of the marriage trope in the *Acts and Monuments*, see Chapter 5.

⁷³ The play was published, and likely written, in 1556 while Foxe was in exile; a 1551 print run in London has been speculated, though never proved, and internal allusions to the execution of Latimer and Ridley, along with other evidence, would date the play to early 1556. John Hazel Smith, "Introduction," in *Two Latin Comedies by John Foxe the Martyrologist: Titus et Gesippus. Christus Triumphans* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1973), 31-33.

⁷⁴ John Foxe, "Christus Triumphans," in *Two Latin Comedies by John Foxe the Martyrologist: Titus et Gesippus. Christus Triumphans*, trans. John Hazel Smith (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1973), 357.

⁷⁵ Foxe, "Christus Triumphans," 363.

fidelity to the gospel. Where persecution led to burning, burning was to suffer for love of Christ. It is in this apocalyptic rhetorical conception that the martyr at the stake shares agency with the classical widow: to burn was in fact to marry. However, as the seventeenth-century travellers' views of the sati's 'martyrdom' suggest, though recognized as visually similar to contemporary Christian martyrdom, the self-immolation of widows could not command the same prestige.

The suicides of Dido and Olympia attest—in both their drive and execution—that Marlowe was interested in the aesthetics of classical female suicides at this point in his career, perhaps inspired by the theatrical precedent of Euripides' *Suppliant Women*. This section has demonstrated that these spectacles of self-immolation were open to comparative spectating in the early modern period, part of which was to highlight their similarity to and difference from the execution of Protestant martyrs. In the final section, I will explore how Marlowe exploits this overlapping rhetoric in order to undermine the final actions of his heroine in *Dido*.

MOCKING MARTYRDOM

As I have discussed, it was possible for audiences at *Dido, Queen of Carthage* to view the spectacle of Dido's suicide as akin to a host of female immolations, both classical and contemporary, and through this similarity to perceive an uncomfortable kinship to martyrdom. Yet the play does not merely rely on the visual likeness between the burning widow and the burning martyr as Dido goes rejoicing into the shadows ('*sic sic juvat ire sub umbras*': *D*, V.i.313); Marlowe's heroine deliberately courts the idea of martyrdom before yielding herself to the flames. However much the deployment of the rhetoric of martyrdom might rouse pity for Dido herself, it ultimately accentuates the playwright's subversion of the culminating spectacle. When Iarbus and Anna follow Dido into death, their actions push pity into absurdity, and their self-justifications call into question Dido's own.

As Marlowe's Dido embarks upon her final act, her presentation of the agency that underlies it is confusing:

Now *Dido*, with these reliques burne thy selfe,
And make *Aeneas* famous through the world,
For perjurie and slaughter of a Queene (V.i.292-4)

Though she burns her 'selfe', it is Aeneas whose legacy she hopes to taint by marking him a traitor and a murderer. In the prefaces to the *Acts and Monuments*, Foxe had remarked in his 'Address to the Papists' that his Catholic readers should 'behold to their great shame and rebuke, whether they wil or no[t repent], their wicked cruelty and great slaughters laide before them, as it were vppon a stage' (*A&M* [1563], 183). Writing the executions as cruelty, Foxe presented the deaths as tragic drama (as discussed in Chapter 1). In *Dido*, the Queen's death is intended to have a similar claim to historical authority, perhaps even Machiavellian in its deliberate orchestration. Moments earlier, Dido had confessed to Anna that 'I, I must be the murderer of my selfe' (*D*, V.i.270)—a repetition and a verb which forcefully attest her knowledge of the fault inherent in her plans—before quickly dismissing such thoughts as 'Lunacie' (V.i.273). While her resolve to carry through this madness is hidden from Anna until it has already played out, Dido's decisions are made when she asks for fire: Aeneas is to be framed the perpetrator of an act he neither ordered, nor will be present to witness.

By envisaging her death as the work of Aeneas, Dido hopes to circumvent the accusations of suicide that would mar it. Just as the sati's perceived attempt to self-martyr left her open to ridicule, Dido's suicide demonstrates an unchristian disregard for life, though she attempts to counter these sentiments in her address to the audience and the flames. But the words of the would-be martyr cannot stand alone as accusation (as the importance of Foxe's book in the reclamation of his martyrs' lives attests), and must be supported; as if to acknowledge this, Marlowe provides circumstantial evidence to bolster Dido's claims.

In the *Aeneid*, Dido acts as her own judge, and deals her own punishment by falling on Aeneas' sword. Similarly, in *Dido*, it is the burning items discarded by Aeneas that support the flames to extinguish Dido's life. His sword, cloak, and letters fuel the fire, and in

the crudest sense Aeneas is both burning with and burning Dido. Yet Marlowe incriminates Dido's lovers further by writing a role for Iarbus into her suicide. Having first stocked the ships that took away the Trojan army, Iarbus returns to once again solicit the love of Dido. Arriving in the midst of her madness, he is put to work in cultivating fire:

Iarbus, talke not of *Aeneas*, let him goe,
Lay to thy hands and helpe me make a fire,
That shall consume all that this stranger left,
For I entend a private Sacrifize,
To cure my minde that melts for unkind love. (V.i.283-7)

Like Aeneas, Iarbus is at fault, though innocent of Dido's intentions: little does he know that Dido considers herself within the 'all' Aeneas left behind, though perhaps his own '*Sacrifize*' earlier in the play should have alerted him to the desperation of such actions. As he asked Jove for the love of Dido, complaining of the injustice of the Trojan's success, Iarbus performed the play's first instance of linking love, lust, and justice with fire (IV.ii). While Iarbus' fuel is not specified, the fire that burns Dido is made by men (indeed suitors), neither of whom foresee the consequences of their actions. When Iarbus leaves at Dido's bidding, he, like Aeneas, relinquishes his actions to Dido's stage management. Her intentions for their remembrance will vilify Iarbus almost as much as the man he aims to displace.

In the immediate aftermath of the suicide, the efficacy of Dido's rhetoric of blame is tested in the reactions of those who discover her actions. Between Anna and Iarbus, confusion over agency arises. Anna laments that her sister 'hath burnt *her selfe*' (V.i.315; emphasis added), but when Iarbus takes his own life moments later, he does so blaming the Trojan for this demise: '*Dido* I come to thee, aye me *Aeneas*' (V.i.318). In this exclamation, Iarbus declares his acceptance of Dido's version of events; he finds Aeneas at fault, even though Anna presents the scene to him as suicide.

In taking his own life to follow Dido, Iarbus thinks to take up her mantle: to take his life for love made insufferable by grief. Anna, too, follows suit, and in the lines that close the play her reasoning is more expansive:

What can my teares or cryes prevaile me now?

Dido is dead,
Iarbus slaine, *Iarbus* my deare love,
 O sweet *Iarbus*, *Annas* sole delight,
 What fatall destinie envies me thus,
 To see my sweet *Iarbus* slay himselfe?
 But *Anna* now shall honor thee in death,
 And mixe her bloud with thine, this shall I doe,
 That Gods and men may pitie this my death,
 And rue our ends senceles of life or breath:
 Now sweet *Iarbus*, I come to thee. (V.i.319-329)

With the finality of Dido's death expressed, emphasized, and swiftly forgotten in one half-line, Anna goes on to use her final words to justify her own suicide. Reverberating through her words is one name only: Iarbus. Where Virgil's Anna joins her dying sister atop the pyre, relieving where she can the pains of death, Marlowe's seeks only to replicate again a suicide of grief at losing an unrequited love. Introduced late in the play (III.i.61-2), Anna's affection for Iarbus is Marlowe's addition to the tale; it commands little attention, and its sole purpose seems in fact to be to drive towards this resolution. What, then, can Anna's suicide tell us about the rest of the final scene?

In Anna's promise to 'honor' Iarbus with her death, we hear the echoes of Evadne, the sati, and the martyrs of the *Acts and Monuments*. We hear, too, the logic of Olympia's attempts to burn with her Captain. Yet Anna's promise of fidelity comes without the bond of marriage to preface it—a contrast made even starker by Marlowe's emphasis of the 'marriage' between Dido and Aeneas, discussed above. The virginal Anna's suicide is to honour an unrealized love—one without legal sanction, and one she has no way to understand. Though her action is a replication of Dido's, it is presented without substance. Contextualized by Dido's choice specifically to burn, Anna's suicide develops the play's comments on burning, and through it the comments on the tragedy of martyrdom.

After the burning of Anne Askew, John Lassells, and their two companions in 1546, John Bale recognized the power of their martyrdom as a tool of conversion: 'Full manye a Christen hart have rysen and wyll ryse from the pope to Christ through the occasyon of their consumynge in the fyre. As the saynge is, of their ashes wyll more of the same opynyon

aryse'.⁷⁶ Yet the prestige of martyrdom, and the memorialization of those who suffered, was for the martyrs' detractors a factor in their willingness to die. As he sat in the Tower of London, contemplating his own preparedness to die for Christ and the limits of martyrdom, Thomas More had remarked that '[t]he devil hath also some so obstinate heretics, that endure willingly painful death for vainglory'.⁷⁷ More was, of course, referring to the evangelicals burned under Henry VIII, six of whom died during his own Chancellorship. To the Catholic More, only those killed for their orthodox beliefs (as he himself would be) could be considered for martyrdom. Those seeking death for other sects were not only mistaken in their beliefs, but also crude in their appropriation of Christ's suffering—the same accusation that in 1592 William Burton would level against the Arian Kett. 'Vainglory', rather than 'glory', is these pseudo-martyrs' sole pursuit.

Where Euripides' Evadne hoped to set an example for the women of the world, Marlowe's Dido sought only pity for herself, and censure for Aeneas, from those who witnessed her death. The playwright even cuts his Latin quotation from Virgil short, thereby subordinating the reaction of Aeneas—so important to Virgil's Dido—to the drama he presents. Virgil's Dido continues speaking after her welcome to the shadows, emphasizing her desire for Aeneas to regret his departure: '*hauriat hunc oculis ignem crudelis ab alto / Dardanus et nostrae secum ferat omina mortis*' [Let the cruel Dardan's eyes drink in this fire from the deep, and carry with him the omen of my death] (*Aeneid*, IV.661-2). In place of Aeneas' projected sorrow, the reactions of the audience, within the play and without, are emphasized in the drama.

What we see in reactions within the play is the proliferation, or contagion, of Dido's rhetoric. In evangelical terms, as we have seen, such spread could be welcomed and

⁷⁶ Elaine V. Beilin, ed., *The Examinations of Anne Askew* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 154.

⁷⁷ Thomas More, *A Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation* [1534-5], ed. Louis L. Martz and Germain Manley, vol. XII, *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), 314/12-14.

encouraged. However, for Catholic detractors, the spread marked only the pestilence of such opinions, and even suggested a lack of unity of understanding in the various martyrs' beliefs. Bishop John Fisher, Thomas More's contemporary, asked his readers in an Epistle preface to the published version of a sermon given at St. Paul's, '[w]hat wonder is it that lykewyse nowe/ in this miserable tyme/ these heretickes multiply/ and theyr heresies do sprede?'⁷⁸ The answer to this question comes in the sermon itself, by way of the Bible: 'Theyr heresies be perillous: For they sprede lyke a canker: and as a pestilence they do infecte the herers'.⁷⁹ Heresy spreads itself, unsolicited. In an attack on Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, Robert Persons would make similar accusations. In his *Treatise of Three Conversions* (1603), Persons disparaged:

these lyinge Acts and Monuments; a booke composed wholly to deceyue, and by iudgement of many men, hath done more hurt alone to simple soules in our countrey, by infectinge and poysoninge them vnwares, vnder the bayte of pleasant historyes, fayre pictures and painted pageants, then many other the most pestilent bookes together.⁸⁰

Persons launched a multifaceted attack on Foxe, but prevalent is the accusation that Foxe's martyrs were merely obstinate; the lesser educated among Foxe's pages, he suggested, lacked the requisite theological learning for such confidence in their opinions.⁸¹

The avenue of counter-martyr rhetoric exemplified in Persons' *Treatise*, applied to *Dido*, suggests that witnessing her sister's fate has provided the pattern for Anna's demise; indeed, his stress on 'pictures and painted pageants' implies the importance of spectacle in the conversion of the ignorant (though with scorn, rather than the awe inspired in Bale). In *Dido*, Anna's weakly attested love acts as a foil to Dido's stronger passions. The Queen has

⁷⁸ John Fisher, "A Sermon Had at Paulis by the Co[m]mandment of the Most Reuerend Father in God [1526]," in *English Works of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester: Sermons and Other Writings 1520 to 1535*, ed. Cecilia Hatt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 147.

⁷⁹ Fisher, "A Sermon Had at Paulis [1526]," 160. The corresponding biblical text reads: 'Stay prophane, and vaine babblings: for they shal encrease vnto more vngodlines. And their worde shal fret as a cancre' (2 Tim. 2: 16-17).

⁸⁰ Persons, *Treatise of Three Conversions*, III: 400.

⁸¹ See Victor Houlston, "Robert Persons's Comfortable History of England," in *Martyrs and Martyrdom in England, 1400-1700*, ed. Thomas S. Freeman and Thomas F. Mayer (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2007), 180-202.

known love. Twice widowed, Dido's double grief is distilled in the moment that she burns with the belongings of Aeneas and Sychaeus. By presenting Anna's hope to mingle with Iarbus in the immediate aftermath of Dido's death Marlowe ridicules her action through its dramatically abrupt presentation.

As the culmination of the play, however, the significance of Anna's haste to death is heightened further, so that it casts a dark shadow over the rhetoric that Dido herself presented. Marlowe's drama confronts us with the idea that to pity Dido is also to pity Anna—a proposition that gains absurdity in performance, with a carefully orchestrated tragic narrative juxtaposed with its spontaneous and ill-justified replication. The effect of Anna's rash suicide is to caution viewers against her sister's words: both she and Iarbus have been seduced by Dido's suicidal rhetoric, and both have shared the Queen's fate. Marlowe leads us to recognize that martyrdom, as Dido has surreptitiously commandeered it with her burning spectacle, is to be approached with scepticism and caution.

* * *

In recent productions of Marlowe's tragedy, critics have recorded audiences' sense of bathos with the drama's ending; Chris Butler, for example, noted the audience of the National Theatre's 2009 production as 'rather stunned by the extreme artificiality of the final moments'.⁸² This artificiality cannot be denied—indeed, it is an important aspect of the text and its performance—but its effects, I have argued, would be significantly different for Marlowe's first audiences. The rhetoric of heroic martyrdom that the play courts through the final scene produces a moment of ambiguity more contemporarily charged than Virgil's own. At the last moment, with Anna's suicide, that rhetoric is subverted.

⁸² Chris Butler, "Review of *Dido Queen of Carthage* at Cottesloe Theatre, the National Theatre, London, March-June 2009," *Early Modern Literary Studies* 15, no. 1 (2009): §5, <http://extra.shu.ac.uk/emls/15-1/butlerdi.htm>.

While Dido's method of suicide and her words as she commits it are shaped to invoke the heroic suicides of pagan widows, and by visual association the Protestant martyrdoms of the reformation, Anna's imitative behaviour works to alert audiences to the problems of her sister's claims. Because Dido cannot self-martyr in early modern, Christian London, her immolation carries the taint of pseudo-martyrdom. Though contemporary authors recognize her as classically heroic, Marlowe's Dido is selfish and vindictive; she does not die for love, but for the hope of hurting Aeneas both in person and in reputation. Her death is, in short, vindictive propaganda.

Later in his career, Marlowe would revisit martyrological farce more overtly in his *Massacre at Paris*, in which the bodies of French Huguenots pile up nineteen-deep by the final curtain. Where the violence of *Dido* is inflicted by individuals upon themselves, that of the *Massacre* is perpetrated on others. However, I have demonstrated in this chapter that *Dido*, just like the *Massacre*, is the work of an author with a firm grasp of the contemporary semiotics of religious violence, and he carefully negotiates their effects on those who witness them.

The use of burning in *Dido, Queen of Carthage* demonstrates both the power of evangelical historiography, and the transferability of its rhetoric. Although Marlowe's heroine does not burn at the stake, her onstage burning utilizes the motif of death by fire to import martyrological arguments of injustice and persecution into the Queen's tragedy, and subsequently to subvert them. In the following chapter I turn to the *Tamburlaine* plays, in which Marlowe uses a similar burning spectacle to produce a tableau of kindred ambiguity, with equal opportunity for partisan spectatorship. In *Tamburlaine*, too, the spectre of the stake persists.

4

Burning Books in *Tamburlaine*

Unlike Dido, whose burning frenzy results from romantic lust, Marlowe's male protagonists are driven by material ambition. Their fieriness is fuelled by the pursuit of power and wealth—often undertaken with moral abandon—and they move in play-worlds more overtly concerned with religious tensions than *Dido*. In *Tamburlaine*, the hero is in turns Muslim, Christian, pagan, and atheist; *The Jew of Malta* sees the Jewish Barabas voice and act upon his hate for Christians; in *Doctor Faustus*, the principles of Calvinist theology are called into question; and in *The Massacre at Paris*, the French religious wars are Marlowe's subject.¹ Open flames as punishment are present in two of these plays: *2 Tamburlaine* and *The Massacre at Paris* (Barabas' pot, of course, keeps him separate from the fire).

While in *The Massacre* the burning of the Admiral's corpse is only contemplated, in *Tamburlaine* real punitive fires are kindled: the protagonist burns a religious text in an act that forms the culmination of his two-play tyranny (*T2*, V.i). Like Dido's suicide, the spectacle of Tamburlaine's book burning leverages contemporary concerns over religious violence, and it too is ambiguous in its effect. However, where the previous chapter explored Marlowe's use of burning to invoke the rhetoric of martyrdom around the individual that

¹ I am here unconcerned with Marlowe's own theology. Instead, I pursue a possible sectarian reading of his drama informed by evangelical polemic; a summary of the (antagonistic) arguments concerning his religion can be found in Preedy, *Marlowe's Literary Scepticism*, Introduction.

dies in the fire, in this chapter I look at his negotiation of the mirror narrative: the Foxean interpretation of burning as the weapon of the Antichrist, utilized on earth by bloodthirsty Catholic clerics.

Here, I use the reformed narrative of burning as a papist enterprise to navigate a reading of Tamburlaine's tyranny that relates it to his subsequent death. The burning of the Qur'an in 2 *Tamburlaine* is the denouement of a play that has painted its anti-hero throughout as the 'bad shepherd' recognizable from reformation polemic. When his actions are read through an anti-papal worldview, Tamburlaine is at the very last condemned by the fiery actions that conclude his reign of terror.

Alongside the established sources of *Tamburlaine* (predominantly authors writing on military prowess), the *Acts and Monuments* also provides an account of Tamburlaine's career.² In Foxe's rendition the story is billed as a depiction of 'the prouidence of God'—providence enacted *through* Tamburlaine as he suppresses 'the cruel tyraunt' Bajazeth who had enslaved and tortured Christians (*A&M* [1570], 896)—and readers encounter all the popular adages of the tale as we find them in Marlowe's 1 *Tamburlaine*. Tamburlaine's sieges are described ('*the first day to go all in white attire, the second day in red, the third day in blacke: signifyeng therby mercy the first day to them that yelded, the second day the sword, the third day fier and ashes*'); there is an account of Bajazeth being 'vsed in stead of a footestoole to Tamerlanes'; and Tamburlaine is given his most recognizable epithet: he 'was called terror orbis, *the terror of the world*' (*A&M* [1570], 897).

In 1971, William J. Brown argued for the *Acts and Monuments* as a potential source for 1 *Tamburlaine*, citing the use of the word 'foot-stoole' (*TI*, IV.ii.1) as a linguistic correlation not found in pre-Foxean accounts of the story.³ Brown's argument is largely

² For a discussion of the sources of *Tamburlaine*, see *Tamburlaine Parts I and II*, ed. David Fuller, vol. V, *The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), xx–xxv.

³ William J. Brown, "Marlowe's Debasement of Bajazet: Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* and *Tamburlaine, Part 1*," *Renaissance Quarterly* 24, no. 1 (1971): 38–48.

compelling; however, as Chapter 1 suggested, these early sections of the *Acts and Monuments* were certainly not the most widely read part of the work. While Foxe's book may have been a creative source for Marlowe, its direct opinions of Tamburlaine are less likely to have been an interpretive context for the audience.⁴ The history of the Ottoman Empire, brief though it is in the original text, does not feature in the *Acts and Monuments* abridgements, for example.⁵

More promising in Brown's analysis is his brief turn to the possibility of the playwright's use of a Foxean tableau from much later in the history. The dramatic moment of Bajazeth as 'footstool' departs from its historical records in that the various histories of Tamburlaine available to Marlowe, including the *Acts and Monuments* itself, describe the hero mounting Bajazeth to his horse.⁶ As Marlowe's Tamburlaine instead mounts Bajazeth to his *throne*, Brown suggests the dramatic tableau is an echo of an image first included in the second edition of the *Acts and Monuments*: King Henry VIII, enthroned, with the Pope prostrate under his feet (Figure 4.1).⁷

⁴ Chloe Preedy suggests that the *Acts and Monuments* could have been a creative source for the oath-taking scene of *Part II*, in which Sigismund and Orcanes pledge to their own gods—Christ and Mahomet—to come together against Tamburlaine (*T2*, I.i). Preedy, *Marlowe's Literary Scepticism*, 109, ff., especially 114.

⁵ These abridgements are discussed in Chapter 1.

⁶ Brown writes that, of the recognized English sources of *Tamburlaine*, Whetstone's *English Myrror* (1586) and John Shute's *Two very notable Commentaries* (1562) cite the hero mounting his horse upon Bajazeth's shoulders. Thomas Fortescue's *The Foreste* (1571) omits the episode. Brown, "Marlowe's Debasing of Bajazet," 44–45.

⁷ The correlation to this woodcut was recognized earlier in M. C. Bradbrook, "The Inheritance of Christopher Marlowe—I," *Theology* 67, no. 529 (1964): 299–305. The same image was printed as a foldout at the beginning of Timothy Bright's *Abridgement* (1589), adding to its exposure in the period.



Figure 4.1: Henry VIII upon his throne, the pope as footstool. First appeared in *A&M* [1570], 962. From *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online*. Available at: <http://www.johnfoxe.org/woodcuts/fo833w.gif>.

The cut appeared in 1570 to illustrate the events of 1534—Henry’s passing of the Act of Supremacy, by which he replaced the Pope as the supreme head of the Church in England. In 1583, it was moved to the start of the edition’s second volume, a prime position in which it established the eradication of the Pope’s authority as the defining victory of Henry’s reign, marking the beginning of the ensuing reformation. Brown reads this into *Tamburlaine* as a demonstration of Bajazeth’s ‘extreme exclusion from human mercy or just compassion’.⁸ For him, the echo of a Henrician tableau presents *Tamburlaine* as a hero. However, the King’s oscillation between Rome and home proved problematic for reformation historiographers, and Foxe’s depiction is not uncritical. Moreover, as Frances Yates has demonstrated, the motif of the footstool is found throughout the *Acts and Monuments* as a symbol of the transfer of power; Henry suppresses the Pope underfoot, but elsewhere the Pope is seen to do

⁸ Brown, “Marlowe’s Debasement of Bajazet,” 48.

the same to Emperor Frederick Barbarossa.⁹ Tamburlaine's use of Bajazeth as a mount is therefore not necessarily an approval of the conqueror. However, the Foxean image that Brown sees echoed onstage in *1 Tamburlaine* suggests a link between the dramaturgy of this play and that explored in *Dido* in the preceding chapter.

Where Brown focuses on the historical events of *Part I*, my focus is the Qur'an burning and its consequences for Tamburlaine in *Part II*. As many critics have noted, Tamburlaine's Qur'an burning is in line with orthodox Christian theology, and could be seen as a laudable action of God's Scourge; as Ian Gaskell contends: '[f]or a Christian audience in an age of religious intolerance this exhibition presumably merited considerable applause'.¹⁰ Yet, for others, the image of the Muslim Tamburlaine contemptuously burning the sacred text of his own religion presents the height of sacrilege.¹¹ As the Qur'ans burn, Tamburlaine questions 'if any God' at all sits in heaven—a parenthetical consideration that has led some critics, and even his contemporaries, to view Marlowe and his creation as entirely atheist.¹²

For the purposes of staging and censorship, it was of course crucial that the text burnt is not a Christian one—but audiences could still associate the spectacle with personal experience. While some in the audience might have viewed the scene in light of its theological particularities, others might have attended to the material reality of Tamburlaine's actions. As Elizabeth Williamson has argued:

⁹ On the use of this imagery in the *Acts and Monuments* see Frances A. Yates, "Queen Elizabeth as Astraea," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 10 (1947): 15–6, 42–3. Yates, however, incorrectly states that the ornamental 'C' that opens the work also portrays Elizabeth I suppressing the Pope (see Figure 1.1, above, which sees Elizabeth's feet resting on a cushion, and not the Pope).

¹⁰ Ian Gaskell, "2 *Tamburlaine*, Marlowe's 'War Against the Gods,'" *English Studies in Canada* 11, no. 2 (1985): 184. Gaskell is here echoing a long tradition of interpretation: see Willard Thorp, "The Ethical Problem in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*," *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 29, no. 3 (1930): 388; Kocher, *Christopher Marlowe*, 87, 88 n. 20; Harry Levin, *Christopher Marlowe: The Overreacher*, British Edition (London: Faber and Faber, 1953), 71; Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, IL; London: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 202.

¹¹ Roy W. Battenhouse, *Marlowe's Tamburlaine: A Study in Renaissance Moral Philosophy*, 2nd Printing, with corrections (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 1964), 171.

¹² Robert Greene, for example, wrote in the epistle of his contemporary work that Marlowe was 'daring God out of heauen with that Atheist *Tamburlan*', *Perimedes the Blacke-Smith* (London: Printed by John Wolfe for Edward White, 1588), sig. A3r.

although Tamburlaine himself is assured of the book's worthlessness, his attack upon it prompts its audience to confront, from a safe geographical distance, the profound impact of such an act of desecration. In other words, while the acting companies would never go so far as to burn a Bible on stage, Tamburlaine's role as the tyrannical unbeliever prompts the audience to imagine how they might feel if their own sacred texts were treated in a similar fashion.¹³

Of course, Protestant observers need not imagine—policies to counter reform had seen various evangelical books consigned to the flames in recent history. Such affective tableaux could allow audiences of the *Tamburlaine* plays to see local, contemporary identifications in the obviously alien and historical; as in the case of Dido and sati, this evocative fire spectacle encourages topical engagement with both history and recent experience.

The Qur'an-burning scene's relation to the hero's subsequent death is equally contested. Within twenty lines of the conflagration Tamburlaine stumbles and confesses that he feels 'distempered sudainly' (*T2*, V.i.218) with an illness that will be his conqueror. In the play's final scene he dies in bed, attended by a physician and his sons. For Leila Watkins, this raises questions of justice: '[w]hile most early modern playwrights bring tyrants like Tamburlaine to violent ends, Marlowe ushers his protagonist into a comparatively comfortable death that caps off a victorious military career', and she questions why he is 'allowed to die unpunished'.¹⁴ Watkins' argument bears the shadow of the critical tradition that reads Tamburlaine's illness as unconnected to his burning of the Qur'an.¹⁵ In a conflicting tradition, the illness is read as the direct result of the fires—as the incensed

¹³ Elizabeth Williamson, *The Materiality of Religion in Early Modern English Drama* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 185.

¹⁴ Leila Watkins, "Justice Is a Mirage: Failures of Religious Order in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* Plays," *Comparative Drama* 46, no. 2 (2012): 163.

¹⁵ Other critics in this tradition include Kocher, who argues that the events cannot be linked as 'no character in the play so interprets it'. Instead, he asserts that 'Marlowe made the illness follow close upon the abjuration because he considered that the time had arrived for ending the play, and wished to compress the remaining events'; *Christopher Marlowe*, 90. See also Emily C. Bartels, *Spectacles of Strangeness: Imperialism, Alienation, and Marlowe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 80. In the 1976 National Theatre production, coincidence was the director's chosen mechanism: Roger Sales, *Christopher Marlowe*, English Dramatists (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991), 71.

reaction of the wronged deity.¹⁶ The play, as these divergent critical arguments attest, is profoundly ambiguous on the matter. In the words of David Fuller, the connection of ‘Tamburlaine’s sudden illness with the challenge to Mahomet’ is ‘a possibility which Marlowe’s placing of the illness permits, but by no means insists on’.¹⁷

In the aftermath of the reformation, however, such deaths could carry the weight of providence. As Alexandra Walsham has demonstrated, providential narratives were popular in early modern England. Though not the sole reserve of reformists—many Protestant narratives, she shows, draw heavily on pre-existing Catholic genres such as saints’ lives—providential narratives were a key interpretive context for early moderns making sense of their lives.¹⁸ Moreover, they had a perceptible impact on the development of drama.¹⁹ In *Tamburlaine*, Marlowe’s continuation of the narrative can be interpreted by an audience familiar with the tales found in Foxe as aligning Tamburlaine with the Catholic villains of Protestant reformation propaganda, with his death the work of providence.²⁰ As Claudia Richter has argued, ‘*Tamburlaine* is entangled in a web of references to the prophetic texts of the Bible, especially when it comes to violence’.²¹ This chapter demonstrates that it is not

¹⁶ Battenhouse, *Marlowe’s Tamburlaine*, 174–5; J. B. Steane, *Marlowe: A Critical Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 63.

¹⁷ Marlowe, *Tamburlaine Parts I and II*, V:xliv. The same argument was made in 1973 by Alexander Leggatt, who argued that ‘the seizure which he suffers after defying Mahomet is ambiguous; it *may* be Mahomet’s revenge, but in theatrical terms the lapse of time between the defiance and the seizure is just long enough to create doubt’, “Tamburlaine’s Sufferings,” *The Yearbook of English Studies* 3 (1973): 32. See also Clifford Leech, *Christopher Marlowe: Poet for the Stage*, ed. Anne Lancashire (New York: AMS Press, 1986), 45–6; Fred B. Tromly, *Playing with Desire: Christopher Marlowe and the Art of Tantalization* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 89.

¹⁸ Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

¹⁹ In particular, the influence of Thomas Beard’s popular *Theatre of Gods Judgements* (London, 1597) on the development of domestic tragedy is well attested. See, for example, Mukherji’s discussion of *A Warning for Fair Women* in *Law and Representation in Early Modern Drama*, Chapter 3. I discuss *A Warning*’s Protestant aesthetic in relation to *Arden of Faversham* below—see Chapter 5.

²⁰ Chloe Preedy has undertaken similar research in this area, though her broad approach to what she defines as ‘Marlowe’s literary scepticism’ takes into account the playwright’s engagement with scepticism and politic religion across confessional divides: *Marlowe’s Literary Scepticism*, especially Chapter 4. Here I focus on the ways in which audience members might recognize Tamburlaine as demonized through a specifically anti-papist worldview.

²¹ Claudia Richter, “Performing God’s Wrath: Tamburlaine, Calvinism and the Phantasmata of Terror,” *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* 143 (2007): 54. For a discussion of the correlations between the *Tamburlaine* plays

only the biblical texts themselves that can enrich, and complicate, our reading of *Tamburlaine*, but also their recent deployment in Protestant polemic.

For both parts of *Tamburlaine*, but for *Part II* in particular, the reformers' application of prophetic and apocalyptic texts to their own recent history sheds new light on Marlowe's rendering of Tamburlaine's violence, and the seeming banality of his death. In the first section, I identify Marlowe's Tamburlaine with the bad shepherds, the 'bite-sheep' bishops of reformation polemic; in the second, I read the book-burning as a blasphemous, and decidedly papist, escalation of the bite-sheep rhetoric with close ties to the practice of burning people; and in the final section, I explore the similarities between Tamburlaine's mild death and that of Stephen Gardiner, one of Protestant historiography's most notorious villains. Although Foxe's Tamburlaine enacts 'the prouidence of God', Marlowe's, I argue, is presented as its victim.

CATHOLIC 'BITE-SHEEPS': VILLAINS OF THE REFORMATION

In *Part I*, Tamburlaine's first action on stage is to disown his heritage by removing his shepherd's attire (*TI*, I.ii). As the initial action of the hero, this is, in the words of Roy Battenhouse, 'especially to be remarked'.²² Direct 'shepherd' references are clustered at the beginning of *I Tamburlaine*,²³ but the hero's origins are crucial to the aspirational plot arc of the plays considered together; their first printing boasted the story of *Tamburlaine the Great. Who, from a Scythian Shepherde, by his rare and woonderfull Conquests, became a most puissant and mightye Monarque, And (for his tyranny, and terrour in Warre) was tearmed, The Scourge of God* (1590). Though the Tamburlaine of *Part I* has been identified with the

and the prophetic books of the Bible, see Lynette Feasey and Evelyn Feasey, "Marlowe and the Prophetic Dooms," *Notes and Queries* 195 (1950): 356-59, 404-7, 419-21.

²² Battenhouse, *Marlowe's Tamburlaine*, 151.

²³ There are eight instances of 'shepherd' in *Part I* (six of which occur in the first two acts), compared with only two in *Part II* (both in a single exchange between Callapine and Tamburlaine which occurs in III.v).

pastoral shepherd,²⁴ the Tamburlaine of the plays as taken together has much more in common with the bad shepherds that were branded ‘false prophets’ in the reformation, and satirized on the mid-century stage.²⁵

In 1559, the first Twelfth Night performances of Elizabeth’s reign featured a masque satirizing the Catholic clergy. Aloisio Schivenoglia, an Italian on the staff of the London Priory of St. John of Jerusalem, described its participants as ‘crows in the habits of Cardinals, ... asses habited as Bishops, and ... wolves representing Abbots’.²⁶ Details from the inventory of the Revels, which includes sixteen vizards with animal faces including dogs and wolves, confirm his description.²⁷ Alongside the predators’ vizards, two artificial lambs were commissioned for the occasion.²⁸ In performance, the masque pitted Catholic predators against evangelical prey. As Martin Wiggins notes, the governing device was topical: just weeks previously John White, then Bishop of Winchester, had preached at the funeral of Queen Mary, anticipating Elizabeth’s restoration of Protestantism with horror:

If they, who by God are placed to keep watch and ward upon the walls, and give warning when the enemy cometh, see the wolf come toward the flock, as at this present, I warn you, the wolves be coming out of Geneva and other places of Germany.²⁹

As the masque that followed suggests, the same conceit was deployed in both directions across the confessional divide.

As well as the wolf in sheep’s clothing, Protestant polemic also incorporated images of the bad shepherd—a figure closely aligned with the wolf in disguise. Longstanding as a

²⁴ Lisa Hopkins, “‘Dead Shepherd, Now I Find Thy Saw of Might’: *Tamburlaine* and Pastoral,” ed. David M. Bergeron, *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 35 (1996): 1–16.

²⁵ For a discussion of this imagery as an influence on Shakespeare’s *Measure for Measure*, see Burks, *Horrid Spectacle*, Chapter 2.

²⁶ Quoted in Martin Wiggins, *Drama and the Transfer of Power in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 23.

²⁷ Wiggins, *Drama and the Transfer of Power*, 23.

²⁸ Wiggins, *Drama and the Transfer of Power*, 28. His n. 31 states they ‘were constructed on a wickerwork frame, and cost 5s’, and extrapolates from this that they ‘were probably near life-size’.

²⁹ John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1824), 154. Quoted in Wiggins, *Drama and the Transfer of Power*, 25–6. Wiggins notes (26) that as the Revels Office tailors had begun the outfits for the masque three days prior to the sermon, the preacher’s subsequent arrest for slander could not have failed to raise the device to the attention of those at court.

figure of leadership,³⁰ the scriptural shepherd's guidance is spiritual: the Lord and his representatives on earth are shepherds (perhaps most famously at Psalms 23:1), while the body of Christianity is represented by the image of the flock. The Patriarchs were all shepherds, as were Moses and David; it was to working shepherds tending their flocks that the news of Christ's birth was first delivered (Luke 2:8-20); and Christ himself is the Lamb of God (John 1:36; Rev. 14:1-4). However, also prevalent in the Bible are images of the 'bad shepherd'—the benevolent leader's dark opposite, and the vehicle of White's metaphorical comparison. In Ezekiel 34, God chastises the 'shepherdes of Israel' (Ezekiel 34:2), who have failed in their charge to care for the Lord's flock: 'Ye eat the fat, and ye clothe you with the woll: ye kil them that are fed, but ye fede not the shepe' (Ezekiel 34:3); instead of nourishing God's sheep with spiritual enlightenment, the bad shepherd gluts on those who are learned in God's word, and abandons those in need of teaching. The bad shepherd is a false prophet; masquerading as God's shepherd, he utilizes his office against the flock.

Though White's sermon spoke against the returning evangelicals, the images had been deployed against orthodox ministers since the seeds of reformation had begun to spread in Henry's reign. Indeed White's predecessor in the see of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, was among the most heavily attacked. As Lord Chancellor under Mary I, Gardiner presided over the House of Lords for the approval of the Heresy Revival Act (1554), the topic of *The Lambe Speaketh* (1555).³¹ The engraved broadsheet is an English translation of a Latin original that was printed in Emden as part of William Turner's *The huntyng of the Romyshe vuolfe* (1555)—a text banned in England during Mary's reign.³² In the image, Gardiner ('The

³⁰ In Ancient Egypt, the shepherd's crook symbolized kingship: John J. Davis, *The Perfect Shepherd: Studies in the 23 Psalm* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker House, 1979), 51, 100.

³¹ The dating is that of Rowena J. Smith, who uses contemporary references within the piece to date it between the trial of John Hooper, John Rogers and John Bradford among others, which began on 22 January, and the death of Rogers on 4 February. See "*The Lambe Speaketh... An English Protestant Satire*," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 61 (1998): 261-67.

³² For the Latin image see Malcolm Jones, "*The Lambe Speaketh... An Addendum*," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 63 (2000): 288, Fig. 95.

Winchester wolfe’) bites a sacrificial lamb, while a crowd of bloodthirsty bishops wait with goblets to catch the blood that spills (Figure 4.2). In the foreground, Bishop Bonner begins to enjoy the fruits of their harvest, even as his cup is filling.

The engraving is rich in scripture to accompany its biblical image. By the heap of bound martyr-sheep an excerpt from Psalm 44 identifies the good Christian flock with those being persecuted: ‘For thy names sake are we dayly put to death as sheepe destinate to be slayne’.³³ Reader and martyrs are brought into the same company: the true fold of Christ. Again the shepherd and flock image is used to the left of the foreground, where Gardiner leads the Commons by their noses. Despite the efforts of the learned Lords above them, who appear to hold Gardiner back, he manages to bite the Lamb of God. Capable of guiding opinion in this way, Gardiner is the perfect example of the bad shepherd; where he should protect, instead he instigates the heretical undertaking of preying upon ‘those that are sanctified’.

³³ The *Geneva Bible* of 1560 has: ‘Surely for thy sake are we slaine continually, & are counted as shepe for ye slaughter’ (Psalms 44:22). Over thirty years later, the frontispiece of Timothy Bright’s abridgement of the *Acts and Monuments*, published in 1589, would bear the same inscription above a cruder woodcut image of slaughter (as well as a fold-out copy of Figure 4.1). Aston and Ingram, “The Iconography of the *Acts and Monuments*,” 76–9; Jones, “*The Lambe Speaketh... An Addendum*,” 293–4.

BURNING BOOKS



Figure 4.2: *The lambe speaketh...* (1555). The British Museum, Y 1.92.

The image is virulently polemical, drawing on pre-existing evangelical rhetoric that associated Catholic bishops with the bad shepherd, literalized as the ‘bite-sheep’. In his *An Epistle exhortatory of an Englyshe Christiane* (c. 1544), John Bale had played upon this conceit, writing that Henry’s Catholic ministers were ‘not Byshoppes but byteshepes/ tyrauntes/ tormentours/ termagauntes/ and the deuyls slaughter menne’.³⁴ Then, in *The first examinacyon of Anne Askew* (1546), he directed a similar attack against Gardiner, ‘[t]hys hongrye wolfe [who] practyseth by all craftye wayes possyble, to sucke the bloude of thys innocent lambe’.³⁵ Even in his translation of Gardiner’s own *De Vera Obedientia* (1553)—a work held to lean toward reformation, and used by evangelicals as proof of the bishop’s hypocrisy—Bale used his preface to name Gardiner the ‘double-faced epicureous bite-shepe of Couentrye and Lichefelde’.³⁶ The bad shepherd, or the bite-sheep bishop, was an established trope of Protestant polemic, and an important motif in the portrayal of villainous Catholics.

These associations continued into Elizabeth’s reign, and circulated in the *Acts and Monuments*. In a section on ‘The life and death of Stephen Gardiner’, Foxe characteristically hints at (though refuses to dignify extended discussion of) the gossip surrounding his physical appearance: ‘I wyl not here speake of, what hath bene constantly reported to me, of the monstrous makinge and fashion of his feat and toes, the nailes wherof are said not to be like other men, but to croke doune ward & sharp like *the* clawes of a beast’ (*A&M* [1563], 1451)—a slight that recurred in all editions, and contributed to the polemical caricatures discussed in Chapter 1. Even Bale’s ‘bite-sheep’ pun occurs in the later editions, through the inclusion in 1570 of Anthony Persons’ Henrician interrogation.³⁷ In *The Lambe Speaketh*,

³⁴ John Bale, *The Epistle Exhortatorye of an Englyshe Christyane Vnto His Dereleye Beloued Co[n]treye of Englande* (London, 1544), fol. 27.

³⁵ Quoted in Jones, “*The Lambe Speaketh... An Addendum*,” 292.

³⁶ Sig. Aii, Quoted in Jones, “*The Lambe Speaketh... An Addendum*,” 292.

³⁷ Persons is reported to have said, ‘ye are become rather biteshepes then true Bishops, bytyng and deuouryng the poore shepe of Christe lyke rauueyng wolues, neuer satisfied with bloud: which God will

this rhetoric is literalized—a tactic seen also on the reforming stage.

Just one year after the publication of Foxe's first edition, students of Cambridge University presented a drama before the Queen at Hinchinbrooke House that drew on these themes. Clerics were presented as hogs, baboons, ravens, wolves, and asses, and a scholar playing Bishop Bonner even ate a lamb onstage—a natural extension of the gluttony of his portly aspect discussed in Chapter 1. Elizabeth left partway through the performance, angry; the type of satire that the students presented was no longer to the monarch's taste in 1564.³⁸ Whether the Queen's displeasure put a stop to such crude performances is unknown, but it is unlikely that the Cambridge dramatists and their inheritors—including Marlowe himself—would easily forget the cause of such an affront. When Tamburlaine steps onto the stage in his shepherd's attire, it is into this infamous and polemical theatrical tradition.

TAMBURLAINE AS BAD SHEPHERD

Even before he appears onstage, Mycetes describes Tamburlaine as one:

That like a Foxe in midst of harvest time,
Dooth pray upon my flockes of Passengers,
And as I heare, doth meane to pull my plumes. (*TI*, I.i.31-3)

Mycetes' words prime the audience for a polemical reception. In the first instance, the image is ornithological: Mycetes is a fatted harvest goose whose decorative plumage (his crown) is coveted by the fox that hunts his travelling flock (his Persian citizens).³⁹ Tamburlaine is a predator, discussed in the kind of animal imagery common for those of tyrannous ambition. However, the hunted 'flockes' of Persians suggest not only the collective citizenry, but also a spiritualized community. Caught in aural isolation, the 'flockes' are likely to invoke the

require at your handes one day, doubt it not' (*A&M* [1570], 1434). The *OED* [*Online*] attests the pun in use through the seventeenth century. See 'bite-sheep', *n*.

³⁸ Wiggins, *Drama and the Transfer of Power*, 40. See also Marion Colthorpe, "Anti-Catholic Masques Performed Before Queen Elizabeth I," *Notes and Queries* 33, no. 3 (1986): 316-18.

³⁹ Fuller, ed., notes for I.i.33-4; 'Passengers', *OED* 5a.

biblical image of the Christian sheep, with ‘Passengers’ euphemistically referencing their spiritual journey. Through the poetic invocation of a recognizably Christian register, Marlowe hints that Tamburlaine is no mere fox among the geese; he is also a wolf among the sheep. Marlowe’s Tamburlaine is a bad shepherd.

In the following scene Tamburlaine’s arrival does little to dispel the image Mycetes introduced—an image we might have dismissed as the scornful, disparaging words of a competitor. Though a self-professed ‘shepherd by my Parentage’ (I.ii.35), and attired as such, the hero casts off ‘ye weeds that I disdain to weare’, adopting instead ‘This complete armor, and this curtle-axe’ which ‘Are adjuncts more beseeeming *Tamburlaine*’ (I.ii.41-3). In swapping his ‘weeds’ for armour, and moving from shepherd to violent aggressor, Tamburlaine begins his association with the ‘bite-sheeps’ of Protestant propaganda.⁴⁰

With the removal of his ‘weedes’, Tamburlaine is, to Techelles, like ‘princely Lions when they rouse themselves’ (TI, I.ii.52): a predator, still, though stripped of his shepherd’s clothing. Though Tamburlaine’s cloak is of course also the simple clothing of his ancestors, it is he who labours its utility as disguise. To Theridamas, sent by Mycetes to capture the Scythian, Tamburlaine foregrounds the clothing as mere costume:

Jove sometime masked in a Shepherds weed,
And by those steps that he hath scal’d the heavens,
May we become immortall like the Gods. (I.ii.199-201)⁴¹

Yet where for *Jove* the outfit of the shepherd is an aid to seduction, Tamburlaine must divest himself of this humble attire to win people to his cause.

In these first two scenes, imagery and action are juxtaposed: Tamburlaine is, in quick

⁴⁰ In Marlowe’s wider corpus, Catholicism is associated with disguise: in *Doctor Faustus*, Mephistopheles first appears in the habit of a friar (F, I.iii), and in *The Massacre at Paris* it is a friar who murders the king (MP, xxiv)—a Catholic malevolence made all the more poignant in the 2014 Dolphin’s Back production at the Rose, which saw John Gregor’s Duke of Guise back from the dead to double in the role of the friar: James Wallace, “*The Massacre at Paris*” (London: The Rose Playhouse, 2014).

⁴¹ *Jove* appeared as a shepherd to Mnemosyne, whereby he begat the nine muses. See Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, ed. E. J. Kenney (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), VI.114; *Tamburlaine Parts I and II*, Fuller’s notes, I.ii.199.

succession, predator in disguise, disrobed shepherd, and armoured seducer of potential followers, evoking a wealth of dramatic and iconographic resonances with contemporary history. Following these scenes Tamburlaine remains uncloaked, and the shepherd imagery subsides. Yet this casting-off scene plants the seeds of religious rhetoric. Brought rhetorically and materially to the audience's attention and then dropped just as quickly, the imagery of the shepherd is powerful, and should remain at the forefront of the audience's experience. Just moments after the removal of his cloak, for example, when Tamburlaine persuades Theridamas to abandon Mycetes and become instead 'the trustie friend of *Tamburlaine*' (I.ii.227), he does so as the bite-sheep shepherd, though without his cloak to identify him.

For the rest of 1 and 2 *Tamburlaine* this figure treads the stage, meting out injustice as he goes; Tamburlaine slaughters not only those who oppose him in arms, but also a number of innocents as he encounters them. At the close of *Part I*, for instance, as Tamburlaine lays siege to Damascus, the governor sends down a group of virgins in order to dispel the fury of the attack. Though perceptibly (or superficially?) moved by the violence he must administer (he is said to be '*melancholy*' from the beginning of the scene: V.i.sd), Tamburlaine orders that his horsemen dispatch the virgins, despite their pleas for 'pity' (V.i.99). When Techelles reports that they have been 'slaughtered' and strung upon the walls of the city (V.i.131-132), his emotive language foregrounds helplessness at the mercy of a great and matter-of-fact tyrannical power.

Following the death of the virgins, the former tyrant Bajazeth, reduced in stature from king to captive animal and footstool, brains himself against his cage, followed moments later by his wife Zabina. If Zenocrate's reaction is a marker for our own—like Foxe's prompts of pity within the pages of the *Acts and Monuments*—the correct response is horror. Already expounding on the senselessness of the violence that caused 'heavenly vyrgins and unspotted maides' to be 'On horsemens Lances [...] hoisted up, / And guiltlesly endure a cruel death' (V.i.326, 329-30), Zenocrate finds the corpses. '[T]his their slavery hath

Enforc'd', explains Anippe, 'And ruthlesse cruelty of *Tamburlaine*' (V.i.346-347). Like Aeneas, who stands to be vilified by Dido's suicide, the blame for the suicides of Bajazeth and his wife is laid at Tamburlaine's feet.

Earlier in the play, the cruelty endured by Bajazeth had little reason to move us; he had himself been torturing Christians before his capture. Yet following the death of the virgins and its effect on our perception of Tamburlaine, Bajazeth's death is abhorrent. Zenocrate marks it as 'a death so barbarous' (V.i.352), imploring the heavens to 'pardon me that was not moov'd with ruthe, / To see them live so long in misery' (V.i.370-371). Though Marlowe is always cautious to moderate blame—Bajazeth was a tyrant, just as the governor of Damascus should perhaps have surrendered sooner—after the death of the virgins Tamburlaine's cruelty is condemnable even by those who love him. Just as Foxe maligned Gardiner through Bonner's words (see Chapter 1), Marlowe attacks Tamburlaine's character from within his own ranks. By the close of *Part I*, Tamburlaine's tyranny is well established.

In *Part II* Tamburlaine's cruelty continues relentlessly, and as he murders his son Calyphas, Marlowe offers the audience a scene that resonates more acutely with the polemical imagery of *The Lambe Speaketh*. Calyphas' death is the first we see Tamburlaine execute himself; just as the bishops' bloodlust was in reality fed by their use of the law's secular arm, Tamburlaine has repeatedly condemned his victims to deaths at others' hands—his soldiers', or their own. At this crucial moment Tamburlaine is forced into the role of perpetrator in his own violent scheme, and his bloodlust is exposed in the treatment of a passive victim. In this episode Tamburlaine's embeddedness in the rhetoric of reformation polemic—rather than simply the biblical imagery of shepherding—comes to the fore.

Extant early modern texts of *Tamburlaine* give no stage direction for Calyphas' death, though military protocol for 'martiall justice' (IV.i.98) would suggest stabbing, as

directed by the play's recent editors.⁴² It would be possible, however, to make much more of the moment—especially in its importance as the only execution that Tamburlaine performs with his own hands. Indeed, it is a more symbolic violence that Richard Hardin imagines when he argues that the scene ‘resonates with the religious imagery of sacrifice’, suggesting, without textual evidence, that Tamburlaine cuts Calyphas’ throat ‘as one would dispatch a sacrificial animal’.⁴³ Hardin’s inference is borne out by the dynamic of the scene, which in the context of polemical martyrology carries more specific historical resonances that foreshadow the escalation in Tamburlaine’s violence culminating in the burning of the Qur’an.

In less historically specific depictions of the slaughter of martyr-sheep than *The Lambe Speaketh*, the sacrificial nature of the violence is more explicit. On the frontispiece to Timothy Bright’s *An abridgement of the booke of acts and monuments* (1589), for example, the slaughter of the martyr-sheep is more readily discernable: the throat is cut by the Catholic cleric, rather than bitten by the ‘bite-sheep’ (Figure 4.3). Less allegorical than *The Lambe Speaketh*, this woodcut foregrounds the human violence of the scene. Once again, Psalm 44 identifies the martyrs of the *Acts and Monuments* as ‘Sheepe for the slaughter’. Tellingly, when Tamburlaine and his victorious army return to camp to find Calyphas still in his tent, the victims of his war-like children are said to have marched ‘sheep-like to the sword’ (IV.i.79)—a conscious turn to the same register of martyrdom polemicized by evangelicals in *The Lambe Speaketh* and on Bright’s frontispiece. With the victims of Tamburlaine’s war characterized as meek before the violent, the slaughter of Calyphas is prefigured by an image of imbalance that foreshadows the religious tableau to follow.

⁴² Fuller (ed. 1998) and Anthony Dawson (ed. 2013) both suggest that Tamburlaine ‘stabs’ Calyphas.

⁴³ Richard F. Hardin, “Apocalypse Then: *Tamburlaine* and the Pleasures of Religious Fear,” *Baylor Journal of Theatre and Performance* 3, no. 2 (2006): 35.

All day long are we counted as Sheepe for the slaughter. Psal. 44.



How long Lord, holy and true? Apocal. Cap. 6. verse 10.

Figure 4.3: Frontispiece. Timothy Bright, *An abridgement of the booke of acts and monumentes of the Church* (London, 1589). The Huntington Library, San Marino, California, RB 17474.

Indeed, Calyphas' own meekness has already been established in his argument against arms. When Tamburlaine urged his sons to fight, Calyphas alone feared war: 'We may be slaine or wounded ere we learne' (*T2*, III.ii.94). Then, in the scene of war that comes before his death, Calyphas' behaviour is cowardly—a trait he both acknowledges (IV.i.50), and is accused of by others (IV.i.23, 31, 67). By the military laws governing him against his will, this cowardice is criminal. But Calyphas is pacifist and coward in equal measure; his 'trial' at the hands of his father and leader is therefore not straightforward.

In the same way that the cruelties of *Part I* are tempered with circumstantial mitigations, Marlowe uses military glosses throughout this scene to give the execution an air of legitimacy. Though Theridamas, Techelles, Usumcasane, and Tamburlaine's two other sons implore him from their knees to pardon his child, Tamburlaine counters simply: 'Know ye not yet the argument of Armes?' (IV.i.102). Indeed the death of Calyphas can be seen as

merely the proof of his unrelenting military principles.⁴⁴ But to counter Tamburlaine's principles, Calyphas has offers a reasoned morality to justify his pacifism, despite his cowardice and petty squabbling with his siblings:

I know sir, what it is to kil a man,
It works remorse of conscience in me,
I take no pleasure to be murtherous,
Nor care for blood when wine wil quench my thirst. (IV.i.27-30)

In these lines, Calyphas identifies as his father's opposite. Where Tamburlaine is driven by scourging and bloodshed, his son pleads displeasure at the prospect. Preferring wine to blood, Calyphas stands in opposition to his father's well-attested blood-thirst (discussed below).

Yet the image here also functions as a religious signifier to identify Calyphas with the Lamb of God (and thereby with the 'sheep-like' victims that Tamburlaine will introduce at l. 79). As Calyphas turns to wine (and cards) instead of blood at this earlier point in the scene, a parody of the crucifixion begins: the proximity of 'blood' and 'wine' in this speech invokes the Last Supper and with it Christ's own martyrdom. The audience may sense that these are to be Calyphas' last actions before his death (though he, unlike Christ, does not know it).

When Tamburlaine then attempts to inhabit the role of military arbiter of justice, he unwittingly continues in the register of the Last Supper that Calyphas has initiated. As he kills his son, he speaks in terms of 'flesh' and 'spirit'—the language of communion:

Here *Jove*, receive his fainting soule againe,
A Forme not meet to give that subject essence,
Whose matter is the flesh of *Tamburlain*,
Wherein an incorporeall spirit mooves,
Made of the mould whereof thy selfe consists,
Which makes me valiant, proud, ambitious,
Ready to levie power against thy throne,
That I might moove the turning Spheares of heaven,
For earth and al this aery region
Cannot containe the state of *Tamburlaine*. (IV.i.113-122)

⁴⁴ See, for example, Alan Shepard, *Marlowe's Soldiers: Rhetorics of Masculinity in the Age of the Armada* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).

The deliberate invocation of the (albeit pagan) god to whom Tamburlaine returns his child's spirit marks the moment as religious, but its use of the Christian register is heretical: his words present a perverse inversion of the crucifixion of Christ. Where earthly flesh was not meant to hold the spirit of the Lord, here the child's 'soule' is lacking to the human father's 'matter'. Tamburlaine claims to be of divinity's 'mould', and that his flesh is ennobled by this vigour. Calyphas' soul, though God-given, is not fit to be contained in such 'valiant' flesh. Through this preposterous suggestion of his own body being more vital than a God-given spirit, Tamburlaine's heresy is announced.

Moreover, as he continues railing after he has killed Calyphas, Tamburlaine cements this hierarchical inversion. 'By *Mahomet*, thy mighty friend I sweare' (IV.i.123) he begins, reprimanding Jove for 'sending to my issue such a soule' (IV.i.124), and vowing that the God has in this 'procur'd a greater enemy' (IV.i.129) than the Titans were to Atlas. In confronting the deity while swearing by the prophet, Tamburlaine inverts the doctrinal hierarchy: the human ('Mahomet') is given precedence over the divine (Jove). The privilege here extended to the human is in keeping with the tyrant's theology as it develops through the play. Though he has stated that he is 'Made of the mould whereof thy selfe [Jove] consists' (IV.i.117), by the time that Tamburlaine burns the Qur'ans on the outskirts of Babylon (V.i), he is no longer content with divine parity. Later, he makes an attempt to usurp the 'God that sits in heaven' through his self-aggrandizing and self-mythologizing rhetoric.

Meek and cowardly as he is cast at the point of his death, Calyphas is helpless in the face of his tyrannical father's violence, whose relentless and aspirational blood-thirst has driven him to slaughter his own child. Tamburlaine's son is not the Lamb of God; indeed, his choice of gambling over fighting is a significant transgression in its own right. Yet for those disposed to see it, in this scene Tamburlaine presides over a pastiche of Christian martyrdom, wherein he performs the murderous office of the Catholic 'bite-sheep'.

By the time that he has butchered his own child, Tamburlaine's standing as the bad

shepherd is well established. Not only has he exercised his tyranny across Asia, but also he has finally turned against those he has a duty to protect. In feeding his own ambition, Tamburlaine has forsaken his duty of care, and deliberately disobeyed his wife's desperate wish that he stop fighting, for their children's sake (see I.iii). In the following section, I look at how the Protestant rhetoric of papist villainy, established in these scenes of violence, is expanded and underscored by the Qur'an burning of Act V. Marlowe supplements his intimation of Tamburlaine as a bite-sheep tyrant with the performance of a religiously suppressive conflagration—precisely the escalation that readers of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* might expect.

BURNING BOOKS

In both *Tamburlaine* plays, the protagonist is burning. Particularly in *Part I*, his flame-filled eyes provoke comment: to Techelles he has 'frowning browes and fiery lookes' to frighten kings (*TI*, I.ii.56); Theridamas notes that his 'ferie eies' glow 'As if he now devis'd some Stratageme' (I.ii.158-159); for Menaphon they are 'his piercing instruments of sight, / Whose fiery circles bear encompassed / A heaven of heavenly bodies in their spheres' (II.i.14-16); and they are the subject of the Soldan's messenger's report (IV.i.13). Though clearest in his eyes, Tamburlaine's fire is not confined there: his entire spirit is enflamed with ambition—a trait that distinguishes him from God's scourges, to whom these references also point.⁴⁵ Cosroe calls him 'That fiery thirster after sovereignty' (II.vi.31), and Tamburlaine himself, standing atop Bajazeth, recognizes his governing element as all encompassing and self-defining: he is 'the chiefest Lamp of all the earth' (IV.ii.36).

⁴⁵ As Lynette and Evelyn Feasey observe, the references to the fire in Tamburlaine's eyes recall the depiction of the first of the four horsemen in Revelations (Rev. 19:11-15): "Marlowe and the Prophetic Dooms," 419. Tamburlaine's fiery eyes are also a feature of Marlowe's sources; see Leslie Spence, "Tamburlaine and Marlowe," *PMLA* 42, no. 3 (1927): 604-22; Thorp, "The Ethical Problem in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*."

In *Part II*, Tamburlaine's fires, like Dido's, begin to move outward. From the first, it is reported that he 'means to fire *Turky*' (T2, I.i.18)—a threat he later enacts. First, however, he must endure the grief of losing his beloved. Zenocrate begs upon her deathbed that her husband 'let the fiery element / Dissolve' (II.iv.58-59) and lead a peaceful reign with their sons. Despite these earnest pleas, Tamburlaine turns to conflagration in his grief:

This cursed towne will I consume with fire,
Because this place bereft me of my Love:
The houses burnt, wil looke as if they mourn'd,
And here will I set up her statua,
And martch about it with my mourning campe,
Drooping and pining for *Zenocrate*. (II.iv.137-142)

The threat is brought to pass in the next act, with Zenocrate's hearse borne in a stately procession and '*the drums sounding a dolefull martch, the Towne burning*' (III.ii.sd). By burning up the town in which she died, Tamburlaine captures and displaces his grief, moving quickly back to the call of war. The fire that burns around him, though prompted by misery, soon brings about the need for 'naked swords and sulphur bals of fire' to threaten enemies once again (III.ii.41). 'Boyes, leave to mourne,' he orders, 'this towne shall ever mourne, / Being burnt to cynders for your mothers death' (III.ii.45-46). Mourning reverts to raging aspiration, and fire breeds fire. Defying Zenocrate, Tamburlaine resolves to teach his boys the ways of war—a lesson which, as discussed above, only exposes his barbarity.

After capturing Babylon, Tamburlaine gathers his men to witness yet another fire, though this one will be staged: a book burning (V.i.173-202). The incident is a fantastic and spectacular piece of theatre, for the audience within the play as well as those without, and as Jane Hwang Degenhardt and Elizabeth Williamson have suggested, reformation history can imbue the scene with contemporary significance.⁴⁶ Indeed, those attuned to Marlowe's imagery of the bad shepherd might even have expected the escalation: like burning people,

⁴⁶ Jane Hwang Degenhardt and Elizabeth Williamson, eds., *Religion and Drama in Early Modern England: The Performance of Religion on the Renaissance Stage*, Studies in Performance and Early Modern Drama (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 1. Degenhardt and Williamson do not press their suggestion further than noting the contextual relevance.

burning books (and especially burning them so publicly) was held to be a papist speciality. With Tamburlaine already embroiled in the Protestant rhetoric of clerical vilification, conflagrations are a logical next step: in godly rhetoric, a bite-sheep is also a burner.

The cultural phenomenon of book censorship to which this episode of *Tamburlaine* speaks was emphatically linked to the use of the stake in Tudor England. By the writ of monarchs, books, like people, were condemned and consigned to the flames throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. *De Heretico Comburendo*, which legalized the burning of heretics in 1401, also called for the delivery of any books containing ‘erroneous opinions’ to the local diocesan, though without instructions for their subsequent treatment.⁴⁷ It was not until the supplementary Suppression of Heresy Act of 1414 that the need for the physical punishment of books was legally expressed: the law then recognized the right of ecclesiastical representatives to punish heretics *and* the books they authored in like manner.⁴⁸

Under Elizabeth, the remnants of these laws as they had evolved were brought into action against printed texts, both religious and political.⁴⁹ Yet in Elizabethan England book burning was a spectacle almost as rare as that of the burning body. Early in the reign, Catholic religious books such as psalters, breviaries, and primers had been the targets of religious iconoclasts, and cast into the flames in public.⁵⁰ State-organized book destruction, on the other hand, was a private affair. On one occasion in 1583, forty copies of works by Robert Browne and Robert Harrison (deemed ‘seditious, schismatical and erroneous’ by a

⁴⁷ For the full text of the statute see 2 Hen. 4, c. 15 in *The Statutes of the Realm*, 2:125–128.

⁴⁸ Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 25.

⁴⁹ Clegg, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England*, 30–65. Clegg goes on to write that ‘[o]f the eleven proclamations issued to censor printed texts during the reign of Elizabeth, six addressed Catholic texts issued from Continental presses, one a principally political work, and four related to texts associated with radical Protestantism. Of those concerned with Catholic texts, only the first concerned itself with apologetics; the remainder address works clearly political in nature’ (67).

⁵⁰ Sir John Hayward, *Annals of the First Four Years of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. John Bruce (London: Camden Society, 1840), 28–29; Ariel Hessayon, “Incendiary Texts: Book Burning in England, c.1640 - c.1660,” *Cromohs* 12 (2007): 5.

proclamation dated 30 June)⁵¹ were burned when two of the men's followers, John Copping and Elias Hacker, were hanged in Bury St. Edmunds.⁵² However, later practice reduced the element of spectacle. As David Cressy has argued, '[r]eprimand and private pressure proved preferable to spectacles of public punishment, which were not always susceptible to semiotic control'.⁵³ Numerous texts were burned in the oven at Stationers Hall,⁵⁴ and in 1599 the entire second print run of John Hayward's *The first part of the life and reign of King Henrie the IIII* was burned in Archbishop Whitgift's private kitchen due to the book's perceived association with the Essex Rebellion.⁵⁵ Whitgift was not making a public religious statement, but rather settling privately a political issue.

Tamburlaine's burning gesture, contrary to the contemporary example set by Elizabeth and her clergymen, is emphatically public, both by virtue of its dramatic performance and within the context of the play itself: the spectacle is performed for the audience, but also for the benefit of the soldiers that he addresses directly (*T2*, V.i.198). By ordering the books to be brought in 'heapes' (V.i.174), Tamburlaine's action is shown to be broadly suppressive, rather than a token gesture. Further, the Qur'an is scriptural: this suppression is more obviously religious than political. For the kind of book burning performed by Tamburlaine, then, Elizabethan theatregoers relied for their context on the regimes preceding that of their current ruler; from their most immediate history, they relied

⁵¹ Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin, eds., *Tudor Royal Proclamations. Volume II. The Later Tudors (1553-1587)* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), 501-2.

⁵² Dwight C. Smith, "Robert Browne, Independent," *Church History* 6, no. 4 (1937): 309; Hessayon, "Incendiary Texts: Book Burning in England, c.1640 - c.1660," 5.

⁵³ David Cressy, "Book Burning in Tudor and Stuart England," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 36, no. 2 (2005): 366.

⁵⁴ In 1587 *A Commission sent to the Pope, cardynales, bishops, friers, monkes, with all the other rable of that viperous generation by the high and mighty prince and king Sathanas the Devill of Hell* (London, 1586) was ordered to be burnt there, as were five continental Catholic texts condemned by Archbishop Whitgift in 1595. Later in 1599, seven recently published satires were sent to there to be burned. Clegg, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England*, 60, 198-200, 216-217; Cressy, "Book Burning in Tudor and Stuart England," 366.

⁵⁵ Clegg, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England*, 204-16; Cressy, "Book Burning in Tudor and Stuart England," 366. Hayward was subsequently imprisoned in the Tower as a traitor, and only released upon the death of Elizabeth.

on tales of book destruction that took place under Henry VIII and Mary—stories that could be found in the pages of the *Acts and Monuments*.⁵⁶

In a recent catalogue of book burnings in the European middle ages, Thomas Werner counts over 200 burnings conducted by the Western Church between 492 and 1510, most after 1200.⁵⁷ To these burnings, the England of the sixteenth century adds a number of public bonfires orchestrated and presided over by the country's most prominent Catholic clergy: the wolves of *The Lambe Speaketh* organized the anti-Lutheran and counter-reformation book burning that took place in the early and mid century.

Though Henry VIII is celebrated in the *Acts and Monuments* (with some trepidation) as suppressor of the Pope (see Figure 4.1), his first step in censorship was to defend the Roman Church against Martin Luther's heretical writings. Proclamations in 1529 and 1530 made it illegal to possess or import nineteen named heretical books printed on the Continent (in English), and outlawed printing any book concerning Holy Scriptures without ecclesiastical approval.⁵⁸ Before this, suppression had been physical. On 12 May 1521, Cardinal Wolsey organized and presided over the burning of Lutheran texts at St. Paul's Cathedral. Bishop John Fisher delivered a two-hour sermon refuting the Luther's doctrines,

⁵⁶ This turn to historical over contemporary book censorship marks a distinct departure from recent readings of the episode. In his article "The Spirit and the Letter", Roger E. Moore reads *2 Tamburlaine* as a play influenced by contemporary Christian Gnosticism, and in particular the influence of the Family of Love. Moore's exploration of 'the significance of individual religious inspiration' is informative, but his examples of book-burning individuals do not seem entirely fitting to *Tamburlaine*. Marlowe's hero is not a marginalized individual in society, but a reigning—and conquering—monarch. He represents a person *in power* who *orders* the burning of religious books (V.ii.186). As such, he has more in common with the various Tudor ecclesiastics who organized and presided over the destruction of heretical and seditious books than the religious radicals cited by Moore. See Roger E. Moore, "The Spirit and the Letter: Marlowe's 'Tamburlaine' and Elizabethan Religious Radicalism," *Studies in Philology* 99, no. 2 (2002): 123–51.

⁵⁷ Thomas Werner, *Den Irrtum Liquidieren: Bücherverbrennungen Im Mittelalter [To Liquidate Error: The Burning of Books in the Middle Ages]* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007). For the contents of Werner's book I am indebted to the summaries in Alexander Murray, "The Burning of Heretical Books," in *Heresy and the Making of European Culture: Medieval and Modern Perspectives*, ed. Andrew P. Roach and James Simpson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 77–88.

⁵⁸ Clegg, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England*, 25. Hence the banning of Simon Fish's *Summe of the Scripture* (1529), discussed below.

‘[a]nd there were many burned in the said churchyard of the said Luther’s books during the sermon’.⁵⁹ Conflagration was paired with verbal refutation in an effort to help ensure the suppressor’s semiotic control, and the sermon was printed shortly after, so even those who had not seen the flames could discover the reason for the condemnation.⁶⁰

Again on 11 February 1525/6, Fisher was called to deliver a sermon for another book bonfire which took place at the recantation of Robert Barnes. On this occasion, Wolsey appears to have been planning a Lutheran bonfire since November, and subsequent reports of Barnes’ heretical sermonizing in Cambridge played directly into his hands.⁶¹ As the event ran its course ‘great baskets full of bookes’ were cast into a fire cultivated at the Rood of Northern in the north corner of St. Paul’s (*A&M* [1583], 1217).

Later in 1526, the clergy mounted a direct attack upon scripture. Tyndale’s English Bible was burned at Paul’s Cross, accompanied by a sermon from the Bishop of London, Cuthbert Tunstall (featured to the right of Gardiner in *The Lambe Speaketh*), who had bought up copies of the text to ensure a sizeable spectacle.⁶² For Tyndale, the burning of his books would prove prophetic: he was himself burned in Flanders in 1536 (*A&M* [1563], 575).⁶³

⁵⁹ #1274 in J. S. Brewer, ed., *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 3: part 1, 485.

⁶⁰ John Fisher, *The Sermon of Ioh[a]n the Bysshop of Rochester Made Agayn the P[er]nicious Doctryn of Martin Luther W[i]t[h]in the Octaues of the Asce[n]syon by the Assigneme[n]t of the Most Reuerend Fader I[n] God the Lord Thomas Cardinal of Yorke [and] Legate Ex Latere from Our Holy Father the Pope* (London: Imprinted by Wynkyn de Worde, 1521).

⁶¹ Such is the argument of Allan Chester, “Robert Barnes and the Burning of the Books,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 14, no. 3 (1951): 211–21. Chester cites correspondence to Wolsey around the time of the King’s illness which marks the beginning of the plans for a conflagration.

⁶² Tunstall bought up New Testaments from Augustine Packinton; little did he know that the merchant was great friends with Tyndale, and charged four-fold the price of printing in order to supply his friend with the means to revise and re-publish his translation: Hall, *Hall’s Chronicle*, 762–3.

⁶³ In the image of the execution of Tyndale included in all versions of the *Acts and Monuments* (first appeared at *A&M* [1563], 575, available at: <http://www.johnfoxe.org/woodcuts/f1113w.gif>), the translator is shown tied to his stake atop a scaffold in the manner of the image of Hooper in Foxe’s *Rerum in Ecclesia Gestarum* (1559) (Figure 1.5, above). The use of this depiction for Tyndale, executed on the continent, suggests that the illustrator of the *Rerum* had been familiar with Continental procedures for burning, while the illustrator of the *Acts and Monuments* was more aware of English practices.

This form of suppression was not to the taste of all, however. In the year before the 1521 burnings, as knowledge of Luther and his perceived danger spread across Europe, Erasmus had heard talk of plans to burn Lutheran works in England. Hearing speculation of these burnings in May 1520, Erasmus wrote to Johannes Oecolampadius from Louvain: ‘[t]hey almost burnt Luther’s books in England, but a humble, though seasonably vigilant friend prevented it. Not that I can judge Luther’s works, but this tyranny by no means pleased me’.⁶⁴

In the Marian persecutions, the tyranny identified by Erasmus became more overt, and the relationship between books and bodies established in the narrative of Tyndale’s life continued as the two began to meet the flames together. Under Edward all texts—not simply religious ones—had been required to have pre-printing licence given by the King or six of his privy councillors.⁶⁵ Mary overturned these laws, returning to the pre-Tudor laws of treason, which her Parliament extended to include written slander, and instituted censorship efforts against Protestant writing (then regarded as both heretical and seditious).⁶⁶ In 1554, William Thomas’s *Historie of Italie* (1553) was accused of treason along with its author and possibly burnt at the time of his execution.⁶⁷ Then, with the revival and enthusiastic practice of the punishment of heretics with fire, book burning and burning at the stake crossed paths: the *Acts and Monuments* is littered with instances of evangelicals burning at the stake with New Testaments and prayer books that their persecutors had thrown into the fires with them.

In October 1555, William Wolsey (a constable) and Robert Pygot (a painter) were burned at Ely. Accompanying the generic woodcut image of the pair in the *Acts and*

⁶⁴ Quoted in Carl S. Meyer, “Henry VIII Burns Luther’s Books, 12 May 1521,” *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 9, no. 2 (1958): 178.

⁶⁵ Clegg, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England*, 27.

⁶⁶ Clegg, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England*, 27–28.

⁶⁷ The suggestion is that of Dakota Hamilton. See “Thomas, William (d. 1554),” *ODNB [Online]*, n.d., accessed August 1, 2014.

Monuments, a marginal gloss of ‘Bookes burned wyth Wolsey and Pigot’ calls attention to the following description:

With that commeth one to the fire with a great sheete knit full of bookes to burne, like as they had ben new Testaments. O sayd Wolsey, geue me one of them, and Pygot desired an other, both of *them* clappyng them close to their brestes saying the 106. Psalme, desiryng all the people to say Amen, and so receiued the fire most thankfully. (*A&M* [1570], 1933)⁶⁸

A similar event occurred on Maundy Thursday 1556, when the minister John Hullier was burned on Jesus Green, Cambridge. Alongside the martyr:

there was a company of bookes which were cast into the fire, and by chaunce a Communion booke fell betwene his handes, who receauing it ioyfully, opened it, and red so long as the force of the flame and smoke caused him that he could see no more: and then he fell agayne to prayer holding his handes vp to heauen, and the booke betwixt his armes next his hart, thanking God for sending him it. (*A&M* [1570], 2236-2237)

Once again, Foxe glosses to attest the horror of the fact: ‘Bookes burned with Hullier’. Though in both cases the books provide comfort to the suffering martyrs, Foxe’s shoulder-note forces recognition of their fates. In drawing attention to the destruction of Christian texts—and in 1555 specifically New Testaments—alongside burning evangelical bodies, Foxe accentuates tyranny with sacrilege in an appalling combination of papist brutality.

A year later, again in Cambridge, the writings of the deceased scholars Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius were burned at St. Mary’s Church. The books, along with the exhumed bones of their authors, were burned on market day in order to ensure maximum attendance.

Onlookers, however, were bemused at the spectacle:

the chestes were set vp on end, with the dead bodies in them, aud [*sic*] fastened on both sydes with stakes, and bound to the post with a long yron chayne, as if they had bene alyue. Fyre beyng forthwith put to, as soone as it beganne to flame rounde about, a great sorte of bookes that were condemned wyth them, were cast into the same.

There was that daye gathered into the towne, a great multitude of countryfolk (for it was market daye) who seing men borne to execution, and learning by enquirie that they weare dead before, partly detested and abhorred thextreme cruelty of the Commissioners towarde the rotten carcasses, and partlye laughed at theyr folly in making such preparature. For what nedeth any weapon (sayde they) as though they were afrayde that the dead bodies which felte them not, would do them some harme? Or to what purpose

⁶⁸ The description replaces the brief information of *A&M* [1563], 1352, citing the ‘Witnesses and informers hereof. Robert Scortred, Robert Crane, Edward Story, Robert Kendall, Richard Best. &c.’

BURNING BOOKS

serueth that chaine wherwith they are tyed, sythens they might be burnte lose without peril? for it was not to be feared that they woulde runne away.

Everyone, Foxe reports, ‘founde fault with *the* cruelnes of the dede’, either in gravity, or in absurdity (*A&M* [1563], 1630).

Though witnesses were tickled by the risibility of the chaining of dead bodies, the illustrator who provided the woodcut for the episode was keen to emphasize the ‘great sorte of books’ that suffered (Figure 4.4).



Figure 4.4: The burning of Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius. First appeared in *A&M* [1563], 1629. From *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online*. Available at: <http://www.johnfoxe.org/woodcuts/f1592INS4.gif>.

Though other woodcuts in the *Acts and Monuments* take pleasure in the display of exhumed bones,⁶⁹ for the burning of the scholars it is their books at the heart of the scene. At the centre of the woodcut the books are cast into the fire, with loose leaves escaping in the billowing smoke. The coffins are simply muted boxes chained to the stake, while the celebration that surrounds the flames is resplendent: Catholic pomp crowds the scene, from candles and tonsured priests to a canopied sacrament.

In each of these instances, from Henry through to Mary, the Catholics burned books, and scripture specifically had been their victim. As they appear in reformed history, events such as these mark the utmost in overzealous tyranny, linking sacrilege and blasphemy to the exercise (or rather misuse) of clerical power. In his edicts to ban the New Testament, prior to his burning it in heaps, Cuthbert Tunstall had drawn the parallel of himself as a good shepherd; stating that he was ‘willing to withstande the craft and subteltie of the auncient enemy and his ministers, which seke the destruction of my flock’, and acting ‘with a diligent care to take heade vnto the flock committed to my charge’, he commanded that all New Testaments be delivered to his representatives (*A&M* [1563], 502).⁷⁰ For Elizabethan Protestants, Tunstall’s rhetoric of leadership and guidance was not the mark of the nurturing good shepherd, but rather that of a scheming bad shepherd. Tunstall was using his position of influence to maim the emerging True Church, and burning its sacred texts to do so.

In *Tamburlaine*, Marlowe’s hero both orders and then presides over the burning of the Qur’an; he is simultaneously governing tyrant and sermonizing cleric. Having just had the Governor of Babylon executed as he dangled from the city walls, Tamburlaine orders his men to kill the Babylonians: ‘drown them all, man, woman, and child’ (*T2*, V.i.170). At this

⁶⁹ The exhumation and burning of the bones of John Wycliffe four decades after his death receives a personalized woodcut image (*A&M* [1563], 157). The image can be viewed at *The Acts and Monuments Online*, <http://www.johnfoxe.org/woodcuts/fo497w.gif>.

⁷⁰ The edict is printed in Latin and then translated in the *Acts and Monuments*.

moment of genocidal fury, the burning of the Qur'ans begins—while Tamburlaine is at the height of his power, and the height of his cruelty.

As I have suggested, the conjectural fieriness of the scene's staging is integral to its interpretation. Yet from Tamburlaine's daring speech and his orchestration of the episode as a way to demonstrate his own power, it seems only proper that it be accompanied by representative action. Indeed, earlier in *Part II* the playwright has Olympia declare that she has 'burnt' the bodies of her husband and son as a means of removing their corpses from the reach of 'cruell Scythians'—and the actors' bodies from the stage (III.iv.36-7).⁷¹ As Anthony Dawson has suggested, this scene may have used the trap in a similar fashion, or more simply a brazier brought onstage at Tamburlaine's command for fire.⁷² In either case, the use of fire courts the senses of spectators.

As the material reality of destruction is conducted to the audience by sights, sounds, and scents of fire, Tamburlaine gives his oration to command semiotic control over the moment. With soldiers and followers gathered to absorb his theological railing, and Casane obligingly feeding the flames, the tableau recalls that found in the *Acts and Monuments* woodcut. Tamburlaine even echoes a disdain for written scripture all too commonplace in the mouths of interrogators in reformation historiography when he scorns the books that contain 'the sum of thy religion' (V.i.191).

With his use of this phrase Tamburlaine would conjure up for an Elizabeth audience a common Protestant epithet for the Bible. In the *Acts and Monuments*, for example, Henrician evangelicals are repeatedly castigated for possession of Simon Fish's *The Summe*

⁷¹ For further discussion of this technique, see the discussion of fire spectacles in the Introduction. Olympia's husband's pyre is discussed in Chapter 3.

⁷² Dawson's notes for V.i suggest that 'here, as with the burning of the bodies in II.iv, a trap might have been used. But a simpler expedient would have been a brazier of some sort in which a fire could be quickly kindled. The books, flung into the fire on Tamburlaine's orders, would then continue to burn on stage during his challenge to Mahomet and the subsequent onset of his distemper—producing a telling ironic effect': Christopher Marlowe, *Tamburlaine the Great. Part Two*, ed. Anthony B. Dawson (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

of the Scripture (1529, and reprinted in 1548), a practical guide to living a Christian life translated from Bornelius' *Summa de godliker scripturens* (Antwerp, 1529).⁷³ In the 'Preface to the Reader' in the *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (printed in its final Latin form in 1559), John Calvin expressed that his exposition of scripture had 'embraced the sum of religion in all its parts'—a sentiment that his Elizabethan translator Thomas Norton rendered simply as 'the summe of religion'.⁷⁴ By the time that Tamburlaine was railing on the stage, godly Elizabethans even had a wildly popular vernacular biblical exposition of their own that employed the same epithet in Robert Openshaw's *Short Questions and Answeres, conteyning the summe of Christian religion* (1579). Openshaw's catechism saw ten Elizabethan editions (six by the time that Marlowe was writing), and it continued to enjoy success through the seventeenth century, with a further twelve editions by 1641.⁷⁵ Though Tamburlaine threatens the sum of the *Islamic* religion, he does so using a register that for Protestants in the play's audience would be suggestive of their own scriptures, and with specific reference to their godly relationship to it.

Alongside this conscious invocation of the Bible and Protestant teaching as Casane casts books into the flames, the theology of Tamburlaine's pseudo-sermon is both confusing and confused; he addresses prophet and godhead in the same breath, praising the vengeful force of the latter while castigating the meekness of the former. Speaking directly to Mahomet, he tempts the prophet's vengeance. Then, while raising his sword to the sky, he

⁷³ As well as being included in Foxe's list of books banned under Henry VIII (*A&M* [1563], 630), it is also cited as a book that evangelicals confessed to having read. See, for example, the charges against Robert Baifeld (*A&M* [1563], 537-8), Laurence Staple (*A&M* [1570], 1226), and Henry Feldon (*A&M* [1570], 1226). Fish's more incendiary text, *A Supplication for Beggars* (1529), which had drawn direct attack from Thomas More during his chancellorship in *A Supplication of the Souls* (1529), was included in its entirety in the *Acts and Monuments* (*A&M* [1563], 497-500).

⁷⁴ John Calvin, *John Calvin: Works and Correspondence*, ed. John T. McNeill, trans. Ford Lewis Battles, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960), 5; John Calvin, *The Institution of Christian Religion, Written in Latine by Maister Iohn Caluine, and Translated into Englishe Accordyng to the Authors Last Edition*, trans. Thomas Norton (London, 1562), sig. A2v. A second edition of Norton's translation was published in 1587.

⁷⁵ Elizabethan editions were published in 1579, 1580, 1581, 1582, 1584, 1586, 1598, 1599, 1602, and 1603.

demands a physical response, and complains that he has been left ‘untoucht’ by the prophet he has so overtly wronged (V.i.182). In Islam Muhammad is of course emphatically human—a man, and not a deity, with little scope to avenge the wrongs against him. But for Tamburlaine, operating in an essentializing religious landscape that equates divinity in any form with the power that he aspires to, Mahomet should stand warlike in his own defence.

Through this exposition of Mahomet’s unworthiness for worship, and his own direct challenge to the prophet, Tamburlaine sets up himself as a contender for that worship: as he rails, Tamburlaine calls upon his witnesses to ‘Seeke out another Godhead to adore’, though provides them only with the confusing guidance that ‘[t]he God that sits in heaven, if any God, / [...] is God alone, and none but he’ (V.i.200-202). The famous ‘if any God’, almost parenthetical as it is, suggests an ethereal vacuum in place of an object of worship. Only a God in heaven should be adored—but there may not be one there. Outright atheism aside, Tamburlaine’s suggestion invites the interloping of an earthly object of worship, perhaps even Tamburlaine himself.⁷⁶ Displacing the authority of both God and Mahomet with his own, Tamburlaine seizes divine, ethereal power and makes it both corporeal and warlike. Much like his disgust at the God-given soul of Calyphas in favour of his own flesh, this action prioritizes a tyrannical man on earth over ‘The God that sits in heaven’.

This performative displacement is the Catholicism of Protestant propaganda: earthly, self-aggrandizing worship has taken the place of scripture, and Tamburlaine has finally betrayed himself. He is no sanctioned ‘Scourge of God’, though he continues to profess that he is; his actions are not divinely driven, but are rather the actions of a tyrant thirsting for power, and buying it with blood. Tamburlaine is the tyrannical false prophet seeking personal gain, and doing so utilizing the guise of religious authority. The Catholic nature of

⁷⁶ In a similar vein, Marjorie Garber argues that the book-burning incident is Tamburlaine’s effort to supplant the word of God and replace it with his own. See “‘Here’s Nothing Writ’: Scribe, Script, and Circumscription in Marlowe’s Plays,” *Theatre Journal* 36, no. 3, Renaissance Re-Visions (1984): 301–20.

the burning spectacle—its publicly suppressive fieriness—underscores Tamburlaine’s association with the ‘bite-sheeps’ that terrorized mid-century England. As if to confirm the correspondence, it is this moment, the zenith of Tamburlaine’s tyranny, that brings the onset of the illness that will cause his death: providence comes knocking.

INTO THE FIRE: THE DEATH OF TAMBURLAINE

With Tamburlaine identifiable as the bloodthirsty and fire-fuelled false prophet, one final detail of *The Lambe Speaketh* (Figure 4.2) demands attention. At the top left of the image, a biblical verse is seen encased—a privilege not extended to the majority of the text that the image contains, and a testament to its importance. These are the words of God: ‘The prophete that presumeth to speake in my name the woorde whiche I commanded in not, or that speaketh in the name of other Goddes, that Prophete shalle dye’ (Deut. 18:20).⁷⁷ Biological inevitability here makes way for the hand of God. Providence, crudely construed, is the fruition of God’s plan. To those that had been persecuted through the mid century, providential moments could provide confirmation that God was on their side through it all; the death of persecutors, no matter how mundane, could be interpreted as justice to repay injustices. As if to confirm the truth of *The Lambe Speaketh*’s warning, by November of 1555—the year that the engraving was published—Gardiner was dead. As one of the chief bogeymen of the reformation, his death was widely remembered as a moment of singular importance.

In the earlier editions of the *Acts and Monuments*, Foxe revelled in speculating on the cause and circumstance of Gardiner’s death:

of vncertaine thinges I can speake but vncertaynly. Wherefore as touching the maner and order of his death, how rich he dyed, what wordes he spake, what litle repentaunce hee

⁷⁷ Wording cited is as given in *The Lambe Speaketh*. *The Geneva Bible* has ‘But the prophet that shal presume to speake a worde in my Name, which I haue not commanded him to speake, or that speaketh in the name of other gods, euen the same prophet shal dye’.

shewed, whether hee dyed with his tounge swolne and out of his mouth, as Thomas Arundell Archbishop of Caunt. pag. 700. or whether hee stonke before he dyed, as Cardinall Wolsey dyd, read before pag. 1133. or whether he dyed in dispayre as Latomus and others dyd. &c. all this I referre either to their reportes of whom I heard it, or leaue it to the knowledge of them which know it better. (*A&M* [1570], 1991)

Without facts on which to base his story, Foxe refers his readers internally to the best of the providential deaths he has provided, suggesting that only the most miserable of ends would be fitting for such a man.⁷⁸ Such dismal ends for Gardiner had been reported elsewhere in sources Foxe undoubtedly had access to. James Pilkington, for example, had written in 1560 that Gardiner had ‘rotted alive; and ere he died, such a rank savour steamed from all his body, that none of his friends were able to come at him, but that they were ready to vomit’.⁷⁹ Yet, contrary to many other instances of textual absorption into the *Acts and Monuments*, in this instance, without his own evidence, Foxe chose to refer his reader elsewhere.

However, by 1583, new information prompted the publication of what Foxe called ‘a certain hearesay’ provided by Mistress Monday, the wife of one M. Monday, secretary to the Duke of Norfolk. Monday, the story goes, had been at the home of the bishop with his master the ‘same day, when as B. Ridley and M. Latimer suffered at Oxford’—16 October 1555. The Bishop had felt indisposed to dine until the news of Latimer and Ridley’s suffering was brought to him at home:

At length, about. 4. of the clocke commeth his seruaunt posting in all possible speede from Oxford, bringing intelligence to the B. what he had heard & seene: of whom the sayd B. diligently enquiring the truth of the matter, and hearing by his man, that fyre, most certainly was set vnto them, commeth out reioysing to *the* Duke: Now sayeth he, let vs go to dinner. Whereupon, they beyng set downe, meate immediately was brought, and the Bishop began merely to eat: But what folowed? The bloody Tyraunt had not eaten a few bittes, but the soden stroke of God, his terrible hande fell vpon him in such sort, as immediatly he was taken from the table, and so brought to his bedde, where he continued the space of 15. dayes in such intollerable anguish and tormentes, that all that meane while, during those. 15. dayes, he could not auoyde by order of vrine, or otherwyse, any thing that he receiued: *whereby, his body being miserably inflamed within*

⁷⁸ Providential restitution was a key aspect of all four editions of the *Acts and Monuments*, and Alexandra Walsham cites the appendix to the first edition as the frontrunner in a genre that was wildly popular in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries. Walsham, *Providence*, 67.

⁷⁹ James Pilkington, *The Works of James Pilkington, BD*, ed. James Scholefield (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1842), 655; Riordan and Ryrie, “Stephen Gardiner and the Making of a Protestant Villain,” 1061.

(*who had inflamed so many good Martyrs before*) was brought to a wretched end. And thereof no dout, as most like it is, came the thrustyng out of his tongue from his mouth so swolne and blacke, with the inflammation of his body. A spectacle worthy to be noted and beholden of all such bloody buruyng [*sic*] persecutors. (*A&M* [1583], 1811-1812; emphasis added)

In a moment that links Gardiner's natural appetite with his metaphorical bloodlust, the whetting of the latter restores the former, along with a dose of celebration—only to instigate the bloating that causes his death. The only physical attribute of the illness itself is a surfeit of heat and inflammation, the irony of which is laboured by the text, and had been implied also in Pilkington's suggestion that Gardiner's body 'steamed'. Here in Foxe, the flourish of a rhetorical question establishes causality between the celebratory meal and the 'stroke of God', making its appearance less 'soden' than described. Though the thrusting forth of a swollen tongue remains speculative, it is here expressed with 'no doubt' in the aftermath of the divine action that caused it. No retributive God, we are led to assume, would allow Gardiner a less gruesome death than suffered by his underling, Thomas Arundell. In this rendition, Gardiner's illness is in every way mundane, yet its occurrence within the narrative of the bad shepherd must be linked ultimately to divine providence. The final scenes of *Tamburlaine*, with the petering out of a bloodthirsty tyrant, are open to similar interpretation.

For *Tamburlaine*, infirmity is equally abrupt in its onset: 'But stay,' he says, within twenty lines of his book-burning spectacle, 'I feele my selfe distempered sudainly' (*T*₂, V.i.217). Quick to state that 'Sicknes or death can never conquer me' (V.i.222), *Tamburlaine* leaves a gaping possibility for his ague: the same 'soden stroke of God' visited upon Gardiner. Indeed, as his illness progresses, he questions 'What daring God torments my body thus' (V.iii.42). In the play, the juxtaposition of the two events (tyrannical book burning and the onset of a life-threatening illness) promotes a causality that requires no explanation. For those that see in *Tamburlaine* a false prophet, intimation is as good as proof.

With the rallying of Callapine's army in the following scene, there is a hint that perhaps *Tamburlaine* will be overturned by earthly forces. Yet with all its warlike potential,

the scene only cements the bloodthirsty image that has come to dominate Tamburlaine's character. As Callapine prepares to avenge the death of his parents, Amasia sees in Tamburlaine again a predator. Tamburlaine's bloodthirst is superfluous; he is '[t]he monster that hath drunke a sea of blood, / And yet gapes stil for more to quench his thirst' (V.ii.13-14). Still, only the blood of his enemies whets Tamburlaine's insatiable appetite, and the build-up of this earthly challenge merely foregrounds men's helplessness against him.

It is at this point that Tamburlaine's malady is finally diagnosed by a physician. The diagnosis, filled with the language of heat and expiration, is worth quoting in full:

I view'd your urine, and the Hipostasis
 Thick and obscure doth make your danger great,
 Your vaines are full of accidentall heat,
 Whereby the moisture of your blood is dried,
 The *Humidum* and *Calor*, which some holde
 Is not a parcell of the Elements,
 But of a substance more divine and pure,
 Is almost cleane extinguished and spent,
 Which being the cause of life, imports your death.
 Besides my Lord, this day is Criticall,
 Dangerous to those, whose Chrisis is as yours:
 Your Artiers which amongst the vaines convey
 The lively spirits which the heart ingenders
 Are partcht and void of spirit, that the soule
 Wanting those Organnons by which it mooves,
 Can not indure by argument of art.
 Yet if your majesty may escape this day,
 No doubt, but you shal soone recover all. (T2, V.iii.82-99)

The medicinal language is both humoral and astrological.⁸⁰ The hypostasis (sediment) carried in the urine is 'thick and obscure', suggesting a physical condition not dissimilar to the digestive and urinary clogging described at Gardiner's death. For Gardiner, it is the blockage 'whereby' he is brought to his inflammation and end; for Tamburlaine, the sediment and 'accidentall heat' are the factors 'whereby' his inner 'moisture' is desiccated. The factors in his death are caused directly by the spending of his inner heat—the very same that has fuelled his tyranny, and burst forth in his destruction of the Qur'an.

⁸⁰ The reading that brings both schools of medical thought together is Johnstone Parr, "Tamburlaine's Malady," *PMLA* 59, no. 3 (1944): 696-714.

As if to clarify the correlation, Tamburlaine seizes one last victory before he dies. When Callapine attacks, he is sent into retreat by the hero's fierce look alone (V.iii.102-119). Tamburlaine's appetite for war does not abate with illness, and his aggression is not curbed in the knowledge of its deathly consequences. Thus, unable to 'escape this day' (through his inability to control his violence), Tamburlaine must die. In his comfort to his two remaining sons, his words echo those spoken at the death of Calyphas:

But sons, this subject not of force enough,
To hold the fiery spirit it containes,
Must part, imparting his impressions,
By equall portions into both your breasts:
My flesh devided in your precious shapes,
Shal still retaine my spirit, though I die,
And live in all your seedes immortally. (V.iii.169-175)

While Calyphas' God-given spirit was not sufficient to fill the flesh inherited from his father, here the sentiment is reverted to its recognizable Christian order and the spirit once again takes precedence over weak physicality. Yet his words are far from orthodox; the 'fiery spirit' Tamburlaine admires is not the gift of God, but rather the product of his own cultivation. By crowning Amyras he trusts the continuation of his spirit to garner conquests in his own line. Though Tamburlaine continues to masquerade in godliness as 'chiefest Lamp of all the earth' (*T1*, IV.ii.36)—his chariot, he says, 'wil not beare / A guide of baser temper than my selfe' (*T2*, V.iii.243-244)—he is by now exposed as merely Phaethon, usurper of powers he ought never to have assumed.

At the close of 2 *Tamburlaine*, the protagonist is no 'Scourge of God', as his dying words proclaim. The covetousness of his personal ambition that has governed all his actions continues to his dying breath, and his scourging rhetoric has been exposed as fallacy by his own untimely death. If his unmitigated cruelty were insufficient to betray him, the burning of scriptures makes his position absolute: Tamburlaine acts for Tamburlaine alone, and not for 'any God'. His act of religious suppression is the logical crescendo of his tyrannies, and places him firmly in the reformed tradition of Catholic villains.

Whether or not Marlowe had Foxe's villains in mind as he developed and killed his

tyrant in *Part II*, the ambiguities that he threads through the action leave an opening for such associations from audiences familiar with the *Acts and Monuments*, and broader reformation polemic. After ten acts of perpetrating injustices, fuelled by self-aggrandizing tyranny that is crystalized in his book bonfire, Tamburlaine is justly cast into the fire.

* * *

For both *Dido* and *Tamburlaine*, I have shown how staged fire spectacles with little apparent relationship to the stake are in fact both deeply embedded in and reliant upon the penal semiotics of Elizabethan England for their theatrical effect. Burning at the stake was acutely connected to notions of injustice by way of its polemical place in widely available martyrologies, and Marlowe's drama uses spectacular staging to echo the visual tableaux of such polemics. For audiences that recognized this correlation, the plays then integrate and develop the rhetoric of cruelty and injustice that propagandist, evangelical historiographers associated with burning. In the case of *Dido*, martyr rhetoric is invoked only to be subverted, exposing the hyperbolic claims of the Queen. In *Tamburlaine*, the anti-hero's book bonfire provides the ultimate, fiery proof of his tyranny, ahead of and to amplify the significance of his subsequent petering death. Each play shows a playfulness with religion and penal semiotics in its use of fire, suggesting both the prevalence and potency of the rhetoric of the stake.

In the plays discussed in Part III, burning is uncomfortable, problematic, and offstage. However, for the discussion of each, the characterizations of burning and being burned that we have seen influencing the dramaturgy and reception of Marlowe's drama continue to be important, as the women who are sentenced to the stake and those who give the sentence are subject to the same framework of interpretation. Even in purely 'just' settings, burning threatens to bring with it the shadows of injustice and martyrdom.

PART III

CRIMINAL WOMEN & FEMALE MARTYRS

Crime and Counter-Martyrdom in *Arden of Faversham*

Part II of this thesis concentrated on the ways in which Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* intervened in the perception of dramatic fire spectacles. Dido's self-sacrifice and Tamburlaine's book burning—both discussed in the preceding chapters—were analyzed for their reflections of reformation historiography and, in particular, of the visual tableaux of Foxe's magnum opus. These final two chapters turn instead to plays that engage more broadly with the rhetorical implications of Foxe's martyrology. In *Arden of Faversham* (c. 1591) and *1 Henry VI* (c. 1592), dramatic fire spectacles make way for the depiction of female historical figures whose eventual burning at the stake is an unavoidable historical truth: the petty traitor Alice Arden, whose crime is dramatized in the anonymous *Arden of Faversham*, and Joan la Pucelle, Shakespeare's rendering of Jeanne d'Arc in *1 Henry VI*.¹

The theatrical Alice and Joan are both, like their historical counterparts, condemned

¹ In discussing these plays through a shared trope, I contribute to a tradition that acknowledges similarities between *Arden of Faversham* and Shakespeare's first tetralogy. See, for example, the discussion of *Arden* in Marion Bodwell Smith, *Marlowe's Imagery and the Marlowe Canon* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940); M. L. Wine, "Introduction," in *The Tragedy of Master Arden of Faversham*, ed. M. L. Wine (London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1973), lxxxix–xci, and the work of Mackdonald P. Jackson.

Without making claims about the authorship of *Arden*, which must on present evidence remain anonymous (contrary to the persistent arguments of Jackson and others), it is worth noting the play's shared interest in the performance of justice in England—a continuation of the themes of *2* and *3 Henry VI* (see Chapter 2)—particularly in the treatment of Bradshaw. For recent evidence on the authorship question, see Jackson's *Determining the Shakespeare Canon: Arden of Faversham and A Lover's Complaint* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

to burn at the stake; both are sentenced onstage, but punished outside the dramatic action. Following the discovery of Master Arden's body in *Arden of Faversham*, the Mayor gives order to 'Bear Mistress Arden unto Canterbury, / Where her sentence is she must be burnt' (*AF*, xiii.30-1). Arden's confidant Franklin—a perceptive man and a pillar of reason throughout the play—remains on stage to deliver the epilogue assuring audiences that justice was served. Similarly, in *1 Henry VI*, Joan makes her final appearance at the command of York (called to the stage as 'that sorceress condemn'd to burn': *1H6*, V.iv.1), and then exits to his venomous threats: 'Break thou in pieces and consume to ashes, / Thou foul accursed minister of hell!' (V.iv.92-3). Without the spectacle of punishment, both plays instead focus on the women's criminality, encouraging these representations of judicial machinations to be read as depictions of justice served.

The absence of fire spectacles might suggest that Foxe's impact on such plays would be limited. However, the imaginative and material afterlife of the *Acts and Monuments* shows instead that martyrological narratives haunted contemporary burning spectacles, even those performed by executioners in the reign of Elizabeth (see Chapter 2, and below). In both this chapter and the one that follows, it emerges that this shadow, in turn, affects the way in which the playwrights of both dramas depict their criminal women. Both Alice Arden and Joan la Pucelle are criminalized in ways that run directly counter to established Protestant martyr rhetoric, suggesting once again the centrality of the *Acts and Monuments* to the Elizabethan theatre's interpretation of burning at the stake. In this case, Foxe's work is a frame of reference for contemporary audiences against which playwrights attempt to guard their characters.

* * *

In 2014, the Royal Shakespeare Company staged *Arden of Faversham* alongside Dekker and Middleton's *The Roaring Girl* (c. 1607-10), Webster's *The White Devil* (1612), and Ford, Dekker, and Rowley's *The Witch of Edmonton* (1621) in what the Company billed as its

‘Roaring Girls’, or ‘heroines’, series. Perhaps unsurprisingly in this context, Polly Findlay’s production of *Arden* privileged women’s voices. A female actor delivered Dick Reede’s complaint to Arden (*AF*, xiii), for example, berating Arden for his seizure of their family’s land. As she cursed him with the rumbling sounds of thunderclaps filling the auditorium, implications of witchcraft foregrounded the Reede family’s helplessness.² From the outset the production aligned Arden with shameless commercialization (his business packaged and sold kitsch Japanese waving cats); by imbuing Dick Reede’s curse with the power of vengeful witchcraft, Findlay encouraged audiences to read Arden’s avarice, complementary to this capitalism, as playing a direct role in his death.

In keeping with this reallocation of lines, the production saw Alice herself (Sharon Small) deliver several lines of the play’s didactic epilogue. While removing the heels she had tottered in throughout the play, Small spoke of the fates of her character’s accomplices before reminding audiences of Arden’s legacy:

But this above the rest is to be noted:
Arden lay murdered in the plot of ground
Which he by force and violence held from Reede;
And in the grass his body’s print was seen
Two years and more after the deed was done. (epilogue.9-13)

While this change alleviated the possible contradiction of Franklin speaking these words,³ it also situated Alice as the arbiter of justice. Audiences left feeling that though her motivations were misaligned, her actions served the community; Alice emerged more condemning than condemned.⁴ Though compelling for modern audiences, this subtle heroism appears at odds

² Findlay’s *Arden* ran from 30 April to 3 October 2014; just weeks later, audiences could exercise their sympathy for persecuted witches again with *The Witch of Edmonton* (23 October to 29 November, the final play in the ‘Roaring Girls’ season).

³ Earlier in the play, when Arden tells Franklin ‘I assure you I ne’er did him wrong’, his friend replies, ‘I think so, Master Arden’ (*AF*, xiii.57-8). Though the words are ambiguous, both Franklin’s identity as a landholder and his otherwise unfaltering allegiance to Arden suggest that his words should be read in support of his friend’s acquisition.

⁴ Small reported audience members cheering with delight when Arden is finally killed—a reaction which supports Fran Dolan’s suspicion that we are apt to side with the murderers, willing them to succeed. Frances E. Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars: Representations of Domestic Crime in England, 1550-1700*

with the play's late-sixteenth-century context.

In an interpretation related to this perceived heroism, Elizabeth Williamson has called Alice Arden the play's 'anti-heroine'.⁵ Although Williamson applies it in passing, the term is a useful one, but only insofar as it is carefully defined. Tamburlaine might rightly be considered the anti-hero of his own two-part tragedy, for example; bouts of tyrannical violence complicate his otherwise noble attributes, creating an unconventional protagonist whose morality operates in shades of grey. Equally, the moral palette of *Arden of Feversham* could never be described as black and white, but the play as it survives does strive to condition the audience's response to certain characters and their actions. *Arden of Feversham* is after all, *The Lamentable and True Tragedie of M. Arden of Feversham in Kent. The tragedy, the full title continues, of a man most wickedlye murdered, by the meanes of his disloyall and wanton wyfe*. In these terms Alice is not simply 'anti-heroic', but strictly villainous. Although it is perhaps unwise to take the published title as a blueprint for reading the play itself (it may of course be of the publisher's, and not the author's invention), the play does go to considerable lengths to constrain our opinions of Alice, and in particular limit her possible heroic stature. In so doing, the playwright creates a character whose function is not simply villainous, but rather 'anti-heroic' in its deliberate contrast with the specific, religious modes of heroism found in Protestant martyr narratives.⁶ Before addressing *how* the playwright intervenes in the Arden narrative, I want to begin with a discussion of the reasons *why*.

In a study of justice in early modern France, Paul Friedland has suggested that the

(Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), 77. For the interview with Small, see Lizzie Hopley, "Our Roaring Girls Part 2—Sharon Small," *Whispers From the Wings* blog, September 11, 2014, <http://www.rsc.org.uk/explore/blogs/whispers-from-the-wings/our-roaring-girls-part-2-sharon-small/>.

⁵ Williamson, *Materiality of Religion*, 176.

⁶ Here, my argument runs counter to that of Catherine Belsey, whose widely influential reading sees Alice's rejection of marriage as 'an act of heroism': 'Alice rejects the metaphysics of presence which guarantees the social enforcement of permanent monogamy, in favour of a free sexuality, unauthorized within the play as a whole, but glimpsed at moments', she writes, citing 1.98-104. *The Subject of Tragedy: Identity and Difference in Renaissance Drama* (New York: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1985), 134.

cheap print of crime and punishment evolved as a result of the reformation, and the arguments that it caused over what a dying body *means*.⁷ Religious upheavals had seen thousands across Europe executed, only for the following generation to rewrite their deaths as persecution. As I have argued throughout the preceding chapters, burning bodies posed a unique problem for the penal semiotics of late-Elizabethan England, with Protestant historiography contesting narratives of justice written during Mary's counter-reformation. For subsequent executions by burning, interpretations of the punishment were forced to compete with the popular consensus, formed by powerful propagandist histories such as Foxe's, that burning at the stake was an injustice against the sufferer. Francis Kett, as we have seen, threatened to deceive onlookers with his dancing and clapping at the stake in 1589; though he appeared to behave like the Protestant martyrs of the *Acts and Monuments*, Kett was, in fact, the devil's martyr.⁸

Such dangers of misinterpretation extended not only to those burned for heresy in Elizabethan England, but also—and perhaps particularly—to the figure of the petty traitor. Due to a gendered peculiarity of English common law, women found guilty of treason were sentenced to burn at the stake. As distinguished by the 1351/2 Statute of Treasons, this encompassed not only crimes against the monarch ('high' treason), but also against one's direct superior ('petty' or 'petit' treason). Women could be burned for either crime, while men would be hanged, drawn, and quartered, or simply hanged, for the same offences.⁹ During Elizabeth's reign, around ten women suffered this fate for the petty treason of murdering their husbands.¹⁰

⁷ Friedland traces the interest in execution that was stoked by the reformations into the French canards, and suggests that it then moved into the popular genres seen in many countries across Europe. See Friedland, *Seeing Justice Done*.

⁸ For further discussion of Kett's burning, and the semiotic confusion it presented, see Chapter 2.

⁹ For the former, the punishment would continue only until 1612, while for the latter it would remain on the statute books until 1790. The last woman to be burned at the stake in England was Catherine Murphy, burned in 1789 for high treason (coining).

¹⁰ See the Introduction for a discussion of the historical use of this punishment.

Much like the martyrs of the *Acts and Monuments*, these women's stories were rehearsed publicly. Where Foxe's martyrs were revered and displayed in weighty tomes, petty traitors found fame in pamphlets and ballads—cheap publications that allowed stories to circulate widely orally and in print.¹¹ Like the martyrs, the lives and deaths of petty traitors fell under public scrutiny; not, however, as exemplars of godliness, but as warnings against sin and crime. God's exposition of criminals is an almost universal theme: justice will out, or, in the words of one pamphleteer, 'bloud is an vncessant crier in the eares of the Lord and he will not leaue so vilde a thing vnpunished'.¹² While the martyr burns in God's service, the petty traitor burns as God's punishment, meted through justice on earth. With the aim of soliciting distinctly different responses (celebration versus censure, injustice versus justice), each form of scaffold literature attempts to suppress the other: martyrs must be admired, and traitors condemned; martyrs are not criminals, and criminals are not martyrs. The realities of the cases, however, could overlap, and for women burned as petty traitors, the most pressing shadow-narrative is not simply the martyr in general, but rather the Protestant female martyr in particular.

Like the martyrs discussed in Chapter 1, the petty traitors of cheap publications were depicted in images as well as text, and for those who encountered them, the two genres of image were not easily distinguishable. For example, on 29 June 1592, Anne Brewen was burnt at the stake in Smithfield. On the same day, a request to publish 'the Judgment and execucon of JOHN PARKER goldsmithe, and ANNE BRUEN for poysoninge her late husband JOHN BRUEN goldsmithe' was entered into the Stationer's Register on behalf of 'John Kydde'.¹³ The resultant pamphlet, it is assumed, is *The trueth of the most wicked and*

¹¹ Paul J. Voss, "Print Culture, Ephemera, and the Elizabethan News Pamphlet," *Literature Compass* 3, no. 5 (2006): 1053–64.

¹² Anon., *The Trueth of the Most Wicked and Secret Murthering of Iohn Brewen* (London, 1592), 6.

¹³ Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London: 1554-1640, 1875*, 2:614.

secret murdering of Iohn Brewen (1592),¹⁴ the frontispiece of which shows a woman burning at the stake (Figure 5.1).



Figure 5.1: Frontispiece, *The trueth of the most wicked and secret murdering of Iohn Brewen* (1592). Lambeth Palace Library, [ZZ]1594.16.11.

Faggots piled about her lower body fuel the climbing flames. Billowing smoke acts as a stylized frame, and draws attention to the piety of her stance at the centre: hands clasped and held with voluntary solemnity out before her chest, the figure embodies an acceptance of the discipline implicit in the punishment she suffers. The woman appears repentant: she is

¹⁴ Hereafter *The Murthering of Iohn Brewen*. This pamphlet is the sole surviving text from six accounts of the crime and execution that are recorded in the Stationer's Register (two pamphlets, and four ballads were registered). Despite its lack of attribution, the pamphlet has often been ascribed to the hand of Thomas Kyd, largely on account of the signature that appears on the frontispiece (see Figure 5.1), and another on the final page. I am loath to support this attribution, not least because the frontispiece signature appears to read *Ihon Kyde*—a reference to (or mark of?) the publisher noted in the Stationer's Register, whose relationship to the playwright is nowhere attested, let alone confirmed.

guilty of murder, she is burning, and she is sorry. The same image could illustrate the execution of Alice Arden—or, indeed, any other petty traitor.¹⁵

However, the image was not newly commissioned by the pamphlet's printer Thomas Orwin to depict Brewen, but a reused woodcut from the second edition of the *Acts and Monuments* (1570). The cut was used twice in that edition, to illustrate the deaths of both the Wycliffite widow Joan Boughton, and the Marian evangelical Cicelie Ormes (Figure 5.2). Like Brewen, Boughton had been burned in Smithfield; a woman of more than eighty years, she was condemned and executed in 1494 (*A&M* [1570], 887). Ormes was a victim of the Marian regime, and burned at Norwich in 1557 (*A&M* [1570], 2259).

¶ The burnyng of Cicelie Ormes at
Norwich.



Figure 5.2: The burning of Cicelie Ormes. *A&M* [1570], 2259. From *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online*. Available at: <http://www.johnfoxe.org/woodcuts/f2059w.gif>.

¹⁵ The interchangeability of burning women is witnessed across cheap print. For petty traitors, this is seen again with the image that was used to illustrate the execution of Anne Wallens in 1616, resurfacing again to depict Alice Davis over a decade later; both *Anne Wallens Lamentation* (STC 19997) and *A warning for all desperate Women* (STC 6367) can be found in Randall Martin, ed., *Women and Murder in Early Modern News Pamphlets and Broadside Ballads, 1573-1697* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).

Quite how the woodcut made its way from John Day's print-house to Thomas Orwin's is unknown; however, the image's recurrence in opposing literatures establishes the petty traitor as an anomalous figure. Though William Cecil's *Defence of English Justice* could make a careful distinction between Elizabethan traitors and Marian martyrs partly on the grounds of their methods of execution, this argument did not apply to women. (Cecil was, of course, speaking specifically of high treason, but the correlative terminology of the 1351/2 statute invites this semiotic fluidity.)¹⁶ At the very least, during execution, women burned as petty traitors and those burned as heretics are visually indistinguishable.

The woodcut's reuse argues in the first instance the material importance of reformation martyrs in petty treason literature. But in acknowledging the woodcut's provenance, critics have raised important questions about the broader implications of such reuse, and its impact on the Elizabethan imagination. Randall Martin has pondered whether such links could 'affect the readers' estimation' of Brewen,¹⁷ while Fran Dolan has more recently expressed anxieties over the possibility of narrative conflation:

I suspect but cannot yet prove that there are other such borrowings, and that other petty traitors were formerly known as martyrs. What might be the effects and affects of this visual link between the martyr and the petty traitor? Mightn't this link invite sympathy for the petty traitor, even admiration for her self-assertion and sacrifice, particularly in a married female viewer or the kind of lower status man who so often figures as a petty traitor's lover and co-conspirator?¹⁸

In the following section I offer an affirmative answer to these questions.

As I will explore, the ambiguity between petty traitor and female martyr extends far beyond the visual: Foxe's female martyrs are constructed as domestically defiant, autonomous women in ways that foreshadow the portrait of the petty traitor that became

¹⁶ 25 Edw. 3 st. 5 c. 2 in *The Statutes of the Realm*, 1:319–20.

¹⁷ Martin, *Women and Murder*, xv.

¹⁸ Dolan, "Tracking the Petty Traitor Across Genres," 161. Like Dolan, I am sure there were once many examples of such borrowing. To this example one might add the apparent re-use of a martyr woodcut on the frontispiece of Henry Goodcole's *The Adultrresses Funerall Day* (1635). As Martin has noted, this image shows not a burning woman but a burning man, complete with his righteous soul—represented by a second face—rising from his body (Martin, *Women and Murder*, xv.). As the images used in cheap print continue to be digitized and catalogued, further instances of borrowing will undoubtedly emerge.

popular in late-sixteenth-century literature. The use of marital disobedience as a trope in the *Acts and Monuments* established an acceptable form of female disobedience that had the potential to echo through subsequent tales of domestic discord, as inferred by Martin and Dolan. Subsequently, authors of petty treason literature, including the *Arden* playwright, had to emphasize traits other than domestic defiance. In the chapter's final section, I observe the conscious effort to divorce petty traitors and martyrs in *Arden of Faversham*, not only through criminalization, but also through the careful negotiation of martyr rhetoric. The construction of *Arden* suggests that the playwright had both an acute awareness of his heroine's potential ambiguity, and an interest in suppressing it. Though modern audiences may wish to celebrate Alice's defiance, this is a response that the playwright attempts to avoid. Not all women's defiance prompted censure, but Alice's is overtly the *wrong* kind.

PETTY TREASON AND FOXE'S MODEL OF FEMALE MARTYRDOM

In 1598, John Dod and Robert Cleaver observed that '[a] household is as it were a little commonwealth'.¹⁹ Although this aphorism echoes through many discussions of early modern women, this domestic 'commonwealth' was not always at the forefront of women's concerns. Across the sixteenth century reformed religion intervened in established social hierarchies: godly women, despairing for their salvation, turned to Protestant divines as replacement male authorities.²⁰ '[O]bedience to God's command to shun idolatry could, and did, have the consequence of forcing godly wives to disobey their husbands', writes Thomas

¹⁹ John Dod and Robert Cleaver, *Godly Form of Household Government* (London, 1598), sig. B1r. The maxim was a commonplace in early modern England; see Lena Cowen Orlin, *Private Matters and Public Culture in Post-Reformation England* (Ithaca, NY; London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 85, n. 1.

²⁰ Patrick Collinson, *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London: Hambledon Press, 1983), 275; Patrick Collinson, *Elizabethan Essays* (London: Hambledon Press, 1994), 135.

Freeman.²¹ Women followed the new religion, preached the new religion, and, as Foxe's book remembers, died for it too: of the 358 Tudor martyrs of the *Acts and Monuments*, forty-eight are women.²²

Foxe discusses few of these female martyrs at length, and only three women's lives are told with considerable detail: the martyrdoms of Anne Askew, Alice Dryver, and the otherwise unnamed Prest's wife.²³ Together these stories present the most in-depth accounts of female Protestant martyrdom—a form that diverges significantly from Catholic predecessors, which had focused on virginity.²⁴

The geographically and temporally disparate stories of Askew, Dryver, and Prest's wife are united in their depiction of Protestant femininity: each woman is a disorderly, defiant, and uncontrollable wife with striking parallels to the petty traitors of later literature. A comparison with the tale of Anne Brewen, whose burning we have already witnessed above, is instructive. The narrative that *The Murthering of Iohn Brewen* relates is representative of petty treason pamphlets: an unhappy wife, enamoured with another lover, plots her husband's murder; having succeeded, fortuitous discovery exposes her crime, and she is condemned. Though there appears little redemption in such a progression, it closely

²¹ Thomas Freeman, "'The Good Ministrye of Godlye and Vertuose Women': The Elizabethan Martyrologists and the Female Supporters of the Marian Martyrs," *Journal of British Studies* 39, no. 1 (2000): 13.

²² Megan L. Hickerson, *Making Women Martyrs in Tudor England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 7.

²³ In the 1563 edition, Foxe gives the full name of the repeatedly named 'Driuers wyfe' as 'Elizabeth Driver' (*A&M* [1563], 1751). In later editions, this becomes 'Alice', and otherwise 'Margaret'. To these women we might add Elizabeth Young, whose thirteen separate investigations for book smuggling under the Marian regime are discussed by Foxe in great detail. Young, however, escaped the stake when Mary died in 1558. I discuss Young in greater detail in Chapter 6.

²⁴ In his *Actes of the Votaryes* (1546), Foxe's friend and mentor John Bale condemns Catholic women who leave their marriages for nunneries as leading licentious lives. See Hickerson, *Making Women Martyrs*, 65. Catholic saints' lives had, of course, placed a great emphasis on the virginity of the female saint, and the often innovative ways in which she was able to remain chaste. See, for example, Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, "Saints' Lives and the Female Reader," *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 27, no. 4 (1991): 314–32; Caroline Walker Bynum, "Bodily Miracles and the Resurrection of the Body in the High Middle Ages," in *Belief in History: Innovative Approaches to European and American Religion*, ed. Thomas Kselman (London: Notre Dame University Press, 1991), 68–106.

reflects important aspects of the female martyrs' stories.

First published in 1546, the year of Askew's execution, John Bale's *The Examinacyons of Anne Askew* details the Henrician regime's handling of the English reformation's first female martyr.²⁵ In the absence of available original documents (a condition that plagues each of the extended women's narratives in the *Acts and Monuments*),²⁶ critics have argued over how much (if any) of the *Examinacyons* was written by Askew herself.²⁷ But, whether predominantly the work of an imprisoned Askew or the propagandist Bale, the *Examinacyons* was a powerful narrative of female godliness that had a profound impact on Foxe; although the *Acts and Monuments* omits much of Bale's biographical preface, he incorporates the text of the *Examinacyons* from Bale's second edition almost wholesale.²⁸ Though the following biographical details are not directly present in the *Acts and Monuments*, Askew had already attained some celebrity before Foxe handled her story, and, as I will demonstrate, the pattern of Askew's life as told by Bale reverberates in Foxe's other stories of women. Askew's tale, perceptibly so formative in Foxe's modelling of female martyrdom, was one of godly devotion founded on marital discord and disobedience.

As well as suffering as the first female Protestant martyr in Tudor England, Askew was also the first Englishwoman to request a divorce. When Anne's older sister Martha died and their father was set to lose the profit of her impending marriage, she was wed to Thomas Kyme in her sister's stead; as Bale reports, 'she was compelled agaynst her wyll or fre consent

²⁵ The *Examinacyons* were published in two parts in 1546 and 1547; subsequently, both texts were printed together, with and without Bale's elucidations.

²⁶ Hickerson, *Making Women Martyrs*, 15.

²⁷ Some have celebrated the text's strong, female voice (Bale's edition professes on its frontispiece to contain merely his '*Elucydacyon*'), while others have more cautiously emphasized the presence of a heavy editorial hand. On Bale's possible interventions in the text, see Thomas S. Freeman and Sarah E. Wall, "Racking the Body, Shaping the Text: The Account of Anne Askew in Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs,'" *Renaissance Quarterly* 54, no. 4 (2001): 1165–96.

²⁸ Among other changes, Foxe made biblical allusions more direct, and introduced paragraphs to Askew's tale, heightening its drama. Freeman and Wall, "Racking the Body, Shaping the Text," 1171, 1177.

to marrye with hym'.²⁹ Despite the arrival of two children (as Bale notes, Askew 'demeaned herself lyke a Christen wyfe'),³⁰ the marriage broke down when Anne discovered Protestant teaching and requested a divorce. Enraged by her engagement with reformed religion and its ministers, Askew's husband 'vyolentlye drove her oute of hyse howse'.³¹ Thus liberated, Anne moved to London, where she lived by her maiden name and studied the Bible amid the capital's growing group of evangelicals. It was here that she was arrested for heresy, examined twice, and finally burned—but domestic troubles had kick-started Anne's journey.

As *The Murthering of Iohn Brewen* relates, Anne Brewen's marriage was equally coerced; two men sued concurrently for the young Anne Welles' hand, the good friends John Brewen and John Parker, both goldsmiths. Anne preferred Parker, though the narrator, presaging trouble, warns that he was the less suitable choice.³² However, when Brewen had Anne arrested for not returning his courtship gifts, he would only drop his charges upon her agreement to marry him. In circumstances that echo those governing Askew's marriage to Kyme (a necessity motivated by male financial outlay), Anne is cajoled into marriage. Though she acquiesces (as we feel she must), Anne immediately falls prey to Parker's jealous manipulations: his 'bitter speeches so taunted and checkt her' and 'kindled such a hatred in her heart against her new made choyce' that she quickly turned her attentions toward organizing her husband's murder.³³ Though the nuptials are Anne's 'choyce', the overriding sense is one of compulsion; Anne Brewen, like Anne Askew, is unhappily married.

Though Anne's subsequent plan to poison her husband foregrounds the petty treason genre (discussed further in relation to *Arden* below), her other efforts towards self-liberation echo the martyr narratives: 'neither could she abide to be called after his name but still to be termed *Anne Welles* as she was before', and 'to excuse her from his bed, she sayd she had

²⁹ Beilin, *Examinations*, 92.

³⁰ Beilin, *Examinations*, 92.

³¹ Beilin, *Examinations*, 93.

³² *The Murthering of Iohn Brewen*, 1–2.

³³ *The Murthering of Iohn Brewen*, 2.

vowed neuer to lie by him more till he had gotten her a better house'.³⁴ Anne refuses marital nomenclature and enforces spatial separation to defy her new legal head. It is worth noting here that although the pamphleteer acknowledges Anne's chosen name, he refuses to apply it universally; in a striking contrast to Mrs. Kyme, who is of course remembered as 'Anne Askew' in her surviving literature, the equally defiant Mrs. Brewen is stripped of her chosen name. The petty treason genre confines her to its own necessary types: wife, and murderer.

Where Askew was driven out of her home, Brewen leaves voluntarily—a somewhat less sympathetic exit. But in the broader *Acts and Monuments* women could also be lauded for leaving. In one of the final martyr narratives in Foxe's book, for example, Prest's wife leaves her husband in pursuit of the gospel. In 1563, the story is simply a 'note' beginning with 'a poore man, whose name was Prest, his wife being an honest woman, very simple, but of good zeale & vpright life' (*A&M* [1563], 1821-2, at 1822). There is, in this first edition, no sense of Prest's wife as domestically defiant; like the pamphleteer's remembrance of Anne *Brewen*, Mrs. Prest is nothing other than 'wife', as her epithet suggests. However, by 1570 Foxe had augmented the story into one of a woman trapped in an unhappy marriage, troubled by marital religious difference. Though Foxe's subsequent research could not uncover her name, Prest's wife is described living in Cornwall, 'hauing a husband and children there, much addicted to the superstitious sect of Popery'; she, like Askew, 'was many tymes rebuked of them, and driuen to go to Church, to their Idols, and ceremonies'. Yet unlike Askew, she left willingly: 'in short space, she began to grow in contempt of her husband & children, & so taking nothing from them, but euen as she went, departed from them, seekyng her liuyng by labour and spinnyng' (*A&M* [1570], 2289). It is therefore with an active hatred more like that of Prest's wife than that of Mrs. Kyme that Anne Brewen defies her husband.

³⁴ *The Murthering of Iohn Brewen*, 3.

It is notable that in the stories of these three women, those of the martyrs contrast with Anne Brewen's case in the patriarch's fulfilment of his duties. Neither Kyme nor Prest appear loving in the *Acts and Monuments*; the narrator of *The Murthering of Iohn Brewen*, on the other hand, stresses that Anne's new husband 'loued hir tenderly'.³⁵ Instead of returning these affections, Anne continues to favour Parker, whose intimacy with her provides what the pamphlet's title names the '*prouocation*' to the murder. Anne Brewen and Parker's intimacy is manifestly adulterous, and the pamphleteer solicits readers' censure. Yet, once again, the *Acts and Monuments* provides a favourable model; the problem of women's extra-marital relationships is courted in the story of Alice Dryver.

When she was burned in Ipswich on 4 November 1558, Alice Dryver, a married woman from Grousborough, suffered alongside Alexander Gouch. Gouch was a reformer known to the authorities; he had been forced into hiding after refusing to receive Mass, and Dryver had sheltered him. When the local justice and his men arrived to arrest them, the pair were discovered after 'diligent serch': having 'stepe[d] into an haye golphe to hide them selues from their cruelty', they were found there together 'by gaging therof with pitchforkes' (*A&M* [1563], 1751).

Then as now, to be so hidden and discovered suggested infidelity, and Foxe's own editorial papers imply such concerns. As Megan Hickerson explains, a copy of a letter from the Bury Assizes at which the couple were tried exists among Foxe's papers. In it, Gouch and Dryver are listed as heretics, but the name John Dryver also appears; this name then disappears later in the document and is replaced by that of Gouch. In Foxe's copy, Gouch's name is scratched out on every occasion. 'While this scratching out lends itself to speculation,' writes Hickerson:

the copy is in Foxe's hand, and his failure to omit the fact of the haystack incident in the *Acts and Monuments* is suggestive. If his motive was to eradicate the Gouch problem

³⁵ *The Murthering of Iohn Brewen*, 3.

from the Dryver story, he could have chosen to delete the name from his copy, or again to omit either Gouch or at least the haystack incident from his narrative.³⁶

As the various editions of the *Acts and Monuments* attest, this suppression (or censorship) was not carried out. Indeed, in this tale as in the augmentation of the Prest narrative Foxe appears to court controversy.

Alice Dryver is, consistently, ‘Driuers wyfe’, and Gouch an explicitly extra-marital companion. Though nothing is said of the Dryvers’ marriage (and Alice cannot therefore be grouped with Askew, Prest, and Brewen as an unhappy spouse), her companionship with Gouch is problematic. In narrating this incident in the *Acts and Monuments*, Foxe appears not to be seeking an inscrutable narrative; rather, the hint of marital liberty performs an important function in his rhetoric. By allowing his presentation of women to include those who appear domestically defiant, Foxe clears a path for their conversion to Protestantism by opening up the space for individual conscience and religion.

Indeed, it is in their *use* of liberty that Foxe’s women diverge from petty traitors such as Brewen. The *Acts and Monuments* showcases the positive role that wifely disobedience can play in salvation, as the female martyrs’ freedom from matrimonial constraints leads to a newly conceived fidelity. After living independently ‘for a time’, Prest’s wife ‘was brought home to her husband agayne’, where she was accused of heresy, and presented to the local bishop, the appropriately named Dr. Troubleville (*A&M* [1570], 2289). As the story unfolds, Foxe presents her interrogation in dramatic dialogue, giving her cue simply as ‘Wom.’—an essentializing marker with tantalizing implications for one in search of models of Protestant femininity. As one of the final detailed stories of the *Acts and Monuments*, the example of Prest’s wife leaves a lasting impression of reformed womanhood on Foxe’s readers.

The bishop’s questions focus repeatedly on the martyr’s abandonment of her family: ‘how chaunceth it that thou wentest away from thy husband?’ he asks, adding, ‘if thou were

³⁶ Hickerson, *Making Women Martyrs*, 93, n. 76.

an honest woman, thou wouldest not haue left thine husband & children, and runne about the countrey like a fugitiue' (*A&M* [1570], 2290). Though the bishop's reference to honesty has its contextual opposite in her absence, a sexual interpretation is implicit. The woman's answer is resolute, and direct in addressing his insinuation: 'I fled *not for whoredome*, nor for theft, but because I would be no partaker with him & his, of that foule Idoll the Masse' (*A&M* [1570], 2290; emphasis added). Acutely aware of the connotations of abandoning her family, Prest's wife foregrounds the importance of her relationship to God above her earthly ties: attending Mass is more harmful to her salvation than maternal or matrimonial failures.

Unlike the peripheral female 'sustainers' discussed by Thomas Freeman (whose relationships with Protestant male martyrs, he argues, Foxe found problematic), the women martyrs whose stories the *Acts and Monuments* interrogates are celebrated for their newfound fidelity.³⁷ When Troubleville finally loses patience with Prest's wife, he asks that this 'mad woman be put downe to prison, vntill we send for her husband', a stark reminder of the period's rejection of women's autonomy. In the woman's response her resolution is clear: 'No, I haue but one husband, which is here already in this Citie and in prison with me, from whom I will neuer depart' (*A&M* [1570], 2290). In the case of Prest's wife, as with many figures throughout the *Acts and Monuments*, fidelity takes the form of a new marriage, as discussed in Chapter 3.

For both Askew and Dryver too, their stories end in the celebration of their defiance through the confirmation of their spiritual fidelity. In Dryver's story, Foxe presents a witty

³⁷ In choosing to highlight the deviant form of Protestant femininity, I ignore a parallel tradition within the *Acts and Monuments* which sought to suppress intimations of female sexuality. Thomas Freeman's work on female 'sustainers' (women who supported the male martyrs in prison) demonstrates Foxe's censorship of letters. In a survey of the manuscript originals of letters included in the *Acts and Monuments* and Henry Bull's *Letters of the Martyrs* (1564), Freeman uncovers the extraordinary censorship employed by both historians in their presentation of the letters between male martyrs and the women who followed them. As Freeman suggests, 'spiritual intimacy could easily be misrepresented as physical intimacy; in fact, [Scottish clergyman and reformer] John Knox felt constrained to defend himself and Mrs. Bowes against the "odious lies" that they had been sexually involved'. Freeman, "The Good Ministrye of Godlye and Vertuose Women," 25.

and dramatic repartee between martyr and interrogator, with her tireless replies emphasizing a commitment to, and thorough understanding of, both the gospel and reformed theology: she ‘did boldlye stand to confesse Christ crucified, defenge the Pope wyth al his papysticall trash’ (*A&M* [1563], 1751). Askew, too, is an exemplar: she not only gave courage to the men who suffered with her, but died ‘leauing behind her a singular example of Christen constancie for all men to folowe’ (*A&M* [1563], 733)—an example that, as we have seen in Chapter 3, riled some of Foxe’s detractors. This commanding presence in the examination room echoes through the other women’s tales. As Foxe makes clear, the key for acceptable female defiance is passion for reformed teaching.

In these women’s stories Foxe consciously utilizes the language of petty disobedience. It is only through marital liberty that they are able to pursue spiritual fidelity; or, as Hickerson has it, ‘[t]he female martyr is shown to be both socially deviant and spiritually constant’.³⁸ However, in offering the female martyr as the tolerable, and even laudable ‘other’ of the petty traitor, Foxe portrays domestic disobedience as the necessary precursor to spiritual fidelity. The female martyr is both justified and celebrated because of her godliness. And yet, that Foxe’s women teetered perilously close to the period’s conception of the sexually liberated, and therefore dangerous, woman is explicit in the criticisms of his detractors.

In his *Treatise of Three Conversions* (1603), the Jesuit Robert Persons wrote of Dryver’s haystack that this was ‘no fitt place for such a couple to be conuersant together’, noting wryly that Foxe makes ‘no mention at all of her husband, but only of this suspicious takinge of them together’.³⁹ Her articulate defence of the gospel also drew his censure. Persons called her ‘a famous doctrix’, and quipped about Dryver’s ‘rare learninge’: ‘two Foxian Martyrs burned at Ipswich [...] *Alexander Gouch*, and *Alice Dryuer*, or rather *Alice*

³⁸ Hickerson, *Making Women Martyrs*, 102.

³⁹ Persons, *Treatise of Three Conversions*, XV, xxi, 254.

Dryuer and *Alexander Gouch*, for that the woman was the doctor of the man', he wrote, adding with relish that she 'lost her eares for the liberty of her tongue'.⁴⁰ In Askew's case, Persons assaults only her absence from Kyme; he calls Askew a 'coy dame', and scoffs at Bale's discussion of her 'bewty and youth'. In refusing to discuss her heresy and doctrinal sophistication, Persons reduced the evangelical martyr to the role of disobedient, and probably wanton, spouse.⁴¹

Persons' objections to Foxe's women demonstrate not only the importance of perspective in these stories (the confessional divide ruled, as witnessed in the Cecil/Allen debates discussed in Chapter 2), but also the ambiguity of these women's life events. Authors' presentation of these tropes is therefore crucial to the interpretation of any literary figure that embodies them. Foxe could not prevent Persons' active 'misinterpretation' of the *Acts and Monuments*; Catholic denunciation of the martyrs was inevitable, and their focus would always be criminalization. However, the similarities in narrative that I have observed here, along with the visual similarities seen above, present the possibility of passive misinterpretation. Moreover, these forms of similarity could work to martyr the guilty, as well as criminalize the innocent. Like Francis Kett, petty traitors stood in the centre of two necessarily discrete, but uncomfortably similar traditions. Any author desiring a more palatable depiction of justice was therefore forced to clarify the separation.

Foxe's conscious negotiation of the tropes of female sexuality had two effects that inform the reading of *Arden* that follows. Firstly, the inclusion of these tropes left Foxe's female martyrs open to accusations of sexual licentiousness; Catholic detractors within and beyond the *Acts and Monuments* resorted to the language of sexual slander to discredit the

⁴⁰ Dryver's ears were cut off as a punishment for her likening Queen Mary to Jezebel, which Persons condemns as 'vndutifull words'. Going against the story presented in Foxe (see *A&M* [1563], 1751), Persons suggests that Dryver tutored Gouch in the scriptures, accentuating the apparent monstrosity of the situation. Persons, *Treatise of Three Conversions*, XV, xxi, 254-5.

⁴¹ Persons, *Treatise of Three Conversions*, X, xiv-xv, 494-6. Discussed in Hickerson, *Making Women Martyrs*, 83.

women it presents. This convergence of religious and sexual registers blurred the distinction between divine and domestic, between heresy and treason. Secondly, Foxe's use of these tropes established a desirable form of female disobedience that haunted subsequent stories of household rupture. As we have seen, common aspects of petty treason narratives appear ambiguous in juxtaposition with Foxe's stories (as early modern readers had the opportunity to encounter them). For the petty treason narratives of the early 1590s this meant that to distinguish their criminals from the female martyrs of the mid century, they were forced to emphasize those characteristics in which the petty traitor was most distinct from the female martyr: her murderousness and lust. It is with this in mind that I turn in the final section to the crimes of the petty traitor, and to *Arden of Faversham*.

COUNTER-MARTYRDOM AND *ARDEN OF FAVERSHAM*

Unlike the martyr, who leaves her marriage peacefully to pursue spiritual autonomy and divine fidelity, the petty traitor leaves in violence, in the service of lust. When the domestic body fractures, the safe space of the home becomes the site of murder: in her only wifely action, Anne Brewen poisoned her husband with a bowl of sugar sops, and then abandoned him to suffer the agonies of death alone. Where Prest's wife 'fled', and Anne Askew was 'vyolentlye' cast from home, Brewen destroyed the need for spatial separation; by ending her marriage through murder she created the circumstances for legitimizing her relationship with Parker from the comfort of her own home. As with the martyrs, the forbidden becomes possible; yet, unlike the martyrs, whose defiant independence secures their spiritual freedom and fidelity, the petty traitor's murder clears the way only for her earthly desires.

As the pamphlet narrates it, however, Brewen's relationship quickly turns sour. Parker reduces her to 'slauerie and subiection', and occupies a sterner version of the patriarchal role she had denounced in her husband: 'she must runne or goe wheresoeuer he

pleased to appoint her, held hee vp but his finger at any time'.⁴² He takes Anne's money, beats her, threatens to kill her, and impregnates her before finally dismissing her as unfit, and even dangerous, to marry: 'thou wouldst marry me to the end thou mightest poyson me as thou didst thy husband', he fears.⁴³ A full two years after the murder took place, Anne and Parker were arrested after neighbours overheard these arguments; their tempestuous affair brings about their downfall, and they are 'both araigned and condemned for the murder'.⁴⁴

These criminal aspects of Brewen's—the distinction of the petty treason genre—are found also in *Arden of Faversham*. Like the anonymous *A Warning for Fair Women* (c. 1588-90), and probably the lost Jonson and Dekker collaboration *Page of Plymouth* (1599?), *Arden* dramatizes a sixteenth-century murder in which the victim's wife was arraigned and executed for the crime.⁴⁵ As examples of 'domestic tragedy', these plays entered the early modern English home to show its machinations and malfunctions; they dramatized the dangers of the disordered family, and the disorderly wife in particular.⁴⁶

In the two extant plays, *Arden* and *A Warning*, two seemingly irreconcilable depictions of the petty traitor emerge: where *Arden* attempts to separate the petty traitor from the martyr, *A Warning* draws the two figures together. The plays have often been

⁴² *The Murthering of Iohn Brewen*, 5.

⁴³ *The Murthering of Iohn Brewen*, 6.

⁴⁴ 'This was accordingly performed, and they were executed on wedensday last, being the 28. of Iune 1592. two yeares and a halfe after the murder was committed', affirms the author. *The Murthering of Iohn Brewen*, 6.

⁴⁵ *Page of Plymouth* is a Ben Jonson and Thomas Dekker collaboration known only from Philip Henslowe's accounts. It was probably a domestic tragedy based on the second case described in Anon., *Sundrye Strange and Inhumaine Murthers, Lately Committed the First of a Father That Hired a Man to Kill Three of His Children Neere to Ashford in Kent, the Second of Master Page of Plymouth, Murthered by the Consent of His Owne Wife: With the Strange Discoverie of Sundrie Other Murthers, Wherein Is Described the Odiousnesse of Murther, with the Vengeance Which God Inflicteth on Murtherers* (London, 1591). See W. W. Greg, ed., *Henslowe's Diary* (London: A. H. Bullen, 1904), I. 110-11.

⁴⁶ As a sub-genre of tragedy, domestic tragedy often 'explores what happens when family and household loyalty breaks down'. Catherine Richardson, "Tragedy, Family and Household," in *The Cambridge Companion to English Renaissance Tragedy*, ed. Emma Smith and Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 18. The genre developed over the end of the sixteenth and through the early-seventeenth century, including plays such as Heywood's *A Woman Killed With Kindness* (perf. 1603), a fictitious tale of adultery, and *A Yorkshire Tragedy* (perf. 1605-8?), concerning the real-life case of Walter Calverly, who murdered two of his children and his wife.

discussed together, with many critics disparaging *A Warning* as a lesser imitation of *Arden*.⁴⁷ That *A Warning* is a cruder version of the genre as we understand it is undeniable; however, that it is an imitation of *Arden* does not necessarily follow. In his 1904 edition of *A Warning*, A. F. Hopkinson suggested that the play was first performed by Pembroke's men at the Curtain in the 1589-90 season—prior to *Arden of Faversham*.⁴⁸ That *Arden* was the development and not the original goes a long way towards offering an explanation for the play's handling of its petty traitor.

A Warning for Fair Women tells the story of the 1573 murder of George Sanders, which was popularized in a pamphlet by Arthur Golding that same year.⁴⁹ The play's Anne Sanders is a devoted wife and mother, duped by the conspiracies of those around her; George Browne, a lusty visitor to the neighbourhood, pays the Sanders' neighbour Anne Drury to plead his love to Anne, and together they work upon the wife's affections. To clear the path for his own proposal, Browne murders Sanders far from home, much to the dismay of his fresh-made widow. Anne gives Browne no amorous encouragement, and is at worst merely aware of the danger her husband faces. Though she later commits perjury in court, she is

⁴⁷ For example, writing on *A Warning* Andrew Gurr notes that 'its Induction claimed that it was a wholly new kind of tragedy distinct from the stock materials of revenge tragedy'; he infers that this 'does suggest that *Arden* was not widely known'. Andrew Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 172. See also Keith Sturgess, ed., *Three Elizabethan Domestic Tragedies* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), "Introduction".

⁴⁸ Hopkinson had previously set the date of the play's premier a year earlier, and attributed it to the Queen's Company at the Theatre. Evidence stemming from the play's internal reference to another play performed at Lynn that brought about a lady's confession of murder caused this emendation. See A. F. Hopkinson, "Introduction," in *A Warning for Fair Women*, ed. A. F. Hopkinson (London: M. E. Sims & Co., 1904), iii–viii. Others have tended to date the play 'around 1590', to which Charles Dale Cannon has used the play's reference to pipe tobacco to add 'after 1585'. Charles Dale Cannon, ed., *A Warning for Fair Women: A Critical Edition* (The Hague: Mouton, 1975), 43–8.

⁴⁹ Arthur Golding, *A Briefe Discourse of the Late Murther of Master George Saunders* (London: Henry Bunneman, 1573).

afterward repentant for her role in her husband's death, and dies somewhat vindicated through her contrition.⁵⁰

If *A Warning's* Anne Sanders was the English stage's first petty traitor, she therefore set a timorous and pitiable example. Moreover, with the *Acts and Monuments* circulating widely, Foxe's female martyrs were being celebrated for their dismissal of their Catholic husbands in favour of reformed religion. In such a culture, the *Arden* playwright's petty traitor was at risk of sympathetic interpretation, especially given the play's historical context. The crime of *Arden of Faversham* occurred in 1551, during the Protectorate established in the reign of Edward VI, and the play foregrounds the reformation as a key context for its action. Franklin even announces at the outset that 'letters patents' from the Duke of Somerset, written on behalf of the monarch, have decreed to Arden 'All the lands of the Abbey of Faversham' (*AF*, i.2-5); the play's events are situated in the broader context of religious change in England.

Noting this exchange, Frank Whigham has emphasized the role of the economic pressures of the dissolution of the monasteries, of which Arden is a beneficiary, in fracturing the Faversham community—Master Greene's perception of the redistribution of lands as a 'wrong' against him (i.470), for example, brings about his righteous anger that plays directly into the hands of Alice's scheming.⁵¹ Ian McAdam, too, has explored the implications of the play's reformation context, arguing that *Arden* is about the failures of Protestant manliness. He argues, however, that '[o]ne of the remarkable aspects of *Arden of Faversham* is that Alice is not at all demonized'; a conclusion which, I contend, goes too far in its extension of

⁵⁰ On the different forms that Anne's character takes throughout the play, see Frances E. Dolan, "Gender, Moral Agency, and Dramatic Form in *A Warning for Fair Women*," *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 29, no. 2 (1989): 201-18, esp. 202.

⁵¹ Frank Whigham, *Seizures of the Will in Early Modern English Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

virtue to what he calls '[h]er struggle for self-determination'.⁵² Rather, Alice's struggle is condemned deliberately and dramatically, with reference to the *feminine* Protestant tradition. The playwright deploys images and rhetoric that acknowledge female martyrdom narratives and godly wives such as *A Warning's* Anne Sanders only to distance Alice from them.

In stark contrast to Anne, Alice Arden is a voluntary and impassioned adulteress, and the central driving force of Arden's 'tragedy'. Alice's relationship with Mosby takes centre stage, and the audience knows that the success of their tempestuous affair depends on Arden's death.⁵³ Where Anne Sanders is unsettled by the unwelcome news of her husband's murder (delivered to her by the token of a bloody handkerchief, discussed below), Alice's love affair, like that of Anne Brewen, is the precursor to her marital discord, and underpins her turn to homicide.⁵⁴

In the basic facts of the murder and its discovery, the *Arden* playwright adheres closely to his likely source, the second edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles*.⁵⁵ However, in a number of plot embellishments the play shows evidence of its own battle to criminalize Alice, elaborating upon the criminality seen in the *Chronicles* with murder attempts like those used by Brewen and other pamphlet traitors. First, a failed attempt to poison Arden is added at the outset of the play (i.365-82). This, and other strange schemes of the playwright's conception, labours the lovers' unremitting focus on carrying out the murder. All within the first scene of the play, the servant Michael is promised the reward of marriage with Mosby's

⁵² Ian McAdam, "Protestant Manliness in *Arden of Faversham*," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 45, no. 1 (2003): 59.

⁵³ Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars*, 54; Julie R. Shutzman, "Alice Arden's Freedom and the Suspended Moment of *Arden of Faversham*," *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 36, no. 2. Tudor and Stuart Drama (1996): 291.

⁵⁴ Alice herself is clear about the relationship between the two:
 Yet nothing could enforce me to the deed
 But Mosby's love. Might I without control
 Enjoy thee still, then Arden should not die;
 But seeing I cannot, therefore let him die. (i.273-6)

⁵⁵ Wine's argument for the playwright's use of the second edition relies on information provided in the margins of the 1587 *Chronicles* appearing in the drama. Wine, "Introduction," xl-xli.

sister Susan if he can murder his master (i.144-148); Master Greene is paid to engage professional assassins in the plot (i.519-25); and the painter Clarke is employed in the hopes of poisoning Arden with a painting (i.227-34), or a crucifix (i.609-616), while his pursuit of Susan catalyzes Michael's endeavours toward the murder (i.149-160; iii.1-15). As the play progresses and these plots evolve, Alice's encouragements sustain the murderous momentum. When even Mosby is prepared to abandon the scheme, she persuades him to continue (i.184; i.429-40; viii; xii.61-71). Finally, Alice stabs Arden herself: 'give me the weapon' (xiv.237). Unattested in histories, this action argues the playwright's eagerness to confirm the wife's guilt. Moreover, Alice and her conspirators' persistent efforts establish above all the murderous wife's unrelenting desire. Premeditated and variously attempted, Arden's murder is no crime of spontaneous passion, perpetrated in a single moment of desperation; unlike the duped Anne Sanders, the dramatic Alice Arden is fully committed to her cause.⁵⁶ Her punishment, in these circumstances, is somewhat easier to stomach.

When Anne Sanders is sentenced to hang in the final act of *A Warning*, it is despite the protestations of Browne, who maintains her innocence to the point of his own onstage execution. Though she initially fights the accusation, Anne is brought to accept and repent her crimes, delivering in her lengthy final speech the play's eponymous 'Warning'.⁵⁷ On the morning of her execution, Anne's children visit her in gaol, and she bequeaths her belongings to them, giving to each child a copy of 'Bradford's works, / That virtuous chosen servant of the Lord' (*WFW*, ll.2702-3). In reading these works, Anne hopes that her children 'shall be richer than with gold; / Safer than in fair buildings; happier / Than all the pleasures of this world can make you' (ll.2705-7). The *Godlye Medytacyon* of the Protestant martyr John

⁵⁶ The building emphasis on the deliberate nature of Alice's crime has its correlation in the witchcraft scene of *1 Henry VI* (see Chapter 6); neither woman can be forgiven a crime of desperation.

⁵⁷ The speech delivered by Anne Sanders is a perfect example of the form of penitent theatrics that came to be expected of criminals on the scaffold. See Sharpe, "'Last Dying Speeches': Religion, Ideology and Public Execution in Seventeenth-Century England"; Frances E. Dolan, "'Gentlemen, I Have One Thing More to Say': Women on Scaffolds in England, 1563-1680," *Modern Philology* 92, no. 2 (1994): 157-78.

Bradford was a popular prayer book first published in 1559. Bradford had been burned with John Leaf at Smithfield on 1 July 1555, but he was survived by a wealth of writings alongside this prayer book, many of which ended up in the *Acts and Monuments*.⁵⁸ The *Medytacyon*, which gives short prayers based on the Lord's Prayer for different occasions of the day, saw five editions by 1597, and is likely to have been well known to the play's audiences in the late 1580s and early 1590s.⁵⁹

For such audiences, the play's reference to a prominent victim of the Marian burnings and Anne's conscientious propagation of Protestant teaching in the moments before her death would situate her among the godly—though as a follower of teachings, rather than a trailblazer like Askew, Prest, or Dryver. With her repentance thus set in the context of the martyrs, Anne's salvation is heavily implied. Indeed, in keeping with the martyrological trope of injustice, the Lords that sentence Anne do so following false promises of her safety; despite having assured Browne that 'She shal have justice, and with favour' and 'shall have no wrong' (ll. 2212, 2215), Anne is sentenced to death. Their words, we realize, were sardonic, but they are sufficient to question the use of 'justice' on earth. Moreover, Anne's dedication to passing on Protestant teaching gives hope for her soul.

The final scene of *Arden of Faversham*, in contrast to Anne Sanders' careful repentance, depicts the rabble of conspirators attempting to apportion blame; despite Alice's resolution to 'meditate upon my Saviour Christ, / Whose blood must save me for the blood I shed' (*AF*, xviii.10-11), an interjection from her lover pulls her back to pettiness:

Ah, but for thee I had never been strumpet.
 What cannot oaths and protestations do
 When men have opportunity to woo?
 I was too young to sound thy villainies,

⁵⁸ Bradford's letters are printed in each of Foxe's editions (*A&M* [1563], 1245-54; *A&M* [1570], 1844-81; *A&M* [1576], 1567-1603; *A&M* [1583], 1648-1689).

⁵⁹ Editions of Bradford's *Godlye Medytacyon* were published in 1559, 1562, 1567, 1578, and 1597. It continued to be printed through the seventeenth century, with further reprints in 1604 and 1607, and subsequent editions issued under the title *Holy Meditations upon the Lords Prayer*—a title more similar to that referred to in *A Warning*.

But now I find it, and repent too late. (xviii.14-18)

Alice offers an excuse in place of penitence. Though after hearing that ‘her sentence is she must be burnt’ she hopes that her death will ‘make amends for all [her] sins’ (xviii.31, 33), Arden’s murderer offers no better road for would-be petty traitors. While *A Warning* deliberates over the punishment of George Sanders’ killers for the final of four acts, all the while paying close attention to Anne’s repentance, *Arden* covers the distribution of punishment in just the final scene and epilogue. With no in-built template of confession and redemption, the play instead focuses the entirety of its dramatic action on the attempts on Arden’s life. Alice Arden’s crime is more important than her punishment.⁶⁰ In part, this may be explained by the nature of the punishment that is due.

With its disorderly woman heading for the flames and not the noose, the *Arden* playwright faced a greater challenge than that of *A Warning*. In order to be *The Lamentable and True Tragedie of M. Arden of Feversham*, Alice had to be distanced from the model of both the sympathetic petty traitor depicted in the earlier drama, but also from the female martyrs had suffered the stake after her historical counterpart. Though the narrative of criminality suffices in the pamphlet literature, the *Arden* playwright is more careful, given historical contexts, to differentiate Alice Arden from the likes of Askew, Dryver, and Prest’s wife. Alice is openly not the pitiable, guiltless wife, caught up in the murderous plot of a lusty suitor, but nor is she burned for any form of religious devotion. In fact, the playwright’s deliberate use of martyr and counter-martyr rhetoric emphasizes Alice’s lack of religion.

To emphasize the gravity of the crime against Arden, the playwright uses the rhetoric of martyrdom in the description of the murdered husband—a trope that builds on *A Warning*’s earlier rendering of Sanders’ murder. In the earlier play, when Sanders and his

⁶⁰ In line with this suggestion, Dolan argues that rather than treating domestic crime as a comic subplot—as in *The Tempest* (1611)—the play itself ‘acts out petty treason’: *Dangerous Familiars*, 72. The farcical plot that sees various attacks and plans foiled is a format that *Arden* shares with, or indeed inherits from, *A Warning*.

companion Beane are put upon by Browne, the former pleads: ‘Soil not your hands with blood of innocents’ (*WFW*, l. 1380). As well as petitioning for his life, the outcry sounds a warning to his assailant. Browne is, warns Sanders, ‘The bloody author of my timeless death!’ (l. 1384) *Timeless*, that is, not *timely*—but also timeless in the likelihood of its remembrance.⁶¹

As if to ensure this fate, Sanders’ final words recall those of the dying St. Stephen (Acts 7:59): ‘Jesu,’ he expires, ‘receive my soul into thy hands!’ (l. 1389). The words echo through the *Acts and Monuments* in the banderoles that hover over burning figures throughout the text (see Figure 1.6, for example); some editions even contain readers’ manuscript additions, attributing similar phrases to figures whose dying words are not printed.⁶² In these final moments the dramatic Sanders self-consciously imitates biblical and evangelical martyrs. Then, if the playwright’s point were not yet clear, Beane’s response to his own attack reasserts the motif. As a collateral victim of Browne’s murderous plan, Beane rouses his wounded self with the same rhetoric: ‘Dare I look up, for fear he yet be near, / That thus hath martyred me?’ (l. 1420).⁶³

Even in the bloody token that Browne sends to Anne to mark his deed, she recognizes the import of the murder in religious terms. On receiving the handkerchief, she recoils:

⁶¹ A parallel may here be seen with the Shepherd’s first desperate response to Joan’s fate in *1 Henry VI* (discussed in the Introduction). When he perceived his daughter to be the victim of injustice, Joan’s father thought her death a ‘timeless cruel’ one (*1H6*, V.vi.5). See also *The Massacre at Paris*, where Navarre is moved by the news of ‘innocents / That *Guise* hath slaine by treason of his heart, / And brought by murder to their timeles ends’ (*MP*, I.44-46).

⁶² John N. King speaks of the ‘variability of speeches inscribed into empty banderoles’. His survey of extant copies of the *Acts and Monuments* shows that ‘Writers filled these framing devices with wording appropriate to the martyrs’, concluding that ‘The absence of a textual foundation for these highly variably speeches indicates that historical accuracy was less important to readers who engaged in a participatory reading of woodcuts than their conviction that a “good death” is incomplete without dying words’. He goes on to note that, while inscriptions are varied, many readers used the words of St. Stephen: ‘O lord, receive my soul’. King, *Foxe’s Book of Martyrs and Early Modern Print Culture*, 239.

⁶³ In Beane’s words we hear the echo of Bel-Imperia’s fears in *The Spanish Tragedy*: ‘Why bend’st thou thus thy mind to martyr me?’ (*ST*, ix.6). The same implication of senseless cruelty that ‘to martyr’ here implies is then seen again in *Titus Andronicus* in the responses of both Lucius and Titus in discovering Lavinia so foully treated (*TA*, III.i.81; III.i.107); Titus himself then invokes the language of reciprocation in his offer ‘to martyr’ Chiron and Demetrius (V.ii.180).

Oh, show not me that ensign of despair,
 But hide it, burn it, bury it in the earth;
 It is a kalender of bloody letters,
 Containing his, and yours, and all our shames. (l. 1935-8)

Referring to the handkerchief as a ‘kalender of bloody letters’, Anne evokes the *Acts and Monuments*: Foxe not only included his martyrs’ life stories and their letters, but also a calendar of martyrs to supplant the Catholic calendars of saints.⁶⁴ Anne’s immediate acceptance of guilt upon the presentation of such evidence follows the pattern of recognition and repentance that Foxe had hoped his book would trigger in his Catholic readers. As Chapter 1 explored, Foxe had directly addressed this subset of his readership, ‘these cruel bludsuckers’, hoping that ‘they being admonished may repent’, or at the very least ‘they may behold to their great shame and rebuke, whether they wil or no, their wicked cruelty and great slaughters laide before them’ (*A&M* [1563], 183).⁶⁵ In *A Warning*, the male victims of lust-driven crime are martyred. Their assailant, Browne, is criminalized, while Anne depicts the exemplar of repentance despite her peripheral role in her husband’s death.

In *Arden*, the language of martyrdom is figurative. Master Arden’s death is foreshadowed throughout the play using images of helpless prey—a motif seen throughout the literature of martyrdom, and already touched upon in the discussion of *The Lambe Speaketh* in Chapter 4 (Figure 4.2). In *The Examinacions of Anne Askew*, for example, Bale’s propagandist commentaries on Askew’s words incorporate an array of references to hungry, bloodthirsty predators. In *The First Examinacion*, Bale refers to ‘cruell Byshoppes and prestes, whom Christ calleth ravenynge wolves, devourers, and thieves’, with reference to Matthew 7 and John 10.⁶⁶ The image of the ravening wolf then recurs through the text,⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Foxe’s calendar of martyrs appeared in the front matter of the 1563 edition, but he pulled it from the second due to the controversy it caused. In the fourth edition of 1583, Foxe had restored the calendar. See John N. King, “Guides to Reading Foxe’s ‘Book of Martyrs,’” *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 68, no. 1/2, *The Uses of History in Early Modern England* (2005): 134.

⁶⁵ The fuller quotation is discussed in Chapter 2.

⁶⁶ Beilin, *Examinations*, 11.

⁶⁷ Beilin, *Examinations*, 36, 41, 69.

and is supplemented by references to both the predatory, ‘wylve foxes’,⁶⁸ and, citing Peter 5, a ‘ravenynge lyon’.⁶⁹ These images, as we have seen, feed into the character of Tamburlaine; but, in *Arden*, the focus is on the hunted, not the hunter.

In the *Examinacyons* Askew herself is figured as the bishop’s prey. She is, like Christ, the ‘poore innocent lambe’ who is brought ‘to the slaughter place of Antichrist’.⁷⁰ As Bale’s scriptural notations make clear, the image is biblical; in figuring the martyr as the Lamb of God, he strengthens the narrative’s *imitatio Christi*. The same Christological tradition that Bale uses for Askew is invoked in *Arden*, as Michael contemplates the death his master is to face:

Thus feeds the lamb securely on the down,
 Whilst through the thicket of an arbour brake
 The hunger-bitten wolf o’erpries his haunt
 And takes advantage for to eat him up.
 Ah, harmless Arden, how, how hast thou misdome,
 That thus thy gentle life is levelled at? (*AF*, iii.184-9)

Despite his misgivings, Michael’s desires (specifically, his love for Susan) urge him on his treasonous path. Arden must go ‘to the slaughter-house’ (iii.195).

Though Michael speaks of Arden’s ‘gentle life’, it is widely recognized that the play presents a complicated, ambiguous character—though one that is less complex than the *Chronicles* account. For instance, the *Chronicles* suggest that the historical Arden turned a blind eye to his wife’s infidelity, desiring her hand only for the wealth it brought.⁷¹ As Catherine Belsey has suggested, Holinshed’s parallel account of the murder, ‘not wholly consistent with this view of Arden as an innocent victim, [...] emphasizes God’s vengeance on his greed for property. In this account Arden’s avarice, repeatedly referred to in the story,

⁶⁸ Beilin, *Examinations*, 39.

⁶⁹ Beilin, *Examinations*, 33.

⁷⁰ Beilin, *Examinations*, 24; see also 33, 36. At 41, she is ‘thys praye’.

⁷¹ ‘Arden perceiued right well their mutuall familiaritie to be much greater than their honestie’, notes the *Chronicle*, ‘yet because he would not offend hir, and so loose the benefit which he hoped to gaine at some of hir freends hands in bearing with hir lewdnesse [...] he was contented to winke at hir filthie disorder, and both permitted, and also inuited Mosbie verie ofen lodge in his house’. *Chronicles* [1587], VI:1063.

is finally his undoing'.⁷² In the play, however, the nonchalance of the *Chronicles*' Arden is challenged in the opening scene.⁷³ The play's Arden is from the first thoroughly dismayed by his wife's actions, with Franklin encouraging him to 'cheer up thy spirits and droop no more' (i.1). It is perhaps worth noting that Franklin's consolations are capital: he speaks of 'deeds, / Sealed and subscribed' as the antidote to a 'melancholy mood' (i.6-8), implying that Arden's concerns are more usually commercial. Yet to Arden's credit, in this instance Franklin's comforts do little to mitigate his distemper. Later in the play, Arden's material concerns are clear—in his interaction with the sailor Dick Reede, for example, who claims Arden's avarice will starve his family (xiii)⁷⁴—but this pursuit never overrides his concern for Alice's chastity. The play places Arden, therefore, in a situation similar to that of Tamburlaine's meek son Calyphas: he is certainly sinning, but more so sinned against.⁷⁵ The imagery of martyrdom that threatened to haunt Alice by virtue of her punishment is thus rerouted to apply to her victim and to redeem, at least partially, his morally suspect character.

Alongside the modifications of character that see Arden not merely murdered, but martyred, the playwright condemns Alice by countering female martyr narratives. In simple ways, Alice is distinguished from her historical self in order to separate her from the idea of the 'Christen wyfe' expressed by Bale, and seen in the domestically active and motherly Anne Sanders; though the *Chronicle* tells of children in the Arden marriage (one daughter even helped to conceal the crime), the play only hints at children in Alice's obscure suggestion that Arden 'hoards up bags of gold / To make our children rich' (*AF*, i.220-1). *Arden's* Alice is reduced to adulteress in this curtailment of her marital successes. Like Brewen, who enters

⁷² Elizabeth Williamson, *The Materiality of Religion in Early Modern English Drama* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 30.

⁷³ Leanore Lieblein notes how the 'dramatist clearly intensifies the cupidity of Arden to suggest even more strongly than the source that his death is a consequence of his avarice': "The Context of Murder in English Domestic Plays, 1590-1610," *SEL* 23, no. 2 (1983): 185. While this intensification may be present in later scenes, the play's opening diminishes Arden's culpability.

⁷⁴ However, as Lena Cowen Orlin suggests, we have no reason for trusting Reede's claim. *Private Matters and Public Culture*, 97.

⁷⁵ For a discussion of Calyphas' death as martyrdom, see Chapter 4.

the home only to poison her husband, Alice's actions in the domestic space are wholly destructive. But as both Bale and Foxe strove to argue, domestic disobedience was insufficient to condemn a woman; the importance of women's use of liberty outweighed the shame of its pursuit. While the women of the *Acts and Monuments* could be celebrated for their newfound spiritual fidelity, Alice proceeds with spiritual abandon.

This religious unruliness is captured in a single dramatic moment in which the playwright references both the repentance of *A Warning's* Anne Sanders and the wider tradition of feminine piety: the celebrated scene in which Alice and Mosby reaffirm their love to one another, and she offers to tear out the pages of her prayer book. Tortured by the possibility that Alice, who has 'supplanted Arden for [his] sake / And will extirpen [him] to plant another' (viii.40-1), Mosby is confronted with the object of his love just as he chooses to 'cleanly rid [his] hands of her' (viii.43). When Alice then voices her own desire to let their 'springtime wither' (viii.66), the pair trade complimentary insults: Mosby sees his lover's 'worthless copper' (viii.101), while Alice recognizes then 'That Mosby loves me not but for my wealth' (viii.108)—an interesting conflation with the *Chronicles'* depiction of Arden.⁷⁶ With the couple's personalities laid bare the match appears to be off, and morality threatens to prevail.

However, in the middle of her tirade Alice suffers a sudden change of heart inspired by the wounds inflicted by Mosby's hatred:

If thou cry war there is no peace for me.
 I will do penance for offending thee
 And burn this prayerbook, where I here use
 The holy word that had converted me.
 See, Mosby, I will tear away the leaves,
 And all the leaves, and in this golden cover
 Shall thy sweet phrases and thy letters dwell,
 And thereon will I chiefly meditate

⁷⁶ Frank Whigham's reading of the play sees the opening scene, where Mosby arrives to speak with Arden about Greene's lands as identifying both Mosby and Arden as '(here directly competitive) land-speculators'—a competition which then informs the rest of his reading. *Seizures of the Will*, 75.

And hold no other sect but such devotion. (viii.114-122)⁷⁷

Alice's words are rich and impassioned, and her promised gestures are reminiscent of religious violence we have seen enacted by other characters on the early modern stage. Penance, for example, recalls the performance of Eleanor Cobham (see Chapter 2), and her initial offer to burn her prayer book may carry the threat of tyrannical violence to audiences familiar with *Tamburlaine* (see Chapter 4)—a threat with greater purchase following Mosby's concerns regarding her behaviour. But in the context of both the Foxean martyr narratives and the earlier *Warning for Fair Women*, Alice's treatment of her prayer book cements the inversion of martyr rhetoric that began with the figuring of Arden. Although Anne Sanders' prayer books have precedent in Golding's pamphlet, Alice's is deployed without a historical counterpart to distinguish her from these predecessors.

The dominant image of Alice's speech is one to which both she and Mosby have had recourse throughout the play: their love is their religion. As we saw above, Franklin's words to open the play established an economic conceit that runs through the action, which in the first instance draws together religion and ownership. However, as the play progresses, this image becomes triumvirate, with love added into the mix: the various relationships of the play express love as both economy and ownership. Alice, for example, suggests that:

Sweet Mosbie is the man that hath my heart:
And he usurps it, having naught but this,
That I am tied to him by marriage. (i.98-100)

Whether Arden or Mosby is the 'he' that 'usurps' her love in this ambiguous configuration, Alice perceives her love as physically manifest ('my heart'), thereby feeding into the men's economic negotiation of her affections. True to character, Arden conceives of his wife as property; to Mosby he accuses, 'They say you seek to rob me of her love' (i.303). Mosby speaks in similar terms, seeing his relationship with Alice as an investment: he speaks of

⁷⁷ The change is so sudden that White suspects an action on the part of Mosby—perhaps to depart—to bring about the desperation witnessed in these lines. See White, ed., 57, n. to ll. 109-10.

wanting to ‘repent the credit I have lost’ (viii.82), and of having ‘wrapped my credit in thy company’ (viii.92). Love then emerges as merely another currency for trade, which characters use deliberately. This is how Alice conceives of her relationship with Mosby (‘Have I for this given thee so many favours’ (i.187)), and she even desires to pay Black Will with a combination of physical intimacy and money:

had he yesternight been slain,
[...] I would have crammed in angels in thy fist,
And kissed thee, too, and hugged thee in my arms. (xiv.70-3)

Susan, too, is at the centre of an economic transaction of affections, with Mosby bartering his sister’s marriage for Clarke’s poisoned crucifix (i.606-7).

Just as the whole cast is implicated in the economies of love, so too the motif of love as a religion reaches across the play. It is Arden who first introduces the idea, announcing parenthetically that he holds Alice’s love ‘as dear as heaven’ (i.39). More directly, Alice argues soon after that:

Love is a God, and marriage is but words;
And therefore Mosbie’s title is the best.
Tush! whether it be or no, he shall be mine
In spite of him, of Hymen, and of rites. (i.101-4)

The confusing sense of ‘him’ (l. 104) continues from Alice’s identification of usurpation (ll. 98-100, above), bringing Mosby and Arden ever closer; like the two goldsmiths Brewen and Parker, Alice’s two suitors grow indistinguishable by their merits and misgivings, though one is favoured by the author. For Anne Brewen, the author condemns Parker as the wrong choice; for Alice Arden, the wrong choice is clearly Mosby. But Alice’s personal choice, governed by love, is the only meaningful distinction she sees between them.

By figuring her perception of difference between Arden and Mosby as individual conviction overseen by ‘a God’, Alice makes her deviance divine and aligns herself with Foxe’s martyrs over the traitors of cheap print. However, her dismissal of ‘words’ (and indeed her broad dismissal of marriage) is perhaps a hint that, as her newly conceived religion evolves, she will fall short of both the godly independence demonstrated by the

women of the *Acts and Monuments*, and the godly womanhood expected of Protestant wives.⁷⁸ Alice's new religion is Mosby; she is absorbed passionately in his service and defence, but his earthly, sexual role only condemns her choice.

In the prayer book scene, Alice's violent gesture underlines this condemnation. In offering to destroy her prayer book, she destroys any possible links to the likes of Askew, Dryver, and Prest's wife, and, perhaps most deliberately, *A Warning's* Anne Sanders. Her prayer book, Alice protests, contains 'The holy word that had converted me' (viii.115); she is, these words suggest, a follower of the reformed faith (or reforming, in the play's present). Despite her earlier condemnation of 'marriage' and 'words', this line imbues Alice's book with historically contingent meaning: this prayer book, like Sanders' *Godlie Meditations*, is an active agent in the reformation.

As Elizabeth Williamson has argued, from Richard III through to Ophelia, religious texts deployed by characters on the early modern stage are often 'pointed references to the performative nature of piety'.⁷⁹ For adulteresses on stage, this is certainly true, though the performance appears more sincere. Anne Sanders entreats that her children take their *Meditacyons* and:

learne by [their] mothers fall
To follow vertue, and beware of sinne,
Whose baites are sweete and pleasing to the eie,
But being tainted, more infect than poison. (*WFW*, ll. 2686-9)

⁷⁸ On the Protestant valorization of godly family and marriage in the context of reformation theological debates, see Kirsi Irmeli Stjerna, *Women and the Reformation* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2009), Chapter 3.

⁷⁹ Williamson, *Materiality of Religion*, 30, and Chapter 4. Williamson demonstrates that from Richard III's staged public appearance before arranging the murder of his nephews (*R3*, III.vii.47-8; III.vii.96-9) through to the 'orisons' that aim to protest the happenstance of Ophelia's intentional encounter with Hamlet (*H*, III.i.88), prayer books on stage mark the bearer's action with suspicion, while emphasizing the books' own relationship to contemporary piety.

Prayer books (household devotion manuals for private use) were at the centre of female piety, and many were authored by women. The Protestant tradition of such texts performed the same function as the books of hours and primers that were common among lay Catholics. For more on these texts see Helen White, *Tudor Books of Private Devotion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); Eamon Duffy, "Continuity and Divergence in Tudor Religion," in *Unity and Diversity in the Church: Papers Read at the 1994 Summer Meeting and the 1995 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. R. N. Swanson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 561.

Later, in Thomas Heywood's *Edward IV* (perf. 1599), it is Edward's captive mistress Jane Shore whose devotion is literalized in a prayer book. The gaoler Brackenbury gives Jane a prayer book moments after she performs the same taper-bearing penance done by Eleanor Cobham (2*E*4, xx.72),⁸⁰ and she is later seen praying in prison (xxi). In both cases, the prayer book acts as a symbol of repentance and devotion, and as a marker of female piety properly domesticated. However, while Sanders bequeaths her prayer books to her children to secure their future piety, Alice proposes to destroy hers with the kind of violent fury that Anne sought to levy at the bloody handkerchief.

In Williamson's own reading of the *Arden* scene, Alice is discussed alongside and contextualized by these other prayer book-bearing stage adulteresses. In a reading that parallels my own, she argues that Alice:

rejects both her earthly husband and her divine paramour. A flagrant adulteress, Alice Arden uses her prayer book not to display her sense of sorrow for the wrongs she has done her husband, as Anne Saunders and Jane Grey do, but to impress her lover with her lack of reverence for this emblem of domestic loyalty.⁸¹

Williamson reads Alice's destruction as a performative gesture, primarily aimed at the lover she seeks to impress. Undoubtedly, in the context of the narrative this is so, and indeed Alice's histrionics succeed—she and Mosby reignite their love, and reunite in their plan to murder Arden. However, equally important is the effect of this performance on the audience. For Mosby within the play, Alice's offer to tear her prayer book affirms her fidelity to him, thereby bolstering his trust. Yet for an audience the effect is quite the opposite; by the time that Alice is offering to replace her prayers with Mosby's letters, she has already subscribed to love as an economic transaction, and her pledge of faith and fidelity betrays her individualistic motivation. Whatever Alice might be as she offers to tear the pages of her

⁸⁰ Thomas Heywood, *The First and Second Parts of King Edward IV*, ed. Richard Rowland (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005).

⁸¹ For Williamson's full reading of the scene, see *Materiality of Religion*, 171–181. Quotation at 176.

prayer book, she is certainly not godly in her deviance. Instead, Alice's offered gesture proposes to literalize the governing metaphor of her adulterous relationship. Through the destruction of her prayer book, she will create the Testament of Mosby. Substituting this new religion for her unhappy marriage, Alice is an unacceptable iteration of the deviant woman—the universally condemnable shadow narrative of the women of the *Acts and Monuments*, who substituted earthly for divine fidelity.

Driven by lust and not piety, Alice's choice, like Anne Brewen's, proves to be a miscalculation, and a poor investment. 'Freedom and commitment,' writes Whigham, 'however oxymoronic, are both central to her venture', and Alice's new commitment has simply traded like for like.⁸² God embraces the evangelical martyrs at their deaths, but Mosby is keen to separate himself from Alice as they both face theirs (xviii). Alice's faith is not only objectively wrong—it is also misplaced. The prayer book episode, then, not only presents a counter-martyrological motif to combat the petty traitor's positive exemplar; it also supplements the play's presentation of Alice's case as one of historic justice served. At the end of *Arden*, Alice is a *godless* murderess justly burned.

* * *

Between the murder of Arden of Faversham in 1551 and the performance of *Arden of Faversham* in Elizabethan London, burning at the stake had been both an aggressive policy and a polemical issue. The punishment suffered by the historical Alice had been used to execute over three hundred heretics in the intervening period, the majority of whom were then being presented to the play's audience as martyrs in the pages of the *Acts and Monuments*. Among these martyrs were evangelical women whose defiance of their husbands led to, and indeed paved the way for, their spiritual enlightenment. By exploring the repercussions of these developments for the emerging petty treason genre, this chapter

⁸² Whigham, *Seizures of the Will*, 79–80.

has demonstrated that it was necessary, but not always easy, to separate burning women into two discrete categories: the domestically defiant petty traitor and the domestically defiant martyr.

In *Arden of Feversham*, this manifests in both the intensification of Alice's crimes and her marital failures, and in the diversion and suppression of martyrological tropes. In presenting Arden as the Lamb, the playwright utilizes common imagery to redirect martyr status to the murdered spouse. Then, in bringing Alice on stage to destroy her prayer book, he subverts the trope of an earlier play to mark a crucial difference between his heroine and the pitiable and repentant petty traitor. Alice's lust-driven destruction does not merely demonstrate her rejection of conventional domestic virtues, but presents a concerted effort to dismiss the possibility of a martyr narrative arising around the figure of the petty traitor. In this action she condemns herself: Alice's anti-heroism is built around her lacking piety. More importantly, Alice's characterization allows the audience to condemn her too. In the following chapter, similar processes of condemnation are traced in *I Henry VI*, where the historical heretic Jeanne d'Arc becomes the stage sorceress Joan la Pucelle before she is sent offstage to the fire.

6

‘That sorceress condemn’d to burn’: Joan la Pucelle in *1 Henry VI*

Like her historical counterpart Jeanne d’Arc, Joan la Pucelle is sentenced to burn at the stake at the close of Shakespeare’s *1 Henry VI*.¹ York opens the scene, calling the leader of the French onstage for her final appearance with damning words: ‘Bring forth that sorceress condemn’d to burn’ (*1H6*, V.iv.1). A proud Joan denounces her shepherd father and scorns her captors before the mounting inevitability of her punishment forces her to employ more desperate attempts for respite. As the scene progresses, a desolate Joan then pleads her belly, but she is afforded no pity. By the time she is escorted from the stage to face the stake, Joan la Pucelle’s crimes have been made clear and distinct from the historical heresy with which Jeanne was charged; the word heresy never even appears in the play.² Rather, Joan is accused

¹ The authorship debate is a central concern in the study of *1 Henry VI*; as discussed below, the treatment of Joan—another focal issue—has been advanced as too unsympathetic for the hand of Shakespeare. Paul Vincent’s systematic assessment of the play suggests that the authorship of *1 Henry VI* was shared, with Shakespeare almost certainly the author of scenes II.iv, IV.ii-v, and IV.vii.1-32. See *When “Harey” Met Shakespeare: The Genesis of “The First Part of Henry the Sixth”* (Saarbrücken: Verlag Dr. Müller, 2008). The sole-author argument has been advanced by Brian Vickers, among others. See especially, “Incomplete Shakespeare: Or, Denying Coauthorship in ‘1 Henry VI,’” *Shakespeare Quarterly* 58, no. 3 (2007): 311–52. As the identity of the author has no bearing on this discussion of the construction of the character Joan, I accept the play’s inclusion in the Folio at face value, and use “Shakespeare” throughout the chapter.

² When York captures Joan, he rebuffs her desires to be left to ‘curse awhile’ with ‘Curse, miscreant, when thou com’st to the stake’ (V.iii.43-4). As Edward Burns notes, ‘miscreant’ carries the sense of heretic or unbeliever alongside its simpler meaning, ‘wrongdoer’, *King Henry VI, Part 1*, ed. Edward Burns, The Arden Shakespeare (London: Arden, 2000), V.ii.65, n. at 262. The seeming careful avoidance of the term within the play has not prevented some critics from using it liberally in their analyses. Kristin Smith, for example, builds an argument on Joan’s martial nature founded on her ‘heresy of body and tongue’,

of witchcraft and sexual lasciviousness throughout the play, and in the final act the drama confirms these longstanding accusations in the action. Subsequently, when Joan is led away to execution, it is possible to read her punishment as the triumph of a validated English justice system.

As explored in Chapter 5, the burning of petty traitors, including Alice Arden, found graphically imagined representation in the later renderings of the events. Alongside the numerous pamphlet narrations of crimes and punishments, Fran Dolan shows seventeenth-century ballad writers revelling in first-person accounts of petty traitors, with one broadside imagining a woman taking ‘my latest breath’ and ‘being chayned to the Stake’.³ Though the reality of the experience of burning could barely be imagined, attempts were still made to convey it; narrative fidelity gave way to sensationalism.

Similarly, the theatrical non-presentation of Joan’s capture and punishment led to liberal adaptations in the twentieth century, for both stage and screen. While some adaptations have sought to remove the character of Joan altogether, others have placed great and spectacular emphasis on the scene of execution.⁴ For example, in the Royal Shakespeare Company’s 1988 production of *The Plantagenets*, an abridgement of the *Henry VI* plays performed at Stratford, Joan was burnt on stage. Audiences witnessed her screaming the names of her demons to a crucifix, before watching the closing scenes played in front of her

“Martial Maids and Murdering Mothers: Women, Witchcraft and Motherly Transgression in *Henry VI* and *Richard III*,” *Shakespeare* 3, no. 2 (August 2007): 147.

³ Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars*, especially Chapter 1; quotation from *The Unnatural Wife: Or, The Lamentable Murther, of one Goodman Davis... by his Wife* (1628), 49.

⁴ Press releases of cast lists for the forthcoming (2016) BBC adaptation in the *Hollow Crown* series suggest that the new adaptation will follow the former model, and write out Joan entirely. See “Principal Photography Begins on *The Hollow Crown: The Wars of the Roses*,” BBC, October 1, 2014, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/mediacentre/latestnews/2014/hollow-crown-roses>.

dead body.⁵ Similarly, in the BBC’s serialization of the English histories, *The Age of Kings* (1960), the ninth episode featured a spectacular burning scene.⁶

By staging the burning episodes that exist only in the margins of the dramatic text, directors stirred audience emotions (as did the graphic images of the *Acts and Monuments*), but in doing so they undermined the play’s own efforts to justify the punishment that it obscures. In a strictly textual *1 Henry VI*, much of Act V labours to attest forcibly Joan la Pucelle’s guilt, first by proving her witchcraft, and then by stoking contemporary concerns over the dangers of female sexuality. Though the maligning of history’s ‘Saint Joan’ is often distasteful for modern audiences, the text’s relentless criminalization is important in the early modern context, precisely because such empathy might arise. When Joan is finally taken offstage to burn, her punishment can be carried out without its spectacular performance intervening in its interpretation, and potentially undermining its legitimacy by presenting onstage the iconography of martyrdom. Moreover, she is escorted away not as a heretic but as a witch and a whore, and her execution is the performance of necessary justice; the French then fall apart, and Henry’s men resume the upper hand.

In the only analysis of *1 Henry VI* that discusses Joan’s punishment at length, Leah Marcus has argued that the execution is a manifestation of ‘ritual burning’. Marcus links the burning ordered within the play to the control of images of Queen Elizabeth in England, in accordance with the Protestant distaste for iconoclasm. Joan, who constitutes an amalgamation of the ‘false’ images of Elizabeth circulating in contemporary society (androgynous, martial, a user of magic) ‘is a sacrifice to tensions created by the queen’s anomalous and “idoltrous” self-presentation’.⁷ Marcus seeks to make sense of ‘the insistent

⁵ Edward Burns, “Introduction,” in *King Henry VI, Part 1*, ed. Edward Burns, The Arden Shakespeare (London: Arden, 2000), 33. See also Appendix 3, 320. In the same production, director Adrian Noble also staged the burning of Margery Jourdain, between the hanging of Bolingbroke and Hume, from *2 Henry VI*.

⁶ Burns, “Introduction”, Appendix 3, 321.

⁷ Leah S. Marcus, *Puzzling Shakespeare: Local Reading and Its Discontents* (Berkeley, CA; London: University of California Press, 1988), 88. For the full argument, see 83-105.

parallels between Elizabeth and Joan’ and the fact that the latter must burn—a clearly problematic end for the play’s supposed depiction of the Queen.⁸ In so doing, she seeks to interpret burning to fit an existing understanding of the character to which that punishment is assigned. Joan is read as a foil (or a collection of foils) for Elizabeth; the punishment, therefore, must say something of the play’s relation to the reigning monarch.

I argue, in contention, that if taken as a starting point rather than a consequence—indeed, its historic inevitability argues that it cannot solely be the latter—the necessary burning of Joan provides a framework for the interpretation of the character’s dramatic rendering. Looking at Joan through the contemporary attitudes to her punishment informed by the *Acts and Monuments* sheds new light on the internal conflicts of her character, and the process by which they may have emerged. In the first part of the chapter I explore the retribution of the executed Jeanne d’Arc as it finds its way into English sources, from which it moves into 1 *Henry VI*. There emerges in Holinshed’s 1587 *Chronicles* a contemporary pity for the historical Jeanne with which the dramatist must negotiate. In the second part, I offer an analysis of Act V, focusing on the ways in which Shakespeare’s play vindicates what might otherwise appear to be a dramatization of persecution in English history. The Protestant martyrological reappropriation of the stake had altered the penal semiotics of Elizabethan England; for the historical heretic Jeanne d’Arc, even more so than for Alice Arden, the burning of her Shakespearean character must be fully justified.

SAINT JOAN

At the age of 19, Jeanne d’Arc was burned as a relapsed heretic in Rouen, France. Her crimes, defined variously across almost five months of trials, were at the point of her condemnation reduced from seventy to just twelve articles, the majority of which were

⁸ Marcus, *Puzzling Shakespeare*, 89.

concerned with Jeanne’s visions. Though Jeanne’s childhood interactions with ‘the fairy tree’ were of keen interest to the tribunal, her attendant saints and their corporeality were the focus of the accusations (that she saw Saints Michael, Gabriel, Catherine and Margaret ‘with the eyes of [her] body’ deeply troubled the court), and her masculine dress was seen as an abomination, although she protested it was for the glory and pleasure of God.⁹ Despite signing a recantation on 24 May 1431, Jeanne’s return to masculine clothing was deemed a relapse into heretical practice. She was retried on 28 and 29 May, before being burned the following day in the Old Marketplace at Rouen.

Just twenty-one years later, at the request of Jeanne’s mother and the inquisitor-general of France Jean Bréhal, investigations into the justice of her punishment began. A formal appeal was registered in November 1455, and its final findings proclaimed Jeanne’s innocence on 7 July 1456. The Sentence of Nullification declared that her actions ‘were more worthy of admiration than condemnation’, and implicated those who conducted the trials as heretics.¹⁰ Like the martyrs of the *Acts and Monuments*, the crimes for which Jeanne was executed were religious, and her reputation was rescued posthumously.¹¹

In the five centuries since her death, the story of Jeanne has resonated at various cultural moments, and with different cultural groups. In the new Introduction to her classic text on the historical figure, Marina Warner speaks of an Anglicized Joan in terms of ‘the brand’: ‘[s]he’s the heroine every movement has wanted as its figurehead’, from the

⁹ The statement that served to condemn Jeanne—‘I saw them with eyes of my body as well as I see you’—is quoted in Régine Pernoud and Marie-Véronique Clin, *Joan of Arc: Her Story* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999), 113.

¹⁰ The Sentence of Nullification (7 July 1456) is given in its entirety in Craig Taylor, *Joan of Arc: La Pucelle* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 348–349, with the quotation above at 348. For full details of the retrial process and its outcomes, see Régine Pernoud, *The Retrial of Joan of Arc*, trans. J. M. Cohen (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1955).

¹¹ Unlike the protestant martyrs, Joan’s reputation was recognized within the Catholic faith. However, her eventual beatification and canonization were on the grounds of heroic virtue and miracles, rather than martyrdom: she could not be recognized for her death, as it was one ordered by the Catholic Church itself.

suffragettes, to socialists, liberal Catholics, and gay rights activists.¹² The brand, that is, of the mistreated. In this modern context, Warner shows that the ‘image of Joan of Arc continues to act as a barometer of [...] social changes’.¹³ Joan is a collection of myths which overpower her objective reality: she is an empty vessel. Arguably, she always has been.¹⁴ It is unsurprising, therefore, that we should find in Shakespeare’s *Joan la Pucelle* the perfect figure for interpreting contemporary attitudes to the punishment of burning at the stake, particularly in the context of the other *Henry VI* plays, where, as discussed in Chapter 2, concerns over the misuse of penal violence more generally are readily palpable.

Critics of the play have regularly been repulsed by the treatment of Joan, even using it as grounds for dismissing Shakespeare as a contender for authorship.¹⁵ Others have cited the fragmented and flighty characterization of Joan as the mark of a juvenile playwright at the start of his career.¹⁶ Even in the more tempered recent editions of the play, editors have struggled to reconcile the different facets of her character. Michael Taylor puts a distinctly twenty-first-century spin on the issue, talking of the ‘schizophrenic representation of Joan’ and arguing that ‘[n]o other character in Shakespeare comes to us so unapologetically discrepant’.¹⁷

¹² Marina Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism*, New Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), xvi–xvii.

¹³ Warner, *Joan of Arc*, xxi.

¹⁴ Such is the emphasis of Helen Castor’s biography, which locates Joan’s story specifically in the aftermath of the French catastrophe at Agincourt, and the French need for a miracle. *Joan of Arc: A History* (London: Faber and Faber, 2014).

¹⁵ Edmond Malone used ‘the revolting treatment of Joan’ as grounds for a theory involving the authorial hands of Greene, Marlowe, and Nashe (cited in Andrew Cairncross, ed., *The First Part of King Henry VI* (London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1962), xxviii.). Frank Marshall speaks of Joan’s ‘cruel end’, and believes that the play adapted the work of another, ‘written perhaps by more than one author’; ‘[w]ith regard to Joan of Arc’, he writes, ‘her character is drawn with a very vague and uncertain touch’ (*The Henry Irving Shakespeare*, ed. Henry Irving, Digital Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), II:184; I:259, 262.). W.G. Boswell-Stone accuses ‘the dramatist’ of pitting ‘shameful charges against Jeanne Darc’: *Shakespeare’s Holinshed: The Chronicle and the Historical Plays Compared* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1907), xiii.

¹⁶ Harold Bloom sees Joan as an early Falstaffian character, with her ‘rancid charm’ a saving grace in an otherwise unwatchable play. *Shakespeare: The Invention of the Human* (New York: Riverhead, 1998), 45.

¹⁷ Michael Taylor, “Introduction,” in *Henry VI, Part One*, *The Oxford Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 40, 44.

Interrogation of the historical sources of the play suggests that these two reactions—contempt for the treatment of Joan and confusion regarding her polyvalent character—can be read as symptoms of the same issue. Throughout *1 Henry VI*, the dramatic version of Joan interacts sporadically and unreliably with the characterizations found in contemporary historical sources, with Shakespeare using dramatic license to create a dynamic plot. However, the denouement is unavoidable: as with Alice Arden, historical reality demands that Joan must burn at the stake.¹⁸

In a world where restituted religious criminals were respected (by some) as martyrs, the antagonism in Joan’s character can be read as a result of her necessary historical punishment. Through the *Acts and Monuments*, Foxe reclaimed the lives of the Marian martyrs for the Elizabethan establishment, building the Protestant Church on the ashes left behind by Elizabeth’s predecessor. In the process, he made burning both a brutal penal act to employ, and a redemptive fate to suffer. Foxe’s martyrs are criminals made victims. I argue that Shakespeare’s Joan, even to an audience in early modern London, runs the risk of the same interpretation. Joan’s author, like Alice Arden’s, is charged with the necessity of ensuring his character’s guilt for audiences to view this most heinous of punishments as fully deserved.

Like the sorcerers in *2 Henry VI*, Shakespeare’s Joan is sentenced onstage. More importantly, she too is sentenced by an English justice system, which, historical accuracy aside, presents an issue for censors in the later years of Elizabeth’s reign as pressing as those of Foule of Rye and Joan Cason, accounts of whose trials and executions had been excised

¹⁸ The playwright characteristically bends historical truth elsewhere in the play: the historical Jeanne had been executed many years prior to the death of Talbot (1453), as shown by the timeline in Burns, “Introduction,” 24–25. That Joan’s death is used as the culmination of the play suggests its importance as a resolution—something toward which the other events of the play must inevitably lead.

from the second edition of the *Chronicles* (see Chapter 2).¹⁹ The *Chronicles*’ record of Jeanne d’Arc was expanded in its 1587 edition, and the text was not subjected to the autocratic cuts discussed above. Where the first edition had chosen to incorporate a character description from Hall, though without the more vitriolic passages,²⁰ the new edition employed the hand of William Patten to address Jeanne’s character and her role in the wars against Henry VI. Patten uses a range of continental material, ‘gathering’, as Scott Lucas argues, ‘as many calumnies against this French heroine as he can find, in a manner that would have earned Hall’s strong approbation’.²¹ Patten’s fierce patriotism is a great force in his writing, and his account of Jeanne depicts a monster. Yet, where Lucas sees an unequivocal character assassination, there is also a narrative that begs caution in handling, through its unwitting demonstration of the miscarriage of justice: Patten includes details of Jeanne’s retribution.

Since the comparative work of W. G. Boswell-Stone in the early twentieth century, it has been known that the dramatist of *1 Henry VI* took his historical material concerning Joan from this second edition of the *Chronicle*; many of the passages relating to Jeanne d’Arc which feed into her character in the play are absent from the first edition (1577).²² Throughout the telling of Joan’s role in the French army during the battles of the Hundred Years’ War, the *Chronicle* is emphatic about her ‘pernicious practices of sorcerie and witcherie’.²³ These crimes are, of course, important to the drama, and will be discussed below. However, when relating the dramatist’s use of the *Chronicle* Boswell-Stone cuts off his comparison with the Dauphin:

whose dignitie abroad [was] foulie spotted in this point, that, contrarie to the holie degree of a right christen prince (as he called himselfe), for maintenance of his quarels

¹⁹ Though Jeanne d’Arc was captured by the French Anglo-Burgundians and then sold on to the English, *1 Henry VI* shows her capture by York, and her character degradation takes place in front of a host of English officials.

²⁰ Scott Lucas, “Holinshed and Hall,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed’s Chronicles* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 213.

²¹ Lucas, “Holinshed and Hall,” 214. Lucas cites Holinshed *Chronicles* [1587], III:603-5.

²² Boswell-Stone, *Shakespeare’s Holinshed*, ix-x.

²³ Holinshed, *Chronicles* [1587], III:604.

in ware would not reuerence to prophane his sacred estate, as dealing in diuelish practises with misbeleeuers and witches.²⁴

Ending there, Boswell-Stone establishes only a link between the *Chronicle* and the play’s corresponding negative portrayal of Jeanne d’Arc.

The expanded text, however, continues to add details of Jeanne’s retrial. Though lengthy, Patten’s continuation is worth quoting in full:

Which maladie he full sorilie salued (like one that to kill the strong sent of onions would chew a cloue of garlike) so a six and twentie yeares after, he pact with pope Calixt the third, by whose mandat directed to his three delegats, the bishops of Paris, Reimes, and Constance, at the cathedrall church of Paris, in presence of Ione (the pusels mother) Iohn and Peter hir brethren, the seuen and twentieth daie of Nouember 1455, the validitie and goodnesse of the processe and sentence vpon hir was called in question, and in great solemnitie sit vpon.

Wherein the cause was so sincerelie canuassed among them, that afterward, on the eight of Iulie 1456, a quite contrarie sentence was there declared: of effect, that this Ione (forsooth) was a damsell diuine, no fault in the Dolphin for his counsell and witcherie practises with hir; the processe, iudgement, and condemnation against hir all wrong and iniurious. And for iustification and remembrance aswell of hir innocencie in life and death, as also of the sinceritie of their later sentence, a new crosse in that old market to be reared. In this tale of Tillets is she further likened to Debora, Iahell, and Iudith, and vnto Romane Clelia compared by Polydor, that shames not somewhat also to carpe at hir iudgment, and much pitieth hir paine. But what puritie or regard of deuotion or conscience is in these writers trow yée, who make no consideration of hir heinous enormities, or else any difference betwéene one stirred vp by mercie diuine, or naturall loue, and a damnable sorcerer suborned by satan? And thus much of this gentle Ione, and of hir good oratours that haue said so well for hir: now iudge as ye list.²⁵

Set as it is amid Francophobic onion and garlic jokes, it is obvious from the chronicler’s tone that, despite his invitation to ‘iudge as ye list’, he remains unconvinced by the outcome of the nullification trial. This ‘gentle Ione’ is, to him, no ‘damsell diuine’, but still a ‘damnable sorcerer suborned by satan’. Yet Patten’s new amalgamation of source material, though he collects it to refute it, presents to his audience a positive perspective of the events which then feeds into subsequent uses.²⁶ The passage foregrounds that Jeanne was for some, including

²⁴ Holinshed, *Chronicles* [1587], III:605.

²⁵ Holinshed, *Chronicles* [1587], III:605.

²⁶ The practice of extensive quotation for the purposes of refutation as an unwitting purveyor of unorthodox views is more fully documented in the context of the Reformation. Thomas More provides a notorious example, in his written tirade against Martin Luther; see James Simpson, *Burning to Read*:

the respected Henrician historian Polydore Vergil, an innocent girl persecuted by those in the pursuit of political power.²⁷ Indeed, despite Patten’s cynicism, the retributive section of the narrative is evident in the text of *1 Henry VI*.

The ‘tale of Tillets’ to which Patten refers (a reference to the work of Jean du Tillet, a French chronicler writing in the sixteenth century) provides the comparison with the biblical Deborah, to whom Charles likens Joan in the play: ‘Thou art an Amazon’ he declares, as she shows her prowess in fighting him, ‘And fightest with the sword of Deborah’ (*1H6*, I.ii.104-105). As with many facets of Joan’s character, there are resonances here with the exceptional womanhood of Elizabeth I, whose subjects saw an English Deborah in their leader, both at her coronation pageant and, more importantly for readings of *1 Henry VI*, at Tilbury before the vanquishing of the Spanish Armada.²⁸ Here, it is simply the image’s religious provenance that I wish to note. Joan is a leader sent by God to deliver the French from their woes.

Throughout the play Charles and his men invest in their female leader’s perceived saintliness. Early in the action, at the rescue of Orleans, the Dauphin speaks of her future veneration in religious terms, his praise a dark foreshadowing of her coming fate:

In memory of her, when she is dead,
Her ashes, in an urn more precious
Than the rich-jewell’d coffer of Darius,

English Fundamentalism and Its Reformation Opponents (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 2007).

²⁷ Vergil spoke of Joan’s sentence as ‘the hardest that ever had been remembred’, *Three Books of Polydore Vergil’s English History, Comprising the Reigns of Henry VI, Edward VI, and Richard III from an Early Translation, Preserved among the Mss. of the Old Royal Library in the British Museum*, ed. Sir Henry Ellis (London: Camden Society, 1844), 38.

²⁸ Elizabeth’s preachers would frequently compare her to biblical women. Deborah—the deliverer—was often used as a foil for Elizabeth’s warlike leadership, and her peacetime governance. See Margaret Christian, “Elizabeth’s Preachers and the Government of Women: Defining and Correcting a Queen,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 24, no. 3 (1993): 573. However, the image could be critical, as well as eulogistic. As Peter McCullough has demonstrated, the figure of Deborah could also be invoked to castigate Elizabeth. In a sermon of 1587, Richard Fletcher reminded the queen of the role of Barak, Deborah’s general, in the Israelite’s victory against the Syrians—a warning that Elizabeth must remain united with her council. See McCullough’s “Out of Egypt: Richard Fletcher’s Sermon before Elizabeth I after the Execution of Mary, Queen of Scots,” in *Dissing Elizabeth: Negative Representations of Gloriana*, ed. Judith Walker (London: Duke University Press, 1988), 136–7. On these various associations as they relate to the play, see Gabriele Bernhard Jackson, “Topical Ideology: Witches, Amazons, and Shakespeare’s Joan of Arc,” *English Literary Renaissance* 18, no. 1 (1988): 40–65.

‘THAT SORCERESS CONDEMN’D TO BURN’

Transported shall be at high festivals
Before the kings and queens of France.
No longer on Saint Denis will we cry,
But Joan de Pucelle shall be France’s saint. (I.vi.23-29)

Later, as the forces approach Rouen, Alençon suggests the level of gratitude Joan may expect from the French if she is successful:

We’ll set thy statue in some holy place,
And have thee reverenc’d like a blessed saint.
Employ thee then, sweet virgin, for our good. (III.iii.14-16)

In both instances, veneration is conditional upon Joan’s performance; but, as the *Chronicle* tells us, Joan’s memory has triumphed among the French, despite their losses. Alençon’s promised statue, recalling as it does the ‘new crosse in that old market’ that we find standing for Joan in the *Chronicle*, reads as a prophetic acknowledgement of the reversal of sentence.²⁹

However, as Helen Castor reminds readers in her biography of Jeanne, after Agincourt the abbey of Saint Denis, located just north of Paris, had fallen into the hands of the English-allied Burgundians. France’s patron saint was no longer readily available to the prayers and supplications of Charles and his men; as French losses accumulated, Denis appeared to have abandoned them.³⁰ The historical French investment in Joan that Charles then expresses in the play therefore intimates his desperation. To put faith in Joan is to have no other alternative—no living Talbot or dead saint to turn to. The cracks in Joan’s value appear even in the reasons for her celebration.

In a reading allied to this celebratory French opinion, Naomi Liebler and Lisa Scancell see this religiosity as Joan’s defining characteristic, arguing that her place ‘as a desirable maid has immense power as something irresistible and divine’.³¹ This reading, close

²⁹ The marketplace cross was a particular stipulation of the Sentence of Nullification. Taylor, *Joan of Arc: La Pucelle*, 349.

³⁰ Castor, *Joan of Arc: A History*, 41–43.

³¹ Naomi Conn Liebler and Lisa Scancell Shea, “Shakespeare’s Queen Margaret: Unruly or Unruled?,” in *Henry VI: Critical Essays* (New York; London: Routledge, 2001), 80–81.

as it is to Charles’s desperate mindset, dismisses Joan’s negative characteristics as the projection of men’s terror. Reading the play from the English camp, Nancy Gutierrez writes that for ‘the English of Shakespeare’s day, Joan was no Catholic saint, no Shavian symbol of individualism, but instead an unnatural woman, definitely a witch, probably a whore’.³² This English view is more dominant in the *Chronicles*, and plays out in the action of *1 Henry VI*. However, the *Chronicles*’ discussion of views in contemporary France and their corresponding expression in the drama show that Joan certainly had the potential to be perceived as the saint that both the chronicler and playwright strive to suppress.

Rather than accept the fragmentation of Joan’s character solely as the result of conflicting national identities, here I look rather to pressures on the playwright and the ways in which they manifest in the tensions of this character. To legitimize her ultimate burning, Joan’s divinity—both historical and dramatic—must be thoroughly dismantled. In the following section, I explore the playwright’s efforts towards this deconstruction.

As for Alice Arden, the criminalization centres on Joan’s femininity. For a large portion of the play, audiences and readers juggle the divergent, overtly sexualized opinions of Joan as presented by the men of warring nations. To the French, she may be the ‘Divinest creature’, but she is still always a woman: ‘Astraea’s daughter’ (I.vi.4).³³ Though burning at the stake was rare in Shakespeare’s England, as we have seen, it was women who were more

³² Nancy A. Gutierrez, “Gender and Value in ‘*1 Henry VI*’: The Role of Joan de Pucelle,” *Theatre Journal* 42, no. 2 (May 1990): 189.

³³ Elizabethan poets, dramatists, and polemicists alike used the figure of Astraea—variously associated with innocence, purity, and justice—as an image of their Queen. For a roughly contemporaneous example, see George Peele, *Descensus Astrææ* (London, 1591). Peele’s pageant, performed at the oath-taking of London’s new Lord Mayor, presented Elizabeth as a crook-bearing, merciful leader. For critical discussions of the myths, see, for example, Yates, “Queen Elizabeth as Astraea”; Frances A. Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul); the collection of essays in Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman, eds., *The Myth of Elizabeth* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2003); Sharon R. Yang, *Goddesses, Mages, and Wise Women: The Female Pastoral Guide in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century English Drama* (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press, 2011), 103–4.

commonly sent to the stake, and their stories disseminated in cheap print.³⁴ Harnessing the legitimacy of such punishments, it is through her inescapable femininity (and *not* her religion) that Joan’s criminality is established, and her inevitable burning made palatable.

CRIMINAL JOAN

Even as the French are heard celebrating the holiness of their new leader, to the English (and even in some French asides) Joan is everything despicable. Though an English messenger announces her to Talbot as a ‘holy prophetess new risen up’ (I.iv.102), her religiosity is ill received. In the following scene, as Talbot first meets Joan in battle, he calls her a ‘witch’ (I.v.6) and a ‘high-minded strumpet’ (I.v.12), introducing in the first act the two lines along which she will be criminalized as the play progresses: for the gendered crimes of witchcraft and whoredom.

As the battles continue, and Joan repeatedly bests the English, the labels are compounded and reinforced. Talbot calls her ‘that witch, that damned sorceress’ (III.ii.37), and ‘that railing Hecate’ (III.ii.64); Burgundy sees King Charles’s ‘trull’ (II.ii.28),³⁵ and a ‘shameless courtesan’ (III.ii.45); Richard of York slights ‘the ugly witch’ (V.iii.34) who is both a ‘[f]ell banning hag’ (V.iii.42) and a ‘foul accursed minister of hell’ (V.iv.93). All negative, these descriptions are for the most part fundamentally gendered, and work to dismantle the martial identity that Joan has propagated.

The verbal assaults of the English (and even, as we have seen, the celebrations of the French) obscure the masculine self-image that Joan presents through cross-dressing.³⁶ Joan is definitively other: she is a dangerous woman. For Talbot in particular, Joan is simply a

³⁴ As discussed in the Introduction, the evidence suggests that no more than ten women burned for treasons in Elizabeth’s reign, with six men burned for heresy.

³⁵ A ‘trull’, clarifies Burns, is a ‘low class prostitute’, 170.

³⁶ Joan’s cross-dressing is rarely referenced by the play directly, but her battle costuming is enough to signify the historical androgyny that authors like Hall used to demonize her, questioning the absence of her ‘womanly’ behaviour. *Hall’s Chronicle*, 159.

concoction of unnatural femininity and as such, she represents the epitome of Frenchness. As David Steinsaltz observes, ‘[f]or the Elizabethan imagination, the French were by nature fickle, over-refined, deceptive, effete, and (to which all these qualities sum up) womanish’.³⁷ Mercutio’s mockery of both Romeo and Tybalt’s excessive femininity is couched in terms of ‘Frenchness’ (see *RJ*, II.iv in particular), for example, and later in Shakespeare’s career, witchcraft is in the lips of the French Princess Catherine, soon to be wife of Henry V (*H5*, V.ii.275-6). Similarly for Joan, despite her attempt to disseminate a masculine image of princely power and control, the much simpler deconstructive counter-argument of gendered and nationalistic verbal assault is a constant and oppressive presence.

In the midst of this constant barrage of slander, Joan’s religious nature is not explicit in the counter-identity that the English present. *1 Henry VI* emphatically does not punish Joan for religious deviance. Despite the vague Catholicisms which form a central aspect of both her own character and the Frenchmen’s devotion, Joan is never accused outright of false religion.³⁸ Neither ‘heresy’ nor ‘heretic’ is spoken in the play, though they are used regularly in other works of the Shakespearean canon.³⁹ ‘Heresy’, therefore, is a notable absence from *1 Henry VI*, especially given its historical material.

Much like the Catholic interrogators’ verbal attacks against female evangelicals reported in the *Acts and Monuments*, the English reaction to Joan counters holiness with

³⁷ David Steinsaltz, “The Politics of French Language in Shakespeare’s History Plays,” *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 42, no. 2 (2002): 324.

³⁸ In contrast, Richard Hardin’s reading of Joan sees her as an echo of Mary Stuart, in which these Catholicisms play a key role. See “Chronicles and Mythmaking in Shakespeare’s Joan of Arc,” in *Shakespeare Survey*, ed. Stanley Wells, vol. 42 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 25–36.

³⁹ As I will discuss in the Conclusion, ‘heresy’ is used throughout Shakespeare’s career to express adulterous love and inconstancy in various plays. Moreover, the themes of religious violence are tackled elsewhere in Shakespeare not long after the performance of *1 Henry VI*, though divorced from an English setting. *Titus Andronicus* (1594), for example, is driven by religious difference. The relentless violence of the play is spurred by Titus’s religious violence; when he sacrifices Tamora’s sons—by burning, no less—she accuses him of ‘cruel irreligious piety’ (*TA*, I.i.130), a reference that has been taken to situate the play within the same context of contemporary religious violence with which this thesis is concerned. As John Klause notes, it is in this play that the word ‘martyr’ appears more than any other by Shakespeare: “Politics, Heresy, and Martyrdom in Shakespeare’s Sonnet 124 and ‘*Titus Andronicus*,’” in *Shakespeare’s Sonnets: Critical Essays* (New York; London: Garland, 1999), esp. 224–6.

sexual slander. Frustrated with their inability to contain and surmount their female foe, the Englishmen resort to sexualized (and not religious) slurs. In the *Acts and Monuments*, Foxe reports how Edmund Tyrrell, for example, frustrated by the steadfastness of Rose Allin in the face of his cruelty and threats, ‘thruste her from him violently and sayde: ha stronge whore, thou shameles beast, thou beastly whore &c. with such lyke vile wordes’ (*A&M* [1563], 1687).⁴⁰ Tyrrell’s ‘vile wordes’ pay no heed to Allin’s evangelical convictions. Instead, he focuses on her gender, and the monstrous qualities of its misperformance.

Perhaps even more pertinent to Joan’s character is the case of the evangelical Elizabeth Young. Young was a book smuggler, moving Protestant books from Emden into London, and was interrogated thirteen times in 1558—saved from the stake only by Mary’s death that same year. At the same time as conducting a wager as to whether Young was in fact a transvestite (Roger Cholmley, one of her interrogators, wagered ‘xx. pound it is a man in a womans clothes’ (*A&M* [1570], 2310)), her interrogators adopted the same language of derision. In the space of a single folio page Young is, to her questioner Doctor Martin, a ‘rebell whore and traytourly hereticke’, a ‘traytourly whore and hereticke’, a simple ‘rebell whore’, and a ‘rebell and traytourly whore’; she will, he warns, ‘be an example to all such traytourly whores and heretickes’ (*A&M* [1570], 2309). Even Cholmley, convinced she is a man, falls back on the same gendered insults, calling her ‘an euill fauored whore’ (*A&M* [1570], 2310). Perceived masculinity is no safeguard against feminized sexual denigrations—a truth that Shakespeare’s Joan brings onto the stage.

As Chapter 5 explored, Foxe himself played liberally with women’s sexual virtue in his depictions of female martyrs and martyr companions, inviting the accusations of whoredom levelled by Catholic detractors. However, when used without cause by unprovoked Catholics, within the carefully moulded stories of the *Acts and Monuments*,

⁴⁰ The case of Rose Allin is discussed further in Chapter 1.

these insults betray a fear of the power of true faith. The likes of Tyrrell, Martin, and Chomley appear ridiculous in their railing. Used by the English against Joan, any such insults risk presenting the same issue at the point of her death—insults, that is, which remain unfounded or legitimately opposed. Instead of inviting such criticism, *1 Henry VI* leverages Joan’s femininity for her vilification by proving the truth of five acts of slander.

In what follows, Joan’s criminality as it is ‘proved’ in the final act is explored first through the lens of contemporary witchcraft theories, and then through an extension of the rhetoric of petty treason and adultery already examined in Chapter 5. The Englishmen’s accusations of both witchcraft and sexual lasciviousness are validated in the action of *1 Henry VI* as unequivocal confirmation of Joan’s contemporary criminality. Her burning, by these means, is more readily justified.

In the final battle of the play, Joan, alone on stage, is witnessed conjuring spirits to aid her in her military action. Though, as Burns argues, this scene ‘can seem disappointing to a modern audience in its apparent reductiveness, by suggesting that Talbot was right all along’, it is in fact critical in constructing Joan’s guilt.⁴¹ Moreover, it significantly affects the way in which her final scene (where she is sentenced) is interpreted. The witchcraft scene performs her guilt in anticipation of, and in order to legitimize, the forthcoming sentence of burning.

Leah Marcus has argued that ‘[s]o long as Joan succeeds she and others on her side attribute her incredible victories to divine intervention. But in failure, she is associated instead with heretical traffic with demons’.⁴² Yet Joan does not fail at her enterprise and therefore become a heretic: as discussed, she is never actually named as one. Rather, the play’s final act attempts to suggest that Joan’s demonical trafficking has been occurring throughout. Shakespeare seeks to affirm the slanderous claims of the English, and offer

⁴¹ Burns, “Introduction,” 33.

⁴² Marcus, *Puzzling Shakespeare*, 81.

indisputable proof of Joan’s witchcraft. Here, I use ‘witchcraft’ deliberately, rather than its more medieval synonym ‘sorcery’; as will be demonstrated, the crime of which Joan is rendered undeniably guilty in the play is specifically English and, in contemporary culture, punishable by common law.⁴³ Though both terms are used in the play, and it is as a ‘sorceress’ that Joan is ‘condemn’d to burn’, the crime Joan performs on stage draws on English witchcraft literature of the late-sixteenth century more than continental or medieval accounts.

The witchcraft performed in V.iii is of a form that an audience in Elizabethan London would both recognize, and see it as their place to condemn. Until 1542, English witchcraft cases had been dealt with almost exclusively by the ecclesiastical courts; unless used to commit murder, sorcery fell solely within the jurisdiction of the Church. Had the historical Jeanne d’Arc been merely a sorceress, she may not have perished; ecclesiastical law often sought to chastise and correct within, and for the benefit of, the local community.⁴⁴ However, the Henrician witchcraft statute introduced witchcraft to the common law jurisdiction, carrying the statutory punishment of hanging. It entered a system involving evidence, jurors, and the art of persuasion.

That Shakespeare’s Joan exists in the sixteenth century, rather than the fifteenth, is made clear earlier in the play, when Talbot threatens to ‘draw’ her blood (I.v.6)—a remark that betrays his Elizabethan prejudice. One of the questions proffered in George Gifford’s roughly contemporary *Dialogue Concerning Witches and Witchcraftes* (1593) attests the contemporary prevalence of the idea that drawing blood from a witch would act as strong counter-magic for the bewitched: ‘What say you to the boy which healed within few daies as

⁴³ I here avoid the term ‘secular’, despite the English common law’s distinction from the Church, because even the crime Joan is accused of is steeped in religious misdoing and sin. On the problems of interpreting the period through ideas of ‘secularization’, or a perceived demise of religion, see Cummings, *Mortal Thoughts*, Introduction.

⁴⁴ For the kinds of performative justice that the church would order, see the discussion of Eleanor Cobham’s penance in Chapter 2.

he had scratched the witch, whereas his sores were most grievous before, and could not be cured?’ asks the *Dialogue*’s believer.⁴⁵ Not only is Talbot’s reaction to Joan’s power grounded in sixteenth-century witch lore, but scratching was also a distinctly English practice.⁴⁶

Located in the audience’s local present, Joan’s suspected witchcraft therefore exists in a world of competing solutions. Scratching, as with other elements of witchcraft management, was often condemned in learned discussions.⁴⁷ Views on witchcraft were far from homogenous, and scepticism impacted the way that the law, as well as the affected individual, would deal with the suspect. Unfolding amid Elizabethan witch culture, Joan’s criminalization is subject to rigorous laws of proof.

Despite changing statutory definitions of witchcraft across the sixteenth century, none of the statutes provided examples of the methods of evidence by which it could be proved. In the later-seventeenth century, judge Matthew Hale grouped witchcraft with rape as ‘crimes that give the gravest difficulty’. He noted that in ‘times persons are really guilty, yet such an evidence, as is satisfactory to prove it, can hardly be found; and on the other side persons really innocent may be entangled under such presumptions, that carry great probabilities of guilt’.⁴⁸ The scepticism of jurors was ever present, and their decisions had profound moral implications, as Gifford’s *Dialogue* illustrates:

SAMUEL: If she were innocent what could we do lesse? we went according to the euidence of such as were sworne, they swore that they in their conscience tooke her to bee a witch, and that she did those thinges.

⁴⁵ George Gifford, *A Dialogue Concerning Witches and Witchcraftes* (London, 1593), sig. B1r.

⁴⁶ Orna Alyagon Darr, *Marks of an Absolute Witch: Evidentiary Dilemmas in Early Modern England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), Chapter 8, “Scratching”; Willem de Blécourt and Owen Davies, “Introduction: Witchcraft Continued,” in *Witchcraft Continued: Popular Magic in Modern Europe*, ed. Willem de Blécourt and Owen Davies (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 9–10; Diane Purkiss, *The Witch in History: Early Modern and Twentieth Century Representations* (London; New York: Routledge, 1996), 128–30.

⁴⁷ Marion Gibson, *Reading Witchcraft: Stories of Early English Witches* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 175; James Sharpe, “The Debate on Witchcraft,” in *A Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*, ed. Michael Hattaway, Second Edition (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), 657.

⁴⁸ Cited by Gilbert Geis and Ivan Bunn, *A Trial of Witches: A Seventeenth-Century Witchcraft Prosecution* (London: Routledge, 1997), 121.

DANIEL: If other take their oath in their conscience they thinke so, is that sufficient to warrant men vpon mine oath to say it is so?⁴⁹

Daniel has doubts over all verbal evidence. That the innocent may perish was a real concern, which is reflected in the need for and inclusion of indisputable proof in *1 Henry VI*. As discussed in Chapter 2, the punishment of religious crimes—or crimes of ‘conscience’—was contentious in the later years of Elizabeth’s reign: Catholics and Protestants alike questioned the place of the law in such matters. Similarly, the death of innocents at the hands of an overconfident legal system prompted caution in the consideration of witchcraft cases. In *1 Henry VI*, as the plot hurtles toward its necessary historical conclusion for Joan, the play, and its audience, demands evidence. Joan will not simply hang, as is the fate of the witches considered in the *Dialogue*; as her father the Shepherd laments, drawing attention to this discrepancy in punishment, ‘hanging is too good’ (V.vi.33; see Introduction). The necessity for proof is therefore greater because Joan, like the Tudor evangelicals, is condemned to burn. Her punishment is not simply worse than hanging—it is also deeply embroiled in contemporary understandings of injustice and persecution.

The proof that the play provides for the audience is visual and indisputable, and the weight of evidence brought against Joan is emphasized through the length and intensity of her conjuration. Joan speaks for almost thirty lines, with dramatic interruptions prolonging the action. Like Alice Arden’s oft-attempted crime, Joan’s conjuring is not a single cry in a moment of desperation, but rather a deliberate and extended attempt to engage with spirits.

When the Frenchmen have deserted the field, the incantation begins:

Now help, ye charming spells and periapts,
And ye choice spirits that admonish me
And give me signs of future accidents. (V.iii.2-4)

Introducing her spirits thus, Joan immediately betrays herself. Following her summary of the recent developments in the military successes of the French, Joan’s ‘Now’ suggests a

⁴⁹ Gifford, *Dialogue*, sig. L3v.

desperate plea in a time of unforeseeable need.⁵⁰ And yet, in the words that follow, Joan addresses the spirits as her former companions. Her revelation that the spirits ‘admonish’ her and give ‘signs of future accidents’ suggests previous involvement. Though this is the audience’s first glimpse of Joan’s witchcraft, it is introduced as merely the latest interaction of many. Moreover, it firmly establishes contemporary wrongdoing. In seeking portents of the future from her spirits, Joan contravenes recently passed Elizabethan law as well as medieval. In 1563 Parliament had passed legislation to forbid prophesying and conjuring in the ‘Act against fonde and phantasticall Propheyses’ and the ‘Act against Conjuracons Inchantmentes and Witchcraftes’.⁵¹

While the criminality of telling the future (or even attempting to do so) would remain explicit, it would be still possible to see the ‘spirits’ that Joan calls forth as angels—as the historical Jeanne and her supporters argued in her trials. Joan’s words, however, confirm that they are not:

You speedy helpers, that are substitutes
Under the lordly Monarch of the North,
Appear, and aid me in this enterprise. (V.iii.5-7)

The spirits come in place of their monarch, introduced through biblical reference as Satan—in Isaiah, Lucifer boasts that he would exalt his throne ‘vpon the mount of the Congregation in the sides of the North’ (Isaiah 14:13). Where the witches of the continent cavorted with Satan himself at the sabbath, for Joan, like her English counterparts, his ‘substitutes’ only

⁵⁰ It is also a probable example of what Alessandro Simari has termed a ‘resumption cue’—the use of ‘now’, ‘so’, and sometimes ‘thus’ to indicate to the speaker that the given line is to denote the return to speech after action. I am grateful to Alessandro for sharing with me an unpublished draft of his paper on the topic. Here, the cue is likely performing some mechanical function to organise Joan’s speech around the excursions, alarums, and skirmishes of battle. As Joan speaks her ‘Now’, the stage is set for the careful performance of her crime. On Simari’s resumption cues, see also Simon Palfrey, *Poor Tom: Living “King Lear”* (Chicago, IL; London: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 187.

⁵¹ 5 Eliz. 1, c. 15, 16. Under Henry VIII (1542) and Edward VI (1550), similar precedents had been set: 33 Hen. 8, c. 14; 4 Ed. 6, c. 15.

must suffice.⁵² Yet, as her imperative language conveys, she feels able to command and bend these substitutes to her will. This initial request is obeyed and the fiends appear, much to Joan’s relief: ‘This speedy and quick appearance argues proof / Of your accustom’d diligence to me’ (V.iii.8-9). This recourse to the language of legal rhetoric—of arguments and ‘proof’—serves to highlight the judicial nature of her oration.⁵³ The narrative that Talbot has insisted upon throughout is encapsulated, and more importantly confirmed, in this scene.

Through putting herself on trial with the language of proof, Joan succeeds only in compounding her guilt. Her ‘choice spirits’ become ‘familiar spirits, that are culled / Out of the powerful regions under earth’ (V.iii.10-11), stepping irrevocably from potential godliness to felonious witchcraft. While the phrase may be linked to the biblical story of the Witch of Endor,⁵⁴ ‘familiar spirits’ are also a crucial element of witch trials in early modern England. In these trials, recurrent evidence against an accused witch is the presence of her ‘familiar’, a small animal in which resides a servant of the devil that performs the witch’s bidding. The witch, in payment for this demonic service, was required to feed the spirit by suckling it with her own blood.⁵⁵ Joan’s identification of her familiars in this vein (as the characters of

⁵² Carlo Ginzburg has discussed the witches’ sabbath in numerous studies of local witchcraft. For a succinct exploration of the phenomenon, see Carlo Ginzburg, “Deciphering the Sabbath,” in *Early Modern European Witchcraft: Centres and Peripheries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 121–37. For representative early modern continental descriptions, see Nicholas Remy, *Demonolatrie*, ed. Montague Summers, trans. E. Ashwin (London: John Rodker, 1930); Pierre de Lancre, *Tableau de L’inconstance Des Mauvais Anges et Démons, Où Il Est Amplement Traité Des Sorciers et de La Sorcellerie* (Paris: Aubier, 1982).

⁵³ In a study of the demonic *mises en abyme* in 1 and 2 *Henry VI*, Frances Barasch also notes this turn to the language of rhetoric, suggesting that it is a moment of the author’s usurpation of his characters’ voice. See Frances K. Barasch, “Folk Magic in ‘*Henry VI, Parts 1 and 2*’: Two Scenes of Embedding,” in *Henry VI: Critical Essays*, ed. Thomas A. Pendleton (New York; London: Routledge, 2001), esp. 118.

⁵⁴ 1 Samuel 28:8: ‘Then Saul changed him selfe, and put on other raiment, and he went, and two men with him, and they came to the woman by night: and he said, I pray thee, conjecture vnto me by the familiar spirit, and bring me him vp whome I shal name vnto thee’. The witch of Endor uses her spirit to contact the powers of hell. See Naseeb Shaheen, *Biblical References in Shakespeare’s Plays* (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011).

⁵⁵ The demonic inversion of motherhood that this implies applies particularly to Joan, whose body has been identified over and over again as virginal. On the suckling of familiars see Deborah Willis, *Malevolent Nurture: Witch-Hunting and Maternal Power in Early Modern England* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 1995), 52–59; Purkiss, *The Witch in History*, 119–144.

popular pamphlets, rather than biblical or overtly religious literature) comes moments later: ‘I was wont to feed you with my blood’, she admits (V.iii.14).

At Joan’s request that the Fiends help ‘this once’ (V.iii.12), they simply ‘*walk, and speak not*’. Both the order to and reaction of the spirits seems purposed to display their steadfast disobedience. That the spirits move seems to display their capability of agency, and yet their silence all but announces their unwillingness to co-operate. Again, the treatment of contemporary English witchcraft cases in pamphlet literature offers a lens to understand this dynamic; often, witches would demand action from their animal familiars, only to be disappointed by the animals’ profound misinterpretation of instruction.⁵⁶ The disobedience of Joan’s familiars highlights the malevolence of her spirits, as well as her total loss of any former power, and the burgeoning triumph of the English. The fiends’ refusal is the beginning of her end. The words that follow cement the shift in power witnessed in the brief stage direction. Joan’s commands are displaced by pleas and apostrophes that accentuate the moment’s awkward stillness: ‘O, hold me not with silence over-long’ (V.iii.13).

In an effort to break their silence, and driving herself further beyond redemption, Joan offers more than her blood. ‘I’ll lop a member off, and give it you’, she promises (V.iii.15). While Joan may simply offer here a limb of her own (a greater portion of herself than offered with her blood), the proposed ‘member’ may also be phallic.⁵⁷ On one level, this pun is a simple allusion to the theatricality of the moment, gesturing to the blithe vulgarity of schoolboy comedy: the cross-dressed boy playing Joan was capable of ‘lopping off a member’ more literally than the historically masculine Jeanne. However, on another level, it

⁵⁶ For example, the early witchcraft pamphlet *The Examination and Confession of certaine Wytches* (1566) narrates the story of Elizabeth Fraunces and her feline familiar ‘Sathan’. Sathan performs Fraunces’s demands, though not as she might desire: the sheep she requests ‘in the ende dyd all weare away she knewe not howe’, and the man she desires makes her his mistress rather than his wife. See “The Examination and Confession of Certaine Wytches,” in *Early Modern Witches: Witchcraft Cases in Contemporary Writing*, ed. Marion Gibson (Oxford; New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 2000), 17. For Joan, the *attempt* to force them to aid her is sufficient to confirm her guilt.

⁵⁷ ‘member’, *n.* 1a, in use c.1300. See *OED [Online]*.

proves Joan’s malevolence further in yet another Elizabethan reference to the threat that witches posed to masculinity.

Contemporary accounts of witchcraft describe witches causing male impotence, and even castrating male victims. Reginald Scot’s *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), for example, reports of witches ‘that procure barrennesse in man, woman, and beast’, who ‘can go inuisible, and depriue men of their priuities’.⁵⁸ Though Scot reports this from his European sources, these ideas resonated in the English imagination, and even in the mind of the future King. In the preface to his *Daemonologie* (1597), James I wrote of witches ‘weakening the nature of some men, to make them vnable for women’.⁵⁹ The same ideas even surface again in Shakespeare’s drama: Ford, in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (c. 1597), is plagued by the notion that a local witch is causing his impotence.⁶⁰ The ‘member’ that Joan offers is therefore a further demonstration of a particular, recognizable form of witchcraft, and, in keeping with her character, a direct threat to men.

The Fiends, however, are unmoved by Joan’s offers. Again, they refuse to speak: ‘*They hang their heads*’ and ‘*shake their heads*’ to her further questions, before they ‘*depart*’, leaving Joan to fight (and lose) her battles alone. Forsaken, Joan laments: ‘France must vail her lofty-plumed crest, / And let her head fall into England’s lap’ (V.iii.25-26). It is the final abandonment of the spirits that tells France’s downfall, and, as if to prove their former influence, Joan is captured moments after their departure. The audience has witnessed first-hand her prolonged interaction with spirits, and ‘ocular proof’ has shown her guilty by all standards.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (London, 1584), 9, 10.

⁵⁹ James I, *Daemonologie in Forme of a Dialogue, Diuided into Three Bookes* (Edinburgh, 1597), sig. A4r.

⁶⁰ See Nancy Cotton, “Castrating (w)itches: Impotence and Magic in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*,” *Shakespeare Quarterly* 38 (1987): 320–26.

⁶¹ In *Staging Reform*, Huston Diehl has read Othello’s desire for ‘ocular proof’ of Desdemona’s infidelity as a repercussion of the ‘renewed emphasis in reform culture on faith’—a culture, she argues, which saw Doubting Thomas’s ‘demand for visible evidence of the resurrection as a profound flaw’ (137). However, in 1 *Henry VI*, the necessities of proof appear more fitted to the legal sphere. For a complimentary reading to

When Joan leaves the stage following her failed conjuration, she returns promptly as part of a military skirmish, and York takes her captive. The stage direction, as given in the Folio, has caused critical confusion: ‘*Excursions. Burgundie and Yorke fight hand to hand. French fly*’.⁶² Following the Folio stage directions, Joan is not on stage at this point, having exited after her conjurations, but York manages to capture her as the action continues. The discontinuity here could easily be the product of an error in composition. Joan is perhaps not supposed to exit after her Fiends depart, but rather to be caught on stage moments after her conjuring; her crime, if rendered thus, is obvious to York who catches her in the act, and speaks immediately of her spirits (V.iii.31).

Another possibility for the inconsistency in stage directions would be the addition of Joan’s soliloquy to a script that already exists—a promising possibility for those who, in the tradition of John Dover Wilson, argue that the play was edited or co-authored, rather than singly composed, by Shakespeare.⁶³ King Charles commands the French to enter battle, and all depart (V.ii.21). It would be possible to stage the re-entry of Joan, delivering the first line of her soliloquy in panic—‘The regent conquers and the Frenchmen fly’ (V.iii.1)—before Burgundy and York come fighting to the stage, along with the other machinations of battle. Such excision would remove the entirety of Joan’s ‘proven’ crime. The action would perhaps appear more coherent, with the flight of the French clear at the moment of its notice. Even the insults used by York upon her capture would not be out of place in an English mouth; she has always been, to them, an ‘ugly witch’ who ‘doth bend her brows’, without the immediate context of conjuring (V.iii.34).

my own (though with an outdated dependence on the European witch-manual the *Malleus Maleficarum*, the influence of which in English culture is now questioned), see Barasch, “Folk Magic in ‘*Henry VI, Parts 1 and 2*’: Two Scenes of Embedding.”

⁶² William Shakespeare, *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories & Tragedies, Published according to the True Originall Copies* (London: Isaac Jaggard and Edward Blount, 1623), Histories, 115.

⁶³ John Dover Wilson, “Introduction,” in *Henry VI, Part I*, The New Shakespeare (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), esp. xxi–l. See also n. 1 in this chapter.

‘THAT SORCERESS CONDEMN’D TO BURN’

Such conjecture, based as it is upon a simple, and not uncommon, discrepancy in stage directions, is significant only in that it highlights a way of looking at the scene in which Joan is consigned to the flames. With the omission of the witchcraft scene and the unquestionable guilt that it presents, the tone of the scene where Joan is sentenced changes dramatically. There, Joan appears pleading for leniency from the English, with the moment of her burning drawing closer. In the absence of visual proof, Joan’s reproach of York has the possibility of appearing sincere:

*I never had to do with wicked spirits;
But you, that are polluted with your lusts,
Stain’d with the guiltless blood of innocents,
Corrupt and tainted with a thousand vices,
Because you want the grace that others have,
You judge it straight a thing impossible
To compass wonders but by help of devils.
No, misconceived! Joan of Aire hath been
A virgin from her tender infancy,
Chaste, and immaculate in very thought,
Whose maiden blood, thus rigorously effus’d,
Will cry for vengeance at the gates of heaven.* (V.iv.42-53; emphasis added)

Without identifying the first line quoted as an outright lie, a sceptical audience may be sensitive to Joan’s argument, and see instead the superstitions of the English as the sole reason for her death. The ‘you’ of Joan’s accusation is immediately York and his fellow Englishmen. Yet, by extension, it is also the audience watching—the English nation is to blame for Joan’s overthrow and pitiful demise. But having seen her court the ‘help of devils’, her claim to martyrdom (using the biblical image of her vengeful blood, emphasized) must fall on deaf ears; the audience is forced to dismiss all she says, and condemn her as a liar too. She is already ‘that sorceress condemn’d to burn’ called forth by York as the scene began.

However, Warwick, who has not witnessed Joan’s crime directly (and thereby occupies the position of an audience not presented with the conjuration scene) accepts her chaste self-definition, and orders that they ‘spare for no faggots’ to hasten her burning ‘because she is a maid’ (V.iv.55-6). The epithet the English have consistently avoided and overwritten appears at this moment in order to foreground the atrocity of the punishment

she will suffer. In the absence of affirmed guilt, an audience who has not seen Joan’s conjuring is apt to think her punishment too harsh, and, like Warwick, perhaps wish to see it muted.

Even though the audience *has* witnessed the conjuring that the captured Joan denies, the play continues its criminalization in an effort to address the subtly different concerns voiced by Warwick. So that the characters within the play can reach consensus on the punishment that Joan will suffer, and to further convince the theatre audience, another register of crime is invoked: the sexual liberty associated with petty traitors. Witchcraft fully proved is insufficient. Consequently, sexual crimes must be thrown into the fray to ensure the execution takes place with full authority, and to make a more explicit link between the Joan on stage and the Elizabethan women being burned for the crime of treason. Indeed, the audiences of *I Henry VI* would be used to seeing older women accused of witchcraft, and the woman before them on stage was the picture of youth and vigour. Through a reading of Warwick’s interaction with the criminal in her trial, we witness the destruction of the last vestiges of purity in her character; having been proved a ‘witch’, Joan is subsequently confirmed a ‘whore’.

The trial scene’s beginning of Joan’s sexual destruction occurs long before her confession of lovers. In his first intercession in the scene, Warwick castigates Joan for denying that an attendant shepherd is her father: ‘Graceless,’ he cries, ‘wilt thou deny thy parentage?’ (V.iv.14). For York, in his response, ‘This argues what her kind of life hath been, / Wicked and vile, and so her death concludes’ (V.iv.15-6). York, like an earlier Joan, speaks in the language of proof, as Joan’s denial ‘argues’ a particular, sexualized brand of the ‘wicked and vile’. This denial, unattested in other sources, begins the second counter-

martyrdom assault of the fifth act—the dismissal of patriarchal authority as a precursor to sexual liberation, rather than the pursuit of reformed religion.⁶⁴

In both *Arden of Faversham* and *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, the women whose lives end in flames have defied the patriarchal order to pursue their own desires. In *Arden*, Alice’s tearing the pages from her prayer book to replace them with Mosby’s letters (*AF*, viii) acts to displace the image of Protestant martyrs denying their husbands and families to follow evangelical preaching. Instead of replacing Arden with Protestant teaching, Alice yearns only for new governance of her own choosing. Similarly for *Dido*, dressing Aeneas in the clothing of her dead husband (*D*, II.i.79-80) supplants the vestiges of marital authority with a new governing figure; yet as the play progresses, the interloper’s powers grow alongside the Queen’s misdirected lust. Sexual passion was both women’s acknowledged motivation all along—whether internally or externally imposed. The Shepherd of *1 Henry VI*, whose initial empathy is, like Warwick’s, eroded as the interactions with Joan run their course, briefly occupies a similar position to the established patriarchal figures of *Arden* and *Dido*. The denial of the Shepherd not only utilizes an obvious religious register to separate Joan from the godly flock; this denial also begins the rapidly portrayed sexual degeneration that legitimizes the second moniker that Talbot had initially applied: ‘strumpet’.⁶⁵

Even after she has denied the Shepherd, Joan continues to argue that her life has been ‘Virtuous and holy’, and that she has been:

chosen from above
By inspiration of celestial grace,
To work exceeding miracles on earth. (*1H6*, V.iv.39-41)

These claims to divinity over lust are the continued sincerity that allow Warwick to argue for mitigation in her punishment. However, although she has pressed her virgin status upon her

⁶⁴ It also aligns Joan with Marlowe’s *Tamburlaine*, whose Machiavellian denial of his shepherding heritage marks the beginning of his degeneration through self-aggrandizing, politic religion. The *Tamburlaine* plays are discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.

⁶⁵ The same moniker is applied by *Dido* to Helen of Troy (*D*, II.i.300), and by *Arden* (*AF*, viii.78), Mosby (*xviii.13*), and Franklin (*xiv.404*) when referring to Alice.

captors, in a final effort to ‘turn’ their ‘unrelenting hearts’ Joan declares that she is ‘with child’ (V.iv.59-62). While for Kristin Smith this confession—presumably false—depicts Joan attempting ‘to redefine herself as mother rather than maid, confirming the condemnations heaped upon her’, it is also an indication of the influence of the acceptability and even necessity of burning demonstrated in the proliferating petty treason literature.⁶⁶

In *The trueth of the murther of Iohn Brewen* (1592), the murderous wife Anne Brewen is pregnant at the time of her capture. Before being punished, she was ‘carried into the countrey to be deliuered of her childe, and after brought back to prison’.⁶⁷ This treatment, as historians of crime have explored, was a common necessity in the trial of female criminals, and even used by some juries as a legal fiction to save the life of a condemned woman.⁶⁸ However, as the death of Perotine Massey shows, described and graphically illustrated in all four early editions of the *Acts and Monuments*, the burning of a pregnant woman was a sensational and pitiable spectacle (see Figure 1.3).⁶⁹

When Massey was burned at the stake in Guernsey, her son was birthed in the trauma of the event; Catholic officials picked up the living boy, and after deliberation threw him back on the fire. Foxe opened his 1563 consideration of the event—discussed in its

⁶⁶ Smith, “Martial Maids and Murdering Mothers,” 148. On the falsehood of Joan’s claims, see also David Bevington who refers to them as ‘desperate and fallacious’: “The Domineering Female in *1 Henry VI*,” *Shakespeare Studies* 2 (1966): 51.

⁶⁷ Anon., *The Murthering of Iohn Brewen*, 6.

⁶⁸ ‘The 1559-1625 figures for the home circuit, the most populous judicial region in England, show that over 1,600 women were accused of felonies. Of the 44 percent of these women found guilty, one-third pleaded pregnancy,’ write Carole Levin and John Watkins. ‘Clearly,’ they conclude, ‘Shakespeare’s audience would have been well aware when Joan made her plea on that stage that she was right—she had the law on her side. Audience members would have known of actual women who successfully made this plea.’ Levin and Watkins, *Shakespeare’s Foreign Worlds: National and Transnational Identities in the Elizabethan Age* (Ithaca, NY; London: Cornell University Press, 2009), 33, 42.

While the use of pleas of the belly have been likened to the benefit of the clergy—whereby literate male felons could be pardoned if they proved they could read out Psalm 51, known as ‘the neck verse’—Garthine Walker has cautioned that the belly was a far less certain and standard method of pardoning a criminal. Though some women received full pardons, many, like Anne Brewen, would be delivered of their babies and then executed. Walker, *Crime, Gender and Social Order*, 200.

⁶⁹ The fate of Perotine Massey and her son is also discussed in Levin and Watkins’ *Shakespeare’s Foreign Worlds*. I am indebted to their discussion of pleading the belly in this analysis.

different Foxean iterations in Chapter 1—noting it as ‘thys cruell and furious facte of the homicide papists’ (*A&M* [1563], 1610). The murder of Perotine Massey’s newborn son at the hands of the prosecuting Catholics presented the utmost cruelty in penal practice, and the gruesomeness of Foxe’s presentation ensured its remembrance—a legacy warned of by Joan as she cries, ‘I am with child, ye bloody homicides’ (V.iv.62).⁷⁰ The burning of a pregnant Joan threatens to expose the barbarity of the English.

However, as Carole Levin has also observed, a number of Catholic commentators on the *Acts and Monuments* seized upon this story. For Thomas Harding, writing in 1567, because Perotine ‘claimed not the benefite of the Lawe, and so now not only like an harlot or Heretique, but like a Murtherer went desperatly to the fier, and murdered bothe her selfe, and her childe conceived within her’.⁷¹ Writing in 1587, Cardinal Allen agreed.⁷² For these commentators, Massey’s concealment of her pregnancy is the true crime, and one that could only be brought about by shamefulnes in conception; her whoredom and neglect, and not the subsequent actions of the prosecutors, are at fault for the innocent child’s death.

Although Joan does speak out to plead the belly, her desperation seems only intent on buying time, and perhaps even mercy, in legal procedure. She hopes, in short, to avoid the justice she is due. Whether her claims are true or not, the assertion demands that audiences hold the self-proclaimed ‘Virtuous and holy’ maid in lower esteem. In contrast to her longstanding assertions of purity, her desperate turn is disappointing. Despite being the voice of despair, her words add fuel to the fire in which she must burn. For those in the audience,

⁷⁰ Hickerson, *Making Women Martyrs*, 97.

⁷¹ Thomas Harding, *A Rejoinder to M. Jewels Replie against the Sacrifice of the Masse* [1567], Reprint (Menston, UK: Scolar Press, 1970), 185; quoted in Levin and Watkins, *Shakespeare’s Foreign Worlds*, 44. Foxe engaged directly with Harding in the 1570 narrative of the Guernsey women, defending Perotine Massey as a married woman, pregnant with the child of her Huguenot husband. Though having refused to call the women martyrs in his first edition, in 1570 Foxe names the three stakes set up as ‘the place where they should consumate their Martyrdome’ (*A&M* [1570], 2167).

⁷² William Allen, *A True, Sincere, and Modest Defense of English Catholics*, ed. Robert M. Kingdon (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1965), 105.

there stands onstage a model for reaction. It is Warwick, so recently heard urging for more gentle treatment of the maid, who turns against her in the exchange that follows.

Beginning with gentle mockery—‘The greatest miracle that e’er ye wrought!’ (V.iv.66)—it is he who invokes the discourse of whoredom, declaring promptly that ‘we’ll have no bastards live’ (V.iv.70). Rebuffing the Englishman’s jests that Charles the Dauphin is the father (substantiated for the audience, perhaps, by our earlier discovery of Joan sharing the Dauphin’s chamber as ‘his defensive guard’ (II.i.49)), Joan names her lover as both Alençon and Reignier in quick succession. While these names had contemporary significance, they are equally effective without topical reference to Elizabeth.⁷³ As Warwick surmises, echoing the likes of Perotine Massey’s critics Harding and Allen, any pregnancy is simply a ‘sign she hath been liberal and free’ (V.iv.82), and little more.

Without extended dramatic testimony to the fact, Joan is in this moment condemned through the eyes of Warwick, who moments previously had served as a voice of lenience in an otherwise brutal chorus of punitive demands. If, like Warwick, an audience had felt pity for Joan, her evasive and manipulative negotiation of truth in this brief mock trial enforces the various aspects of female criminality within which she must now be understood. Unlike Alice, whose impending death at least brings about an attempt (albeit shortlived) at the style of repentant speech expected of a convicted criminal (*AF*, xviii.9-11), Joan’s capture merely provides dramatic opportunity to revile her further. Without the later display of punishment, which twentieth-century stagings added into the performance, there is no reversion to the kind of pity roused in Foxe’s depiction of Massey. As Joan leaves the stage, outrage at her punishment can be forgotten in the midst of the horror of her crimes.

In the course of the final act, as Joan moves ever closer to the stake she is historically destined to meet, *1 Henry VI* presents a criminal Joan of dual aspect in order to displace

⁷³ On the contemporary resonance of Joan’s choice of lovers in relation to Elizabeth’s marriage negotiations, see, for example, Levin and Watkins, *Shakespeare’s Foreign Worlds*, Chapter 1, 25-50.

existing narratives of religious saintliness and martyrdom. Following the conjuration scene Joan has *become* ‘that sorceress condemn’d to burn’. Her subsequent claims of innocence merely expose her lack of repentance and excite disdain in those who watch her. By displaying onstage the elements of contemporary witchcraft, Shakespeare renders Joan’s crimes as something abhorrently and inexcusably criminal yet—crucially—distinct from doctrinal religious deviance. The heretical crimes of Jeanne d’Arc are reimagined in terms associated with deviant women in early modern England: witchcraft and whoredom. For both crimes, it is Joan who betrays herself, and the English are unforgiving. In adopting the arguments of Catholic detractors of the *Acts and Monuments*, the Englishmen onstage utilize the rhetoric of counter-martyrdom, criminalizing her in non-religious terms. Joan is then forced to become the figure outlined by these accusations. Where heresy became witchcraft, feminine independence—which could lead to religious enlightenment—becomes, as in the case of Alice Arden, sexual licentiousness and harlotry.

The Englishmen’s sexualized slander is realized in conviction, and the guilty must certainly be punished. Joan’s burning is therefore ratified through its separation from religion, and the drama is reconnected with the judgments of history. Like her father, from whom she turns, audiences are encouraged to believe that ‘hanging is too good’ (V.iv.33); Joan burns a witch, a whore, and a liar. Her history is therefore sanitized for the stage. Where the intervention of history imbued Eleanor’s penance with the weight of reformation significance, allowing *2 Henry VI* to use visual symbolism to question her guilt, *1 Henry VI* fights against this paradigm shift. In this play, a historical instance of burning with the potential to problematize England’s penal history is made palatable to Elizabethan audiences living in the aftermath of persistent religious persecutions at the stake. While Holinshed’s *Chronicle* could report that Polydore Vergil, sensitive to the retrial, ‘much pitieth hir paine’,

by the end of *1 Henry VI* York can say venomously, and with little risk of censure, ‘Break thou in pieces, and consume to ashes, / Thou foul accursed minister of hell’ (V.iv.92-3).⁷⁴

* * *

In *1 Henry VI*, as in *Arden of Faversham*, the punishment of a historical figure demands caution in dramatization. Both Jeanne d’Arc and Alice Arden were sent to the stake, the former in 1431, and the latter eighty years after. When their theatrical counterparts graced the stage in the early 1590s, the punishment that they had suffered was at the heart of debates concerning justice and injustice in the Elizabethan penal system. The reclamation of heretics burned at the stake during the reigns of Henry VIII and Queen Mary as martyrs for the gospel had revised the semiotics of the stake. Foxean aesthetics considered burning to be the weapon of the Antichrist, and suffering it a uniquely Protestant route to martyrdom. In different ways, this reclamation threatened to impose upon the narratives that these playwrights sought to bring to the stage.

For *Arden of Faversham*, Alice Arden was uncomfortably similar to the models of evangelical femininity that John Foxe presented in the *Acts and Monuments*. Foxe’s women were deviant and domestically defiant, but they used their independence to pursue the gospel—a spiritual fidelity that led them to the stake. While other stage adulteresses could be made pitiable by their connection with the martyrs, as I demonstrated of *A Warning for Fair Women*’s Anne Sanders, Alice Arden is instead distanced from the evangelical model. The playwright not only criminalizes Alice literally, placing the knife that kills Arden finally in her hand, he also directly counters any martyr claims that might arise around his adulteress. Arden, instead, is the subject of martyr rhetoric, while Alice’s spiritual perversion is literalized in the destruction of her prayer book.

⁷⁴ Holinshed, *Chronicles* [1587], III:605.

In *1 Henry VI*, the historical Jeanne d’Arc’s punishment for heresy brought her even closer to the figure of the unjustly executed martyr. Regardless of the scepticism with which the *Chronicles* presented Jeanne’s retribution alongside her initial condemnation, its presence in English histories was an interpretation with which Shakespeare had to contend. To legitimize the punishment of his Joan, he uses the fifth act of the play to criminalize her in the ways that the English have maligned her throughout the action. As witchcraft and whoredom, Joan’s crimes are closer to those that Elizabethan audiences would deem worthy of burning; moreover, they are liberated from the overtones of all-too-recent doctrinal religious conflicts in England. The historical Jeanne’s heretical sorcery is modified to a crime punishable in the 1590s by the common law, rather than the ecclesiastical courts, and Joan is more closely allied to the women facing the stake in Elizabethan England: petty traitors like Anne Brewen, discussed alongside Alice Arden in Chapter 5.

In both plays, as in *Dido* and *Tamburlaine*, the injustice associated with burning at the stake in Elizabethan England is a haunting presence. Where the fire spectacles of Marlowe’s plays invited partisan spectatorship, *1 Henry VI* and *Arden of Faversham* suggest sensitive authorship. Each playwright carefully negotiates and suppresses burning’s historiographical relationship with evangelical martyrdom by emphasizing the criminality of the burned woman concerned. The absence of their punishment onstage helps to prevent spectacle from problematizing this criminalization; both women’s guilt is proved, and the semiotic instability of their burning is mitigated by its theatrical marginalization. Through the use of counter-martyrological arguments and careful stage-management, *Arden of Faversham* and *1 Henry VI* present women justly burned.

Conclusion

‘[B]urning was certainly the rarest and most spectacular, if not necessarily the most excruciating, form of Tudor public execution. Those who witnessed a burning [...] are unlikely ever to have forgotten it’.¹ These words from Eamon Duffy, used as the epigraph to this thesis, confirm the rarity of burning at the stake in English penal practice, along with offering Duffy’s own inference of the punishment’s potential effects on audiences. In the chapters that followed, I have argued the truth of that inference: in Elizabethan England especially, burnings were unforgettable. Where Duffy’s observation here is limited to the experience of a live burning in a public judicial setting, I have broadened my contextual grounding to account for the significantly larger portion of the Elizabethan population who probably never witnessed a burning, but rather knew the process most intimately through literary encounters.²

The evangelical martyrs who were burned during the reformation had a central place in one of Elizabethan England’s most formative texts. John Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments*, backed as it was by William Cecil, ensured burning’s literary posterity despite the punishment’s infrequency. Burning—and those during the Marian persecution in

¹ Eamon Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 2009), 116.

² Duffy also recognizes the power of Foxe’s martyrology in shaping England’s religious and judicial memory throughout *Fires of Faith*—though his work is, of course, an attempt to revise that legacy.

CONCLUSION

particular—was unforgettable because the Elizabethan government willed it to be so. By paying attention to public (and playgoers’) interaction with such prominent, authorized historiographical accounts of executions by burning, this thesis has offered the first sustained analysis of the relationship between the judicial stake and the emerging commercial stage. In so doing, it has enriched our understanding of the theatre’s relationship to the broadly conceived ‘scaffold’ both theoretically and descriptively.

It has long been argued that Elizabethan drama reflected and shared in the ‘theatre of the scaffold’ and contemporary attitudes to live executions.³ Expanding on the well-established relationships between the spectacular entertainments of Elizabethan England, this thesis has used polemical contemporary historiography to provide the contextual basis for understanding the theatre’s relationship with the stake. Moving beyond the study of staged executions that seek to replicate state justice, I have argued that the impact of the scaffold is more broad-reaching, and more deeply ingrained in the theatre of the period than has been acknowledged. Drama may imitate some of the spectacles and theatrics of the executioner’s scaffold—from beheadings and hangings to disembowelings—but it also takes part in the debates that executions provoked. Burning in particular is distinctive, and as a mode of violence encoded differently than those practiced concurrently by Tudor regimes. The layered semiotics that developed around burning at the stake over the course of the sixteenth century rendered it a uniquely complex form of punishment, and these complexities are the key to its interaction with the theatre.

The relationship that this thesis has exposed is one that centres on the godly remembrance of burning at the stake as an injustice systematically meted out by ‘papists’, and through this a route to martyrdom for those who suffer it. In assessing the effect of such

³ Examples of work in this area, discussed more thoroughly in the Introduction, include Tennenhouse, *Power on Display*; Cunningham, “Renaissance Execution and Marlovian Elocution”; Murray Kendall, *Shakespearean Power and Punishment*; Smith, *Breaking Boundaries*; Smith, “The Theatre and the Scaffold”; Owens, *Stages of Dismemberment*; Höfele, *Stake, Stage, and Scaffold*.

CONCLUSION

rhetoric on Elizabethan stagecraft, I have made two interlocking claims. Firstly, despite the stake's conspicuous absence from the early modern stage, the fire spectacles that *are* presented onstage engage with the same rhetoric that surrounded burning as a judicial punishment. When burning of any kind is brought onto the stage, visual echoes could summon up the human spectacles that the *Acts and Monuments* commemorated and made widely available; with these echoes came the interpretive framework that Foxe's text had built around the stake and its related punishments. Secondly, even for offstage executions, characters facing burning had to be thoroughly criminalized by playwrights to counteract the powerful rhetoric of martyrdom that arose around the stake in Elizabethan England. Foxe had rescued his martyrs' reputations in part by way of their specific punishments—in Elizabethan England, and on the Elizabethan stage, anyone who suffered such punishment was at risk of the same reclamation. It is in this dynamic that the stake's theatrical marginalization finds its most promising explanation: despite its pyrotechnic possibility, to burn criminal characters onstage would be to undermine the necessary justice of their punishment. Both of these claims rest under one central, overarching argument: in the case of burning at the stake, polemical literary representations of state violence are fundamental to our understanding of the Elizabethan theatre's relationship to contemporary execution practices.

It is in the literary representations of burning at the stake that the rhetoric of injustice arises around a spectacle that, at the time of its use, was engineered to present the ultimate power and right of the state to enact religious justice. The religious fractures in sixteenth-century England brought ambivalence to the mixed crowds of heretics' executions as those suffering at the stake reclaimed their deaths as a performance of their piety. Partisan memory of the events in confessional historiographies then cemented these fractures. Between stake and stage there is no collapse between the boundaries of performance and reality; contra the widely adopted Foucauldian approach to theatrical violence, no direct imitation seeks to

CONCLUSION

replicate the political power of public execution by burning. Rather, the stage interacts with burning bodies as contested signifiers, using the terms of the partisan literature that commemorated and discussed them.

More specifically, I have argued that Foxe's magnum opus, the majestic *Acts and Monuments*, provided the dominant Elizabethan paradigm for the interpretation of burning bodies. Foxe pitted evangelicals against papists in a drama of injustice, where the fight for moral right was contested over the body at the stake. To punish with fire was to persecute, while to suffer the flames was to demonstrate spiritual fidelity, and more importantly fuel the progress of the evangelical cause. While not everyone agreed with Foxe's categorizations, the popularity of his text in Elizabethan England made them broadly familiar, and even set the terms of debate for his religious and ideological opponents.

The clash of confessions that Foxe presented deeply influenced the stage's close relationship to the performance of penal justice. In the 1580s, Catholics whose co-religionists were being hanged, drawn, and quartered as traitors against the Elizabethan state took Foxe's martyrology to task. As the commercial theatre began to establish itself in the late 1580s, religious violence was at the forefront of the country's consciousness, and burning played a central role in contemporary debates about penal practices—both for those celebrating martyrs, and those attacking pseudo-martyrs. In *2 Henry VI*, we witness the impact that Foxe's martyrology could have on the interpretation of a spectacle that it includes within its pages. Contemporary unease surrounding religious violence informs the play's representation of 'justice' against the Duchess. Eleanor Cobham's penance, with its visual similarities to the penance paid by some of Foxe's evangelicals and proto-Protestant Wycliffites in the *Acts and Monuments*, calls her guilt into question. Religiously inflected violence, and in particular those punishments with strong links to the stake, brings with it suggestions of injustice. In Parts II and III of the thesis, these literary and dramatic contexts formed the backdrop to the readings of four separate plays with links to judicial burning.

CONCLUSION

As I observed in Part II, links between drama and the stake could be visual. For those familiar with the *Acts and Monuments* and its iconography, Marlowe's theatre brings onstage recognizable tableaux from within its pages. Both the suicide of Dido and the burning of the Qur'an in *Tamburlaine* use spectacular pyrotechnics to encourage audiences to recognize correlations with recent history, and to evoke contemporary responses to religious violence as informed by Protestant historiography. In both plays, Marlowe invests in and exploits Foxean ways of viewing burning.

For Dido's suicide by immolation, this correspondence was encouraged by the self-conscious evocation of martyr-rhetoric on the levels of both playwright and character. Departing from the story of Virgil's *Aeneid* (in which Dido commits suicide with Aeneas' sword), Marlowe's Dido appears to take her life with fire alone—a modification that invited audiences to compare her death with other fiery expirations. Contemporary responses to Indian widow burning (another fiery literary spectacle that confronted Elizabethan readers in travel narratives) offer an insight into the ways that audiences might respond to Dido's suicide. They suggest that intimations of martyrdom could be attached to the Queen's distraught self-immolation, despite its voluntary nature. As a character, Dido supports this spectacular Marlovian innovation by blaming Aeneas for her death, and seeking to propound his guilt through her suicide: she intends to defame her lover with accusations of cruelty and abandonment. By both playwright and his creation, audiences are therefore encouraged to view Dido's suicide as martyrdom—but the culminating effect is rather to expose pseudo-martyrdom. The play's closing scene, with the deaths of Iarbus and Anna in quick succession, ridicules and undermines Dido's rhetoric of blame and mistreatment. Despite her own claims to victimhood, the Queen of Carthage is not a martyr, and Marlowe emphasizes this by giving her death a greater physical similarity to that of those more suited to the role: the evangelicals immortalized in the fires of the counter-reformation.

CONCLUSION

For the burning of the Qur'an in *2 Tamburlaine*, evangelical martyr-rhetoric is similarly displaced in both time and place. As Tamburlaine sets fire to the Islamic scriptures mined from the defeated city of Babylon, the proper reaction of a Christian audience of any denomination would be to celebrate Mahomet's overthrow. However, as Tamburlaine burns the scriptures and sermonizes against the religion he had formerly professed to follow, the dramatic tableau presented bears resemblance to the papist attacks on scripture that pepper the *Acts and Monuments*. In Foxe's book the public burning of New Testaments is both a precursor to and an extension of the burning of heretics; sometimes, books and bodies burned together, while other occasions saw piles of books consigned alone to the flames. When Tamburlaine performs this same form of censorship it is an indictment of his character. Burning books, as well as burning people, was viewed as tyrannical in Elizabethan England (heavily implied by the Elizabethan Stationers practicing their censorship behind closed doors). In *2 Tamburlaine* this spectacular shorthand finally condemns the protagonist. Tamburlaine had been presented as a 'bad shepherd' throughout both *Tamburlaine* plays: a key biblical image, and one often used across the Christian denominations in reformation polemic. But Tamburlaine's insatiable bloodlust, along with his predatory violence throughout the action, aligns him specifically with the Protestant caricatures of Catholic villainy in the reformation. His subsequent death can therefore be read as providential. Foxe relished describing the mundane deaths of Catholic bishops famed for taunting evangelicals in the *Acts and Monuments*, and Tamburlaine's end is of the same kind: banal, and yet highly significant. Through the negotiation of reformation polemic and fire spectacle, Tamburlaine's death is proffered as just repayment for ten acts of injustices served.

In both *Dido* and *2 Tamburlaine*, alien settings play host to the well-established martyr-rhetoric that the *Acts and Monuments* built around the historical burning body; that which caused political stirs in Elizabethan England could be uprooted to a different time and place for exploration. Each play utilizes fire spectacles to invite the same partisan reading of

CONCLUSION

burning that Foxe's martyrology had propounded, and indeed made dominant: to be burnt was to be martyred, while to do the burning was tyrannical. In *Dido*, the rhetoric is subverted to ridicule the heroine's self-victimization, while in *Tamburlaine* it appears as polemical and theatrical shorthand to mark the height of the protagonist's barbarity and godlessness.

In Part III, I explored the influences of Foxean rhetoric in two plays without fire spectacles. Both *Arden of Faversham* and *1 Henry VI* dramatize historical women who were sentenced to burn at the stake, though they do not indulge in the presentation of the punishment itself. In both plays, the woman to be punished is criminalized beyond the records of historical sources; in each case, I argued that this attention to criminalization is an effort to prevent martyr-rhetoric adhering to the woman that must burn. For the petty traitor Alice Arden, the most dangerous shadow narratives were Foxe's domestically defiant female martyrs; for Joan la Pucelle, the spectre of injustice was already present in Holinshed's *Chronicles*, which recognized Jeanne d'Arc's burning as an historical injustice at the time Shakespeare's play was being staged. Both playwrights attempt to suppress these potential readings and take control of the meaning of the punishment that their action moves to the margin.

In *Arden of Faversham*, martyr-rhetoric is used to define Arden himself, who is described in Christological terms as his predators' prey. The tropes of martyrdom used for Arden are the first step in the playwright's attempts to constrain audiences' views of his murderer, and to divorce her from the evangelical women who shared her fate. Alice's direct role in her husband's death is stressed and even heightened throughout the play: it is she who keeps the murder attempts rolling, and finally deals Arden's deathblow. However, more important than her domestic treason in the curtailment of interpretations is the playwright's emphasis on Alice's lack of religion. While the prominent female martyrs of the *Acts and Monuments* leave their husbands to pursue the gospel, Alice defies Arden to pursue another

CONCLUSION

lover. As Alice offers to tear the pages from her prayer book to make room for Mosby's love letters, she leaves no room for conventional religion (neither Catholic, nor reformed), and certainly no room for audiences to confuse her with Foxe's defiant evangelical women. Contrary to modern celebrations of Alice's domestic liberty, Alice Arden's defiance was, in the sixteenth century, of the wrong kind.

In *1 Henry VI*, the playwright distils the various charges of heresy brought against the historical Jeanne d'Arc into two different crimes for the Elizabethan stage: sorcery and sexual lasciviousness. Not only this, but the accusations of witchcraft and whoredom that are levelled at Joan throughout the play are in the final act proved before the audience. The vitriol of the English taunts becomes the reality of Joan's existence, displacing the French celebration of her saintliness. In 1587 the second edition of Holinshed's *Chronicle* had (albeit sceptically) recorded the rehabilitation of the burned Jeanne d'Arc. To prevent censure of the English forces for their use of the stake, Joan's death must be justified in the play: incontrovertible witchcraft, along with intimated whoredom, was an easy way to do so in late-sixteenth-century England. Shakespeare's efforts to criminalize Joan work to establish the moral righteousness of the Englishmen's actions: Joan's death at the stake, the play labours to suggest, was the performance of justice.

Through such deliberate efforts to criminalize these female characters, the playwrights of *Arden* and *1 Henry VI* reveal a fear of inadvertently portraying injustice in the dramatization of a character who must burn. Like *Dido* and *Tamburlaine*, these plays also betray the powerful influence of the martyring rhetoric of the *Acts and Monuments*; however, here the emphasis is on curtailing, and not courting, these analogies. The dominant rhetoric of Elizabethan England condemned burning at the stake as a papist injustice against those willing to suffer in the name of reformed religion (conveniently forgetting, of course, the Anabaptists burned under the Elizabethan regime). In the drama, this cultural significance could be used for subtle dramatic effect, but it also had to be carefully

CONCLUSION

negotiated by those forced to confront it. By moving the execution itself offstage, these playwrights enjoyed greater control over the interpretation of the ‘justice’ that their historical characters are set to face.

Taken together, the constituent parts of this thesis demonstrate that the spectacular absence of burning at the stake on the early modern stage is in fact a pervasive spectral presence. In the two aspects of Elizabethan drama explored—pyrotechnic spectacles, and onstage judicial sentencing—the stake’s presence shows that Elizabeth’s subjects were not merely entreated to remember the burnings of the counter-reformation; in late-sixteenth-century England people were encouraged to categorize burnings in the ways appropriate to the rhetoric of a Protestant state. In the theatres, this rhetoric shaped both dramatic reception, and dramatic conception.

The findings of this thesis are, of course, only a first step towards mapping the relationship between the stake and the stage. However, the arguments presented here complement those made by other critics pushing the boundaries of our understanding of the early modern theatre’s relationship to the scaffold, as well as exposing lacunae that remain in the field.

Though it set out as a work interrogating a nuanced relationship within the dynamic of scaffold and stage, in the persistent focus on the rhetoric of martyrdom (which I have argued is closely allied to the stake), this thesis has contributed directly to an emerging research agenda. As early modern literary criticism’s ‘turn to religion’ gathers pace, scholars are looking to the martyrs of the reformation as important figures in the religious development of the English nation and its literary culture.⁴ For the stage especially, this approach has proved fruitful: even as Elizabeth Williamson expands her study of Henry

⁴ Identifying Stephen Greenblatt’s *Hamlet in Purgatory* (2001) as the mark of a sea change in English literary criticism, Ken Jackson and Arthur Marotti noted over a decade ago the renewal of interest in the place Christianity had in early modern England, and its subsequent effect on literature. They dubbed this the ‘turn to religion’: Ken Jackson and Arthur F. Marotti, “The Turn to Religion in Early Modern English Studies,” *Criticism* 46, no. 1 (2004): 167–90.

CONCLUSION

Shirley's *The Martyred Soldier* (c. 1618) in a new project that looks at 'Shakespeare and the Politics of Martyrdom',⁵ David K. Anderson has published a study of how growing unease toward state-led religious violence affected—and perhaps even instigated—the development of popular tragedy in early modern England. Moving from Shakespeare to Milton via Marlowe and Webster, *Martyrs and Players* argues that England's 'sacrificial crisis' (Anderson's term for the nation's increasing intolerance for the use of violence in matters of religion) led to dramatists writing 'about what they knew, which was uncertainty: uncertainty surrounding sacrificial violence, despite loud claims of certainty from church, state, victim, martyrologist, and polemicist'.⁶ Anderson argues that the popular revival of tragic drama at the close of the sixteenth century is directly linked to the unstable emotional responses to religious executions that emerged in Tudor and Stuart England. Though he does not conceive of it as such, Anderson's, too, is a study of the stake and stage: Foxe's reclamation of the reformation martyrs sits at the heart of his analysis, catalyzing the upheaval in emotional response that he observes.

In thus broadening the scope of the influence of Foxe's revisionist history of the stake, Anderson has already begun the work of tracing judicial burning through the development of later drama. However, where *Martyrs and Players* takes into account manifestations of different forms of violence across the tragic genre, I would argue that continued concentration on the specific development of burning as a motif would help to

⁵ Elizabeth Williamson, "Batter'd, Not Demolish'd": Staging the Tortured Body in *The Martyred Soldier*," *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England* 26 (2013): 43–59. Williamson argues that the onstage martyrdom of Bellizarius and his wife Victoria provides a self-consciously theatrical depiction of martyrdom that stresses the political expedience that such executions can perform: after converting to Christianity in the course of the play, Bellizarius and Victoria are tortured to death, and their corpses remain onstage as the audience witnesses the establishment of a new ruler in Bellizarius' stead. Williamson's current project promises to use Foucault's concept of biopower to show that '[b]y staging moments in which soldiers die extraordinarily brutal deaths off the battlefield rather than on it, Shakespeare's plays use the imagery of Christian martyrdom to highlight the otherwise anonymous sacrifices made by English infantrymen'. Elizabeth Williamson, "Shakespeare and the Politics of Martyrdom," accessed September 14, 2015, academic.evergreen.edu/w/william/e/pages/Political_Martyrs.htm.

⁶ Anderson, *Martyrs and Players*, 23.

CONCLUSION

clarify the ways in which the connotations of martyrdom move outward into non-religious forms of violence. As the work of scholars detailing the Catholic celebration of Jesuit martyrs attests, along with those analyzing the beheading of Charles I and its literary and cultural legacy,⁷ to discuss martyrdom is not, necessarily, to discuss burning. However, what this thesis has demonstrated is the seeming truth of the inverse, at least in Elizabethan England: to talk about burning is to invoke the spectre of martyrdom.⁸ It is in the development of *this* dynamic that I suggest the most fruitful line of future research lies.

Although the heightened religio-political tensions of the 1580s and 1590s provided a fitting context for establishing the stake's relationship with the theatre, the trope of burning as it develops in drama offers further fertile ground for study. In Shakespeare's later drama, for example, burning at the stake is used allusively, with the same pressing reformation concerns that this thesis has observed at the close of the sixteenth century. In *King Lear* (c. 1606), for instance, the Fool alludes to the burning of heretics in his prophecy. Amid a satirical list of impossibilities, the Fool foresees a time with 'No heretics burned, but wenches' suitors' (*KL*, III.ii.84)—a darkly comic juxtaposition of counter-reforming brutalities with the individual afflictions of venereal disease.⁹ In line with the presentation of burning in the prose and theatrical works discussed in this thesis, the Fool's prophecy links an end to burning with the performance of true justice. In the *Acts and Monuments*, the accession of the righteous Elizabeth was set 'to quenche fier brandes, to asswage rage, to

⁷ Chloe Preedy has argued convincingly for Marlowe's engagement with the literature of Catholic sufferance in *Marlowe's Literary Scepticism*. On Charles I, see Andrew Lacey, "Charles the First, and Christ the Second": The Creation of a Political Martyr," in *Martyrs and Martyrdom in England, 1400-1700*, ed. Thomas S. Freeman and Thomas F. Mayer (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2007), 203-20.

⁸ This same conflation of fire with injustice arguably continues in the present. See, for example, the feminist appropriation of witch-burning discussed in Purkiss, *The Witch in History*, Chapter 1, "A Holocaust of one's own: the myth of the Burning Times".

⁹ Citing *MND*, II.ii.147; *RJ*, I.ii.93; *MAN*, I.i.219-20; *TN*, I.v.218; and *CYM*, III.iv.81-2, B. J. and Mary Sokol write that '[t]he Fool's figure of wenches' suitors being heretics aligns with a notion of a lover committing heresy several times repeated by Shakespeare [...]. In these usages heresy is a metaphor for a lover's defection from a mistress, or for a sceptic's rejection of love itself'. *Shakespeare's Legal Language: A Dictionary* (Somerset, NJ: Continuum, 2004), 132.

CONCLUSION

releau innocentes' (*A&M* [1563], 8); in the Fool's mythical future, the burning of heretics has ceased, and 'every case in law is right' (*KL*, III.ii.87).

In *The Winter's Tale* (1611), the same connotations of injustice and immoderation emerge around King Leontes' frenzied attempts to rid himself of Hermione and her child. Convinced that the child is of Polixenes' begetting, Leontes demands the 'brat' be taken away, 'and together with the dam', he orders, 'Commit them to the fire' (II.iii.93, 95-6). Though it is for adultery and treason that Hermione, 'th'adult'ress' (II.iii.4), would be sent to the flames, the spectre of heresy and religious violence haunts Leontes' words. Indeed, to burn the child and mother together recalls once again the pitiful fate of Perotine Massey and her newborn son, burnt together in Guernsey in 1556 (see Figure 1.3). When Leontes finally threatens Paulina too with 'I'll ha' thee burnt' (II.iii.114), she replies with an acute awareness of the symbolism of the violence he proposes:

I care not:
It is an heretic that makes the fire,
Not she which burns in't. (II.iii.114-6)

Paulina's views are not only reformed, but specifically Foxean: fire is the weapon of the Antichrist. Though she continues 'I'll *not* call you tyrant' (II.iii.116; emphasis added), the audience's inference must be that Paulina wants to foreground the barbarity of Leontes' proposition. Like Dido, who aims to 'make *Aeneas* famous through the world, / For perjurie and slaughter of a Queene' (*D*, V.i.293-4), Paulina is sure that Leontes' proposed violence 'will ignoble make you, / Yea scandalous to the world' (*WT*, II.iii.120-1). To counter Leontes' threat, Paulina invokes the finger pointing of religious conflict, and wills Leontes to consider, at the very least, his reputation. In both *King Lear* and *The Winter's Tale*, burning at the stake is linked with tyranny and injustice, by way of the same reformation legacy that haunts the plays discussed throughout this thesis.

Leontes' warning to Paulina is just one example of numerous fiery threats made in early-seventeenth-century drama. Into the Jacobean period, burning continues to recur on the English stage as a punishment suggested, either by a group or an individual, in the face of

CONCLUSION

crime or political upset. In *Coriolanus* (1609), for example, the protagonist's patrician attendant responds to his leader's suggestion that the commoners who oppose him be allowed to hang with the rejoinder, 'Ay, and burn too' (C, III.ii.24); in Heywood's *The Silver Age* (1613) the jilted Juno calls for the burning of Semele (SA, IV.i); in the first quarto of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Philaster* (1620) the citizens demand that Pharamond, the Spanish prince, be burned after his seduction of another lady at court betrays their beloved princess (P[1], V.iv.62).¹⁰ Treasonous and not religious undertones colour these episodes, yet the desire to burn in each still seems extreme.

In all of these instances audiences must question the demands being made: does the Foxean paradigm that I have observed in this thesis continue to hold, even without the link to heresy? Does the would-be burner deserve our censure, and the victim our pity? Does burning remain the mark of tyranny? In John Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi* (c. 1613), it certainly seems that burning retains these emphases, as a jealous Ferdinand suggests the need for fire in the punishment of his 'whorish' sister. 'We must not now use balsamum, but fire', he rages (DM, II.v.24).¹¹ Here, the tyrannical fervour witnessed in Tamburlaine's character is clear as Ferdinand demands, 'Tis not your whore's milk that shall quench my wild fire, / But your whore's blood' (II.v.47-8). Like Leontes, whose fiery demands are the sign of his burgeoning insecurity, Ferdinand's announce his irrationality. Burning, first impressions would suggest, continued to connote immoderate punishment, and an insatiable desire for bloodshed.

Calls for burning also feature as a recurrent theme in witchcraft drama, even though the punishment was not served to women found guilty of that crime in early modern England after its redefinition as a felony in 1542. In Ford, Dekker, and Rowley's *The Witch*

¹⁰ Thomas Heywood, *The Silver Age*, vol. III, 6 vols., Heywood's Dramatic Works (London: J. Pearson, 1874); Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *Philaster*, ed. Suzanne Gosset, Arden Early Modern Drama (London: Arden, 2009).

¹¹ John Webster, *The Duchess of Malfi*, ed. Leah Marcus, Arden Early Modern Drama (London: Arden, 2009).

CONCLUSION

of *Edmonton* (1621), for example, the townspeople demand that the town justice ‘set fire on’ Elizabeth Sawyer (*WE*, IV.i.26). A decade later in Thomas Heywood and Richard Brome’s *Late Lancashire Witches* (1631), Master Generous prefers the possibility of his wife’s burning (and his own) in the place of her turn to witchcraft:

Ten thousand times better thy body had
Been promis’d to the stake, ay and mine too
To have suffer’d with thee in a hedge of flames,
Than such a compact ever had been made. (*LLW*, IV.ii.163-6)¹²

In Chapter 6, I argued that *1 Henry VI* sees Joan’s character criminalized with witchcraft to prevent claims of injustice in the face of her historical burning—a fate which could elicit abhorrence in an audience that had internalized Foxean rhetoric. In these later witchcraft plays, apportioning censure is not simple either, and these ahistorical calls for burning may serve to complicate this.

In *The Witch of Edmonton*, Sawyer is certainly a witch, with dark desires and aspirations, but she is also a pitiable figure: the same villagers who call for her burning are those who had treated her hatefully at the play’s outset—a suggestion, perhaps, that determining the guilty is not as easy as it seemed. As with the demands for burning discussed above, simply the call itself asks questions of the justice to be served. Similarly, in Heywood and Brome’s play the witches’ actions are comedic inversions of social order: turning a male servant into a horse, bewitching codpieces, and stealing food. Master Generous’s wish that both he and his wife had burned before her descent into witchcraft seems, in this comic context, particularly extreme. For these plays, further attention to seventeenth-century opinions on witchcraft and its relationship to both heresy and burning would elucidate the role that the threat of fire has within them.

¹² William Rowley, Thomas Dekker, and John Ford, “The Witch of Edmonton,” in *Three Jacobean Witchcraft Plays*, ed. Peter Corbin and Douglas Sedge (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), 143–209; Thomas Heywood and Richard Brome, *The Witches of Lancashire*, ed. Gabriel Egan, Globe Quartos (London: Routledge, 2002).

CONCLUSION

Moreover, as this collection of demands implies, and the chapters of this thesis themselves suggested, burning in drama (both at the stake, and extra-judicially) is linked closely to the disciplining of women. In *Dido*, *Arden*, and *1 Henry VI*, we saw women's journeys to the flames taking centre stage. In these later plays, it is mostly women who are set to suffer if threats come to fruition: Hermione, her infant daughter, Paulina, Semele, the Duchess of Malfi, Sawyer, and the Lancashire witches. Even in *Philaster* Pharamond is effeminate, and the sexual nature of his crime aligns him with the petty traitors that I have discussed alongside Foxe's female martyrs in Chapters 5 and 6.

This direction of demands for burning toward predominantly female characters not only reflects the changing nature of the punishment in practice (with petty traitors continuing to be burned until 1790, long after the last heretic was burned in England in 1612), but also suggests that burning continued to remain an ambiguous signifier. Its emphases, however, appear to move away from the judicial realities of the mid-sixteenth century, and toward the mob desires of the seventeenth. Burning could be a powerful fiction. This is especially true of the English witchcraft plays, wherein the calls to burn could only be passed by law if the women had committed treason.¹³ For English witches and their theatrical representations, burning was an unlikely judicial sentence, but one with a rich symbolism that could speak volumes about those who request and potentially suffer it.¹⁴

These avenues of further study would take burning at the stake forward as a punishment with a complex and dynamic history that runs parallel to its use on the stage. This history has both literal and literary components—competing narratives that do not

¹³ This was the technicality that allowed Matthew Hopkins, the self-styled Witchfinder General, to burn Mary Lackland, in Ipswich in 1645. Mary was accused of witchcraft, but she had also murdered her husband. See David L. Jones, *The Ipswich Witch: Mary Lackland and the Suffolk Witch Hunts* (Stroud: The History Press, 2015).

¹⁴ In a discussion of the myth of witchburning in English legal history, Malcolm Gaskill has suggested that, alongside witchcraft's relationship to female treasons punishable by fire, 'one might add the memory of the fires of Smithfield, central to Protestant martyrology' as a factor in the perpetuation of the myth. *Crime and Mentalities in Early Modern England*, 113.

CONCLUSION

always sit comfortably together, but which each have sway over the way that drama was written and received. This thesis has argued the importance of the latter narrative in particular as a formative influence for the early modern theatre: the imaginative traction of the literary could overpower objective reality. Of the Marian persecutions, Duffy also wrote that ‘the smoke of the fires of Smithfield is in all our eyes’; he suggested that in an enlightened world it is impossible to view scenes of burning, such as those in the *Acts and Monuments*, ‘without a mounting sense of pity for the victims, and a revulsion at the process in which they were caught up’.¹⁵ While this smoke may be a hindrance to the objective studies of historians in the present, it is important to recognize the impact that such works could have had on their early modern readers, and to attempt to decipher their cultural and literary repercussions.

In London’s early modern theatres, propagandist literary representations of burning at the stake were a central imaginative context: though rare in Smithfield and absent on the stage, judicial burning haunted both Elizabethan England’s consciousness, and its theatrical outputs. Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments* laid bare the burning body for the viewing of generations of playwrights and theatregoers who otherwise would have little opportunity to witness the stake in action. For the stake, therefore, it is the polemical page, and not the live ‘theatre of the scaffold’, that sits at the heart of the theatre’s well-established relationship with contemporary violence. Both burning and the stake invoked injustice, and playwrights had either to utilize, or subvert, that rhetoric—it was a spectre that could not be ignored.

¹⁵ Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, 79.

Works cited

- Adler, Doris. "The Riddle of the Sieve: The Siena Sieve Portrait of Queen Elizabeth." *Renaissance Papers*, 1978, 1–10.
- Akbar Khan, H. "Dido and the Sword of Aeneas." *Classical Philology* 63, no. 4 (1968): 283–85.
- Alexander, Gina. "Bonner and the Marian Persecutions." *History* 60, no. 200 (1975): 374–91.
- Allen, William. *A Briefe Historie of the Glorious Martyrdom of Xii Reuerend Priests*. Rheims, 1582.
- . *A True, Sincere, and Modest Defense of English Catholics*. Edited by Robert M. Kingdon. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1965.
- Anderson, David K. *Martyrs and Players in Early Modern England: Tragedy, Religion and Violence on Stage*. Surrey: Ashgate, 2014.
- . "The Tragedy of Good Friday: Sacrificial Violence in *King Lear*." *ELH* 78 (2011): 259–86.
- Anon. *A Booke of Certaine Canons, Concernyng Some Parte of the Discipline of the Church of England*. London, 1571.
- . *A New Enterlude No Lesse Wittie: Then Pleasant, Entituled New Custome*. London: Fleetstreete, 1573.
- . *Sundrye Strange and Inhumaine Murthers, Lately Committed the First of a Father That Hired a Man to Kill Three of His Children Neere to Ashford in Kent, the Second of Master Page of Plymouth, Murthered by the Consent of His Owne Wife: With the Strange Discoverie of Sundrie Other Murthers, Wherein Is Described the Odiousnesse of Murther, with the Vengeance Which God Infliceth on Murtherers*. London, 1591.
- . *The Burning of the Whore of Babylon, As It Was Acted, with Great Applause, in the Poultrye, London, on Wednesday Night, Being the Fifth of November Last, at Six of the Clock*. London: R. C., 1673.
- . "The Examination and Confession of Certaine Wytches." In *Early Modern Witches: Witchcraft Cases in Contemporary Writing*, edited by Marion Gibson, 10–24. Oxford and New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 2000.
- . *The Tragedy of Master Arden of Faversham*. Edited by M. L. Wine. The Revels Plays. London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1973.
- . *The Trueth of the Most Wicked and Secret Murthering of Iohn Brewen*. London, 1592.
- . *The First Part of the Contention Betwixt the Two Famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster, with the Death of the Good Duke Humphrey*. London, 1594.
- Arber, Edward, ed. *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London: 1554–1640*. Vol. 1. 5 vols. London: Stationer's Company, 1875.
- Armstrong, C. D. C. "Gardiner, Stephen (c.1495–1555)." *ODNB [Online]*, n.d. Accessed August 1, 2014.
- Aston, Margaret. "The Illustrations: Books 10–12." In *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online*. Sheffield: hriOnline, 2011.
- Aston, Margaret, and Elizabeth Ingram. "The Iconography of the *Acts and Monuments*." In *John Foxe and the English Reformation*, edited by David Loades, 66–142. Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997.
- Augustine. *The Confessions*. Translated by Henry Chadwick. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Baldwin, William. *The Mirror for Magistrates*. Edited by Lily B. Campbell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938.
- Bale, John. *A Comedy Concerning Three Laws of Nature, Moses and Christ [1538]*. The Tudor Facsimile Texts. London: T.C. & E.C. Jack, 1908.

WORKS CITED

- . *The Epistle Exhortatorye of an Englyshe Christyane Vnto His Derelye Beloued Co[n]treye of Englande*. London, 1544.
- Banerjee, Pompa. *Burning Women: Widows, Witches, and Early Modern European Travelers in India*. New York; Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003.
- . “Hard to Swallow: Women, Poison, and Hindu Widowburning, 1500-1700.” *Continuity and Change* 15, no. 2 (2000): 187-207.
- Barasch, Frances K. “Folk Magic in ‘Henry VI, Parts 1 and 2’: Two Scenes of Embedding.” In *Henry VI: Critical Essays*, edited by Thomas A. Pendleton, 113-25. New York; London: Routledge, 2001.
- Barker, Francis. *The Culture of Violence: Essays on Tragedy and History*. Chicago, IL; Manchester: University of Chicago Press, 1993.
- Bartels, Emily C. *Spectacles of Strangeness: Imperialism, Alienation, and Marlowe*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993.
- Battenhouse, Roy W. *Marlowe’s Tamburlaine: A Study in Renaissance Moral Philosophy*. 2nd Printing, with corrections. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 1964.
- Beaumont, Francis, and John Fletcher. *Philaster*. Edited by Suzanne Gosset. Arden Early Modern Drama. London: Arden, 2009.
- Beilin, Elaine V., ed. *The Examinations of Anne Askew*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Bellamy, Elizabeth J. “Em(body)ments of Power: Versions of the Body in Pain in Spenser.” *Lit: Literature Interpretation Theory* 2, no. 4 (1991): 303-21.
- Belsey, Catherine. *The Subject of Tragedy: Identity and Difference in Renaissance Drama*. New York: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1985.
- Best, Michael R., and Frank H. Brightman, eds. *The Book of Secrets of Albertus Magnus*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973.
- Betteridge, Tom. “From Prophetic to Apocalyptic: John Foxe and the Writing of History.” In *John Foxe and the English Reformation*, edited by David Loades, 210-32. Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997.
- . “Truth and History in Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments*.” In *John Foxe and His World*, edited by John N. King and Christopher Highley, 145-59. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002.
- Bevington, David M. “The Domineering Female in 1 Henry VI.” *Shakespeare Studies* 2 (1966): 51-58.
- Bloom, Harold. *Shakespeare: The Invention of the Human*. New York: Riverhead, 1998.
- Borland, Howard. *Neoclassical Tragedy in Elizabethan England*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2009.
- Boswell-Stone, W.G. *Shakespeare’s Holinshed: The Chronicle and the Historical Plays Compared*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1907.
- Bradbrook, M. C. “The Inheritance of Christopher Marlowe—I.” *Theology* 67, no. 529 (1964): 299-305.
- Braden, Gordon. *Renaissance Tragedy and the Senecan Tradition*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.
- Brammall, Sheldon. *The English Aeneid: Translations of Virgil 1555-1646*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015.
- Brewer, J. S., ed. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Bright, Timothie. *An Abridgement of the Booke of Acts and Monumentes of the Church: Written by That Reuerend Father, Maister Iohn Fox: And Now Abridged by Timothe Bright, Doctour of Phisicke, for such as Either through Want of Leysure, or Abilitie Haue Not the use of so Necessary an History*. London: I. Windet, 1589.
- Brown, William J. “Marlowe’s Debasement of Bajazet: Foxe’s *Actes and Monuments* and *Tamburlaine, Part 1*.” *Renaissance Quarterly* 24, no. 1 (1971): 38-48.

WORKS CITED

- Bufacchi, Vittorio, and Laura Fairrie. "Execution as Torture." *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice* 13, no. 4 (2001): 511-17.
- Bullough, Geoffrey. *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*. 5 vols. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1957.
- Burks, Deborah. "Polemical Potency: The Witness of Word and Woodcut." In *John Foxe and His World*, edited by John N. King and Christopher Highley, 263-76. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002.
- Burks, Deborah G. *Horrid Spectacle: Violation in the Theater of Early Modern England*. Medieval & Renaissance Literary Studies. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2003.
- Burns, Edward. "Introduction." In *King Henry VI, Part 1*, edited by Edward Burns. The Arden Shakespeare. London: Arden, 2000.
- Burton, William. *Dauids Euidenece [sic], Or, The Assurance of Gods Loue Declared in Seuen Sermons*. London, 1592.
- Butler, Chris. "Review of *Dido Queen of Carthage* at Cottesloe Theatre, the National Theatre, London, March-June 2009." *Early Modern Literary Studies* 15, no. 1 (2009). <http://extra.shu.ac.uk/emls/15-1/butlerdi.htm>.
- Butterworth, Philip. *Theatre of Fire: Special Effects in Early English and Scottish Theatre*. London: The Society for Theatre Research, 1998.
- Bynum, Caroline Walker. "Bodily Miracles and the Resurrection of the Body in the High Middle Ages." In *Belief in History: Innovative Approaches to European and American Religion*, edited by Thomas Kselman, 68-106. London: Notre Dame University Press, 1991.
- Cairncross, Andrew, ed. *The First Part of King Henry VI*. London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1962.
- Calvin, John. *The Institution of Christian religion, Written in Latine by maister Iohn Caluine, and translated into Englishe Accordyng to the authors last edition*, translated by Thomas Norton. London, 1562.
- . *John Calvin: Works and Correspondence*. Vol. I. Edited by John T. McNeill. Translated by Ford Lewis Battles. Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1960.
- Campbell, Lily B. *Shakespeare's "Histories": Mirrors of Elizabethan Policy*. San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1947.
- Campbell, Ruth. "Sentence of Death by Burning for Women." *The Journal of Legal History* 5, no. 1 (1984): 44-59.
- Cannon, Charles Dale, ed. *A Warning for Fair Women: A Critical Edition*. The Hague: Mouton, 1975.
- Carleton, Kenneth. "Bonner, Edmund (d. 1569)." *ODNB [Online]*, n.d. Accessed September 17, 2014.
- Castor, Helen. *Joan of Arc: A History*. London: Faber and Faber, 2014.
- Cecil, William. *The Execution of Justice in England*. Edited by Robert M. Kingdon. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1965.
- Chapman, John H. "The Persecution under Elizabeth." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 9 (1881): 21-43.
- Chester, Allan. "Robert Barnes and the Burning of the Books." *Huntington Library Quarterly* 14, no. 3 (1951): 211-21.
- Christian, Margaret. "Elizabeth's Preachers and the Government of Women: Defining and Correcting a Queen." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 24, no. 3 (1993): 561-76.
- Clancy, Thomas H. *Papist Pamphleteers: The Allen-Persons Party and the Political Thought of the Counter-Reformation in England, 1572-1615*. Chicago, IL: Loyola University Press, 1964.
- Clark, Richard. *Women and the Noose: A History of Female Execution*. Gloucestershire: Tempus, 2007.

WORKS CITED

- Clegg, Cyndia Susan. "Censorship." In *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles*, edited by Paulina Kewes, Ian W. Archer, and Felicity Heal, 43–59. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- . *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Coffey, John. *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England, 1558-1689*. Harlow: Longman, 2000.
- Cohen, Derek. *Shakespeare's Culture of Violence*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993.
- Collinson, Patrick. *Elizabethan Essays*. London: Hambledon Press, 1994.
- . *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism*. London: Hambledon Press, 1983.
- . "John Foxe and National Consciousness." In *John Foxe and His World*, edited by Christopher Highley and John N. King, 10–34. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002.
- . "John Foxe as Historian." In *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online*. Sheffield: HRI Online Publications, 2011. <http://www.johnfoxe.org>.
- . "Truth, Lies and Fiction in Sixteenth-Century Protestant Historiography." In *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain: History, Rhetoric, and Fiction 1500-1800*, edited by Donald R. Kelly and David Harris Sacks, 37–68. Cambridge: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Colthorpe, Marion. "Anti-Catholic Masques Performed Before Queen Elizabeth I." *Notes and Queries* 33, no. 3 (1986): 316–18.
- Como, David R. "Legate, Bartholomew (d. 1612)." ODNB [Online], n.d. Accessed August 20, 2014.
- Cope, Alan. *Dialogi Sex Contra Summi Pontificatus, Monasticae Vitae, Sanctorum, Sacrarum Imaginum Oppugnatores, et Pseudomartyres*. Antwerp, 1566.
- Copley, Anthony. *Wits Fittes and Fancies Fronted and Entermedled with Presidentes of Honour and Wisdome. Also: Loves Ovvl. An Idle Conceited Dialogue between Loue and an Old Man*. London, 1595.
- Cotton, Nancy. "Castrating (w)itches: Impotence and Magic in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 38 (1987): 320–26.
- Cox, John D. "Local References in 3 *Henry VI*." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 51, no. 3 (2000): 340–52.
- Craig, Hardin. "Morality Plays and Elizabethan Drama." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 1, no. 2 (1950): 64–72.
- Crawford Pickett, Holly. "The Idolatrous Nose: Incense on the Early Modern Stage." In *Religion and Drama in Early Modern England: The Performance of Religion on the Renaissance Stage*, edited by Jane Hwang Degenhardt and Elizabeth Williamson, 19–37. Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.
- Cressy, David. *Bonfires and Bells*. Stroud: Sutton, 2004.
- . "Book Burning in Tudor and Stuart England." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 36, no. 2 (2005): 359–74.
- Cummings, Brian. *Mortal Thoughts: Religion, Secularity, & Identity in Shakespeare and Early Modern Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Cunningham, Karen. "Renaissance Execution and Marlovian Elocution: The Drama of Death." *PMLA* 105, no. 2 (1990): 209–22.
- Dailey, Jeff. "Christian Underscoring in *Tamburlaine the Great, Part II*." *The Journal of Religion and Theatre* 4, no. 2 (2005): 146–59.
- Darr, Orna Alyagon. *Marks of an Absolute Witch: Evidentiary Dilemmas in Early Modern England*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.

WORKS CITED

- Davidson, James. "Domesticating Dido: History and Historicity." In *A Woman Scorn'd: Responses to the Dido Myth*, edited by Michael Burden, 65–88. London: Faber and Faber, 1998.
- Davis, John J. *The Perfect Shepherd: Studies in the 23 Psalm*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker House, 1979.
- De Blécourt, Willem, and Owen Davies. "Introduction: Witchcraft Continued." In *Witchcraft Continued: Popular Magic in Modern Europe*, edited by Willem de Blécourt and Owen Davies, 1–13. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004.
- Degenhardt, Jane Hwang, and Elizabeth Williamson, eds. *Religion and Drama in Early Modern England: The Performance of Religion on the Renaissance Stage*. Studies in Performance and Early Modern Drama. Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.
- De Girardot, Auguste-Théodore, ed. *Mystère Des Actes Des Apôtres Représenté À Bourges En Avril, 1536*. Paris: Librairie Archéologique de Victor Didron, 1854.
- Dekker, Thomas, and John Webster. *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt*. London: Printed by E.A. for Thomas Archer, 1607.
- De la Casas, Bartolomé. *Brevísima Relación de La Destrucción de Las Indias*. Seville, 1552.
- De Lancre, Pierre. *Tableau de L'inconstance Des Mauvais Anges et Démons, Où Il Est Amplement Traité Des Sorciers et de La Sorcellerie*. Paris: Aubier, 1982.
- Desmond, Marilynn. *Reading Dido: Gender, Textuality, and the Medieval Aeneid*. Medieval Cultures 8. Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, 1994.
- Dessen, Alan. *Elizabethan Stage Conventions and Modern Interpreters*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Dewar-Watson, Sarah. "The *Alcestis* and the Statue Scene in *The Winter's Tale*." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (2009): 73–80.
- Diehl, Huston. *Staging Reform, Reforming the Stage: Protestantism and Popular Theater in Early Modern England*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1997.
- Dod, John, and Robert Cleaver. *Godly Form of Household Government*. London, 1598.
- Dolan, Frances E. "Gender, Moral Agency, and Dramatic Form in *A Warning for Fair Women*." *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 29, no. 2 (1989): 201–218.
- . *Dangerous Familiars: Representations of Domestic Crime in England, 1550-1700*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994.
- . "'Gentlemen, I Have One Thing More to Say': Women on Scaffolds in England, 1563-1680." *Modern Philology* 92, no. 2 (1994): 157–78.
- . "Tracking the Petty Traitor Across Genres." In *Ballads and Broadides in Britain, 1500-1800*, edited by Patricia Fumerton, 149–72. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010.
- Donne, John. *Pseudo-Martyr: Wherein out of Certain Propositions and Gradations, the Conclusion Is Evicted, That Those Which Are of the Romane Religion in This Kingdome, May and Ought to Take the Oath of Allegiance*. Edited by Anthony Raspa. Montreal; London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993.
- Doran, Susan, and Thomas S. Freeman, eds. *The Myth of Elizabeth*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2003.
- Dover Wilson, John. "Introduction." In *Henry VI, Part I*, ix – l. The New Shakespeare. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952.
- Drayton, Michael. "Elegy to My Most Nearly-Loved Friend, Henry Reynolds (1627)." In *Minor Poems*, edited by Cyril Bret. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907.
- Drue, Thomas. *The Life of the Dutches of Suffolke As It Hath Beene Divers and Sundry Times Acted, with Good Applause*. London, 1631.
- Duffy, Eamon. "Continuity and Divergence in Tudor Religion." In *Unity and Diversity in the Church: Papers Read at the 1994 Summer Meeting and the 1995 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, edited by R. N. Swanson. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

WORKS CITED

- . *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor*. New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 2009.
- Dutton, Richard, Alison Findlay, and Richard Wilson, eds. *Theatre and Religion: Lancastrian Shakespeare*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003.
- Elton, G. R. *Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government*. Vol. IV. Papers and Reviews 1982-1990. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Enders, Jody. "Theater Makes History: Ritual Murder by Proxy in the 'Mistere de La Sainte Hostie.'" *Medieval Academy of America* 79, no. 4 (2004): 991-1016.
- Euripides. *Euripidis Tragœdiæ, Quæ Hodie Extant, Omnes, Lat. Soluta Oratione Redditæ, E Prælectionibus P. Melanthonis*. Translated by Philipp Melanchthon. Basel, 1558.
- . "Suppliants." In *Euripides*, translated by Arthur S. Way, 3:493-599. Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann, 1912.
- . "Suppliant Women." In *Euripides*, translated by David Kovacs, 3:1-139. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 1998.
- "Executions—Preparing for the Hard Task Ahead." *The Corrections Professional* 1, no. 11 (February 12, 1996).
- Feasey, Lynette, and Evelyn Feasey. "Marlowe and the Prophetic Dooms." *Notes and Queries* 195 (1950): 356-359, 404-407, 419-421.
- Felch, Susan. "Shaping the Reader in the Acts and Monuments." In *John Foxe and the English Reformation*, edited by David Loades, 52-65. Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997.
- Ferguson, Margaret W. *Dido's Daughters: Literacy, Gender, and Empire in Early Modern England and France*. Chicago, IL; London: University of Chicago Press, 2003.
- Fisher, John. "A Sermon Had at Paulis by the Co[m]mandment of the Most Reuerend Father in God [1526]." In *English Works of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester: Sermons and Other Writings 1520 to 1535*, edited by Cecilia Hatt, 145-74. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- . *The Sermon of Ioh[a]n the Bysshop of Rochester Made Agayn the P[er]nicious Doctryn of Martin Luther W[i]t[h]in the Octaues of the Asce[n]syon by the Assigneme[n]t of the Most Reuerend Fader I[n] God the Lord Thomas Cardinal of Yorke [and] Legate Ex Latere from Our Holy Father the Pope*. London: Imprinted by Wynkyn de Worde, 1521.
- Fletcher, John, and William Shakespeare. *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. Edited by Lois Potter. London: Arden, 2015.
- Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Translated by Alan Sheridan. London: Penguin, 1991.
- . *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*. Edited by Colin Gordon. Translated by Colin Gordon, Leo Marshall, John Mepham, and Kate Soper. New York: Pantheon, 1980.
- Foxe, John. *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online*. Sheffield: HRI Online Publications, 2011. Available at <http://johnfoxe.org/>.
- . "Christus Triumphans." In *Two Latin Comedies by John Foxe the Martyrologist: Titus et Gesippus. Christus Triumphans*, translated by John Hazel Smith, 199-371. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1973.
- . *Foxe's Book of Martyrs: Select Narratives*. Edited by John N. King. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- . *Rerum in Ecclesia Gestarum, Quæ Postremis & Periculosis His Temporibus Euenerunt, Maximarumq; per Europam Persecutionum, Ac Sanctorum Dei Martyrum, Cæterarumq; Rerum Si Quæ Insignioris Exemplisint, Digesti per Regna & Nationes Commentarij*. Basel, 1559.
- Franklin, Margaret. "Mantegna's 'Dido': Faithful Widow or Abandoned Lover?" *Artibus et Historiæ* 21, no. 41 (2000): 111-22.

WORKS CITED

- Frederick, Caesar. *The Voyage and Trauaile: Of M. Caesar Frederick, Merchant of Venice, into the East India, the Indies, and Beyond the Indies*. Translated by Thomas Hickock. London: Richard Jones and Edward White, 1588.
- Freeman, Thomas. “‘The Good Ministrye of Godlye and Vertuose Women’: The Elizabethan Martyrologists and the Female Supporters of the Marian Martyrs.” *Journal of British Studies* 39, no. 1 (2000): 8–33.
- Freeman, Thomas S. “Burning Zeal: Mary Tudor and the Marian Persecution.” In *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives*, edited by Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman, 171–205. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- . “Foxye, John (1516/17–1587).” *ODNB [Online]*, n.d. Accessed May 17, 2013.
- . “‘Imitatio Christi with a Vengeance’: The Politicisation of Martyrdom in Early Modern England.” In *Martyrs and Martyrdom in England, 1400–1700*, edited by Thomas S. Freeman and Thomas F. Mayer, 35–69. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2007.
- . “Text, Lies, and Microfilm: Reading and Misreading Foxye’s ‘Book of Martyrs.’” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 30, no. 1 (1999): 23–46.
- Freeman, Thomas S., and Sarah E. Wall. “Racking the Body, Shaping the Text: The Account of Anne Askew in Foxye’s ‘Book of Martyrs.’” *Renaissance Quarterly* 54, no. 4 (2001): 1165–96.
- Friedland, Paul. *Seeing Justice Done: The Age of Spectacular Capital Punishment in France*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Frijlink, Wilhelmina P., ed. *The Tragedy of Sir John Van Olden Barnaveit*. Amsterdam: H. G. Van Dorssen, 1922.
- Gallagher, Lowell. *Medusa’s Gaze: Casuistry and Conscience in the Renaissance*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991.
- Garber, Marjorie. “‘Here’s Nothing Writ’: Scribe, Script, and Circumscription in Marlowe’s Plays.” *Theatre Journal* 36, no. 3, Renaissance Re-Visions (1984): 301–20.
- Gaskell, Ian. “2 Tamburlaine, Marlowe’s ‘War Against the Gods.’” *English Studies in Canada* 11, no. 2 (1985): 178–92.
- Gaskill, Malcolm. *Crime and Mentalities in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Geis, Gilbert, and Ivan Bunn. *A Trial of Witches: A Seventeenth-Century Witchcraft Prosecution*. London: Routledge, 1997.
- Gibson, Marion. *Reading Witchcraft: Stories of Early English Witches*. London and New York: Routledge, 1999.
- Gifford, George. *A Dialogue Concerning Witches and Witchcraftes*. London, 1593.
- Gill, Roma, et al., eds. *The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe*. 5 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987–1998.
- Ginzburg, Carlo. “Deciphering the Sabbath.” In *Early Modern European Witchcraft: Centres and Peripheries*, 121–37. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.
- Golding, Arthur. *A Briefe Discourse of th,e Late Murther of Master George Saunders*. London: Henry Bunneman, 1573.
- Goy-Blanquet, Dominique. *Shakespeare’s Early History Plays: From Chronicle to Stage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Great Britain. *The Statutes of the Realm*. Edited by John Raithby. 11 vols. London: Printed by George Eyre and Andrew Strahan, 1810.
- Greenblatt, Stephen. *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*. Chicago, IL; London: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Greene, Robert. *Menaphon: Camillas Alarum to Slumbering Euphues, in His Melancholie Cell at Silexedra*. London: Thomas Orwin, 1589.
- . *Perimedes the Blacke-Smith*. London: Printed by John Wolfe for Edward White, 1588.

WORKS CITED

- Gregory, Brad S. *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 2001.
- Greg, W. W. *A Companion to Arber: Being a Calendar of Documents in Edward Arber's "Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640" with Text and Calendar of Supplementary Documents*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967.
- . , ed. *Henslowe's Diary*. 2 vols. London: A. H. Bullen, 1904.
- Gurr, Andrew. *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- . *The Shakespearean Stage 1574-1652*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Gutierrez, Nancy A. "Gender and Value in '1 Henry VI': The Role of Joan de Pucelle." *Theatre Journal* 42, no. 2 (May 1990): 183-93.
- Haigh, Christopher. *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.
- Hall, Edward. *Hall's Chronicle; Containing the History of England, during the Reign of Henry the Fourth, and the Succeeding Monarchs, to the End of the Reign of Henry the Eighth, in Which Are Particularly Described the Manners and Customs of Those Periods*. London: Printed for J. Johnson; F. C. and J. Rivington; T. Payne; Wilkie and Robinson; Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme; Cadell and Davies; and J. Mawman, 1809.
- Haller, William. *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1963.
- Hamilton, Dakota. "Thomas, William (d. 1554)." ODNB [Online], n.d. Accessed August 1, 2014.
- Hamilton, Donna. *Shakespeare and the Politics of Protestant England*. Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1992.
- Hampton-Reeves, Stuart, and Carol Chillington Rutter. *The Henry VI Plays*. Shakespeare in Performance. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006.
- Harding, Thomas. *A Rejoinder to M. Jewels Replie against the Sacrifice of the Masse [1567]*. Reprint. Menston, UK: Scholar Press, 1970.
- Hardin, Richard F. "Apocalypse Then: Tamburlaine and the Pleasures of Religious Fear." *Baylor Journal of Theatre and Performance* 3, no. 2 (2006): 31-41.
- . "Chronicles and Mythmaking in Shakespeare's Joan of Arc." In *Shakespeare Survey*, edited by Stanley Wells, 42:25-36. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Harmon, A. G. *Eternal Bonds, True Contracts: Law and Nature in Shakespeare's Problem Plays*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004.
- Harriss, G. L. "Eleanor Cobham." In ODNB [Online], n.d. Accessed September 27, 2015.
- Hawley, William M. *Shakespearean Tragedy and the Common Law: The Art of Punishment*. Studies in Shakespeare 7. New York: Peter Lang, 1998.
- Hayward, Sir John. *Annals of the First Four Years of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*. Edited by John Bruce. London: Camden Society, 1840.
- Helgerson, Richard. *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England*. Chicago, Ill; London: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Hessayon, Ariel. "Incendiary Texts: Book Burning in England, c.1640 - c.1660." *Cromohs* 12 (2007): 1-25.
- Heywood, Thomas. *The Brazen Age: The First Act Containing, the Death of the Centaure Nessus, the Second, the Tragedy of Meleager: The Third the Tragedy of Iason and Medea. The Fourth. Vulcans Net the Fifth. The Labours and Death of Hercules*. London, 1613.
- . *The Silver Age*. Vol. III. 6 vols. *Heywood's Dramatic Works*. London: J. Pearson, 1874.
- Heywood, Thomas. *The First and Second Parts of King Edward IV*. Edited by Richard Rowland. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005.
- Heywood, Thomas, and Richard Brome. *The Witches of Lancashire*. Edited by Gabriel Egan. Globe Quartos. London: Routledge, 2002.

WORKS CITED

- Hickerson, Megan L. *Making Women Martyrs in Tudor England*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Hodnett, Edward. *Image and Text: Studies in the Illustration of English Literature*. London: Scolar Press, 1982.
- Höfele, Andreas. *Stage, Stake, and Scaffold: Humans and Animals in Shakespeare's Theatre*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Holinshed, Raphael. *The Holinshed Project Online*. Oxford: The Holinshed Project, 2013. Available at <http://www.english.ox.ac.uk/holinshed/>.
- Holwell, John Zephaniah. "The Religious Tenets of the Gentoos [1767]." In *The British Discovery of Hinduism in The Eighteenth Century*, edited by P. J. Marshall, 45–106. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.
- Hope, Andrew. "Bocher, Joan (d. 1550)." *ODNB [Online]*, n.d. Accessed August 20, 2014.
- Hopkins, Lisa. "'Dead Shepherd, Now I Find Thy Saw of Might': Tamburlaine and Pastoral." Edited by David M. Bergeron. *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 35 (1996): 1–16.
- Hopkinson, A. F. "Introduction." In *A Warning for Fair Women*, edited by A. F. Hopkinson, 1–xxi. London: M. E. Sims & Co., 1904.
- Hopley, Lizzie. "Our Roaring Girls Part 2 - Sharon Small." *Whispers From the Wings*, September 11, 2014. <http://www.rsc.org.uk/explore/blogs/whispers-from-the-wings/our-roaring-girls-part-2-sharon-small/>.
- Houliston, Victor. "Robert Persons's Comfortable History of England." In *Martyrs and Martyrdom in England, 1400-1700*, edited by Thomas S. Freeman and Thomas F. Mayer, 180–202. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2007.
- Howard-Hill, T. H. "Buc and the Censorship of *Sir John van Olden Barnavelt* in 1619." *Review of English Studies* 39, no. 153 (1988): 39–63.
- Hughes, Paul L., and James F. Larkin, eds. *Tudor Royal Proclamations. Volume II. The Later Tudors (1553-1587)*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969.
- Hutson, Lorna. "Rethinking the 'Spectacle of the Scaffold': Juridical Epistemologies and English Revenge Tragedy." *Representations* 89 (2005): 30–58.
- . *The Invention of Suspicion: Law and Mimesis in Shakespeare and Renaissance Drama*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Hyll, Thomas. *A Briefe and Pleasaunt Treatise, Intituled: Naturall and Artificiall Conclusions*. London: Edward Allde, 1586.
- Ichikawa, Mariko. "What to Do with a Corpse? Physical Reality and the Fictional World in the Shakespearean Theatre." *Theatre Research International* 29, no. 3 (2004): 201–15.
- Jackson, Gabriele Bernhard. "Topical Ideology: Witches, Amazons, and Shakespeare's Joan of Arc." *English Literary Renaissance* 18, no. 1 (1988): 40–65.
- Jackson, Ken, and Arthur F. Marotti. "The Turn to Religion in Early Modern English Studies." *Criticism* 46, no. 1 (2004): 167–90.
- Jackson, MacDonald P. *Determining the Shakespeare Canon: Arden of Faversham and A Lover's Complaint*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- James I. *Daemonologie in Forme of a Dialogue, Diuided into Three Bookes*. Edinburgh, 1597.
- Jardine, Lisa. *Still Harping on Daughters: Women and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare*. Brighton: Harvester, 1983.
- Jones, David L. *The Ipswich Witch: Mary Lackland and the Suffolk Witch Hunts*. Stroud: The History Press, 2015.
- Jones, Malcolm. "The Lambe Speaketh... An Addendum." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 63 (2000): 287–94.
- Jordan, Constance, and Karen Cunningham, eds. *The Law in Shakespeare*. Early Modern Literature in History. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

WORKS CITED

- Kallendorf, Craig. *The Other Virgil: "Pessimistic" Readings of the Aeneid in Early Modern Culture*. Classical Presences. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Kastan, David Scott. "Little Foxes." In *John Foxe and His World*, edited by John N. King and Christopher Highley, 117–29. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002.
- Kelley, Donald R. "Martyrs, Myths, and the Massacre: The Background of St. Bartholomew." *American Historical Review* 77, no. 5 (1972): 1323–42.
- King, John N. "Fiction and Fact in Foxe's Book of Martyrs." In *John Foxe and the English Reformation*, edited by David Loades, 12–35. Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997.
- . *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and Early Modern Print Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- . "Guides to Reading Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs.'" *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 68, no. 1/2, The Uses of History in Early Modern England (2005): 133–50.
- . *Tudor Royal Iconography: Literature and Art in an Age of Religious Crisis*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989.
- Kinney, Clare. "Epic Transgression and the Framing of Agency in *Dido Queen of Carthage*." *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 40, no. 2 (2000): 261–76.
- Klause, John. "Politics, Heresy, and Martyrdom in Shakespeare's Sonnet 124 and 'Titus Andronicus.'" In *Shakespeare's Sonnets: Critical Essays*, 219–40. New York; London: Garland, 1999.
- Knapp, Jeffrey. "Preachers and Players in Shakespeare's England." *Representations* 44 (1993): 29–59.
- Knott, John R. *Discourses of Martyrdom in English Literature, 1563-1694*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Knowles, Rowland. "Introduction." In *King Henry VI, Part 2*. The Arden Shakespeare. London: Arden, 2013.
- Kocher, Paul H. *Christopher Marlowe: A Study of His Thought, Learning, and Character*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1946.
- Kyd, Thomas. *The Spanish Tragedy*. Edited by Michael Neill. Norton Critical Editions. New York; London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2014.
- Lacey, Andrew. "'Charles the First, and Christ the Second': The Creation of a Political Martyr." In *Martyrs and Martyrdom in England, 1400-1700*, edited by Thomas S. Freeman and Thomas F. Mayer, 203–20. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2007.
- Lake, Peter, and Michael Questier. *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England*. London: Yale University Press, 2002.
- Lander, Jesse. "Foxe's Book of Martyrs: Printing and Popularizing the *Acts and Monuments*." In *Religion and Culture in Renaissance England*, edited by Claire McEachern and Debora Shuger, 69–92. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- . *Inventing Polemic: Religion, Print, and Literary Culture in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Law, Robert Adger. "Yarlington's 'Two Lamentable Tragedies.'" *The Modern Language Review* 5, no. 2 (1910): 167–77.
- Leech, Clifford. *Christopher Marlowe: Poet for the Stage*. Edited by Anne Lancashire. New York: AMS Press, 1986.
- Leggatt, Alexander. "Tamburlaine's Sufferings." *The Yearbook of English Studies* 3 (1973): 28–38.
- Lemon, Rebecca. *Treason by Words: Literature, Law, and Rebellion in Shakespeare's England*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006.
- Levin, Carole, and John Watkins. *Shakespeare's Foreign Worlds: National and Transnational Identities in the Elizabethan Age*. Ithaca, NY; London: Cornell University Press, 2009.
- Levine, Nina S. *Women's Matters: Politics, Gender, and Nation in Shakespeare's Early History Plays*. London: Associated University Presses, 1998.

WORKS CITED

- Levin, Harry. *Christopher Marlowe: The Overreacher*. British Edition. London: Faber and Faber, 1953.
- Lieblein, Leaneore. "The Context of Murder in English Domestic Plays, 1590-1610." *SEL* 23, no. 2 (1983): 181-96.
- Liebler, Naomi Conn, and Lisa Scancellia Shea. "Shakespeare's Queen Margaret: Unruly or Unruled?" In *Henry VI: Critical Essays*, 79-96. New York; London: Routledge, 2001.
- Loades, David. "Introduction: John Foxe and the Editors." In *John Foxe and the English Reformation*, edited by David Loades, 1-11. Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997.
- Lockwood, Matthew. "From Treason to Homicide: Changing Conceptions of the Law of Petty Treason in Early Modern England." *The Journal of Legal History* 34, no. 1 (2013): 31-49.
- Lodge, Thomas, and Robert Greene. *A Looking Glasse for London and England*. London, 1594.
- Loewenstein, David. *Treacherous Faith: The Specter of Heresy in Early Modern English Literature and Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Lord, Henry. *A Display of Two Forraigne Sects in the East Indies: Vizt: The Sect of the Banians the Ancient Natiues of India and the Sect of the Persees the Ancient Inhabitants of Persia, Together with the Religion and Maners of Each Sect*. London, 1630.
- Lord, Mary Louise. "Dido as an Example of Chastity: The Influence of Example Literature." *Harvard Library Bulletin* 17 (1969): 22-44, 216-32.
- Luborsky, Ruth Samson. "The Illustrations: Their Pattern and Plan." In *John Foxe: An Historical Perspective*, edited by David Loades, 67-84. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999.
- Lucas, Scott. "Holinshed and Hall." In *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles*, 203-15. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- MacDonald, John. *Memoirs Of An Eighteenth Century Footman, Travels 1745-1779*. London: Routledge, 1927.
- Mackay, Ellen. *Persecution, Plague, and Fire: Fugitive Histories of the Stage in Early Modern England*. Chicago, Ill; London: University of Chicago Press, 2011.
- Maguire, Laurie. *Shakespeare's Names*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Maguire, Laurie, and Emma Smith. "What Is a Source? Or, How Shakespeare Read His Marlowe." In *Shakespeare Survey*, edited by Peter Holland. 68. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.
- Major, Andrea. "'Eternal Flames': Suicide, Sinfulness and Insanity in 'Western' Constructions of Sati, 1500-1830." *International Journal of Asian Studies* 1, no. 2 (2004): 247-76.
- . *Pious Flames: European Encounters with Sati, 1500-1830*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- . "Pompa Banerjee, Burning Women: Widows, Witches and Early Modern European Travellers in India." *Medieval Feminist Forum* 41, no. 1 (2006): 99-102.
- . , ed. *Sati: A Historical Anthology*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Manley, Lawrence. "From Strange's Men to Pembroke's Men: 2 'Henry VI' and *The First Part of the Contention*." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 54, no. 3 (October 1, 2003): 253-87.
- Marcus, Leah S. *Puzzling Shakespeare: Local Reading and Its Discontents*. Berkeley, CA; London: University of California Press, 1988.
- Marlowe, Christopher. *All Ovids Elegies*. Edited by Roma Gill. Vol. 1 Translations. The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987.
- . *Tamburlaine Parts I and II*. Edited by David Fuller. Vol. V. The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.
- . *Tamburlaine the Great. Part Two*. Edited by Anthony B. Dawson. London: Bloomsbury, 2013.
- Marprelate, Martin. *The Epistle*. London, 1588.
- Martin, Randall. "Rehabilitating John Somerville in 3 *Henry VI*." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 51, no. 3 (2000): 332-40.

WORKS CITED

- . , ed. *Women and Murder in Early Modern News Pamphlets and Broadside Ballads, 1573-1697*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005.
- Mastrorarde, Donald J. "Actors on High: The Skene Roof, the Crane, and the Gods in Attic Drama." *Classical Antiquity* 9, no. 2 (1990): 247-94.
- . *The Art of Euripides: Dramatic Technique and Social Context*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- McAdam, Ian. "Protestant Manliness in *Arden of Faversham*." *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 45, no. 1 (2003): 42-72.
- McCullough, Peter E. "Out of Egypt: Richard Fletcher's Sermon before Elizabeth I after the Execution of Mary, Queen of Scots." In *Dissing Elizabeth: Negative Representations of Gloriana*, edited by Judith Walker, 118-52. London: Duke University Press, 1988.
- McKinley, J. I. "Bone Fragment Size in British Cremation Burials and Its Implication for Pyre Technology and Ritual." *Journal of Archaeological Science* 21 (1994): 339-42.
- McNeill, John T. "John Foxe: Historiographer, Disciplinarian, Tolerationist." *Church History* 43, no. 2 (1974): 216-29.
- Meredith, Peter, and John E. Tailby, eds. *The Staging of Religious Drama in Europe in the Later Middle Ages: Texts and Documents in English Translation*. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1982.
- Meyer, Carl S. "Henry VIII Burns Luther's Books, 12 May 1521." *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 9, no. 2 (1958): 173-87.
- Miller, William Ian. *Humiliation: And Other Essays on Honor, Social Discomfort, and Violence*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993.
- Milward, Peter. *Shakespeare's Religious Background*. London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1973.
- Minton, Gretchen. *John Bale's "The Image of Both Churches"*. Dordrecht; London: Springer, 2013.
- Miola, Robert S. *Shakespeare and Classical Tragedy: The Influence of Seneca*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.
- Moore, Roger E. "The Spirit and the Letter: Marlowe's 'Tamburlaine' and Elizabethan Religious Radicalism." *Studies in Philology* 99, no. 2 (2002): 123-51.
- More, Thomas. *A Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation [1534-5]*. Edited by Louis L. Martz and Germain Manley. Vol. XII. The Complete Works of St. Thomas More. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976.
- Mozley, J. F. *John Foxe and His Book*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1940.
- Mukherji, Subha. *Law and Representation in Early Modern Drama*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Munro, Lucy. "Archaism, the 'Middle Age' and the Morality Play in Shakespearean Drama." *Shakespeare* 8, no. 4 (2012): 356-67.
- Murphy, Cullen. *God's Jury: The Inquisition and the Making of the Modern World*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2012.
- Murray, Alexander. "The Burning of Heretical Books." In *Heresy and the Making of European Culture: Medieval and Modern Perspectives*, edited by Andrew P. Roach and James Simpson, 77-88. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013.
- Murray Kendall, Gillian, ed. *Shakespearean Power and Punishment*. Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1998.
- Nashe, Thomas. *The Vnfortunate Traueller. Or, The Life of Iacke Wilton*. London, 1594.
- Nichols, Francis Morgan, ed. *Britton*. Washington, D.C.: John Byrne & Co., 1901.
- Nichols, John, ed. *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*. 3 vols. London: John Nichols and Son, 1823.
- Noy, David. "'Half-Burnt on an Emergency Pyre': Roman Cremations Which Went Wrong." *Greece & Rome* 47, no. 2 (October 1, 2000): 186-96.

WORKS CITED

- Nussbaum, Damian. "Appropriating Martyrdom: Fears of Renewed Persecution and the 1632 Edition of *Acts and Monuments*." In *John Foxe and the English Reformation*, edited by David Loades, 178–91. Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997.
- Nuttall, A. D. "Action at a Distance: Shakespeare and the Greeks." In *Shakespeare and the Classics*, edited by Charles Martindale and A. B. Taylor, 209–222. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Oliver, Leslie M. "The Seventh Edition of John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*." *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 37 (1943): 243–60.
- Openshaw, Robert. *Short Questions and Answeraes, conteyning the summe of Christian religion*. London, 1579.
- Orlin, Lena Cowen. *Private Matters and Public Culture in Post-Reformation England*. Ithaca, NY; London: Cornell University Press, 1994.
- Ovid. *Metamorphoses*, edited by E. J. Kenney. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- . "Artis Amatoriae I-III." In *The Art of Love, and Other Poems*, translated by J. H. Mozley. Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann, 1929.
- Owens, Margaret E. *Stages of Dismemberment: The Fragmented Body in Late Medieval and Early Modern Drama*. Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2005.
- Palfrey, Simon. *Poor Tom: Living "King Lear"*. Chicago, IL; London: University of Chicago Press, 2014.
- Parr, Johnstone. "Tamburlaine's Malady." *PMLA* 59, no. 3 (1944): 696–714.
- Patterson, Annabel. "Foul, His Wife, the Mayor, and Foul's Mare: The Power of Anecdote in Tudor Historiography." In *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain: History, Rhetoric, and Fiction, 1500-1800*, edited by Donald R. Kelley and David H. Sacks, 159–78. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- . *Reading Holinshed's Chronicles*. Chicago, IL; London: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Peele, George. *Descensus Astrææ*. London, 1591.
- . *The Battell of Alcazar Fought in Barbarie*. London, 1594.
- Pernoud, Régine. *The Retrial of Joan of Arc*. Translated by J. M. Cohen. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1955.
- Pernoud, Régine, and Marie-Véronique Clin. *Joan of Arc: Her Story*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999.
- Persons, Robert. *A Treatise of Three Conuersions of England from Paganisme to Christian Religion*. Saint-Omer, 1603.
- . *De Persecutione Anglicana Libellus*. Romæ, 1582.
- Pettegree, Andrew. "Parriss, George van (d. 1551)." *ODNB [Online]*, n.d. Accessed August 20, 2014.
- Pilkington, James. *The Works of James Pilkington, BD*. Edited by James Scholefield. Cambridge: Parker Society, 1842.
- Pollard, Tanya. "Conceiving Tragedy." In *Shakespearean Sensations: Experiencing Literature in Early Modern England*, edited by Katherine A. Craik and Tanya Pollard, 85–100. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- . "Greek Playbooks and Dramatic Forms in Early Modern England." In *Formal Matters: Reading the Materials of English Renaissance Literature*, edited by Allison Deutermann Kiséry and Andrew K. Deutermann Kiséry, 99–123. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013.
- Pope-Hennessy, John. *The Portrait in the Renaissance*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1966.
- Postles, Dave. "Penance and the Market Place: A Reformation Dialogue with the Medieval Church (c. 1250 - c. 1600)." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 54, no. 3 (2003): 441–68.

WORKS CITED

- Potter, Lucy. "Marlowe's Dido: Virgilian or Ovidian?" *Notes and Queries* 56, no. 4 (2009): 540-44.
- Preedy, Chloe Kathleen. *Marlowe's Literary Scepticism: Politic Religion and Post-Reformation Polemic*. London: Bloomsbury, 2012.
- "Principle Photography Begins on The Hollow Crown: The Wars of the Roses." *BBC*, October 1, 2014. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/mediacentre/latestnews/2014/hollow-crown-roses>.
- Purkiss, Diane. "The Queen on Stage: Marlowe's *Dido*, *Queen of Carthage* and the Representation of Elizabeth I." In *A Woman Scorn'd: Responses to the Dido Myth*, edited by Michael Burden, 151-67. London: Faber and Faber, 1998.
- . *The Witch in History: Early Modern and Twentieth Century Representations*. London; New York: Routledge, 1996.
- Ravelhofer, Barbara. "Beasts of Recreation': Henslowe's White Bears." *English Literary Renaissance* 32, no. 2 (2002): 287-323.
- Reames, Sherry L. *The Legenda Aurea: A Reexamination of Its Paradoxical History*. Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985.
- Reeson, James. *Ovid Heroides 11, 13, and 14: A Commentary*. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- Rehm, Rush. *Greek Tragic Theatre*. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Reinhard, J. R. "Burning at the Stake in Medieval Law and Literature." *Speculum* 16, no. 2 (1941): 186-209.
- Remy, Nicholas. *Demonolatry*. Edited by Montague Summers. Translated by E. Ashwin. London: John Rodker, 1930.
- Reynolds, Matthew. *Godly Reformers and Their Opponents in Early Modern England: Religion in Norwich, c.1560-1643*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005.
- Rhodes, Neil. "Marlowe and the Greeks." *Renaissance Studies* 27, no. 2 (2011): 199-218.
- Richardson, Catherine. "Tragedy, Family and Household." In *The Cambridge Companion to English Renaissance Tragedy*, edited by Emma Smith and Garrett A. Sullivan Jr, 17-29. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Richter, Claudia. "Performing God's Wrath: Tamburlaine, Calvinism and the Phantasmata of Terror." *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* 143 (2007): 52-70.
- Riordan, Michael, and Alec Ryrie. "Stephen Gardiner and the Making of a Protestant Villain." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 34, no. 4 (2003): 1039-63.
- Roberts, Julian, and Elizabeth Evenden. "Bibliographical Aspects of the *Acts and Monuments*." In *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online*. Sheffield: hriOnline, 2011.
- Robinson, Marsha S. *Writing the Reformation: Actes and Monuments and the Jacobean History Play*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002.
- Rosenwein, Barbara H. "Worrying about Emotions in History." *The American Historical Review* 107, no. 3 (2002): 821-45.
- Rowley, William, Thomas Dekker, and John Ford. "The Witch of Edmonton." In *Three Jacobean Witchcraft Plays*, edited by Peter Corbin and Douglas Sedge, 143-209. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986.
- Rozett, Martha Tuck. *The Doctrine of Election and the Emergence of Elizabethan Tragedy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984.
- Rust, Jennifer. "Reforming the Mystical Body: From Mass to Martyr in John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*." *ELH* 80 (2013): 627-59.
- Rymer, Thomas. *The Tragedies of the Last Age Consider'd and Examin'd by the Practice of the Ancients and by the Common Sense of All Ages in a Letter to Fleetwood Shepheard, Esq.* London, 1678.
- Sales, Roger. *Christopher Marlowe*. English Dramatists. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991.
- Savage, Roger. "Dido Dies Again." In *A Woman Scorn'd: Responses to the Dido Myth*, edited by Michael Burden, 3-38. London: Faber and Faber, 1998.

WORKS CITED

- Scarry, Elaine. *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- Scot, Reginald. *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*. London, 1584.
- Shaheen, Naseeb. *Biblical References in Shakespeare's Plays*. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011.
- Shakespeare, William. *The Riverside Shakespeare*. Edited by G. Blakemore Evans et al. Second Edition. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1997.
- . *King Henry VI, Part 1*. Edited by Edward Burns. The Arden Shakespeare. London: Arden, 2000.
- . *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories & Tragedies, Published according to the True Originall Copies*. London: Isaac Jaggard and Edward Blount, 1623.
- . *Shakespeare's Merry Wives of Windsor, 1602*. Edited by W. W. Greg. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910.
- . *The Henry Irving Shakespeare*. Edited by Henry Irving. Digital Edition. 7 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Sharpe, James. "Last Dying Speeches': Religion, Ideology and Public Execution in Seventeenth-Century England." *Past & Present* 107 (May 1985): 144–67.
- . "The Debate on Witchcraft." In *A Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*, edited by Michael Hattaway, Second Edition, 653–61. Oxford: Blackwell, 2003.
- Shepard, Alan. *Marlowe's Soldiers: Rhetorics of Masculinity in the Age of the Armada*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002.
- Shutzman, Julie R. "Alice Arden's Freedom and the Suspended Moment of Arden of Faversham." *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 36, no. 2. Tudor and Stuart Drama (1996): 289–314.
- Sidney, Philip. "The Defence of Poesy." In *Sidney's "The Defence of Poesy" and Selected Renaissance Literary Criticism*, edited by Gavin Alexander, 1–54. London: Penguin, 2004.
- Simpson, James. *Burning to Read: English Fundamentalism and Its Reformation Opponents*. Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 2007.
- Smith, Dwight C. "Robert Browne, Independent." *Church History* 6, no. 4 (1937): 289–349.
- Smith, John Hazel. "Introduction." In *Two Latin Comedies by John Foxe the Martyrologist: Titus et Gesippus. Christus Triumphans*, 1–49. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1973.
- Smith, Kristin M. "Martial Maids and Murdering Mothers: Women, Witchcraft and Motherly Transgression in *Henry VI* and *Richard III*." *Shakespeare* 3, no. 2 (August 2007): 143–60.
- Smith, Marion Bodwell. *Marlowe's Imagery and the Marlowe Canon*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940.
- Smith, Molly Easo. *Breaking Boundaries: Politics and Play in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998.
- . "The Theatre and the Scaffold: Death as Spectacle in 'The Spanish Tragedy.'" In *Revenge Tragedy*, 71–87. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001.
- Smith, Rowena J. "The Lambe Speaketh... An English Protestant Satire." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 61 (1998): 261–67.
- Sokol, B. J., and Mary Sokol. *Shakespeare's Legal Language: A Dictionary*. Somerset, NJ: Continuum, 2004.
- Spalding Gattou, John. "'There Must Be Blood': Mutilation and Martyrdom on the Medieval Stage." In *Violence in Drama*, 79–91. Themes in Drama 13. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Spence, Leslie. "Tamburlaine and Marlowe." *PMLA* 42, no. 3 (1927): 604–22.
- Spenser, Edmund. *The Faerie Queene*. Edited by A. C. Hamilton. Harlow: Pearson, 2006.

WORKS CITED

- Stapleton, M. L. *Marlowe's Ovid: The Elegies in the Marlowe Canon*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2014.
- Steane, J. B. *Marlowe: A Critical Study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965.
- Steinsaltz, David. "The Politics of French Language in Shakespeare's History Plays." *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 42, no. 2 (2002): 317-34.
- Stern, Tiffany. *Making Shakespeare: From Stage to Page*. London: Routledge, 2004.
- Stevens, Andrea. "Drama as Text and Performance." In *A New Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*, edited by Michael Hattaway, 2:502-12. Blackwell Companions to Literature and Culture. Malden, MA; Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.
- Stjerna, Kirsi Irmeli. *Women and the Reformation*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2009.
- Storey, Ian C. *Euripides: Suppliant Women*. Duckworth Companions to Greek and Roman Tragedy. London: Duckworth, 2008.
- Stow, John. *The Annales of England Faithfully Collected out of the Most Autenticall Autors, Records, and Other Monuments of Antiquitie, Lately Collected, since Encreased, and Continued, from the First Habitation Vntill This Present Yeare 1605*. London: Peter Short, Felix Kingston and George Eld for George Bishop, and Thomas Adams, 1605.
- Strong, Roy. *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1987.
- . *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963.
- Strype, John. *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion*. Vol. 1. 4 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1824.
- Sturgess, Keith, ed. *Three Elizabethan Domestic Tragedies*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985.
- Swallow, Ellenor. "Dido's Pyre." *The Classical Weekly* 45, no. 5 (1951): 65-68.
- Taylor, Craig. *Joan of Arc: La Pucelle*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006.
- Taylor, Michael. "Introduction." In *Henry VI, Part One*. The Oxford Shakespeare. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Teltscher, Kate. *India Inscribed: European and British Writing on India, 1600-1800*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Tennenhouse, Leonard. *Power on Display: The Politics of Shakespeare's Genres*. New York; London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1986.
- Terry, Edward. "A Voyage to East India." In *Early Travels in India, 1585-1619*, edited by William Foster, 288-332. London: Oxford University Press, 1921.
- The Geneva Bible: a facsimile of the 1560 edition*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2007.
- The Statutes: Revised Edition*. Vol. 3. 13 vols. London: George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1872.
- The Tragedy of Nero, Newly Written*. London: A. Mathewes and J. Norton, 1624.
- Thorp, Willard. "The Ethical Problem in Marlowe's Tamburlaine." *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 29, no. 3 (1930): 385-89.
- Tromly, Fred B. *Playing with Desire: Christopher Marlowe and the Art of Tantalization*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.
- Tyler, Royall, ed. *Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, Relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain*. Vol. 13. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1954.
- Urkowitz, Steven. "Texts with Two Faces: Noticing Theatrical Revisions in 'Henry VI, Parts 2 and 3.'" In *Henry VI: Critical Essays*, edited by Thomas A. Pendleton, 27-37. New York; London: Routledge, 2001.
- Van Braght, Thielemann J. *Martyrs Mirror of the Defenseless Christians Who Baptized Only Upon Confession of Faith, and Who Suffered and Died for the Testimony of Jesus, Their Savior, From the Time of Christ to the Year A.D. 1660*. Translated by Joseph F. Sohm. Waterloo, Ontario: Herald Press, 1999.
- Van Dülmen, Richard. *Theatre of Horror: Crime and Punishment in Early Modern Germany*. Translated by Elizabeth Neu. Cambridge: Polity, 1990.

WORKS CITED

- Vergil, Polydore. *Three Books of Polydore Vergil's English History, Comprising the Reigns of Henry VI, Edward VI, and Richard III from an Early Translation, Preserved among the Mss. of the Old Royal Library in the British Museum*. Edited by Sir Henry Ellis. London: Camden Society, 1844.
- Verstegan, Richard. *Theatrum Crudelitatum Hæreticorum Nostri Temporis*. Antwerp, 1587.
- Vickers, Brian. "Incomplete Shakespeare: Or, Denying Coauthorship in '1 Henry VI.'" *Shakespeare Quarterly* 58, no. 3 (2007): 311–52.
- Vincent, Paul. *When "Harey" Met Shakespeare: The Genesis of "The First Part of Henry the Sixth"*. Saarbrücken: Verlag Dr. Müller, 2008.
- Virgil. "Aeneid." In *Virgil*, translated by H. Rushton Fairclough, Rev. ed. Vol. 2. Loeb Classical Library. London: W. Heinemann, 1916.
- . *The Aeneid*. Translated by John Dryden. London: Wordsworth, 1997.
- Voss, Paul J. "Print Culture, Ephemera, and the Elizabethan News Pamphlet." *Literature Compass* 3, no. 5 (2006): 1053–64.
- Walker, Garthine. *Crime, Gender and Social Order in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Wallace, James. "The Massacre at Paris." London: The Rose Playhouse, 2014.
- Walsham, Alexandra. *Providence in Early Modern England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Warner, Marina. *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism*. New Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Watkins, John. *The Specter of Dido: Spenser and Virgilian Epic*. New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Watkins, Leila. "Justice Is a Mirage: Failures of Religious Order in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine Plays*." *Comparative Drama* 46, no. 2 (2012): 163–85.
- Watt, Tessa. *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Webster, John. *The Duchess of Malfi*. Edited by Leah Marcus. Arden Early Modern Drama. London: Arden, 2009.
- Werner, Thomas. *Den Irrtum Liquidieren: Bücherverbrennungen Im Mittelalter [To Liquidate Error: The Burning of Books in the Middle Ages]*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007.
- Whigham, Frank. *Seizures of the Will in Early Modern English Drama*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- White, Helen. *Tudor Books of Private Devotion*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Wickham, Glynne. "'Heavens', Machinery, and Pillars in the Theatre and Other Early Playhouses." In *The First Public Playhouse: The Theatre in Shoreditch 1576-1598*, edited by Herbert Berry, 1–15. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979.
- Wiggins, Martin. *Drama and the Transfer of Power in Renaissance England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- . "When Did Marlowe Write *Dido, Queen of Carthage*?" *Review of English Studies* 59, no. 241 (2008): 521–41.
- Wiggins, Martin, and Catherine Richardson. *British Drama 1533-1642: A Catalogue*. Vol. 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- . *British Drama 1533-1642: A Catalogue*. Vol. 2. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Williams, Deanne. "Dido, Queen of England." *ELH* 73, no. 1 (2006): 31–59.
- Williams, Gordon. *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.
- Williamson, Elizabeth. "'Batter'd, Not Demolish'd': Staging the Tortured Body in The Martyred Soldier." *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England* 26 (2013): 43–59.
- . "Shakespeare and the Politics of Martyrdom." Accessed September 14, 2015. academic.evergreen.edu/w/william/e/pages/Political_Martyrs.htm.

WORKS CITED

- . *The Materiality of Religion in Early Modern English Drama*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2009.
- Willis, Deborah. *Malevolent Nurture: Witch-Hunting and Maternal Power in Early Modern England*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995.
- Wilson, Douglas B. "Euripides' *Alcestis* and the Ending of Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*." *Iowa State Journal of Research* 58 (1984): 345–55.
- Wilson-Okamura, David Scott. *Virgil in the Renaissance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Wine, M. L. "Introduction." In *The Tragedy of Master Arden of Faversham*, edited by M. L. Wine. London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1973.
- Withington, Nicholas. "A Brief Discoverye of Some Things Best Worth Noteing in the Travells of Nicholas Withington." In *Early Travels in India*, edited by William Foster, 188–233. New York: Oxford University Press, 1921.
- Wogan-Browne, Jocelyn. "Saints' Lives and the Female Reader." *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 27, no. 4 (1991): 314–32.
- Wotton, Henry. *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*. Edited by Logan Pearsall Smith. Vol. II. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907.
- Wright, Stephen. "Wightman, Edward (bap. 1580?, d. 1612)." *ODNB [Online]*, n.d. Accessed August 20, 2014.
- W. W. "A True and Just Recorde (1582)." In *Early Modern Witches: Witchcraft Cases in Contemporary Writing*, edited by Marion Gibson, 72–124. Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Xenophon. *The VIII. Bookes of Xenophon, Containinge the Institutio[n], Schole, and Education of Cyrus, the Noble Kynge of Persye*. Translated by William Barker. London, 1567.
- Yang, Sharon R. *Goddesses, Mages, and Wise Women: The Female Pastoral Guide in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century English Drama*. Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press, 2011.
- Yates, Frances A. *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century*. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- . "Queen Elizabeth as Astraea." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 10 (1947): 27–82.
- Ziosi, Antonio. *La Didone Di Marlowe: Virgilio E Ovidio Sulla Scena Elisabettiana*. Roma: Carocci, 2011.