Doctor Faustus and Marlowe's Cosmos:

Hell and the Copernican Astronomy in the Elizabethan Age

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Introduction

It is well known that Christopher Marlowe (1564-93) and William Shakespeare (1564-1616) were born in the same year. In the very same year, 1564, the distinguished Italian physicist and astronomer, Galileo Galilei (1564-1642), was also born in Pisa, Italy. Marlowe died too early to learn Galileo's achievement. It was not until 1609 that Galileo was first recognized as a great astronomer because of his telescope¹. However, some of the prerequisite conditions for Galileo's remarkable work had already satisfied before Marlowe lost his life. Nicolaus Copernicus (1473-1543), a Polish astronomer, already published his masterpiece, De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium (On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres), in 1543. Copernicus's publication revealed the heliocentric system and provoked much criticism not only astronomically but also religiously and philosophically. Tycho Brahe (1546-1601), a Danish astronomer, found a supernova, in 1572. Tycho's discovery gave rise to controversy about the Elizabethan common sense that the celestial realm was eternal and immutable and that a new star could not be created or come into being. Marlowe might have seen the new star of 1572 because he was alive at that time. Or, he might have learnt a little of the new astronomy, the Copernican astronomy, because he spent his academic career at Cambridge and he could be called an intellectual. However, Marjorie Nicolson maintains that Marlowe died at such an early age that he did not know the new astronomy². Some eminent Marlowe scholars agree with her view. Did not Marlowe know the Copernican astronomy at all? Or, how much did he learn about it during his brief life? How did he depict the universe in his work? Let us think of how Marlowe described the cosmos in his works.

The purpose of this paper is to clarify Marlowe's attitude toward the Copernican

astronomy by comparing Marlowe's principles described in *Doctor Faustus* with the common principles in the Elizabethan age. Dr. Faustus, who masters several academic fields, still struggles to find out the place of Hell and the structure of the universe. Any earthly studies cannot give the enough information about Hell and the universe to him. He can be hardly persuaded with Mephistopheles's responses to his own questions about them. Are there any implications about the place of Hell and the structure of the universe, that is, the new astronomy? Does Marlow try to tell something about the Copernican astronomy to the audiences of his drama? Or, does he keep silence about it?

In this paper, the first chapter treats the three points: first, the meaning of the magic for Faustus is explained: next, in Faustus's decision to devote himself to the magic, the Elizabethan common principles of the macrocosm and the microcosm are pointed out: then, the appearance of Good Angel and Bad Angel is analyzed. In the second chapter, the place of Hell is clarified and the idea of Hell in the microcosm is described. The changeover in the microcosm is also referred. Finally, the last chapter makes the two points clear: one is the position of the earth through the discussion between Faustus and Mephistopheles: and the other is Marlowe's point of view as an Elizabethan about the changeover in the macrocosm, namely, the new astronomy.

1. Magic for Dr. Faustus

As soon as the drama starts, it is clarified that Faustus has attained the highest level of several academic fields and that he still tries to ascend the far higher status. He has achieved perfection in divinity, analytics, and physic. What proves his level of physic is the evidence that he has brought the whole of his town through the plague. He has already realized his greatness and is proud of himself³. However, he is still what he was, namely, a human and mortal, and is not satisfied with his own level. Talking to himself, he grieves over the limit of human beings:

Yet art thou still but Faustus and a man.

Couldst thou make men to live eternally

Or, being dead, raise them to life again,

Then this profession were to be esteemed. [1, 1, 21-24]

Faustus considers that the ultimate goals of physic are to make a living man immortal and to make a dead man revive, both of which are beyond human power and should be divine work. He comes to know that he cannot reach the ultimate goals of physic. That is why he gives up physic but he seems to be possessed by the sense of the human limit or the aspiration for divine work. This possession decides his fate.

It is the aspiration for divine work that makes Faustus decide to dedicate his life to the magic after he abandons law and theology. He does not select magic positively but excludes any choices other than the magic. Putting aside Bible and taking up the book of the magic, Faustus exclaims with admiration:

These metaphysics of magicians

And necromantic books are heavenly. [1. 1. 48-49]

The word 'heavenly' reveals that his consciousness aims toward Heaven. Divine work and God's hand are no more necessary or important for him, and instead, he considers that he could ascend to Heaven and get the seat of God, if he acquires the magic. He continues as follows:

A sound magician is a demigod⁵. Here tire my brains to gain a deity. [1. 1. 60-61]

The magic for him can be a weapon to take the place of God. It is acceptable for him that he would be 'a demigod,' that is to say, a celestial being or an angel, even if he could not be God. He wants to fly up to Heaven at any rate. Why could the magic or the necromancy be 'heavenly'? What kind of the magician could be 'sound'? Why could a human being 'gain a deity'? Faustus completely misunderstands the magic. It is not 'heavenly' but hellish. There is not '[a] sound magician' on the earth. A person who has nothing to do with the magic is indeed 'sound.' Mankind is mortal and can never 'gain a deity.' His misunderstanding misleads his life into the worst end of his life. However, he is not conscious of his own misapprehension or he may pretend to misunderstand and persuade himself believing in the power of the magic. In any circumstances he seems to be triumphant because now he obtains the

magic as an instrument to soar up to Heaven.

The first appearance of Good Angel and Bad Angel does not influence Faustus's resolution to master the magic. On the one hand Good Angel dissuades him from falling into the depth of the magic, but the angel's words seem to be inaudible to him. On the other hand Bad Angel advises him to keep his faith in the magic. Whether he follows the Bad Angel's recommendation or not is uncertain, because it does not seem to be hearable to him, either. Nothing or no one can affect his firm decision on the magic. However, the Bad Angel's statement has a significant meaning, which explains the correspondence between the macrocosm and the microcosm concerning the whole of this drama:

Be thou on earth as Jove is in the sky, Lord and commander of these elements. [1. 1. 74-75]

What Bad Angel says signifies that the macrocosm is comparable with the microcosm. The macrocosm is dominated by 'Jove,' while the microcosm by human-kind. Although it is still doubtful whether he can fly up to Heaven with the power of the magic or not, if Faustus will be able to make good use of the magic, he will be the ruler of the earth and the head of humankind. So does he become in fact, as the drama progresses to the Act 3 and 4. The argument regarding the comparison between the macrocosm and the microcosm is defended by E. M. W. Tillyard, who demonstrates that "the idea of man summing up the universe in himself had a strong hold on the imagination of the Elizabethans⁶." Marlowe might have had that idea in his mind unconsciously as one of the Elizabethans.

The appearances of Good Angel and Bad Angel represent Faustus's conflicting emotions. Although he is not puzzled at the first appearance of them, after starting to practice the magic, he gradually harbors vacillation between obdurateness and repentance for choosing the magic. He does not hear the voices from the two angels when he is exultant first, but once the conflicting feelings have existence within him, he can catch their voices and hesitates to conjure but maintains his devotion to the magic regretfully and obstinately. Because dedicating his life to the magic means damnation, in other words, that he can never avoid falling into Hell, he does hesitate

and regret to practice the magic.

Let us focus on Good Angel as an ironical character. Every time Faustus falls in emotional turmoil, Good Angel and Bad Angel appear before him. The former admonishes him to be penitent, while the latter urges him to go straight the way of the magic. It is noteworthy that whenever Good Angel warns him gently to mend his way, he cannot help deciding that he will not change his mind, and declares that he will never be repentant. Ironically, the advice from Good Angel shuts and hardens his heart and does not produce the "good" result for him. Good Angel is good for God because the angel is submissive and meek only to God. However, in Faustus's view, Good Angel is "bad" for his fate because the angel's words make his heart persistent in the magic and finally drive him into damnation.

Moreover, ironical Good Angel is well expressed in the final act. At the former part of this drama, Mephistopheles and Bad Angel tempt and instigate to practice the magic, and Faustus follows their advices in the end though he obeys his own will in the appearance. He enjoys worldly life for twenty-four years, and finally is rebuked for his own pleasure. When the twenty-four years are almost over and the expiration of the bargain with Mephistopheles is near at hand, Faustus deeply regrets making the contract with the devil. This emotional disorder is also indicated by the appearance of Good Angel and Bad Angel. Although two angels usually have the exactly opposite warnings to him, Good Angel in the Act 5 says almost the same thing as Mephistopheles and Bad Angel, and abandons him⁷. Mephistopheles professes to him as follows:

Good Angel says,

O, Faustus, if thou hadst given ear to me Innumerable joys had followed thee.

O, what will all thy riches, pleasures, pomps,

Avail thee now?

[5. 2. 99-104]

In addition, Bad Angel deserts him in this line:

He that loves pleasure must for pleasure fall. [5. 2. 130]

The significant point here is Good Angel's remarks. The angel laments Faustus's disobedience to the angel's advices, and furthermore, blames him for his prodigality in the very same way as Mephistopheles. Both of the angels and the devil reproach for his happiness and extravagance in this world, and forsake him. As has been mentioned, the appearance of Good Angel and Bad Angel is the symbol of Faustus's mental conflict. As a consequence, the existence of Good Angel does no more than support his damnation, while that of Bad Angel only plays a role of Mephistopheles on another point of view. Therefore his falling into Hell is determined regardless of the appearances of Good Angel, Bad Angel, or Mephistopheles⁸, when he makes a decision to master the magic by himself.

2. Hell for Mephistopheles and Dr. Faustus

As soon as Faustus meets Mephistopheles, matters connected with devils and Hell are revealed. As already mentioned, when Bad Angel enters for the first time, the angel suggests that Faustus will be the principal of the mortals. After that, Faustus makes an attempt to conjure up evil spirits tentatively and succeeds. Then he brags to Mephistopheles, who comes up to this world not compulsively by his spell or Lucifer but spontaneously, saying,

This word "damnation" terrifies not me, For I confound hell in Elysium. [1. 3. 56-7]

His boasting makes him appear to be the ruler of the earth, and gives us the impression of being the top of the microcosm. He seems to be able to get out of the earth and to ascend to the bottom of Heaven with the power of magic, though his declaration is proved to be overstatement in the final act.

Then, through Faustus's questions and Mephistopheles's answers it becomes clear that there are two types of Hell: one is Hell in the macrocosm, and the other is Hell in the microcosm. Faustus asks one question after another to Mephistopheles:

Tell me what is that Lucifer, thy lord? [1. 3. 60]
Was not that Lucifer an angel once? [1. 3. 62]
How comes it then, that he is prince of devils? [1. 3. 64]
And what are you that live with Lucifer? [1. 3. 67]
Where are you damned? [1. 3. 71]
How comes it then, that thou are out of hell? [1. 3. 73]

These inquiries indicate Faustus's considerable concern for Hell and damnation. The more he tries to get the information about Hell, the more terrible fear he feels at the expiration of his bargain with the devil. Although he asks rapid-fire questions, it is obvious that Mephistopheles does not give any sufficient answers to him. The first time he sees Mephistopheles in the shape of a dragon, he calls Mephistopheles 'a devil' [1. 3. 26] without any information from Mephistopheles. Therefore he knows the answer of the first question before he asks. In the same way, the other questions except the last one are not made with expectation of the intelligent responses. The only demonic reply that impresses him is about the reason for the devil's escape from Hell. Mephistopheles responds to him as such:

Why, this is hell, nor am I out of it.

Think'st thou that I, that saw the face of God

And tasted the eternal joys of heaven,

Am not tormented with ten thousand hells

In being deprived of everlasting bliss? [1. 3. 74-78]

Mephistopheles's answer is conspicuous. Mephistophelean Hell is not in the center of the macrocosm as the Elizabethans generally believe in but in the individual. Even if the devil can get out of Hell in the macrocosm, he is always obsessed with Hell within himself, which causes melancholy that he is denied 'the eternal joys of

heaven' or 'everlasting bliss.' There is an enormous contrast between Mephistopheles's dejection and Faustus's vigor to aspire to Heaven.

Then, what is Hell for Faustus? Faustus's strong interest in Hell is again indicated after he makes a formal contract with the devil. Faustus, who obtains the unrestrained life for twenty-four years, queries the place of Hell once more, and Mephistopheles's first reply does not satisfy him because it is about Hell in the macrocosm as every Elizabethan knows about it. Mephistopheles's second reply is about Hell in the individual:

Hell hath no limits, nor is circumscribed In one self place, but where we are is hell, And where hell is, there must we ever be. [2. 1. 116-118]

Mephistopheles again demonstrates that Hell is not the place, which exists somewhere but the anguish itself, which the devil is always entangled with and cannot escape from. However, high-spirited Faustus cannot comprehend Mephistophelean Hell or the devilish melancholy, and declares coolly that 'hell's a fable' [2. 1. 122]. Because Faustus is now the ruler of the mortals and in the top of the microcosm, he can never see Hell in the macrocosm or never feel Mephistophelean melancholy. That is why he rejects Hell itself whether it exists in the macrocosm or in the microcosm.

Mephistophelean view of Hell that the individual has Hell in its mind and cannot avoid it, is very peculiar to Marlowe⁹ and succeeded by Miltonic Satan in *Paradise Lost*. For Mephistopheles and Satan, Hell does not exist somewhere as a place, but an individual includes it as the hellish agony. When Satan, the Archfiend, reaches the earth for the first time, he reviews his own conduct and lays bare his true feeling, soliloquizing as follows:

Me miserable! Which way shall I fly
Infinite wrath, and infinite despair?
Which way I fly is hell; my self am hell; [PL, IV, 73-75] 10

Satan also takes over Mephistophelean way of thinking about Hell. Satan cannot find his way out of his own Hell and feels melancholy, which is a little different from Mephistopheles's. Mephistophelean melancholy originates from being divested of 'the eternal joys of heaven,' while Satan's from being degraded of his own status. Accordingly, Satan regrets his brightness in Heaven but does not miss 'the eternal joys of heaven' or 'everlasting bliss' because Satan knows that such kinds of pleasure are all given from God and cannot compromise the second place under God. Anyway, feeling an overwhelming melancholy is the violent Hell without any exits.

What are succeeded to Satan are not only Mephistophelean Hell but also the Faustian tragic character that has no choice to take the evil way, wavering between the good and the bad, as Helen Gardner has pointed out in her renowned paper¹¹. In the case of Faustus, melancholy of Mephistopheles and Satan is expressed by vacillation between penitence and stubbornness for the magic, that is to say, the appearances of Good Angel and Bad Angel in the Act 1 and 2 and also expressed by complete despair, in other words, the entrance of Old Man in the Act 5¹². As Miltonic Satan confesses that melancholy caused by being forced to make the worst choice is the real Hell, Faustus's damnation is determined when he gives up all the other academic fields and takes the book of the magic in his hand because it is the magic that drives him into the emotional entanglement. As a result, Faustus suffers living Hell for the twenty-four years, and in the end comes to know at considerable cost to his own life that the magic cannot be a tool to climb up to Heaven or 'to gain a deity' and that it is the clincher to be damned.

If Faustus's mental agitation and deep despair at the expiry of his bargain with Mephistopheles can be called melancholy, Faustian melancholy is almost the same as that of Satan. When Satan arrives at the top of the mountain in Eden, Satan's Hell and his agony are well described in these lines:

horror and doubt distract
His troubled thoughts, and from the bottom stir
The hell within him, for within him hell
He brings, and round about him, nor from hell
One step no more than from himself can fly

Milton's description of Satan's anguish well illustrates Faustus's affliction in the Act 5 when Faustus is in his study and talks with Old Man. In addition, Milton elucidates concisely and correctly Hell within Satan, which Satan 'brings' by himself. That is true with Faustus, too. Faustus 'brings' Hell within himself when he reaches out his hand to the necromantic book. Faustus, Mephistopheles, and Satan have Hell within themselves, curse themselves, and are afflicted because all of the three cannot but devote themselves to the evil. Although Faustus boasts that he thinks that 'hell's a fable' and seems to be undefeated with the force of the magic, he actually have Hell within himself. In fact, in the final hopeless internal struggle he realizes that he is suffering Hell within himself. Consequently, it can be affirmed that Hell is not only in the center of the macrocosm but also in that of the microcosm, in other words, a human being.

In this drama the conversion of the microcosm is depicted. In the Elizabethan era, as stated above, mankind is the top of the microcosm. Above all, Faustus in the first act obtains the devil, who obeys whatever he requires, and holds the highest position in the natural world. It seems that Faustus ascends to Heaven and replaces God with the power of the necromancy. However, there happens the critical change in the microcosm. It is when Faustus selects the magic that he falls in Hell within himself and starts to suffer the spiritual torment. Moreover, just before the last moment of his life, he is described as a man of small mind clamoring for help. The last one hour of his existence is paradoxically the life not to live but to die. He cries loudly appealing to many different things in order to look for salvation; for example, Christ, mountains, hills, stars, and clouds. He is petty being and no longer the ruler of mankind. On the contrary, he descends into the base of human beings or the microcosm. Although his damnation is determined at the moment of his choice of the magic, the amusing period of the devilish contract for twenty-four years conceals the fact of his falling into Hell, but the expiry of the bargain reveals that Faustus drops from the top to the bottom of the microcosm.

3. The Earth in the Universe and the Copernican Astronomy

From my observations so far, it is cleared that in the case of Faustus the center of the microcosm is Hell. Then, what is the center of the macrocosm in *Doctor* Faustus? Without any doubt, the common Elizabethans believe that the center of the universe is the earth. Judging from the discussion on astronomy between Faustus and Mephistopheles, their opinions are the same as the contemporaries of Marlowe. From the first time Faustus meets the devil, he often questions: the first inquiry is about Hell and the monarch of Hell, and the next one right after making an agreement with the devil is also about Hell. However, Faustus does not satisfy Mephistopheles's answer that the devil is afflicted by Hell within himself because Faustus is enraptured at gaining command of the magic and cannot understand the devilish answer. In addition, his request for a wife is declined on the ground that the marriage is one of the sacrament and against the demonic rule. His intellectual curiosity or requirements are not fulfilled at all. What is worse, Faustus begins to feel regret choosing the magic and to suffer from the mental anguish between penitence and persistence in the sorcery. The appearance of Good Angel and Bad Angel bothers him: on one hand, the former strives to dissuade him from the magic, but on the other hand, the latter unreservedly recommends devoting his life to the evildoing. As if he tries to allay his uneasiness by the conversation about the universe, he inquires of Mephistopheles the existence and shapes of spheres, but again he does not receive the convincing answer, as follows:

FAUSTUS

Speak; are there many spheres above the moon? Are all celestial bodies but one globe,

As is the substance of this centric earth?

MEPHISTOPHELES

As are the elements, such are the heavens, Even from the moon unto the empyreal orb, Mutually folded in each other's spheres,

Nor are the names of Saturn, Mars, or Jupiter

Feigned, but are erring stars. [2. 3. 33-42]

The point here is that both Faustus' questions and Mephistopheles' answer are based on the traditional thought of the geocentric theory, and do not include any of the Copernican theory, which people in England has already become better informed about¹³. Faustus's phrase of 'this centric earth' reveals that he rests on the basis of the Ptolemaic system. Mephistopheles's locution of 'from the moon unto the empyreal orb' indicates that the center of the universe is the earth and the first planet is the moon and the last one is the Empyrean, where God and the celestial beings live. That also means the geocentric system and especially when Mephistopheles compares the structure of the universe or the macrocosm with that of the earth or the microcosm, the devilish way of thinking that the four elements in this world correspond to the planets in the cosmos is absolutely typical of the Elizabethans.

Faustus takes his ground on the geocentricism, whereas he seems to imply that he knows the heliocentricity. Faustus continues to address questions to the devil, but cannot get any convincing replies in the least. Therefore he specifically requests valuable information and queries,

Hath Mephistopheles no greater skill?

Who knows not the double motion of the planet? [2. 3. 48-49]

Faustus's mention of 'the double motion of the planet' never fails to impress the audiences that he assumes the geocentric theory because in the geocentricism the planetary motion in the appearances caused by the earthly rotation is considered to be planetary itself, otherwise we do not have to suppose 'the double motion.' Despite the fact that Faustus is based on the classical theory, why does he insist that the devil should prove the 'greater skill' to him? What can be the 'greater skill' for Faustus, who has already reached the acme of the academic development? His intention of such a requirement might be to convey that he knows something other than the Ptolemaic system, to be more precise, the Copernican system, which has already become widely known in England at that time. Faustus fires a lot of questions about the universe, but the response from Mephistopheles that contents with Faustus is one and

only: Faustus's question is about the cause of conjunctions, oppositions, aspects, and eclipses; and Mephistopheles's reply given in Latin is simple but vague, signifying because of unbalanced movement in respect of the whole. It is strange that uncomplicated response can convince Faustus. Does he expect any answers from the devil? If he knows all the answer to his own questions, he does have the 'greater skill' and may be able to give an explanation of the new astronomy.

The argument about the center of the cosmos is directly related to the theological controversy. No matter how little the change in the universe is, that change means shaking the seat of God. On the contrary there is no possibility of any change in Heaven on the Elizabethan criterion. Right after the odd discussion as stated above, Faustus brings up the religious question of 'who made the world' [2. 3. 66-7]. This inquiry indicates that Faustus acknowledges the discussion on astronomy to be closely connected with the theological problems. In fact, the changeover in the macrocosm contemporaneous with this drama stirs up disputes not only scientifically but also theologically¹⁴. Faustus's recognition is based on the new astronomy. As a result, it can be judged that Faustus has knowledge of the Copernican astronomy but does not make a display of his attainments. Marlowe is an Elizabethan in every point and obeys its values. Therefore he did not describe in this work the changeover in macrocosm from the static earth in the center of the universe to the revolving earth round the Sun. However, we can conjecture that Marlowe was conscious of the new astronomy but still remained within the traditional framework of the universe, judging from the conversation between Faustus and Mephistopheles about astronomy and about God, Hell, and Christianity.

Conclusion

Although he was born of humble parents, Faustus has pursued several academic fields and attained the acme of human knowledge; and besides he attempts to ascend from this world to Heaven by attaining the magical power. However, he was not allowed to rise up to the celestial regions even by the devils, much less by God. His unpardonable sin is disclosed in the prologue as follows:

His waxen wings did mount above his reach,

And melting, heavens conspired his overthrow. [Prologue, 19-21]

Faustus's 'wings' in order to fly up to Heaven turn out to be covered with wax in the same way as Icarus, who soars and gets too close to the Sun. Faustus is possessed by an ambition to ascend to much higher position and does not notice that he has the 'waxen wings.' Then, all the celestial beings reject his entering into Heaven. Milton's Satan is not permitted to exceed his own limit, too. The sin that both Faustus and Satan commit is the pride of aiming to the eminence, and the punishment that awaits them is not only to fall into Hell in the macrocosm but also to have Hell within themselves, that is to say, to fall into Hell in the microcosm. It is after twenty-four years that Faustus becomes aware of his own downfall from the top to the bottom of the microcosm. Ironically, his contract period is a succession of mischievous acts and what he gains from the servant devil¹⁵ are inadequate and superficial knowledge. Viewed from another angle of the raging pestilence, the twenty-four-year duration of the devilish contract can be judged to be beneficial¹⁶.

When the epistemic conversion of the earth from the center of the macrocosm into one of the planets is taking place, Marlowe drew the drama on the mutation of the microcosm against the background of the geocentric system. Tillyard points out that "the poet is most individual when most orthodox and of his age¹⁷." Marlowe might have been informed as to the heliocentricism, but he adjusts himself to the typical spirit of the Elizabethan era, keeps silence about the new astronomy, and describes the drama on the basis of the long-established astronomy. This is the expression of Marlowe's attitude both as an Elizabethan, who must not deviate from the framework of his own age, and as a dramatist, who could not help taking account of the Elizabethan audience

Notes

- 1. Concerning Galileo's achievements with the telescope, see 渡辺正雄 , 『文化としての近代科学』 (東京:講談社 , 2000) 167-171.
- Marjorie Hope Nicolson, Science and Imagination (New York: A Division of Cornell University Press, 1956) 41.

- 3. See Christopher Ricks, "Doctor Faustus and Hell on Earth" in Essays in Appreciation (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996) 3-6. Ricks has pointed out how terrible infectious diseases in England were at that time, and how fortunate it was to be able to survive the epidemics.
- 4. Christopher Marlowe, Doctor Faustus: A Two-text Edition (A-text, 1604; B-text, 1616) Contexts and Sources Criticism, ed. David Scott Kastan (New York: Norton, 2005). All the quotations from Doctor Faustus are from B-text of this edition. The numbers of the acts, scenes, and lines are cited parenthetically. Concerning the title of this edition, which says 'A Two-text Edition,' there are two types of texts: a shorter one is A-text and a longer B-text. Regarding the origins and differences between them, see Christopher Marlowe, The Complete Plays, eds. Frank Romany and Robert Lindsey (London: Penguin Books, 2003) 636 as a summarization, and also see Park Honan, Christopher Marlowe: Poet & Spy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) 200-202 as a detailed explanation.
- 5. A 'demigod' is replaced with a 'mighty god' [1. 1. 62] in A-text. This replacement reinforces my opinion that Faustus aims at the seat of God.
- E. M. W. Tillyard, *The Elizabethan World Picture* (New York: A Division of Random House, 1959) 91.
- 7. See 北川悌二,『マーロウ研究』 (東京: 研究社, 1964) 194. Kitagawa has commented that Good Angel, Bad Angel, and Mephistopheles all reside in Faustus, and that Faustus is equal to Marlowe himself. I am not completely for this analysis, but only about the final act this investigation supports my idea.
- 8. See Honan, 204-6. Honan has commented that Faustus quotes twice from the Bible, and interprets him as a Protestant. He has also indicated that in the view of Luther and Calvin his exegesis makes his damnation definite and inevitable and that his damnation is nothing to do with the bargain with the devil. This interpretation is stimulating though it does not support my idea thoroughly.
- 9. See 北川 , 162.
- 10. John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. Alastair Fowler (London and New York: Longman, 1971). The quotations from *Paradise Lost* are from this edition. The title abbreviated as *PL* and the numbers of the books and lines are cited parenthetically.
- 11. See Helen Gardner, "Milton's Satan and the Theme of Damnation in Elizabethan Tragedy" in A Reading of Paradise Lost: The Alexander Lectures in the University of Toronto (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1962), 100-106.
- 12. See Gardner, 103-104. Gardner has pointed out that Faustus commits the sin of pride at first and that of despair at the last moment, calling out for help to Lucifer not God.
- 13. See Tillyard, 8. Tillyard has commented that the educated people in the Elizabethan era accumulated a lot of information relative to the Copernican astronomy and obtained the textbooks on the new astronomy written in English.

- 14. See 渡辺,『近代科学』119-122. Watanabe has proved that the Copernican theory was not accepted easily at that time, and aroused much controversy on astronomy, kinematics, and theology.
- Concerning Mephistopheles's change of the role from the servant to the master, see Gardner, 104-105.
- 16. See Ricks, 7. Ricks has indicated that Faustua's contract period is "the guarantee that he will live for another twenty-four years" and that "[s]uch a guarantee would never be nugatory" during the prevalence of epidemics.
- 17. Tillyard, 108.

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