

Ecologically Conjuring *Doctor Faustus*

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Though first performed almost 300 years before the word “ecology” was coined, *Doctor Faustus* contains many seeds of ecological ideas inherent to the dawn of early modern philosophy, science, and commerce in European society. The continuous fascination with Christopher Marlowe’s play is to a large extent due to its ominous forewarnings of the consequences of over-extending, over-consuming, and over-reaching (the central idea of Harry Levin’s well-known study of Marlowe). In scholarship on this canonical play Faustus’s hunger for political omnipotence and magical omniscience is given precedence over his will to control and exploit nature.¹ A close investigation of *Doctor Faustus* and Marlowe’s biography will reveal an eco-critical core that has been previously overlooked or at least understated. This case will be used as an interpretive crux.

Marlowe (1564-1593) took most of the play’s plot and characters, plus some of the language, directly from *The Damnable Life* (commonly called “The English Faust-book”), a 1592 translation of a 1587 German prose volume by an unknown author.² The source, however, has none of the nature imagery and themes that Marlowe added to the story, along with the “mighty line” of his iambic pentameter. In *Doctor Faustus* the protagonist’s quest for power over nature significantly enhances and complicates his dramatic trajectory that in the source is a simplistically straightforward morality tale of secular “miracles” which Faustus is able to do for 24 years in exchange for giving his soul to the devil. Marlowe refracted the medieval morality play through the lens of Renaissance humanism. Granted, there are embodied angels and devils, but Marlowe’s Faustus is less a man tempted by sin in a Christian universe and more one who is corrupted by an excess of free will and individualistic drive that is out of touch with natural order.

Balance and interdependence, or “mutualism” and “connectedness,” as Frank B. Golley calls them, are primary ideas of ecology that have parallels in natural philosophy that Marlowe knew. Golley comments: “The centrality of relationship in the natural world contrasts markedly with the concept of individuality and independence in modern culture.”³ Both “ind”-words were crucial to the humanistic and scientific developments of sixteenth-century Europe as captured by Marlowe in *Doctor Faustus*, and contributed greatly to the play’s canonical status and multiple

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adaptations over the years. Faustus is severely out of balance and exceedingly independent—a man without limits who constantly wants more of everything. His over-reaching makes him appear to be tragic, even heroic for his bold visions of intended enterprise, misguided though they are. Ultimately, however, compulsive over-consuming consumes him, so that in the end he is a tragicomic anti-hero, a solitary yet self-inflated fool with a severe case of eco-hubris.

Marlowe's most obvious sign of Faustus's egocentricity is to have him speak self-referentially in the second or third person. In a pivotal instance early in the play, he proudly (even heretically) proclaims, "The God thou servest is thine own appetite"—a credo that is the through-line of Faustus despite his loftier professions of ambitious intent.⁴ This core belief blatantly violates principles of moderation and embraces values of using nature that are evident in the philosophy and literature Marlowe encountered as a BA and MA student.

Marlowe's Cantabrigian Education on Nature and the Environment

With dual degrees from Cambridge, Marlowe mirrored Faustus's learnedness. At the top of the play, the Chorus reveals that Faustus got his doctorate at Wittenberg, a leading university for Renaissance ideas and the Reformation (e.g., Luther). Immediately, his opening monologue starts "Settle thy studies, Faustus."⁵ He proceeds to praise and then negate each of the four disciplines of early modern learning (philosophy, medicine, law, and divinity), in each case quoting or somewhat misquoting a major classical author that Marlowe read at Cambridge. First is Aristotle (384-322 B.C.E.): "And live and die in Aristotle's works"—accurately reflecting his predominance within the entire Cambridge curriculum during the 1580s when Marlowe was a student.⁶ Extensive scholarship and evidence backs up this point, and William T. Costello offers important historical context:

This basic Aristotelianism received renewed emphasis at Cambridge in the reforms of Henry VIII. In 1535, in what amounts to the first rudimentary syllabus of study, the King ordered . . . Cambridge lecturers to use Aristotle primarily . . . Aristotle's premier dukedom was confirmed, in effect, by Elizabeth in 1570. . . . Aristotelianism, then, had become, and was still, the heart of the scholastic method and doctrine at the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁷

From Aristotle's *Politics* Marlowe learned the impact of interdependence within relationship and from *Nicomachean Ethics* the importance of balance within the mean or middle way:

Now virtue is concerned with feelings and actions, in which excess and deficiency are in error and incur blame, while the intermediate condition is correct and wins praise, which are both proper features of virtue. Virtue, then, is a mean, insofar as it aims at what is intermediate.⁸

By his excess Faustus acts outside the mean and therefore lacks virtue. Moreover, his “appetite” becomes uncontrolled (to Aristotle, “incontinent”) and no longer rooted in rational choice (“decision”): “Further, the incontinent person acts on appetite, not on decision, but the continent person does the reverse and acts on decision, not on appetite.”⁹ In this way Marlowe keyed his protagonist off of a major Aristotelian principle; by tipping the scale always to appetite, Faustus becomes irrational and debased.

On the science side, by being required to study Aristotle’s *Physics*, *Organon*, *De Anima*, and *Meteorologica*, Marlowe acquired a definition of nature as matter and form, as composed of four elements and as evidenced empirically in reality:

Some existing things are natural, while others are due to other causes. Those that are natural are animals and their parts, plants, and the simple bodies, such as earth, fire, air and water; for we say that these things and things of this sort are natural. All these things evidently differ from those that are not naturally constituted, since each of them has within itself a principle of motion and stability in place, in growth and decay, or in alteration.¹⁰

That nature is always observable, even in its formal appearances or ideal states, was one of Aristotle’s main premises (and deviations from his teacher, Plato), represented by Faustus’s “governing idea” being sight, according to Lisa Hopkins.¹¹ She never links his “scopic fixation” with his overarching appetite; by intensely consuming all that he sees, Faustus actually loses sight of genuine substance. On the surface he treats nature empirically and sometimes holistically or systemically like Aristotle would, but his constant consumption negates what he has seen, making it disappear by ingestion before moving on to the next “delight”—a good example being his requests to “see” more and more of his magical powers in Mephistophiles’s books.¹²

For Aristotle the universe is entirely there from the beginning and just needs to be understood and explained through careful observation; as Laura Westra points out, “The major ‘flaw’ in Aristotelian science is that Aristotle has no conception of evolutionary theory: for him, what exists has always existed. . . .”¹³ Yet, Faustus, in the wake of sixteenth-century alchemists and anticipating seventeenth-century scientists, seeks discoveries, not just explanations—the “how,” not just the “why”

in order to manipulate and exploit the natural environment. "For Aristotelians, by contrast, the philosopher learned to understand nature by observing and contemplating its 'ordinary course,' not by interfering with that course and thereby corrupting it," asserts Peter Dear. "Nature was not something to be controlled."¹⁴ It was holistic, regular, and eternal to Aristotle, whose science was descriptive, taxonomic, and teleological.¹⁵ For him the world was a totality of organisms having both spirit or soul and cause or function (in that sense like an ecosystem), but his ideology was anti-ecological in its positioning of humans at the top of a natural hierarchy such that ". . . nature was a resource placed before humanity for its exclusive use."¹⁶ Whether Aristotle was ecocentric or anthropocentric is a source of contemporary debate and even may have been a topic of disputation, a key pedagogical mode at Cambridge when Marlowe was there; for instance, he might have taken sides on Aristotle's critique of human effects on the extinction of a type of scallop versus the philosopher's defense of human dominion over animals.¹⁷ Faustus's mode of comprehending and possessing the environment is in synchrony with Aristotle. On the one hand, he appreciatively observes small wonders of nature such as "pleasant fruits" or "groves of fruitful vines," but always with an aesthetic distance as though he were looking at pictures in a catalogue.¹⁸ And, on the other hand, he repeatedly invokes images of gluttony, even sending Mephistophiles half way around the world during the winter for "a dish of ripe grapes" to satisfy the egocentric whim of a lascivious Duchess.¹⁹ This double edge of Faustus's natural paradigm that eventually succumbs to his appetite is influenced also by Marlowe's familiarity with three Roman poets.

Matter's composition from the four elements of fire, air, water, and earth in various compounds was part of Aristotle's theory but was more prevalent in required texts by Lucretius (98-55 B.C.E.), Virgil (70-19 B.C.E.), and Ovid (43 B.C.E.-A.D. 17).²⁰ Like Aristotle they believed that nature had a unity or order that could be grasped empirically through the senses, but unlike him they saw change as central, linking them back to some pre-Socratic philosophers' notions of matter as inconstant and always in flux (e.g., Pythagoras and Heraclitus).²¹ Be it in progress toward a golden age as in Virgil or decline from a utopian past of total bounty as in Ovid, the transformational power of nature in their narrative poems, overtly signified in the title *Metamorphoses*, was a source of Faustus's fantasies of conquest and redemption--none of them fulfilled. In his recent comprehensive biography of Marlowe, David Riggs comments:

Ovid's philosophy was naturalistic and libertine. Where Aristotle's universe is eternal, and its God an unmoved mover, the *Metamorphoses* offers a universal history of changes. . . . Marlowe faithfully reproduced Ovid's materialistic, ever-changing cosmos in *Tamburlaine the Great* and *Hero and Leander*.²²

Surprisingly, Riggs does not associate Ovid's ideas of nature with *Doctor Faustus*, despite evidence in earlier biographical studies that Marlowe derived images of control over nature from Ovid and Virgil (Kocher) and that he translated Ovid's *Amores* (Boas); indeed, Faustus quotes a famous line from *Amores* in his final soliloquy: "*O lente, lente, currite noctis equi!*"²³

Both Virgil and Ovid, and much later Marlowe, were deeply indebted to Lucretius' lengthy discursive poem *De Rerum Natura*. Riggs cites the similarities in the three poets' creation stories and Virgil's homage to Lucretius as roots of Marlowe's natural philosophy; Levin comments, "If Marlowe learned the lyric mode from Ovid and the epic mode from Lucan, it may well have been Lucretius who schooled him in tragic discernment of the nature of things" (and he easily might have said Virgil instead of Lucan).²⁴

All-important ideas about appetite and moderation were drawn from Lucretius' reverent revisions of Epicurus, who was only available in a few fragments, if at all, for Marlowe. Pleasure is the fulfillment of appetite and avoidance or elimination of pain, yet the pursuit of unnecessary and unnatural pleasures only leads to pain: "Consider too the greed and blind lust of status that drive pathetic men to overstep the bounds of right." Lucretius went on to say that such immoderation can be overcome "... only by an understanding of the outward form and inner workings of nature" (a phrase he exactly repeats twice). Despite his optimistic view of change within natural phenomena and physics, he pessimistically saw human hubris and relentless meddling as the downfall of history: "So leave them to sweat blood in their wearisome unprofitable struggle along the narrow pathway of ambition."²⁵ With his immoderate appetite, as well as his "greed and blind lust," Faustus is a perfect fit for Lucretius' tenets on eco-hubris. Just before his damnation Faustus prays to Nature but to no avail because of his lack of a true understanding of nature in his lifetime. "For vain pleasure of four-and-twenty years hath Faustus lost eternal joy and felicity," he muses with agony.²⁶ He almost never has an inkling of the serenity and simple pleasures of nature that Lucretius espouses, such as "... when men recline in company on the soft grass by a running stream under the branches of a tall tree and refresh their bodies pleasurablely at small expense."²⁷ Once, however, at the apex of his activities to feed his appetite, he briefly takes a nap on a "fair and pleasant green," but quickly kicks back into high gear to play a vulgar trick.²⁸

Another important parallel between *Doctor Faustus* and *De Rerum Natura* is a surprisingly modern, seemingly existential definition of hell. Lucretius posits, "*As for all those torments that are said to take place in the depths of Acheron, they are actually present here and now, in our own lives*"²⁹—a remarkable coincidence with what Mephistophiles twice tells Faustus: "Why this is hell, nor am I out of it!" and "Hell has no limits, nor is circumscrib'd / In one self place; for where we are is hell."³⁰ For these and other such views that were shockingly out of touch with their respective times, both Lucretius and Marlowe were considered impious, or

in fact heretical—one more parallel that is substantiated by Riggs’s quotation of Henry Barrow, a contemporary of Marlowe at Cambridge: “It ‘cannot be denied’, Barrow wrote, that scholars in the arts ‘learned and learn the Latin tongue from the most heathenish and profane authors, lascivious poets, etc’” (amongst which he included Aristotle too).³¹ Earlier in the same chapter, titled “Thinking Like a Roman,” Riggs notes that Cambridge undergraduates were introduced to “. . . the ancient (un)belief system of Epicurus and his disciple Lucretius: hell is a fable, and belief in hell a craven superstition; the body metamorphoses into the elements after death; poets and rulers invented divine retribution to keep men in awe of authority.”³² “Hell’s a fable,” Faustus proclaims, right after asking Mephistophiles about it, and then he dismisses torments of the after-life as “old wives’ tales.”³³ Throughout the play, Faustus wrestles with his own belief in God and Christ, as represented by the Good Angel, the Old Man, and at times his own inner voice, yet always comes back to his Epicurean appetite, “Wherein is fix’d the love of Belzebub”—the line right after “The God thou servest is thine own appetite.”³⁴ Like Lucretius, Marlowe deviated from traditional religion, yet he was steeped in Christian views of nature long before he became a professed and accused atheist.

The age of “Discovery” (or colonization) and the concurrent Scientific Revolution rested on the shoulders of the merger of Greco-Roman ideas with Christianity during the late Middle Ages, especially in the realm of natural philosophy. Aristotle’s treatment of nature as a constant resource for human use and the Roman poets’ ideology that nature was always changing and being changed by civilized people (even if for worse) fit perfectly with the Judeo-Christian doctrine of “man’s dominion” over nature that is repeated many times in the Bible after first being stated at the top of Genesis—indeed, repeated twice within three lines (1:26-8). Faustus would just be carrying out the Christian mandate to “subdue . . . every living thing that moveth upon the earth” were it not for his deal with the Devil combined with his sinful appetite and humanistic bent. Marlowe knew well the Christian side of natural philosophy, including the softer “stewardship” model of Genesis 2, not only from childhood Bible and *Catechism* study, but also through exposure at Cambridge to the writings of saints Augustine (354-430) and Aquinas (1224-74)—all the more so through his graduate study in Divinity (deeply ironic given his atheistic leanings).

In *The City of God* Augustine reinforced the civilizing (“city” being its root) mission of Christianity while at the same time advocating moderation. He was conflicted about the natural environment, on the one hand calling the earth “. . . a mighty mass among the elements, and the lowest part of the world” and on the other hand placing nature within the “Order of Love” (yet, overtly rejecting Roman deification of nature, such as that of Lucretius).³⁵

Without any ambiguity, however, Augustine considered it sinful to pursue knowledge of nature and anything earthly. For him curiosity was one of three forms

of evil lust or desire—*libido sentiendi*, *libido sciendi*, and *libido dominandi*—terms that Levin explains as follows:

The triple conception, which is so deeply rooted in early Christian asceticism, goes back to the first epistle of Saint John (ii, 16), with its absolute distinction between love of the world and love of the Father, and more especially its warnings against lust of the flesh (or *voluptas*), lust of the eyes (or *curiositas*), and pride of life (or *vana gloria*). This was a crucial formulation for Saint Augustine, himself a great formulator of the tensions between paganism and Christianity.³⁶

Levin makes the obvious connection of *libido sciendi* to Faustus, but only links *libido sentiendi* and *libido dominandi* to the conjuring of Helen of Troy and Alexander the Great, respectively. Yet, all three forms of *libido* are constantly at work in Faustus throughout the play, starting with three lines at the top of the soliloquy in which he first envisions the possibilities of his magic:

Shall I make spirits fetch me what I please, [*sentiendi*]
 Resolve me of all ambiguities, [*sciendi*]
 Perform what desperate enterprise I will? [*dominandi*]³⁷

The exact same pattern recurs a bit later when Faustus outlines the basic deal of his soul in exchange for twenty-four years of service from Mephistophiles:

To give me whatsoever I shall ask, [*sentiendi*]
 To tell me whatsoever I demand, [*sciendi*]
 To slay mine enemies, and aid my friends, [*dominandi*]
 And always be obedient to my will.³⁸

Correlated with the egocentricity represented by seven usages of the first person in these four lines, Faustus's *libido* soars to mammoth proportions in the surrounding speeches, as he vows to "live in all voluptuousness" [*sentiendi*], "live in speculation of this art" [*sciendi*], and "be great emp'ror of the world" [*dominandi*].³⁹ It all adds up to Augustinian *libido* in its dual meaning as insatiable appetite or unrestrained "desire" (a word repeated numerous times in the play) being the central driving force for Faustus at all times. Although in the Renaissance the *libido* trio was turned into a positive value, Marlowe retrieved Augustine's definitions as one part of his skeptical challenge to the rising humanism of his era in *Doctor Faustus*.

During what is commonly called the Dark Ages, Augustinian sin became the norm, resulting in nature being entirely Satanic and always wild, dangerous, or

evil—a corollary of original sin stemming from the Fall, as opposed to the perfect and placid state of nature in the Garden of Eden. Hundreds of years later, the classical scholasticism of medieval universities effected the retrieval of Aristotle's conceptions of nature as interpreted and revised by clerics such as Aquinas, who is second only to Aristotle in number of entries in the index to Costello's book about Cambridge. With phrases like "Aristotle as received through St. Thomas" and "the crystallizing synthesis of Aquinas," Costello substantiates the Catholic saint's important role in Christianizing Aristotle and making him the largest part of Marlowe's education.⁴⁰ For Aquinas, nature was no longer sinful, but instead useful. He embraced the "*this-worldliness*" of Aristotle, thus positing nature as beneficent for humans at the top of the natural hierarchy, and thereby reversing the doom of the Fall that had prevailed for nearly a thousand years.⁴¹ Yet, to Aquinas, unlike Aristotle, the world was not eternal but created by God so that man could rule the roost: "God has subjected all things to man's power" because "man is said to be according to the image of God."⁴² In merging natural philosophy with theology, Aquinas blazed a trail for the subversive potential of human-centeredness and the supernatural—a word he invented. Thus, he set the stage for humanism, alchemy, magic, and ultimately science with the notion that nature is there to be subdued and mastered by man made in God's image.

Then, in a twisted extrapolation of Aquinas three centuries later, Marlowe has Faustus take the next philosophic step of equating magic with divinity: "A sound magician is a mighty god."⁴³ Nature, to Aquinas (and Christian theology in general) no longer divine nor animistic, can not only be mastered, but also devoured by Faustus in a "glut" of "delight" (two more words that recur often to signify satiation of appetite). In a double twist on Aquinas, first Faustus argues that his "manly fortitude" is of greater value than the "joys of Heaven," which were lost to Mephistophiles, but after Faustus has signed over his soul, the disputation exactly reverses as Mephistophiles argues that "Heaven . . . is not half so fair as thou, / Or any man that breathes on earth."⁴⁴ When Faustus asks for proof, Mephistophiles extends the humanistic logic by saying, "It [Heaven] was made for man; therefore is man more excellent," to which Faustus responds in a desperate stretch of logic, "If it were made for man, 't was made for me! / I will renounce this magic and repent."⁴⁵ So, medieval Christian theology still tugs at Faustus, as it would have at Marlowe in a collision of one part of his education with another: Augustine pitted against the atheistic thinking of Lucretius or Epicurus, and Aquinas in opposition to the more secular ideas and practices of the sixteenth century.

In the hundred years before Marlowe wrote, the Renaissance brought new translations and wider dissemination of the Greco-Roman texts because of the printing press and the growth of universities. For *Doctor Faustus*, he also turned to new ideas about nature springing from humanism, which eventually superseded scholasticism, and alchemy or magic, which transformed natural philosophy and

provided a bridge to science. From his formal education at Cambridge, Marlowe understood moderation or the mean, yet from Renaissance mavericks (as well as his own life as a young adult) he grasped hold of independence and experimentation. He armed Faustus with the value of invention from da Vinci (1452-1519) and individualism from Protestant reformers like Luther (1483-1546), but most of all, opportunistic cunning from Machiavelli (1469-1527). Several critics cite evidence that Marlowe likely read *The Prince* and point to direct influence on *Tamburlaine* and *The Jew of Malta*, but neglect connections to *Doctor Faustus*—the most obvious being Faustus’s disingenuous manipulations.⁴⁶ He, like Machiavelli’s prince, is similar to a fox, able to fool prey by false appearances and clever tricks, “to be a great pretender and dissembler; and men are so simple and so obedient to present necessities that he who deceives will always find someone who will let himself be deceived.”⁴⁷ At the height of the play, Faustus pulls off a string of ruses based on deceptive appearances or disappearances, with gullible victims such as the Vintner and Horse-Courser, or even the Emperor and the Pope. Throughout the play, the Chorus and (or as) Wagner, in the capacity of narrator(s) and possibly the author’s voice, offer clear examples of other Machiavellian values that Marlowe incorporated in Faustus:

Free will—“swoln with cunning of a self-conceit”
 Vice—“He would not banquet and carouse and swill . . . ”
 Fame—“Now is his fame spread forth in every land”
 Ever-new conquests—“But new exploits do hale him out
 again”
 Ends that justify all means—“His waxen wings did mount above
 his reach”⁴⁸

Taking Machiavelli’s precepts one step further, one must wonder why Cornelius and Valdes, the two close friends who teach Faustus how to conjure, disappear from the play, never to be mentioned again after the three of them seem to be establishing a triumvirate of magic. On a less speculative note, Faustus’s ever-inflated appetite that becomes his God is the ultimate end that justifies all of his means; to that end, he heretically gives all his love to Belzebub and, musing on murderous means, offers him “lukewarm blood of newborn babes.”⁴⁹

Faustus doubles the heresy by his diabolical applications of alchemical and necromantic knowledge that Marlowe had acquired, strangely, to a great extent through his theological studies at Cambridge.⁵⁰ Alchemy was the most prevalent form of “natural” magic that exploited “the hidden (‘occult’) powers found in nature”; however, Faustus acquires his alchemy by means of “demonic” magic (necromancy), “worked by invoking the aid of spirits” (in his case, Mephistophiles and the other devils).⁵¹ His will to control nature through magic is simply an

adjunct of the operational and experimental approaches to natural philosophy in the Renaissance, in which the *vita activa* of science started to replace the *vita contempliva* of Aristotelian scholasticism.⁵² On the one hand, Faustus is a natural man of his times, and on the other an unnatural purveyor of evil. Marlowe probably modeled him in part after famous alchemists like Paracelsus (1493-1541) and magical cosmologists like Bruno (1548-1600), whose theories and practices were scientifically profound but laced with heresy—for instance, both seeing humans as divine in their wisdom and abilities.

Bruno even called for men to activate their “appetite for glory.”⁵³ Though adamantly anthropocentric about man’s mastery of nature, he postulated that the environment is organic and unitary while also diverse: “For whatever is small, trivial or mean serves to complete the splendour of the whole.”⁵⁴ In exile from Italy, Bruno lived in Oxford and London most of the years Marlowe was at Cambridge, and Hopkins cites evidence that they knew each other.⁵⁵ Riggs points to Bruno’s books, along with the graduate curriculum, as the primary way Marlowe came to know about magic and conjuring:

John Case and Everard Digby, the pre-eminent natural philosophers at Oxford and Cambridge, introduced students to the occult principles that controlled the natural world. Both men spent their careers synthesizing Aristotle’s scientific works with texts about the universe of spirits. . . . English scholars learned how to operate demons from Continental books on magic . . . and from the works of the Italian immigrant Giordano Bruno, especially his *Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*. . . . Public interest in magic peaked during the mid-1580s, when a London printer brought out seven of Bruno’s books. . . . Conjuring was not a freak diversion at Oxford and Cambridge; as Henry Barrow recognized, it was a foreseeable outcome of the MA course.⁵⁶

Having studied some occult principles, Marlowe definitely understood the tenets about nature embedded in alchemy and magic when he wrote *Doctor Faustus*. While embracing the atheistic and operational approaches toward nature within much Renaissance thinking, he was profoundly skeptical toward Faustus’s infinite appetite for excess, and at first glance even seemingly Christian in his forebodings about his protagonist’s diabolical deal. A close reading of the text will reveal how these themes emerge and develop in a very cohesive way, true to Goethe’s oft-quoted comment on the play: “How greatly is it all planned.”⁵⁷

Eco-critical Analysis of the Play’s Text

Throughout Act I, Faustus’s will to control or transform nature is given equal weight with his geopolitical quest to be “emp’ror of the world” and his goal to be

the greatest magician and thus most knowledgeable person in the world.⁵⁸ Indeed, toward the end of his opening speech, having smugly rejected the four disciplines he has mastered, Faustus rapturously avers that to be able to “raise the wind or rend the clouds” is greater than the finite power of “emperors and kings” and equal to the farthest stretches of “the mind of man.”⁵⁹ Immediately seeking to become a “mighty god” or “deity,” he is soon bolstered in his brashly manic vanity by the Evil Angel’s triple equation of magic, deification, and mastery of nature:

Go forward, Faustus, in that famous art
Wherein all Nature’s treasury is contain’d;
Be thou on earth as Jove is in the sky,
Lord and commander of these elements.⁶⁰

Lucretius and Saint Thomas Aquinas might have accepted some of magic’s manipulations of the four elements but never with the presumption of godhood (like Bruno and Paracelsus). Changing the course of a river is one item on Faustus’s first wish list, and drying the sea in order to acquire sunken treasures is a promise of cohort Cornelius at the end of the first scene. The ecological stakes then get significantly higher when, right after he conjures Mephistophiles, Faustus gives only this example of what he wants to be able to command: “Be it to make the moon drop from the sphere / Or the ocean to overwhelm the world”⁶¹—likely, Marlowe’s reference to the Bible’s Great Flood and perhaps similar stories from newly-conquered cultures (today, evidence for ancient climate change). The grotesque scale of Faustus’s vision of mastering nature goes way beyond immoderation as defined by Aristotle or Lucretius, and is exemplary of the extremity of individual action endorsed by Machiavelli or Bruno.

Running side by side in Act I with the overt references to Faustus’s zeal for manipulating nature are numerous allusions to his limitless appetite that are synchronous with statements by Aristotle and Lucretius. At the top the Chorus, in an ironic tone, introduces the protagonist with an image of excessive eating that recurs throughout the play: “glutted more with learning’s golden gifts.”⁶² In the opening scene and thereafter, Marlowe’s convention of Faustus talking to and of himself, more than conveying a possible split identity, indicates the character’s self-importance, self-aggrandizement, and self-absorption—a narcissistic consumption of oneself. Just before piling up a things-to-do list of power fantasies, Faustus speaks in the first person for the first time in an exclamatory belch of egotistical satisfaction:

How am I glutted with conceit of this!
Shall I make spirits fetch me what I please,
Resolve me of all ambiguities,
Perform what desperate enterprise I will?⁶³

The repetition of first person (five times in four lines) and the gist of what he says sets up the modality of Faustus's way of wanting for the rest of the play. "'Tis magic, magic, that hath ravish'd me,'" he tells his cronies, again with an image of over-eating.⁶⁴ It is clear that the power of what he has consumed takes him over, so much so that when he conjures Mephistophiles he rejects the first incarnation as "too ugly to attend on me" and congratulates himself for "the force of magic and my spells."⁶⁵ Sounding very much like Lucretius on the pitfalls of ambition, Mephistophiles straightway warns Faustus about "aspiring pride and insolence" and exhorts him to "leave these frivolous demands."⁶⁶ Arrogantly yet absurdly, he retorts, "Learn thou of Faustus manly fortitude," before diving with headstrong hunger into driving the deal—first and foremost twenty-four years of "all voluptuousness."⁶⁷

Marlowe underlined the early emergence of Faustus's voracious appetite in two ways that merit discussion. Again speaking vainly in the third person, Faustus declares, "His ghost be with the old philosophers!"—meaning he rejects the medieval depictions of hell (perhaps Virgil's too) and, more importantly, the classical philosophers' (especially Aristotle's) principle of moderation or mean.⁶⁸ The play's comic scenes often have been dismissed as poor amendments by another author, but in each case Faustus's self-puffery, carnal desires, and obsession with magic are mirrored. First, his wise-but-clownish servant Wagner takes on his logic and lingo to spoof the scholars and then learns how to conjure devils in order to frighten a clown into serving him for seven years, a humorous parallel to Faustus's pact with Mephistophiles.⁶⁹ Following on the heels of Faustus's bid for "voluptuousness," the jocular Wagner even taunts the foolish Clown (Robin) with a humorously appetite-based deal: "The villain is bare and out of service, and so hungry that I know he would give his soul to the Devil for a shoulder of mutton, though it were blood-raw!"⁷⁰

In Act II the main action is the struggle of Faustus's ever-growing appetite with his incipient remorse, starting with his fourteen-line soliloquy in which he goes back and forth on whether to "despair in God" or "turn to God again," finally proclaiming his appetite as "The God thou servest" in the name of "the love of Belzebub." At once, the angels tug at his conscience, with Evil Angel victorious on "think of honor and wealth," to which Faustus exclaims "Of wealth!" which feels especially meaningful and even funny because it is an entire line.⁷¹

The will to conquer nature and the geopolitical world takes a back seat to pecuniary gain and carnal pleasures. In his bout with repentance (which recurs several times later), Faustus ends up negating deity as defined by both Lucretius (Nature, the only god surely deserving reverence) and Aquinas (God, with nature definitively undivine), instead invoking the divinity of self-gratification in the vein of Machiavelli. Ironically, after making a point of deeding his body along with his soul, Faustus suddenly interrupts a pithy and witty dispute with Mephistophiles about the essence of hell:

But, leaving off this, let me have a wife,
 The fairest maid in Germany;
 For I am wanton and lascivious,
 And cannot live without a wife.⁷²

Instead, Mephistophiles brings a disguised devil, that Faustus calls “a hot whore” and goes on to offer him “the fairest courtesans . . . ev’ry morning to thy bed.” Sexually titillated, Faustus must be reminded of the other powers in his book, starting with “whirlwinds, tempests, thunder, and lightning.” At scene’s end, Faustus half-jokingly requests “one book more—and then I have done—wherein I might see all plants, herbs, and trees that grow upon the earth”; he expresses gleeful disbelief when he is shown all of them in the book.⁷³ This is the last mention of the mastery or control of nature in the play.

The final remnant of Faustus’s scientific curiosity appears in the next scene when he cockily interrogates Mephistophiles about astrology in a rapid banter. Out of line with Copernicus (and thus outdated), the earth is placed at the center of a Ptolemaic universe that seems holistic and mechanistic (thus Aristotelian). Both heaven and earth are, in Mephistophiles’ words, “made for man.” In this case, scholasticism and humanism, normally at odds, were meshed by Marlowe to do the Devil’s duty of forcing Faustus not to repent (a word repeated six times in the first twenty lines of the scene). Despite his constant backlash, he keeps coming back to his need for “delight.” In the scene’s first round of repentance, he concludes “And long ere this I should have slain myself, / Had not sweet pleasure conquer’d deep despair.” Finally, Lucifer must come to bolster Faustus’s resolve, less by admonition than by the promise to “highly gratify thee,” as theatrically represented by a little show of the Seven Deadly Sins. Their display of limitless excess culminates with Faustus ecstatically exclaiming, “O, this feeds my soul!” and Lucifer emphatically replying, “Tut, Faustus, in hell is all manner of delight”—what may be considered to be an early climax to *Doctor Faustus*.⁷⁴ At this point, the tidy theme is hell is life (as espoused by Lucretius) and life is extreme appetite (as decried by Lucretius). As an indicator that the rest of the play heads downhill, Marlowe followed with another comic parallel and twist: a scene in which Robin, the Clown, now takes Faustus’s conjuring book in order to “make all the maidens in our parish dance at my pleasure, stark naked before me.” In turn, he gains a disciple by promising his fellow servant, Ralph, “if thou hast any mind to Nan Spit, our kitchen-maid, then turn her and wind her to thy own use, as often as thou wilt, and at midnight.”⁷⁵ Use-value is all there is henceforth. From here to the end, nature and people are just items for consumption—a world in which Aristotelian telos or function is made mad by a Machiavellian ethos of abusive use.

At the top of Acts III and IV, Wagner (as the Chorus) gives brief monologues extolling the “new exploits” and “learned skill” of Faustus but always in the

context of the “pleasure” of his “journey through the world” on a dragon-drawn chariot.⁷⁶ Even if Wagner is not speaking ironically about Faustus’s mastery of astronomy and geography or the fame of his accomplishments, there is a gigantic contradiction between what Wagner reports and what Faustus does within the play. In Act III, whatever legitimacy there might be for Wagner’s praise of Faustus’s scientific inquiry is undercut when he opens the first scene with a monologue entirely devoted to the tourist “delight” of several cities in France and Italy, followed by Mephistophiles describing the “delight” of Rome. In the inflated style of travelogues, both speeches are gushing tributes only to feats of manmade construction and engineering in each city; even the two small nature references stress use-value, not intrinsic worth. “Learned” Faustus has forsaken all threads of Aristotelian empiricism and moderation. The rest is “glut.” There is nothing left of Faustus’s loftier goals, as his gross appetite for material, carnal, and tourist modes of consumption conquers him. He becomes “wearisome” and “pathetic,” to go back to the words of Lucretius about immoderately ambitious men, or just grotesquely ludicrous.

The short scenes in these two acts are entirely devoted to foolish feasts and frivolous feats. Machiavelli’s theory of the fox-like deceptions and foolery of the prince is evident, as stated earlier. It all starts with Faustus deciding to be an invisible trickster for the Pope at Saint Peter’s feast; he proclaims, “Well, I am content to compass, then, some sport, / And by their folly make us merriment.”⁷⁷ He relishes his pranks like a kid. Another parallel is drawn in the next comic scene in which Robin and Ralph drunkenly “gull” (trick) the Vintner by juggling a stolen goblet and impishly conjuring Mephistophiles, who chastises the “pleasure of these damned slaves” even though, ironically, Faustus’s physical gags are equally low and vulgar.⁷⁸ In the next scene, sycophantically bloated with false modesty, Faustus conjures simulacra of Alexander the Great and his paramour at the Emperor’s request; so, he lives up to his fame through a form of fakery. And, he throws in a run-of-the-mill cuckolding trick on a nay-saying Knight, obsequiously assuring the Emperor it was just “to delight you with some mirth.”⁷⁹ Faustus opens the following scene by expressing his worries about aging: “That Time doth run with calm and silent foot, / Short’ning my days and thread of vital life.”⁸⁰ One would think he might heed these warnings and turn to more serious magic aimed at conquering nature or empires, but instead, his appetite for pecuniary gain and bodily pleasures heads toward the point of depravity. Even though he realizes he is “a man condemn’d to die,” the world-famous conjurer becomes a con man for the sake of joyously jilting a poor but ludicrous horse trainer out of a measly eighty dollars.⁸¹ Then, he brings “delight” to a Duchess by satisfying her “desire” for a “dish of ripe grapes” in a scene rich with darkly funny sexual entendre.⁸² In both scenes, Faustus repeatedly is called “Master Doctor,” but he is shown to be just as foolish as the people he tricks (Horse-Courser) or pleases (Duke and Duchess). He has become just a vacuous celebrity without genuine power, reduced to a series of magical sight gags.

Faustus's descent into depravity gets deepest in the first scene of Act V, generally cited as the climax. Back home, sated by a fit of feasting and carousing with his old cronies, he conjures Helen of Troy at the request of a drunken scholar who calls her the "beautiful'st . . . admirablest lady that ever lived." Again it's a simulacrum—"spirits in the shape of Helen of Troy" (as stated in the "Dramatis Personae") but often interpreted as a Devil in disguise (or a succubus). Yet, unlike with Alexander the Great, this time Faustus takes the conjured simulation as real:

You shall behold that peerless dame of Greece,
No otherways for pomp and majesty
Than when Sir Paris cross'd the seas with her
And brought the spoils to rich Dardania.

She is an object for consumption, indeed pillage, yet treated as the actual person put on a pedestal: "the pride of Nature's works," as a scholar calls her.⁸³

The sudden entrance of the Old Man who convinces Faustus to repent makes sense as a twist in the plot, but who he is remains a mystery. Arguably the most genuine person in the play, he has no name or definite identity—maybe Faustus's conscience or alter-ego, a sage or prophet, perhaps an audience surrogate, but ostensibly a Christian do-gooder or miracle worker, seemingly a throwback to Marlowe's familiarity with Aquinas and Augustine but an anomaly to his atheism. Yet, in his only two lines describing Faustus's sins, the Old Man accuses him of being unnatural and rotten, a defiler of nature who in turn is defiled: "Of thy most vild and loathsome filthiness, / The stench whereof corrupts the inward soul."⁸⁴ Marlowe came back to this more Epicurean and ecocentric perspective on Faustus in the play's final scene, but at this point he took his protagonist over the edge.

Threatened with violence by Mephistophiles (finally being an antagonist), Faustus retracts his repentance and quickly dives back into the oceanic depth of his appetite:

One thing, good servant, let me crave of thee,
To glut the longing of my heart's desire,
That I might have unto my paramour
That heavenly Helen, which I saw of late.⁸⁵

So much has been said about Faustus's most famous speech, but there is little recognition that he puts himself into a fantasy of raping Helen, despite all the surface allusions to her passionate kisses and stellar beauty. And, in making a succubus his one and only mistress, he commits his final desecration of nature in pursuit of excessive consumption—just cheap thrills with a pornographic simulation of the ultimate "trophy wife" or sexual icon of that time. Machiavelli would have

approved, given his penultimate advice to the prince: "I judge this indeed, that it is better to be impetuous than cautious, because fortune is a woman; and it is necessary, if one wants to hold her down, to beat her and strike her down."⁸⁶

The scholars open the final scene by diagnosing Faustus as sick from "being oversolitary" and having a "surfeit"—that is, too independent and out of balance due to excess, in a direct parallel to the two dominant constructs of ecology as well as Aristotle's theory of moderation. Although Marlowe made God and prayer the recurrent images in this scene, as an atheist he might have done so to point the terrible irony that Faustus's "wonders I have done" are really no more than "vain pleasure" that leads inevitably to loss of "eternal joy and felicity"—that is, for atheists, humanists, and vitalists (like Epicurus) a living hell, not unlike the plagues Marlowe would have witnessed.⁸⁷ Faustus's hyperbole about his affliction in this scene is reminiscent of Lucretius' extremely graphic evocation of epidemics and plagues in the last section of *De Rerum Natura*.

After the scholars leave, Faustus's prayers for redemption are mainly addressed toward or about natural phenomena (with a few to God and Christ). Having started by calling on the sun, "Fair Nature's eye," to stop time and make "Perpetual day," Faustus then invokes nature's cataclysms such as earthquakes, volcanoes, and tornados in a rambling outburst of prayer, again probably influenced by Lucretius:

Mountain and hills, come, come and fall on me,
And hide me from the heavy wrath of God!
No! no!
Then will I headlong run into the earth!—
Earth, gape!—O no, it will not harbor me!—
You stars that reign'd at my nativity,
Whose influence hath allotted death and hell,
Now draw up Faustus like a foggy mist
Into the entrails of yon lab'ring cloud,
That when you vomit forth into the air,
My limbs may issue from their smoky mouths,
So that my soul may but ascend to Heaven.⁸⁸

Melding natural philosophy and astrology, Marlowe created an ecologically apocalyptic vision of Faustus's damnation, ironically with revival of an animistic (or pantheistic) view of nature that died in the Middle Ages, due in part to Augustine's insistence that only human beings have souls.⁸⁹ Increasingly crazed, Faustus desperately tries to get off the hook by latching on to the ancient theory of Pythagoras that humans reincarnate into animals which do not have souls after they die: "Their souls are soon dissolv'd in elements; / But mine must live, still to be plagu'd in

hell.” At the moment of his demise, Faustus makes one last deranged prayer that his body and soul be transformed into two of the four natural elements:

The clock striketh twelve.

O, it strikes, it strikes! Now, body, turn to air,
Or Lucifer will bear thee quick to hell!

Thunder and lightning.

O soul, be chang'd into little water-drops,
And fall into the ocean—ne'er be found!⁹⁰

At the very end, Faustus evokes escapism into rather than from the environment.

Extending to the soul the Aristotelian and Christian premise that matter is eternal, the man who has lived without limits paradoxically faces a limitless life in hell. After unlimitedly satiating his appetite, Faustus cries out, “O, no end is limited to damned souls!” His revelation implies a moral to this inverted morality play—moderation rather than amoral or immoral excess. As Aquinas would have agreed but Machiavelli would not, “World without end, Amen” is *not* “World without limits, Amen.” In the closing by the Chorus, Marlowe created one more ecological metaphor: “Cut is the branch that might have grown full straight,” if Faustus had not vowed “To practise more than heavenly power permits”—that is, to violate natural balance and mutuality in favor of self-deified appetite and selfish gratification.⁹¹

Conclusion

Doctor Faustus was on the cusp between pre-modern and early modern Europe. Perhaps because his life was so short and extreme, Marlowe brought to the play (arguably his last) a profound wisdom that combined his study of the past, connection to the present, and prescience of the future. That it was “pre-science” was the main source of the play’s potent legacy. Faustus ushered in Francis Bacon, who likely would have seen the play or at least joined in condemning Marlowe’s atheism. Bacon, with his Faustian perspective toward domination of nature, provided important philosophic fuel for the Scientific, Industrial, and Cybernetic revolutions of the next 400 years. As ecological philosophers and historians are quick to point out, Bacon made way for Newton’s mechanistic model of a completely controllable nature that firmly implanted a stranglehold of anthropocentrism and utilitarianism, only evident earlier in the Roman Empire.⁹² *Doctor Faustus* provided an antithetical alarm that continued to sound in productions, adaptations and analysis of the play up through the centuries. Yet, the emphasis was almost always on Faustus as power-hungry magician or perhaps mad scientist, lacking a clear sense of his manipulations of nature and his excessive appetite that ultimately overwhelms him.

Throughout the evolution of capitalism, but especially in the post-industrial world, Faustus is the ultimate consumer. His self-gratification and selfish trickery that predominate after Act II are often criticized for detracting from the gravity of tragedy. But, that misses the point: Faustus's fall can be seen as tragicomic, based on the same ecological pitfalls of materialist consumption then and especially now, from cheap thrills to "hot whores." Indeed, Marlowe, atheist and skeptic that he was, may have intended the play to be received through the objective lenses associated with dark humor and irony—thus, the comic parallel scenes and the full title, *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus* (instead of *The Tragedy of . . .*). In any event, it plays as tragicomedy in a postmodern world of image-driven consumption, with seemingly magical fantasies of Baudrillard's endless simulacra and Jameson's economy in which products and consumer "delights" are forever more and bigger.⁹³

An eco-critical analysis and production of *Doctor Faustus* impels the question of whether the postmodern world will reach limits, as Faustus does only at the end of his folly. It draws parallels between early modern ideas of individualism or freedom and the split or multiple identities of postmodernism in which "freedom's just another word for nothing left to lose" (Janis Joplin lyric). It juxtaposes the beginning and "end" of humanism. Yet, it provokes questioning of the premises of postmodernism through the classical philosophy that Marlowe learned. The seeming triumph of Machiavelli's concepts in the current world, especially the equation image=power as well as the use-value of all people and things including nature, is challenged by Aristotle's ethos of living according to a mean, using nature moderately or, what today he might say, sustainably. As Marlowe understood, Machiavelli's and Aristotle's definitions of "virtue" were diametrically opposed. In an age of "planned caprice" and "ordered disorder" (Brecht), *Doctor Faustus* is an ecological clarion call to "Live simply that others may simply live" (environmental bumper-sticker), a saying that sounds a lot like Lucretius.⁹⁴

Notes

1. For instance, see Emily Bartels, *Spectacles of Strangeness: Imperialism, Alienation, and Marlowe* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1993); Lisa Hopkins, *Christopher Marlowe: A Literary Biography* (Hampshire, England: Palgrave, 2000); Harry Levin, *The Overreacher: A Study of Christopher Marlowe* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1952); David Riggs, *The World of Christopher Marlowe* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2004). A rare exception is Paul H. Kocher, *Christopher Marlowe: A Study of his Thought, Learning, and Character* (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1946); see 140-43 for an analysis of nature in this play. Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, in her exhaustive analysis of imagery (*Shakespeare's Imagery and What It Tells Us* [Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1935]) offers a basic comparison: ". . . with Shakespeare, nature (especially the weather, plants, and gardening),

animals (especially birds), and what we may call everyday and domestic . . . easily come first; whereas, with Marlowe, images drawn from books, especially the classics, and from the sun, moon, planets and heavens far outnumber all others. (See and compare Charts I and II.)” (13). Yet, a careful look at the charts reveals that, whereas Marlowe vastly exceeds Shakespeare on learning images, he is more equivalent on imagery of nature than Spurgeon suggests, especially for weather and the elements.

2. An abridged version of *The History of the Damnable Life and Deserved Death of Doctor John Faustus* is included in the edition of *Doctor Faustus*, ed. Sylvan Barnet (Christopher Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus*, ed. Barnet [New York: Signet Classic, 1969]). In turn, the source of the “Faust-book” was the legend, inflated by rumor over the years, about the actual Georg Faustus, a German itinerant soothsayer in the early 1500s.

3. Frank B. Golley, *A Primer for Environmental Literacy* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1998) 23.

4. II.i.11. Christopher Marlowe, *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus, Elizabethan and Jacobean Tragedy: An Anthology*, ed. Robert Ornstein and Hazelton Spencer (Boston: D.C. Heath, 1964). All quotations are from this edition, which is the play’s A-text that is shorter and more playable; the B-text (in the Barnet edition) is more widely published and considered by many scholars to be more authoritative, though that point is heavily debated.

5. Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* I.i.1.

6. I.i.5.

7. William T. Costello, *The Scholastic Curriculum at Early Seventeenth-Century Cambridge* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1958) 9-10; also, see 42. Aristotelian logic and rhetoric were central to pedagogy at Cambridge, according to both Costello and Riggs 78-97. For further corroboration of the curriculum, see Mark H. Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition, 1558-1642: An Essay on Changing Relations between the English Universities and English Society* (Oxford: Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1959) 94 and 105; H. F. Kearney, *Scholars and Gentlemen: Universities and Society in Pre-Industrial Britain, 1500-1700* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1970) 37-39; and Lisa Jardine, “The Place of Dialectic Teaching in Sixteenth-Century Cambridge,” *Studies in the Renaissance* 21 (1974): 31-62; esp. 33. Although it was published in the 1640s (exact date unknown) and the authorship was not certain, “Directions for a Student in the Universitie,” ostensibly by Cambridge fellow Richard Holdsworth offered a comprehensive curriculum and plan of study for each of the four years (“Directions for a Student in the Universitie,” ms. 1.2.27(1), Emmanuel College, Cambridge University, vol. 2, appendix II of *The Intellectual Development of John Milton*, by H. F. Fletcher [Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1956] 622-65). It corresponds substantially with the findings of Costello and the others and has commentary on almost every assignment, such as the following on Aristotle: “. . . for he can hardly deserve the name of a Scholar, that is not in some measure acquainted with his works” (643). For Lucretius and Seneca, the advice was probably intended to be amusing: “The reading these bookes will furnish you with quaint & handsome expressions, for your Acts, to qualifie the harshnes, & barbarisme of Philosophical termes” (645).

8. Aristotle, *Ethics, Selections*, trans. Terence Irwin and Gail Fine (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1995) II.6:1106b, lines 25-29. Costello interprets as follows: “Ethical virtue, according to Aristotle, is that permanent disposition of the will, or state of mind, which like a gyroscope, holds the free will to the *mean* proper to man, as the mean is shown by reason. . . . Virtue always directs the

choice to the mean. Courage, for example, is the mean between cowardice and temerity; temperance is the mean between overindulgence and abstemiousness" (65-66).

9. Aristotle, *Ethics* III.2: 1111b, lines 15-16.

10. Aristotle, *Physics, Selections*, trans. Irwin and Fine II.1: 192b, lines 6-16. For context, see Costello 86 and 93. That Marlowe also would have read *Organon* is corroborated by John Bakeless, *The Tragical History of Christopher Marlowe* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1942) 249; and Frederick S. Boas, *Christopher Marlowe: A Biographical and Critical Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953) 16.

11. Hopkins 74-76.

12. Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* II.i.163-186.

13. Laura Westra, "Aristotelian Roots of Ecology: Causality, Complex Systems Theory, and Integrity," *The Greeks and the Environment*, ed. Westra and Thomas M. Robinson (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 1997) 83-98; here, 92.

14. Peter Dear, *Revolutionizing the Sciences: European Knowledge and Its Ambitions, 1500-1700* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2001) 7.

15. Geoffrey E. R. Lloyd explicates Aristotle's firm belief in "the investigability of nature" and its "general law" or "general rule." "Greek Antiquity: The Invention of Nature," *The Concept of Nature: The Herbert Spencer Lectures*, ed. John Torrance (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992) 10 and 14.

16. Derek Wall, *Green History: A Reader in Environmental Literature, Philosophy and Politics* (London: Routledge, 1994) 32.

17. Anthony Preus, "Some Ancient Ecological Myths and Metaphors," *The Greeks and the Environment*, ed. Laura Westra and Thomas M. Robinson (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 1997) 11-18; here 12 and 13. For more discourse on the ecocentric-anthropocentric binary, see specifically Wall, Westra, and Peter Marshall, *Nature's Web: Rethinking Our Place on Earth* (New York: Paragon House, 1994).

18. Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* I.i.84 and III.i.8.

19. IV.iii.14-15.

20. See Costello 92 and Riggs 206 for substantiation of Marlowe's familiarity with the four elements. Riggs notes that *Tamburlaine's* protagonist weaves a poetic tale of Nature's "creation of life out of the four elements," similar to Ovid's (and not unlike that of Virgil and Lucretius). For more on the three poets' narratives on nature, see Carolyn Merchant, *Reinventing Eden: The Fate of Nature in Western Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2003) 42-45. Kocher contends that Faustus includes three of the elements in his Latin invocation when he conjures Mephistophiles because their spirits were hellish: ". . . Faustus addresses the spirits of fire, air, and water because they are fiends, inhabiting these elements after their fall from Heaven" (157).

21. See Marshall 68-69 for a notable example in pre-Socratic philosophy: "Heraclitus' most famous doctrine is that everything is constantly changing: 'You cannot step twice in the same river; for fresh waters are ever flowing in upon you.'" And, there cannot be a much better example of a Roman's call for empiricism than the following two lines from Lucretius: "You'll find that truth's criterion first proceeds / From the senses—which can never be proved false" (*On the Nature of the Universe*, trans. R. E. Latham [London: Penguin Books, 1994] IV.476-77).

22. Riggs 88-89.

23. Ovid, *Amores* I.xiii.40; Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* V.ii.87.
24. Riggs 170 and Levin 165.
25. Lucretius III.59-61, III.93 (repeated II.62), and V.1130-31. This established translation is in prose, yet is more expressive and poetic in tone than a more recent translation in verse.
26. Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* V.ii.47-9.
27. Lucretius II.29-31.
28. Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* IV.ii.8.
29. Lucretius III.978 (italics in text). Another of Marlowe's sources for this view of hell might have been Manicheanism.
30. Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* I.iii.80 and II.i.123-124.
31. Qtd. in Riggs 94, from Henry Barrow, *Writings, 1590-1591*, ed. L.H. Carlson (London: Allen and Unwin, 1966) 213.
32. Riggs 89-90.
33. Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* II.i.128 and II.i.137.
34. II.i.12.
35. Qtd. in Wall 79, from St. Augustine, *The City of God*, ed. Marcus Dods (Edinburgh: Clark, 1913) 286. "The Order of Love" is discussed in Madonna R. Adams, "Augustine and the Love of the Environment," *Thinking About the Environment: Our Debt to the Classical and Medieval Past*, ed. Thomas M. Robinson and Laura Westra (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2002) 73-86; here 80-81.
36. Levin 176. Also, see Levin 124; Alexander Murray, "Nature and Man in the Middle Ages," *The Concept of Nature: The Herbert Spencer Lectures*, ed. John Torrance (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992) 49; and James R. Jacob, *The Scientific Revolution: Aspirations and Achievements, 1500-1700* (Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: Humanities Press International, 1998) 53.
37. Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* I.i.78-80.
38. I.iii.98-101.
39. I.iii.96, 117, and 108.
40. Costello 37 and 9.
41. See Marshall 101; Murray 43 and 47; Merchant 46; and William Leiss, *The Domination of Nature* (New York: George Braziller, 1972) 32.
42. Qtd. in Marshall 110, from St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* II, I, Q. 102, art 6; and qtd. in Leiss 32, from *Summa Theologica*, Part I, Quest. 96, Art 2.
43. Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* I.i.61.
44. I.iii.80-89 and II.ii.5-7.
45. II.ii.9-11.
46. See Bakeless 348-51; Philip Henderson, *Christopher Marlowe* (London: Longmans, Green, 1952) 11-12; and Hopkins 83-85. Several cite a note decrying the fad of reading Machiavelli by Gabriel Harvey, one of Marlowe's fellow students at Cambridge with whom he had a longstanding enmity.
47. Nicolo Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 2nd ed., trans. Harvey C. Mansfield (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1998) 70. Related to the next sentence, see 63, 71, 88-89, and 98.
48. Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* I.20, V.i.4, IV.12, III.16, and I.21.

49. II.i.14.
50. See Riggs 176-78 and, more generally, Kocher 138-72.
51. Dear 25, and see 24-29. Also, see Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971) 170-71 and 224-29.
52. See Dear 49 and 52.
53. Qtd. in Jacob 33, from Giordano Bruno, *The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast*, trans. and ed. Arthur D. Imerti (Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1992) 146. More generally, see Henderson 11-12 and 66-67; Jacob 22-27 and 30-33; Leiss 4-44; and Marshall 155-62.
54. Qtd. in Marshall 195, from Giordano Bruno, *De l'infinito universo e mondi*, in Arthur Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1971) 119.
55. Hopkins 48, 91, and 117. Levin and some annotators of the B-text aver that Marlowe may have given Bruno's name to the Antipope whom Faustus rescues; see Levin 120.
56. Riggs 176-78.
57. Qtd. in Ornstein and Spencer, "Introduction" to *Doctor Faustus* 50, without a citation.
58. Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* I.iii.108.
59. I.i.56-61.
60. I.i.61-62 and I.i.73-76.
61. I.iii.41-42.
62. I.24.
63. I.i.77-80.
64. I.i.109.
65. I.iii.27 and 34.
66. I.iii.71 and 79.
67. I.iii.89 and 96.
68. I.iii.64.
69. I.ii and I.iv.
70. I.iv.10-13.
71. II.i.5, 8, 11, 12, and 22.
72. II.i.143-146.
73. II.i.153, 157-158, 166, and 180-183.
74. II.ii.9, 24-25, 105, and 188-189.
75. II.iii.4-6 and 34-37.
76. III.16, IV.10, IV.1, and IV.8.
77. III.i.56-57.
78. III.ii.54.
79. IV.i.110.
80. IV.ii.2-3.
81. IV.ii.45.
82. IV.iii.14-15.
83. V.i.11-13, 23-26, and 33.
84. V.i.44-45.

85. V.i.85-88.

86. Machiavelli 101. Henderson cites an intriguing possible coincidence: "There is a tradition that Marlowe also translated Coluthus' *Rape of Helen* in 1587. No copy of this translation survives, but in the previous year Thomas Watson, one of Marlowe's friends, had published a Latin version, *Helenaë Raptus*" (17).

87. Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* V.ii.9-11, 25, and 47-49

88. V.ii.83-84 and 97-108.

89. See Leiss 30.

90. Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* V.ii.123-124 and 128-31.

91. V.ii.116, 136, and 143.

92. See J. Donald Hughes, *Ecology in Ancient Civilizations* (Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 1975) 96-97. For more on Bacon and Newton, see Dear or Jacob.

93. See Jean Baudrillard, *Simulations*, trans. Foss, Patton, and Beitchman (New York: Semiotext(e), 1983) or Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke UP, 1991). Post-structuralists tend to focus on Faustus's transgressive or abject identity and on Marlowe's textuality, especially his many references to authors and books; e.g., see Richard Wilson, ed., *Christopher Marlowe*, Critical Readers Series (London: Longman, 1999). In an article twenty years ago, Richard F. Hardin ("Marlowe and the Fruits of Scholasticism," *Philological Quarterly* 63 [1984]: 387-400) comes close at one point to viewing Faustus as antiheroic and tragicomic (393), but, in the end, he reverts to seeing Faustus's folly as tragic (398).

94. Bertolt Brecht, *The Exception and The Rule, The Jewish Wife and Other Short Plays*, trans. and ed. Eric Bentley (New York: Grove Press, 1965) 11.

