

[19] The clause is left incomplete; is it e.g. 'even one who claims divine lineage'?

[20] I suppose the Latin phrase is a familiar term of art, but it might be as well to add at least a parenthesis briefly elucidating it, or else a footnote referring readers to some classic treatment (or invention?) of the phrase.

Day rose, and viewed these tumults of the war;
 Whether the gods, or blust'ring south were cause
 I know not, but the cloudy air did frown;
 [. . .]
 But seeing white Eagles, and Rome's flags well known,
 And lofty Caesar in the thickest throng,
 They shook for fear, and cold benumbed their limbs,
 And muttering much, thus to themselves complained:
 'O walls unfortunate, too near to France,
 Predestinate to ruin!'

(Marlowe, *Lucan*, ll. 233–51)

The final line of this quotation captures Lucan's point that the citizens of Ariminum resigned themselves to passive complaint because they understood that it was their destiny to submit to Caesar's tyranny. Lucan points to the paradox of celebrating the victory of Caesar by deifying him and his descendants in Rome when so much Roman blood was lost for his cause. Through the example of Caesar, the epic shows how, in Ahl's words, 'the elevation of humans to divine estate will be man's vengeance on the gods for their indifference to human affairs' (p. 8). Instead of looking ahead to a new golden age, in the way that Virgil's epic did, Lucan's poem shows how men are helpless under a tyrannous ruler, even one who claims to be descended; it shows a world where the gods have abandoned all concern for men and Fortune presides over Rome.

QUERY [19]

The historical evidence of Tamburlaine's life in the accounts that Marlowe had access to provided the playwright with an example of tyranny similar to the paradigm of tyranny depicted in *De bello civili*: both Lucan and Marlowe examine the nature of monarchy through a subversion of accepted doctrines, cultural beliefs, and traditional genres (heroic epic and *de casibus* drama). All the horrors and bloodshed in Marlowe's two-part tragedy are caused by just one man, who, it seems, is chosen by God to tyrannize his subjects. Marlowe's drama reproduces Lucan's world as one in which there is a divine presence but only in the form of a self-declared scourge of God, Tamburlaine, who sees his role in the context of bringing hell to earth, thus reproducing the horrors of Book 1 of Lucan's epic. Marlowe cleverly applied Lucanic material to the history and characterization of Tamburlaine in dramatic form and embellished it with Elizabethan doctrines of divine providence.

QUERY [20]

In *Tamburlaine* Marlowe departs from the aims and motives of his historical sources concerning tyranny and punishment, and, as I shall argue, employs the heavily ironic tone of Lucan's discussion of Julius Caesar's apparently 'divine' barbarism. In this way, Marlowe's *de casibus* drama subverts the popular 'mirror' literature and asks the audience to judge for themselves from the evidence what type of lesson Tamburlaine offers. The tragedy subverts the traditional *de casibus* form because Tamburlaine's earthly sins never lead to his fall, but rather his hellish actions create an endless cycle of tragedy in the East that the scope of the drama does not bring to a conclusion.

Critics vary little in pinpointing which primary historical sources Marlowe consulted and generally accept the conclusions reached in the nineteenth century by C. H. Herford and A. Wagner, who recognized the relevance of two