

Politics, religion and knowledge in Milton's Paradise Lost and Marlowe's Doctor Faustus

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**Politics, religion and knowledge in Milton's *Paradise Lost* and Marlowe's
*Doctor Faustus***

Završni rad

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University of Split
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
Department of English Language and Literature

**Politics, religion and knowledge in Milton's *Paradise Lost* and Marlowe's
*Doctor Faustus***

BA Thesis

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ABSTRACT

The Renaissance in English literature has brought about an abundance of tragedies as well as morality plays. With the dominance of themes such as religion and forbidden knowledge, literature flourished and left behind many complex works of that time. Two such works are “Paradise Lost” and “Doctor Faustus”. What brings these two works into focus is their similarity- both structural and thematic. Behind a façade created by the restrictions of a genre, similarities unravel themselves through a structure resembling Dante’s hell. This paper explores these similarities through a gradual analysis of major themes and characters. In taking an alternative approach to both these works and their critiques, messages of rebellion and empowerment are unveiled.

KEYWORDS

Milton, Marlowe, Paradise Lost, Doctor Faustus, knowledge, politics, religion, feminism, genre

INTRODUCTION

Ever since John Milton's and Christopher Marlowe's works were written to their existence, both perhaps oblivious yet still anxious with expectations concerning their impact, countless generations have debated on the core meaning of *Doctor Faustus* and *Paradise Lost*.

In order to show how an interpretation manipulated to conform to the male perception of these works misidentifies the true nature of the characters consequently altering the interpretation of core themes within these works, I will gradually explore each level of both works in hopes of providing a new perspective by navigating the ambiguity of genre and consulting various religious critiques. While these literary works have commonly been regarded as traditional, misogynistic and patriarchal, I shall like to contend the very opposite and that is an idea suggesting that within these works a story of emancipation and a political resistance can be found. Moreover, *Paradise Lost* and *Doctor Faustus* take on a satirical approach to the Church. In doing so, freedom is presented as the highest value often unattainable due to orthodox religion. To illustrate that rebellion against the government, the value of freedom and female empowerment are the main themes of these works I will analyse the political atmosphere within, and determine who the heroes are and how they contribute to the narrative.

Being a male-dominated niche up until the last two decades, literary criticism has - perhaps unintentionally - put women in a subordinate position, as well as forced them to take all the blame. Female critics are taking a more objective yet radical approach, in an attempt to balance the decades worth of misogynistic interpretations, due to which Eve gains qualities of a hero, rather than a villain. The male critic has the benefit of sympathising with the author as he is a man too, as well as the benefit of observing women from a male perspective. Milton provided a work rich with biblical references, but male critics are at fault for purposely

misreading both texts - the Bible and *Paradise Lost*, and providing interpretations that give them more power in comparison to women. Despite seemingly very distinct from one another, a common denominator of these literary works lies in their feminist interpretations, providing a perspective of a marginalized point of view along with an abrupt dismissal of outdated research.

According to Historical Criticism and in regards to the critics mentioned prior to this moment, Milton embodies a role somewhat similar to Dante's, making him a passenger in his own work meaning there are traces of his presence in the story itself. Similarly to the way Dante travelled by Virgil's side through all of Hell, Milton has observed the transcendental war from various points of view. This statement should not be treated as an allegation of any sort, but rather as a claim that has been investigated by numerous critics. Among them is Oscar Kuhns who states that 'that Milton was influenced by Dante I can, I think, admit of no doubt' (Kuhns 1898:6). Milton calls upon years of tradition that have formed into an intrinsic conceptual idea of his own making it impossible to deduct just one possible meaning and reason behind *Paradise Lost*. Christian thinkers and scholars have proclaimed Milton's work to be a Christian theodicy bringing into question the traditional view of *Paradise Lost* as an epic. In the light of New Criticism, Milton can be seen as orthodox, however, following the steps of Historical Criticism it is evident that, via his unique poetic pattern, he has adopted a misconception for his inner system of beliefs. This misconception can only be regarded as such if approached from an orthodox perspective hence he writes in the spirit of Arianism - a theology based on an interpretation of biblical figures that rejects the Trinity and separates God, the father, and the Son of God making them two distinct figures (Riva 2008:95).

His overall stance is affected by the temporal context due to which it is impossible to assign him an ideology. Even in Milton's time it is clear that his work is rooted in the Bible,

but on the other hand he consults Apocryphal¹ texts; his views are Christian, but his belief is that of Arianism. Ultimately, if one were to read the poem in relation to Milton's time and history, one cannot guarantee to keep their personal systems of beliefs from interfering - a system originating in today's time (Wittreich 1974:18). At fault is the problematization of religion, philosophy and, ironically, the availability of information due to the Internet. To strictly assign Milton one solid ideology, it would be necessary to agree upon a single reading of his works, including *Paradise Lost* which is almost impossible knowing Milton consulted various cultures, sources and languages when writing.

Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* found itself in a situation similar to the one described in terms of interpretation. Much as portals of Gothic cathedrals, *Doctor Faustus* is also traditionally considered to be a formidable tool. As the portals, he too is, [...], 'an illustration of the medieval concept of despair, the sin against the Holy Ghost' (McCloskey 1942:111). Rather than viewing it through the lens of Christian belief, Faustus is a character whom the readers are meant to empathise with. Whereas interpreting Milton is a task of picking a side, either that of God, Satan or Adam and Eve, and discerning Milton's beliefs from the teachings of the Church, Marlowe forces the reader to judge Faustus on their own. The problem of the importance of the historical background remains to be solved, as well as the problem of emotional involvement yet, ironically, these two matters have the power of distorting the causality and development of the plot itself. A confirmation containing information that these works are simply a political allegory, or authors' emotional projection onto characters are capable of fully transforming these works.

¹ In Bible study, the term *Apocrypha* refers to sections of the Bible that are not sanctioned as belonging to certain official canons. In some Protestant versions, these sections appear between the Old and New Testaments. (Source: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/apocryphal> ; last accessed 11 June 2022)

1. The relationship between knowledge and religion

From the titles of these works themselves, a topic quite complex asserts itself and remains in the shadows of further themes and conundrums - knowledge. It is interesting that in both works whose protagonists are clawing for knowledge, knowledge is equated to a taboo that perpetually influences the structural development of the works, as well as the light in which the characters are perceived. Not only is knowledge taboo, but it is also a source of satire and a catalyst for a critical approach to the morality of the characters.

The greatest mystery which presents itself in the work is the nature of God's veto over knowledge: '[...] knowledge forbidden?/Suspicious, reasonless. Why should their Lord/Envy them that? Can it be a sin to know?/Can it be death? (Milton 2000:87.IV:515-19)' As Satan proclaims, it is reasonless. There is deep distrust rooted within all characters across both works because knowledge seems to be a delight in intellectual exploration (See Hyman 1968:532). One possibility that would explain the tension around knowledge is fear. Across centuries, through numerous literary works, and even today in cinema, knowledge is an entity that is simultaneously the most desired and the most feared². The tendency to fear knowledge is an heirloom of humanity due to the possibility of the acquired knowledge being so great that the mind cannot contain it. While the pursuit of knowledge is what makes one a human, it is simultaneously one of the greatest source of anxieties because it is riddled with more unknown factors than known.

² The anxieties of religion in these *other* Middle Ages are located in the fear of apocalypse, damnation, hell and what is known (or unknown) about the suffering of sinners in the afterlife which can all be united under the expression "knowledge." (Source: <https://reviews.history.ac.uk/review/2211> ; last accessed 12 May 2022) This specific area of knowledge is the same as the one God is hiding from Adam and Eve, and the same one Faustus is trying to reach.

Milton's knowledge is not forbidden in a way that fathoming it would have an effect similar to that of opening Pandora's Box, its property of being forbidden is optional. Adam and Eve have all the knowledge necessary to survive and sustain themselves- it is God's half of the knowledge, while the knowledge hidden is Satan's half. It speaks of egotistical desires, narcissistic thoughts and capital.

So *why* is it proclaimed forbidden? One could derive from the following Milton's words: 'And all amid them stood the Tree of Life,/[...] and next to life/Our death the Tree of Knowledge grew fast by,/Knowledge of Good brought dear by knowing ill.' (Milton 2000:79.IV:218-22) that "good" is a synonym for ignorant. It means not knowing much about the world, about oneself or God and having no consciousness to question abstract ideas like those. What sets Eve apart from Adam regarding knowledge is her innately present self-consciousness. She can be seen as a character who is trying to free herself from the patriarchy present both in Heaven and Hell which she is merely familiar with however she does not live by those concepts, she is only aware of them. The only way to do this is to obtain the other half of the knowledge, guarded by the Serpent, that allows her to know the ways of both Heaven and Hell. Upon becoming familiar with Heaven and Hell she can live above those concepts, free from religious guilt that is being pushed on her. The discrepancy between behaviours concerning Adam and Eve allows tension to build up. This situation confronts the reader directly, challenging the belief systems of both characters and the reader, making the further disentanglement of the plot highly provocative. Adam remains in fear of God and knowledge, trying his best to be obedient and a good partner, manipulated into making ludicrous decisions, while Eve is the one God fears therefore making her inferior to a man.

Similar to Eve is Faustus. His search for knowledge falls from being heroic to being anarchical, comedic almost. He wants to command knowledge. In a way, Faustus wants to become a god but not just a god of heavens above or hell below, but a god of everything. The

ambition to become a god develops gradually, but its starting point is to overcome the most human trait which is mortality. While trying to attain knowledge he surrenders it and settles with “spirits fetching him what he pleases.” If Eve is using knowledge to free herself from her immaterial figure, Faustus is using it to free himself from his human form. The difference between Faustus and Eve lies in their comprehension of the knowledge given and obtained. The knowledge that remains untouched, only for God to see, is the knowledge that is good in itself. By inserting themselves into God’s property, where knowledge is almost a currency or a capital, knowledge becomes fallible because it can be manipulated. God’s monetization of knowledge is hypocritical in itself because it was he who intended knowledge to be available to everyone.

Eve uses knowledge to undo the injustice that has been done to her, while Faustus is a mind that breaks upon the comprehension of knowledge. Eve tasted its delights, while Faustus tasted its horrors. Just as Eve remains the one feared by God and Satan by standing up for herself and refusing to follow the male lead, Faustus is now the one who fears.

The prohibition of knowledge is closely tied to religion in both of these works. Influenced by the authors’ somewhat blurred perception of it and in spite of the Church, a traditional system of beliefs like religion now comes off as untraditional, modern. In uttering: ‘That holy shape becomes a devil best.’ (Marlowe 2020:23.32), Marlowe makes known his stance on the Church and its teachings, simultaneously justifying Faustus’ deeds. That a holy person can become a devil, and vice versa testifies Eve as well. This view of religion contrasts the traditional Christian belief which states that good is present innately in every human, making sins just minor impurities that open the gates of redemption. Marlowe opposes this ideology, believing in evil and in the presence of evil people, those who do not have any good in them. This does not necessarily refer to sin and the act of committing a sin, but to one’s consciousness as well. Faustus is not breaking the law, but his thoughts are more self-centred

and egotistic than those of, an allegedly, good Christian. Faustus' moral dichotomy satirizes humanism and the Church. Damning an extremely logical character, who does not refrain from appealing to God's mercy, Marlowe politely exposes all the irrationalities of humanism.

Milton goes beyond just trying to prove that evil is real and possible, he tackles the idea of happiness in being an evil being, much like Satan when he proclaims: 'Who now triumphs, and in th' excess of joy/Sole reigning holds the tyranny of Heav'n.' (Milton 2000:6.I:123-4). Satan is a creature condemned to eternal suffering in a kingdom of his own, a tale Milton shows to have adopted and a tale reinstated by the Catholic Church over and over again, turning a being that once was an angel into a monster and a scary bedtime story. Milton here humanizes Satan and makes the reader empathize with him turning Satan into a victim. A similar pattern can be found in Marlowe's Satan who can also be seen as humanized, tortured and filled with rage hence the reader does not get to interact with him. It is Satan's silence that transcends the medium of words and speaks of his trauma and misery. '[...] Marlowe's God is a deity of power, not love [...]' (Ornstein 1968:1383) stripping away the most important quality of a Christian God- mercy. That Marlowe's God has no love nor mercy is evident throughout the play. While one might interpret this distorted God as a comedic tool or as a verdict sealing Faustus' life, it is possible that a literary blasphemy against the most sacred deity of the Church was a way of sending a message and initiating a personal rebellion.

In the same manner, in which God need not translate to a literal deity worshipped across the course of many centuries, Heaven need not be a place nor an oasis. If one were to consult tradition and theology, the idea of Heaven as a harmless oasis is asserted. Both Milton and Marlowe seem to not conform to an illusion of this kind as they translate the meaning of Heaven into a feeling. As Mephistopheles states, Heaven is not a glorious place because the

existence of a man is hell in itself³. Subsequently, Heaven becomes a feeling characterized by a lack of pain and suffering, however not its complete absence. Marlowe questions these ideas in an agnostic way as Faustus himself seems to have agnostic tendencies. Instead of questioning the likes of Heaven and Hell, for Faustus, it is an existential crisis and a struggle to outrun death in his quest for knowledge. Instead of dying 'an everlasting death' (Marlowe 2020:12.60), Faustus is willing to suffer forever in Hell hence, for him, Hell seems to be a less painful end than dying. What makes this situation probable is Faustus' obsession with knowledge and power - two aspects of God - that he would rather eternally suffer for, than give up. Milton's Satan is similar to Faustus, yet quite different at the same time. Satan is locked away but he admits there is danger lurking beneath him: 'Which way I fly is Hell; myself am Hell;/And in the lowest deep a lower deep/Still threat'ning to devour me opens wide,/To which the Hell I suffer seems a Heav'n' (Milton 2000:75.IV:75-78). Rather than afraid of the said danger, Satan is bitter at both his punishment and at God's hypocrisy because he was also promised love and a chance to repent, however, he was never shown either of those. Faustus plays an interesting role in this context - he attained all that makes God a god to transform himself. He has become a god in Hell, and another one who has been denied the right to repent. Looking away from Faustus and onto God, it is as if God fears those like Satan and Faustus. The rage inside Satan condemns him to Hell forever and he is aware of that, acknowledging that he himself is Hell yet contrary to Faustus, Satan would instead be erased from existence in an excruciatingly painful way rather than stay a victim of defeat because, for him, the feeling of powerlessness he is engulfed into is Hell. His rage exposes God's negative qualities which otherwise might have not fallen public, however, one must not blindly trust his words. In the same manner, in which God manipulates the truth, Satan does too. God needs subordinates and Satan needs

³ 'Why, Faustus,/Thinkest thou Heaven is such a glorious thing?/I tell thee, 'tis not half so fair as thou,/ Or any man that breathes on earth.' (Marlowe 2020:37.5-8)

warriors - either way, they are both creating a scenario that resembles that of a political campaign in order to gain sympathy. The difference lies in their approach. God will recruit people with the idea of Heaven and eternal life, keeping them ignorant, while Satan will recruit them by giving them the knowledge that directly threatens God.

2. Satan as a political creature

Further exploring Satan as a political creature brings into question two branches of government and economics representative of the English society, and they are capitalism and colonization. Seeing these ideas surround both Marlowe's and Milton's Satan makes it clear that the traditional notion of Satan is diminished. These two works are rare examples of Hell and Satan that have not been influenced by Dante's vision, making them modern for the time being considering the Church adopted Dante's vision of Hell. Modern would in this context refer to the ambiguity between good and bad in terms of blurring the lines between their traditional perceptions, as well as the inversion of roles between God and Satan.

Satan, as Marlowe has depicted him, is very open about his nature. Rather than putting in focus the difference in comparison with the orthodox view of Satan, what should be in focus is Satan's inability to judge the value of things. From Faustus selling his soul to Adam metaphorically selling his soul in exchange to keep peace in Heaven, it is evident that a currency exists and it is used to pay for Satan's satisfaction. The existence of a capitalistic, modern world presupposes the existence of a transcendental, somewhat dystopian world, however, these worlds do not fall into categories of "good" and "bad" therefore blurring the line between the two. Milton's Satan is presented as a ruler, colonizer, master and merchant - 'World who would not purchase with a bruise,' (Milton 2000:230.X:500) - but also as a victim of his own world.

As a way to make Satan seem less heroic, Milton shows him talking about buying his land, rather than conquering it, erasing an aggressive quality attributed to Satan since the Bible, and much more modern. While Satan talks about buying land, in Heaven humans are labourers, servants almost.

Satan is portrayed as a modern creature, a victim of capitalism whereas God's temper seems to be reminiscent of the Old Testament Jehovah, keeping angels and people free and equal in slavery: 'Nor less think wee in Heav'n of thee on Earth/Then of our fellow servant [...] ' (Milton, 2000:173.VIII:224-5). Many philosophers and critics have not been able to resolve the dilemma of whether or not was Satan ever the real antagonist, as a being who has been a victim of God's temper and thrown out, left to rule Hell and punish those who, according to the Bible and orthodox Christian teachings, deserve to be punished.

Marlowe's Satan is similar to Milton's in great detail. He, too, is concerned with the monetary. By sending Mephistopheles to fetch Faustus, Marlowe establishes Satan's power and omnipresence. He can be seen as a boss, or the main headquarters of a company, and Mephistopheles is just one of the henchmen. The importance of capitalism to Marlowe's Satan is best shown in the moment of Faustus' bargain: '*Consummatum est*; this bill is ended,/And Faustus hath bequeath'd his soul to Lucifer,' (Marlowe 2020:32.120). Mephistopheles insists on the bill to make the transaction valid, showing how the business was done legally, in today's terms. Conducting business in this manner shows the reader that Satan has not acted aggressively nor violated Faustus' rights. Quite the opposite, it was Faustus who initiated the encounter and insisted on its fulfilment.

"Good" and "bad" are abstract terms, usually hypocritical and defensive. Nevertheless, upon examining the political force of God and Satan as depicted in these works, contextualized in the time of their making and by accepting their new allegorical meanings, the impression is left that God has wronged Satan, as well as that Satan has fulfilled Faustus' wish, inherently attributing more positive qualities to him rather than to God who has imprisoned people in Eden, and ignored Faustus' pleas. Their political nature emphasizes the connection between knowledge and power which turns religion into a tool.

2. 1. The influence of politics on the narrative

Using Satan as a political creature to express irony toward modern society, Milton manipulates the narrative. This is executed similarly to what one can observe in postmodern poetry, and in some cases even before that. He created multiple storylines and points of view which are all intertwined. Regarding this matter, Shawcross blames the reader who has opened the book and delved into the story with expectations of a linear and simple story (See Shawcross 1975:7). The narrative does not follow human time, which is very clear from the beginning, considering the stretch of time the poem covers. Another mistake, attributed to the reader, is the gullible approach to the plot in trying to identify the beginning, the culmination, the resolve and the ending. To properly understand the set of events taking place within the poem, one must fully accept the simultaneity of time.

Paradise Lost keenly follows the steps of *Doctor Faustus* and presents itself with an ambiguous narrative structure. If Milton's mode of narration was complex in its width, Marlowe's mode of narration shows its complexity via a misplaced focus. Similar to how Milton fails to capture the essence of an epic compared to the Ancient Greeks, Marlowe fails to put Faustus in the centre of the play. '[...] Faustus lacks dramatic intensity and narrative substance; the emphasis falls on the astonishing adventures in sorcery, [...] which do not in themselves sustain the essential drama of the hero's progress toward damnation' (Ornstein 1968:1378). Hereby the focus of the play is misplaced, inducing the comedy effect. Telling the story of Faustus by focusing on everything but Faustus ridicules his character. It is as if Marlowe describes the world around Faustus in great detail so the reader himself could bear witness to Faustus' downfall. His character perpetually undergoes active degradation of his psyche and the reader is placed almost as if they were his voice of consciousness. The audience becomes an all-knowing narrator. The misplaced focus also makes space for further

contemplation about the presence of the characters. Putting the focus on a largely abstract theme in the play serves almost as a question of whether the characters are real or personified which would make it possible to read *Doctor Faustus* in the same manner as *Paradise Lost* - as an allegory. Faustus' storyline is not linear either, making it increasingly hard to judge and properly interpret the essence of the play. It is Marlowe's way of directly shifting the responsibility of interpretation to the reader, unlike Milton whose intentions are hidden to the common eye.

Asking the question of the presence of characters is the main enigma raised by the complexity of narrative techniques. As there is no reason to believe that Milton is the one in charge of the plot, there is also no reason to believe that entities of God and Satan exist, as well as Adam and Eve. As Shawcross suggests, the only real and present character in the poem is the narrator (See Shawcross 1975:8). This is partly caused by Milton's distorted perception of religion or, more precisely, the alignment of his understanding of religion with a theology many critics refer to as Arianism. Another reason that makes this theory plausible is, the earlier mentioned, conundrum about the very genre making *Paradise Lost* mere thinking and almost subjective interpretation of a biblical, Christian myth, meaning the original motifs and symbols need not necessarily hold the same meaning for Milton as they did for orthodox Christians.

The slight, however often overlooked, deviation in Milton's thinking has led a number of critics to believe that his Satan is not motivated evilly- enough or at all. While that might be somewhat true, Milton's Satan is more modern than the one the Bible shows hence turning him into a political being. The Bible demonizes Satan extensively due to the purpose of intimidating the reader and spreading religion, making him a brute while Milton's Satan demonstrates strategic political thinking. Rather than showing aggression, Satan is aware that force can only do so much meaning that intellect is the only one which can win his fight⁴. Marlowe's Satan

⁴ '[...] Who overcomes/By force, hath overcome but half his foe.' (Milton 2000:19.I:648-49)

shows the same tendencies with slight differences due to the different time in which *Doctor Faustus* was created. Politics need not necessarily be perceived as “evil” however, considering all the major events that took place during these years, it is possible that Satan is an allegory dependent on the temporal and situational context. Adjusting the temporal, Satan arises as both a victim and an agent of capitalism (Hand 2005:45). His exile condemns him to a cycle of alienation and a constant need to keep reinventing himself. Even if once he had truly been a tyrant, malicious and motivated evilly, this cycle has forced him to act in a capitalist world, with power and money motivating him.

2. 3. Redefining genre

Upon examining the narrative structure itself, the ambiguity of genre reveals itself bravely and unanimously. Even though from the very opening of *Paradise Lost*, one would deduct that Milton did indeed write an epic poem, the structure converses with the traditional and the ancient, magnifying the ambience of the Fall, creating a genre that serves as a bridge between the epic of the past and the epic of Milton’s present.

‘[...] Sing, heavenly muse, that on the secret top/Of Oreb, or of Sinai, didst inspire/
That shepherd, who first taught the chosen seed,/In the beginning, how the heavens and earth/
Rose out of chaos: [...]’ (Milton 2000:3.I:6-10)

Albeit characteristics of an epic, such as invocation of a heavenly muse, are put forward from the very beginning, upon making a comparison with traditional epic poems such as Virgil’s *Aeneid*, as Wittreich suggests, ‘Milton’s epic process [...] possesses a variety of faults’ (Wittreich 1974: 15). The foundation of the book is the structure which is that of an epic while at the same time, it lacks any internal relation to the epic poem. The closest form to an

epic that *Paradise Lost* can take, is the form of a deviation of the Christian epic⁵. That this is a deviation of the epic Milton shows through making war secondary, much as the suffering of the characters. By deciding to write in the form of an epic Milton was provided with the one component he was not able to attain in the form of a tragedy and that is the complexity and the abstract notion of space that allows him to explore multiple worlds and multiple storylines.

Critics argue that having created a work that transcends the notion of genre, *Paradise Lost* comes to resemble a sermon (See Hyman 1968:531), which is an idea that is just as ambiguous as any attempt at defining the genre. Tying directly onto the prior mentioned satirical approach, is *Doctor Faustus*. Similar to Milton, Marlowe's work also defies the notion of genre. Despite *Doctor Faustus*' desire to be direct, numerous implications that arise continue to create new ambiguities and entanglements. Unlike *Paradise Lost*, Marlowe keeps the balance between sin and redemption hence not making sin an indestructible force but perpetuating the idea of redemption possible at any time. It is at the very end of the work that Marlowe suggests the work could be a comedy or at least a parody.

In the final moments of the work, which are simultaneously Faustus' final moments when he realizes: 'The Devil will come, and Faustus must be damned./O, I'll leap up to my God!' (Marlowe 2020:73.105-6), Marlowe's approach to the idea of redemption could be seen as rather condescending which would suggest that redemption is a fraud. This reading allows the reader to sympathise with Faustus and his tragic destiny, but it also carries a humorous undertone. *Doctor Faustus* has been proclaimed a morality play due to the equality in juxtaposed forces, however, I believe Marlowe wrote a parody of the morality play. In his satirical approach to the Church and with humanized characters Marlowe is creating an environment that makes the reader look inward upon laughing. The existence of the Old Man

⁵ *Paradise Lost* pays tribute to all the great and ancient arts and authors that have come before. At the same time at which it pays homage to the art of epic, it criticizes the martial themes and deviates from them in hopes to set a new standard. (Fosu 2018:85)

points to wisdom but it also forces introspection among readers. It is an element to shock and amuse the reader. Contrasting all beliefs about redemption that the Church preaches with the abuse of the same notion of redemption is a paradoxical riddle and an existential joke⁶. While *Doctor Faustus* is anti-catholic, its ambition to renounce all ideology does not reside in malice and aggression towards God himself, but it rather resides in Faustus' willingness to reach the spiritual perfection of a god. The ambiguous ending could be considered a humorous relief that encompasses all the elements of a comedy masked as a morality play due to the time it was written in. Its constant battle between knowledge and faith seems almost as a humorous lovers' quarrel.

3. Morality

Adding to what has been stated earlier, precisely the hypocrisy arising among morals and ethics, Satan's involvement in politics directly affects and continues to blur not only the structural boundaries of a literary work but also the line between what should be and should not be done. Following Wilding's claim that 'equality is a part [...] of Satan's rhetoric, but

⁶ 'Jean-Paul Sartre's play *Le diable et le bon dieu* ("The Devil and the good Lord") is set in an imaginary sixteenth century, the period of the German peasants' wars and of the original *Doctor Faustus*. Its action takes place in the sociopolitical sphere and carries a distinct reference to the problems of our day and more specifically to the inner, personal dilemma of Sartre himself, leaning toward communism, but repelled by the party dogma and the party line, longing for contact with the workers, but rejected by them as an intellectual. The play is, as he himself indicated, a sequel and metaphysical extension of his former play *Les mains sales* ("Dirty Hands") and like that play, which dealt with the problem more directly and explicitly, it implies a renunciation of ideology, and with it, renunciation of the absolute' (Kahler 1967:91).

never his social practice' (Wilding 1994:188), similarities between Milton's Heaven and Hell start to reveal themselves. Satan is a student who has become ready, somewhat by force, and whose teacher God, has disappeared.

Both God and Satan expect servitude and subjection, however, what Satan provides is freedom, or so he intends the reader to think. His promise of freedom is presented as another political word play - a slogan: 'Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heav'n.' (Milton 2000:9.I:263) where he presents the choice of reigning or serving, completely obsoleting the so-called "living" conditions of Hell and Heaven. His freedom and equality lack praxis and veracity defining him as nothing else but a monarch. This portrayal of Satan once again falls into the equation in which Satan is an allegory for the, then modern, English society. This means not that God is not a monarch or a king even, it just displays God's different ideological approach based on limiting freedom which is obvious in the question of knowledge. For Satan, 'the strongest image of tyranny is the heaven presided over by a God who demands mindless obedience for no good reason (Fish 2012:131).' On the contrary, Satan is unable to commit to morally and ethically right decisions because he has an understanding of the world based on power. To Satan, God is not the almighty or the King of Heaven, he is just someone Satan needs to defeat. A mindset like this is typical of epic heroes who can be described by an ancient Latin proverb: '*Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo.*'⁷ This is another display of the power dynamics hence it shows how Satan must gather an entire army of creatures and beings from Hell to try and undo the injustice God has dealt upon him.

Marlowe's Satan and Hell are uncovered through the eyes of Mephistopheles to whom Hell and Heaven, the underworld and the "real" world mean nothing hence they are the same.⁸ Hell and Heaven are both cages just decorated differently and ruled by different entities. Even

⁷ Proverb originating from *Aeneid* meaning: '*If I can not bend the will of Heaven, I shall move Hell.*'

⁸ That Milton's Satan is no different in this aspects shows the moment in which he (Satan) states: 'The mind is its own place and, in itself can make a heaven of hell or a hell of heaven.' (Milton 2000:9.I:254-55)

God's presence in Heaven is not definite as Eve has demonstrated. This is an idea explicitly stated in the work itself and, while its tone may seem rather pitiful, it comes more as a warning to anyone who harbours hope. It could also be a reason why Satan's presence is almost dismissed completely in Marlowe - due to his unwithering hope of a divine conquest.

Marlowe goes on to prove how God's and Satan's government types are so similar that it is almost impossible to differentiate between the two. By insinuating that Hell has no limits, Marlowe puts forward a claim that not even Heaven is an obstacle, or a condition, that can stop Hell from evolving and expanding: 'Hell hath no limits, nor is circumscribed/In one self-place; for where we are is hell,/ And where hell is, there must we ever be.' (Marlowe 2020:34.197-199). Rather than viewing this in a literal sense, one should perceive these places in terms of ruling systems. What would be the only thing that makes God superior to all the other beings is his passiveness. In both *Paradise Lost* and *Doctor Faustus* God is the one entity who does not actively work, whereas all other characters establish their sense of identity in regards to their relationship with God. Adam remains in Eden for God, to obey his orders and enlarge his family tree while Satan works against God. Paradoxically, by expanding his army in Hell, as a means of vendetta against God, Satan is doing exactly what God has exiled him to do, therefore, in a way, obeying God. God's exiling of Satan gives Satan freedom, power, and a world of his own while Satan's obedience softens God's image, making their relationship full of spite, but love as well. The notion of love in this context is not conventional nor simple. Biblically, Satan once was God's favourite which undoubtedly provoked feelings of fondness in both. It could be interpreted as an example of a Stockholm syndrome⁹ but I argue that this love is harboured by hope and it is hope that taints Satan's character. In remaining hopeful, Satan remains connected to God but not to the greatness he has lost. His greatness now takes a

⁹ A psychological response wherein a captive begins to identify closely with his or her captors, as well as with their agenda and demands. (Source: <https://www.britannica.com/science/Stockholm-syndrome> ; last accessed 12 May 2022)

different form, that of a vigilante. By putting it like this, God seems to be in charge despite executing morally ambiguous actions. Nonetheless, being in charge does not exempt him from being a highly political creature who succumbs to evil even greater than Satan, and that is hypocrisy. Hypocrisy is 'the only evil that walks/Invisible, except to God alone' (Milton 2000:70.III:683-84) meaning God knew what he was doing upon imprisoning Eve, and he knew his intentions were not holy because he falsely stated - lied - that Adam and Eve were both created free, and 'free they *must* remain' (Milton 2000:56.III:124). The freedom they experienced was executed upon them as burden, as Fish suggests (Fish 2012:77). They are blackmailed into following a law which has been implemented without an explanation by a deity who will not reveal itself. There is hypocrisy in this, as well as in the sole fact that God is taking freedom and knowledge away from innocent people forcefully, and he remains on the top whereas Satan is "rightfully" punishing those who have broken either a "holy" or a man-made law yet he remains in Hell. Milton makes it seem as if they are playing a game, and free choice is an illusion offered by God.

The odd ones out would be Faustus and Eve by reason of the fact that nor Faustus nor Eve are concerned with the greater entities. Despite being directly involved with the divine war, their quest is not of the traditional nature which would be seeking eternal life. Their quest has clearly defined goals that are intertwined - power and knowledge.

4. A feminist approach to Milton and Marlowe

In an attempt to lift the curtain and reveal the heroes of these works, another perspective is needed, a perspective that will give reasoning to Eve's actions and address the overt, and somewhat intentional, lack of women in Faustus' surroundings.

The following excerpt: 'Children thou shalt bring/In sorrow forth; and to thy husband's will/Thine shall submit; he over thee shall rule.' (Milton 2000:223.X, 194–196) calls for

sympathy for Eve, especially when put in context. As a woman whose consciousness has risen above God and whose spirit is free, she is put down and caged forever with her future holding nothing but pain for her. Milton's misogynist nature comes marching forward. By making Eve susceptible to Satan, as Shullenberger suggests, Satan becomes a feminist ideal. Having already explored Satan's connection to politics, it is clear that his strategy revolves around equality. 'He incarnates the spirit of heroic resistance and revolt which can inspire a feminist response to a male-dominated culture' (Shullenberger 1986:78). In Satan Eve manages to see a choice - the choice to be someone else, not a servant to Adam or anyone else. Eve's becoming is particularly interesting because not only can she see what the world around her is like, but she also gets to form an identity of her own. Despite the degradation she faces, the search for identity in itself defies the Bible and refutes the belief that the first people were made after God's image (Shullenberger 1986:78).

What Faustus wants, however, is in cohort with the Church - he wants a wife. Marlowe makes a feminist viewing of Faustus somewhat more complex due to the complete lack of women, yet it is exactly in that absence that female importance lies. Eve has Adam to serve as a stepping stone whilst Faustus has nobody but himself and, at times, Mephistopheles. This suggests there is an admiration of women deeply rooted in Marlowe's psyche. Faustus could have obtained a partner if he had wished to, he could have even had Satan give him one of his dreams yet he detests that idea. Marlowe's admiration of women manifests itself as Faustus' fear of women. He points out the danger in Helen's beauty as an attempt to mask his fear: 'Her lips suck forth my soul: see, where it flies! - /Come, Helen, come, give me my soul again./Here will I dwell, for Heaven be in these lips,/And all is dross that is not Helena' (Marlowe 2020:69.138-141). Helen is a temporary pleasure who carries all the knowledge Faustus seeks, yet it comes with a price. She takes his soul to immortality damning Faustus to an eternity of

suffering in Hell (Kirschbaum 1943:16). Allegorically, Hell lies in Helen's lips giving her power over men. Helen's superiority here can be paralleled with Eve's resistance and rebellion.

One of the crucial moments for Eve was the moment she walks away from Raphael and Adam during a conversation. While many critics have appointed her abrupt absence to love and trust for her husband, at that moment she interferes with the power dynamic between her and Adam. Dreher sees Eve's decision as a mistake from a Puritan perspective hence she was conceptualized as a Puritan housewife which turns Eve's existence into a part of an active ideology (Dreher 1991:30). Without ripping her out of that web and misplacing her, the dynamic of the power relationship unveils itself showing that in *Paradise Lost* subordination is not inferiority (Shullenberger 1986:73-75). Further applying this new understanding of subordination and inferiority, one can easily infer Eve's attitude towards Adam. She only trusts him because she is inherently his inferior, but she is not subordinate to him. In his effort to argue against feminine insubordination, Milton has provided a way for a new interpretation which glorifies Eve's, and feminine in general, insubordination. Her character is adorned with skills present in all the male characters; skills such as strategic thinking, political awareness, unbiased approach to religious systems and understanding of power dynamics.

The question of subordination and inferiority arises from the perceived inequality of sex, however, there is no inequality among them. 'If 'their sex not equal seemed' and if 'seeming' is false, does that mean that their sex *was* equal' (Wilding 1994:179)? In lieu of their inequality being the state of their reality, it is merely Satan's projection of himself. Critics have explored the issue of inequality countless times when it is just a lens thrown over the characters in Eden and just one of many Satan's political strategies. In making Eve believe she is lesser, he can appeal to her with the idea of superiority. Adam and Eve have lived in equality poisoned by the dynamics of superordination and subordination that shackled Eve's freedom. After

trusting Satan she broke free but the consequence was the establishment of dynamics based on superiority and inferiority.

Much like Faustus, Eve too does condemn herself to freedom in eternal suffering making the story of Faustus a continuation of Eve's story. Smith agrees with this view, saying that 'Faustus became a male Eve, with the result that "a feminist re-reading produces a fable about maturation instead of fall"' (Smith 2002:337). Neither Eve nor Faustus have fallen to their doom. Rather, they have freed themselves and embarked on a journey to reach their full potential. Despite Faustus' seemingly misogynistic nature, he sees the power and importance of women. The only issue with his perception is its root which is fear and association with Hell. Women in both of these works have been given a handicap at the very beginning of their stories, and it lies in the sex of the authors and the time they were writing. A feminist re-reading of these works highlights new values and roles of women, one of them being heroism.

5. Heroes: Faustus and Eve

What further connects Faustus and Eve is the frustration caused by the limits placed on human knowledge. Instead of framing Faustus to be a misogynist and morally assertive toward women, Smith, and Findlay, suggest reading other documents from the period in which the gain of knowledge allowed men to transcend any kind of limitation and become one with God. In this reading, Faustus became a male Eve (See Smith 2002:337).

By focusing on the first part of this question, the question of Faustus' identity can be solved by focusing on the question: 'What art thou, Faustus, but a man condemned to die?' (Marlowe 2020:62.62). A conclusion drawn is that Faustus' search is not only a search for

knowledge but a sense of self as well. He does not seek a woman to define him as a lover, or a church to define him as a pastor, he seeks knowledge to define him as a God. While seeking to free himself of the bonds of a man, Faustus forms a new identity by dissolving his old one (See Manley 1969:219). This search-masked crisis of identity is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, he might have started on this path out of fear. On the other hand, he truly wants to become a deity. His wish to become a god, almost like Nietzsche's overman, or the *Übermensch*¹⁰, weighs over on the scale of his motivation, much like Eve.

Eve is trying to break free from heaven with unclear motivation behind. She might want to set out on a path of transcendence or on a path of revenge, both equally possible due to the lack of insight to Eve's psyche. However, the motivation behind her decisions is not as important as the fact no matter what she does dooms her to death. In this she is almost identical to Faustus. Faustus' construction of identity is as paradoxical as Eve's plan of escape. That Eve is indeed trying to escape, is an argument not brought up very frequently despite her hidden intentions being visible from her first appearance. The lack of feminist critique has continued to plague Eve's character for years, making it increasingly difficult for her to be interpreted in a different way until recently. The crucial moment which sets the tone for the interpretation and comprehension of the rest of Eve's actions is the moment in which 'a voice thus warned' (Milton 2000:4.IV:467) her meaning she had not been innately aware of God making her more prone to rebellion and needier of her own freedom.

¹⁰ Rooted in and originated from Nietzsche's work *Thus spake Zarathustra*, an *Übermensch* is a man whose existence justifies the existence of the whole human race. The overman, or the superman, is a singular persona who masters himself and becomes "a Caesar with Christ's soul." (Source: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/superman-philosophy> ; last accessed 22 February 2022)

5. 1. Exploration of heroism

Numerous critics during the vast course of years that have gone by have deemed Adam or Christ, and Mephistopheles to be the heroes of these works. Literature seems to have adopted a somewhat universal scheme of epic poems and plays where good prevails and evil loses. Works that are closely tied to systems of religious beliefs rooted in the majority of society are difficult to observe objectively, without a subconscious bias. In this manner, critics who explore these works from a traditionally Christian point of view will see Christ as the hero. What they might fail to observe is that Christ was born into the role of a hero, he has never had the choice to act like nothing else but the hero. What these works bring forth is not the denial of the status and importance of different deities, it is the broadening of one's perspective and understanding of "villains" on an emotionally profound level. Upon tackling the idea of Adam as the hero, it is clear that he lacks the qualities of one. He cannot be compared to Achilles or even Dante, his role fits more the role of Virgil, an obedient servant and a guide. As many critics have appointed the role of the hero to Satan, it is true that he does fit into the role, however, his role has been predetermined disabling his character from further development into a true hero. Through Satan, Milton is mocking traditional heroism. The epic as a genre has adopted a pattern of clearly defining the hero from the very beginning, condemning the antagonist. Milton dismantles this structure, empathising with the antagonist and, therefore, blurring the clarity of a moral lesson an epic should deliver. In the moment when Milton decided to humanize an anti-hero, he condemned the epic as a genre. These human qualities refer primarily to emotions, and passion. A number of chivalric references chain his Satan to an insincere world, much like the souls that come down to him (See Broadbent 1954:191). Satan's pathos¹¹ - 'All is not lost; the unconquerable will,/And study of revenge, immortal

¹¹ The appeal to emotion, means to persuade an audience by purposely evoking certain emotions to make them feel the way the author wants them to feel. Authors make deliberate word choices, use meaningful language, and use examples and stories that evoke emotion. Authors can desire a range of emotional responses, including

hate,/And courage never to submit or yield:/And what is else not to be overcome?/ That glory never shall his wrath or might/Extort from me.’ (Milton 2000:5.I:106-11) - endorses the idea of him as hero, but it also reveals Milton intention of making him one.

The hero cannot be someone whose existence resembles that of Don Quixote, a man of unstable motivation and withering will, fighting knights and saving dames. Satan’s heroism is ‘treated in terms of irony’ (Fiore 1957:177). He is the character with the most freedom in the poem, but that stops his freedom from evolving making it stagnant and secondary. When submitting one’s will and freedom to God, there will always remain some hidden knowledge affecting the mobility of their freedom consequently leaving space for expansion. In obtaining the hidden knowledge, Satan has been imprisoned. This goes to show how Milton finds that separation from God, as well as acting upon matters with God in mind, cannot lead to freedom in its full sense - only a pretence. And the reason why God cannot be the hero is that, as stated in previous chapters, God does not necessarily have to exist as a physical being. It can be read as a metaphor for virtues or even vices. What is more, God can be wholly removed from the epic form and seen as a disinterested observer of history. Subsequently, the one who has been given free will and the one who has been freed from the burdens of tradition, the hero is Eve.

Heroism to Milton is an essential characteristic given the sole fact he decided to write *Paradise Lost* as an epic, making him obliged to follow the structure of an epic. What makes Eve a hero is a characteristic shown only in her portrayal, and that is patience. Although powerless, she keeps working slowly and steadily towards her freedom giving her space to evolve as a character while raising no suspicion among the others. As Wittreich says, referring to Eve, ‘the true hero is the one who does the essential thing’ (See Wittreich 1973:19). In this context, the essential thing Eve does refers to the perseverance of her autonomy which led her

sympathy, anger, frustration, or even amusement. (Source: <https://stlcc.edu/student-support/academic-success-and-tutoring/writing-center/writing-resources/pathos-logos-and-ethos.aspx> ; last accessed 11 June 2022)

to a position of emancipation and power. Consequently, what one can conclude from Eve being the appointed hero is that *Paradise Lost* is in conformance with the pagan heroes which makes Eve as modern as Satan, considering she is rising not only against God but against patriarchy itself. When she separates herself from Adam, she separates herself from all the male figures (Zimmerman 1981:256-57). Her decision is not powered by impulse nor hatred of the angelic, but rather by her growing consciousness and need for autonomy. It is almost as if Eve is trying to become Satan in all aspects, even trying to attain all of God's wrath by confessing in her and Adam's name (Revard 2005:89-90).

While Eve's heroism draws power from her divine femininity, Faustus' heroism lies 'in his hubristic daring and [...] heroic willingness to embrace a dreadful fate' (Ornstein 1968:1380). As stated earlier, Faustus seems unable to let his life come to an end without him becoming a deity. This might stem from his insecurities or cowardice that come to light at the end of the play, once again turning Faustus into a fool and making his efforts seem futile. An ending of that kind 'hints at a possible "divine comedy" momentum overthrown by Faustus' ironic attempt at redemption' (See Snyder 1966:577). Both Faustus and Satan have been stripped away of the chance to repent, yet it made Faustus a hero, and Satan a martyr. The heroic nature of Faustus seems to be hidden in plain sight considering, having Wittreich's words in mind, his "essential moment" was the moment of his ordeal with Satan.

Marlowe intentionally sets the focus on the aspect of fear rather than reaching for the orthodox teachings making Faustus overly confident, especially in the moment when he says: 'Come, I think hell's a fable.' (Marlowe 2020:34.204) therefore leading him to conquer fear, and in Marlowe's time the biggest fear people had was going to hell. Ergo, Faustus is not a part of the power games between Satan and God, nor is he intimidated by Mephistopheles - his Virgil - Faustus sees beyond religion and the psychological burden it carries, which allows him, and Marlowe, not to lose to Satan but to defeat God and his doctrine. This ultimately allows a

reading in which Faustus has truly become a deity and fulfilled his goal, becoming a hero like Eve, a ruler like Satan, and fighting against the odds.

5. 2. Faustus and Eden

That it is not only Satan who separates from his roots show Faustus and, both Adam and Eve. As Hattaway declares, Faustus decides to avoid Christ (Hattaway 1970:76), even more than Satan despite the distance between Christ¹² and Satan being smaller than the one between Faustus and Christ. What is more, majority of the comic scenes in the play are a direct result of this ignorance. Certain critics claim Faustus denying wisdom by denying and defying God results in comedy and pity because he cannot find a source of wisdom higher than God (Hattaway 1970:73), however Faustus is successfully defying those claims as well. He finds wisdom and even gets power with it, acquiring both qualities of God. Following Deery's words, 'for Faustus, the transformation was to make him a deity' (Deery 1974:68) which explains his desire for self-annihilation and ultimate rejection of God because, if he were to become a god no other deity must exist as his predecessor. He resents God as a means of refusal to see that he is just deceiving himself. Faustus wants to become what he despises.

Faustus' behaviour is deeply rooted in Marlowe's nihilism and in his understanding of Greek mythology. Ornstein suggests a reading of *Doctor Faustus* that is not limited to the traditional understanding of sin, but rather sees sin as an impulse of a man's questioning mind, not ill-motivated, allowing any man to become like the gods (See Ornstein 1968:1382). Faustus is the embodiment of the humanist spirit in terms of lifting himself above creation and, despite Marlowe's effort to stitch pessimism in this work, Faustus seems perfectly confident. Perhaps

¹² If one is to respect Marlowe's Arianist beliefs one must separate God and Christ despite the fact they take space in the same realm and the same location.

it is the clash of Marlowe's and Faustus' beliefs what renders this work to be open to both a tragic and a comedic reading.

Moreover, this impulse in Faustus, manifested like a rebellion, is linked to Milton's sin and Adam. Milton draws from multiple sources, all of which are not connected to orthodox Christianity. Rather than holistic Adam's healing is scientific, the Mosaic scripture implies an Egyptian mortuary practice, there being no seasons means the practices that dictate a regimen of renewal do not exist. On top of this, a ritual similar to Yom Kippur, Jewish tradition, seems to take place in Heaven along with all the serpents and other unclean beings (Nohnberg 2013:166). By doing all this and masking it under the term *religion* Milton is making a political statement through the voice of God, exactly what one would expect upon reading the poem as an allegory for the English society of that time. *Paradise Lost* is constructed via a set of dogmas and each dogma is modified by Milton¹³. This modification occurs because of the Reformation and the vigorous situation that took place within the religion of an entire nation. Milton takes advantage of the increasingly popular notion of individuality ultimately formulating a critique by means of religion.

Milton's beliefs coincide with Marlowe's beliefs making God a creature of power therefore anyone who gains power has an opportunity to become one. Nevertheless, despite all the similarities, it is important to deduct how Faustus achieves all he wanted to without divine assistance as a result of God's passivity which, once again, comes to serve a comedic purpose overflowing with satire and irony whereas Eve makes her way through Heaven with both God and Satan watching her every move.

¹³ One of modifications directly concerns the characters of *Paradise Lost*. In his consulting with the Apocrypha, Milton chooses to wholly remove all the blame from Adam and make Eve falsely confess when, originally, it was Adam who sought repentance (Revard 2005:85-86).

6. Conclusion

Following numerous claims of reinventing genre and morals, I agree with critics whose words I have borrowed when claiming that neither of these works are what they have traditionally been referred to. Dismantling Milton's illusion of an epic, the structure of the work continues to fall apart making room for ideological inconsistencies and characterization uncertainties to come forward. Marlowe's play dismantles itself through irony, therefore, satirizing all the values contained within. Due to the already mentioned irony, it is open to

interpretations that contradict each other. This type of fluidity is a proof of Marlowe's focus on the reader and the importance reader has in interpretation. From the religious distortions of the authors themselves to the motifs of the characters masked by the male gaze, it becomes evident that deities are not the ones controlling the narrative. Despite the allegorical reading, and religious inconsistencies which can be seen as mere manipulations by Eve and Faustus, these works become stories of empowerment and rebellion. Navigating through a complex web of time, events and relationships, only those regarded as the heroes have managed to successfully use politics and religion to achieve their personal goals - freedom and power. A deeper look into the genre and the narrative itself supports that idea. Moreover, it goes on to prove how both of those structures are a part of the web as well as blurring the line between past and present, truth and fiction. The feud between God and Satan remains and forever will remain, but this time it was in the background as Faustus and Eve found their independence. This conclusion is not the only message that can be drawn out from the works, there is another. Milton and Marlowe, each in their own way, portray the amoral state of deities. A state resulting from the great distance between gods and people and a state beyond any human's cognition. Philosophers have debated over the centuries on validity, and even the mere existence, of the concept of morals and both Milton and Marlowe keep that debate alive, leaning to those who find morals a tool used by those with power to control those without. One of the best examples of abusing morality is a great medieval force - the Church. There is no order or cruelty in absolute freedom, only knowledge and power games between those who wield both.

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SVEUČILIŠTE U SPLITU

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Split, 29. 6. 2022.



Potpis

IZJAVA O POHRANI ZAVRŠNOG / DIPLOMSKOG RADA U DIGITALNI

REPOZITORIJ FILOZOFSKOG FAKULTETA U SPLITU

STUDENT/ICA	Katarina Perica
NASLOV RADA	Politics, religion and knowledge in Milton's 'Paradise Lost' and Marlowe's 'Doctor Faustus'
VRSTA RADA	ZAVRŠNI RAD
ZNANSTVENO PODRUČJE	Humanističke znanosti
ZNANSTVENO POLJE	Anglistika
MENTOR/ICA (ime, prezime, zvanje)	izv. prof. dr. sc. Simon Ryle
KOMENTOR/ICA (ime, prezime, zvanje)	
ČLANOVI POVJERENSTVA (ime, prezime, zvanje)	1. izv. prof. dr. sc. Simon Ryle 2. izv. prof. dr. sc. Brian Willems 3. izv. prof. dr. sc. Gordan Matas

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Split, 29. 6. 2022.

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