# "'Tis Magic, Magic that Hath Ravished Me"

## Passionate Conjuring in *Doctor Faustus* and *The Devil's Charter*

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Magic on the early modern English stage was a cause of strong feeling, from the disapproval of anti-theatrical writers, who found it doubly reprehensible that the sinful theatre would depict magic, to alleged outbreaks of panic among actors and audience alike when there were rumours of the devil himself appearing on stage during a magical scene.[1] But feelings play a role not only in the reception of plays: they are an integral part of dramatic action and theatrical performance. This paper will focus on the depiction of one particular kind of early modern magic, learned ritual magic involving the evocation of spirits, or in this case, devils. It will then situate it both within the early modern dramatic tradition of writing emotions into texts for the stage and within the wider discourses surrounding emotions at the time. At the core of the analysis are two plays centred entirely on characters who practice ritual magic: Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (published first in 1604 and in a longer version, the so-called B-text, in 1616 but assumed to have been written around 1590) and Barnabe Barnes's *The Devil's Charter*, first published in 1607, and in particular the scenes in which the conjurers call up spirits and those centred on their final torment and death.

1 Cf. Chambers 1974: 423-424.

## INTRODUCTION: EARLY MODERN PASSIONS

In the course of what has been termed the emotional or affective turn, early modern concepts and representations of emotions have come increasingly into focus in the past two decades.[2] In addition to studies on religion and philosophy,[3] much recent scholarship has centred on the interface of feeling and early modern literature and theatre. As Emanuel Stelzer points out in his essay in this collection, in keeping with the recent focus on the body of the actor, the audience, and the theatre as an affective and collaborative space, some of this scholarship has focused especially on the emotional engagement of the audience;[4] but that is not to say that textual strategies fall by the wayside. Emotions are inscribed in texts and in particular in dramatic texts, where actors were supposed to recognize and appropriately represent feelings; and these strategies can be traced.

When reading early modern texts in terms of their emotional content and strategies, one is once again reminded of the often invoked 'radical otherness' of the past. The way feelings are spoken of and conceptualized has changed significantly, although enough superficial similarity remains to make it challenging to appropriately historicize these texts. Recent scholarship has done much to tease apart these terminological and epistemological shifts, although early modern terminologies and theories relating to passions, emotions and humours, like modern theories of emotions, seem not to have been a unified, coherent whole. To start with the question of terminology, 'affection' and 'passion' have been suggested as the closest terms describing what we would now conceptualize as emotions, but these words were not used consistently or even always differentiated.[5] In addition to this, almost all the words connected to emotions (or affections and passions), despite still being used today, have undergone a semantic shift – including the word "emotion" itself. For the researcher, this means careful philological study to avoid what Robert White, following David Crystal, has called "false friends".[6]

2 For an overview of the field cf. Broomhall 2017.

3 On religion cf. e.g. Ryrie 2013, on philosophy cf. e.g. James 1997, Dixon 2003.

4 Cf. e.g. Lopez 2003, Steggle 2016, Hobgood 2014.

5 Cf. Paster/Rowe/Floyd-Wilson 2004: 2.

6 White 2017: 89-93, cf. also White 2012: 286-296. White's insistence on literal physiological readings of what look like emotional metaphors in early modern plays, based on Paster's theories about humoralism, might overstate the matter slightly, but it is certainly important to highlight the semantic drift and the interdependence of language use and early modern conceptions of the emotions.

The conceptual differences between early modern and modern understandings of emotions have most importantly been highlighted by Gail Kern Paster's influential research on the humoral system underlying the use and expression of passions in Shakespeare and his contemporaries.[7] In a pre-Cartesian worldview, she argues, "the psychological had not yet become divorced from the physiological".[8] Instead, feelings were supposed to stem from physiological processes based on the four "humours", blood, bile, yellow bile, and black bile. In this system, "melancholy", for instance, was not just a mental state – it was literally the melancholic humour or liquid of black bile coursing through the bloodstream and affecting physical and psychological symptoms. The neural analogy to humours, and "distilled" from them, were so-called animal spirits, which moved between the physical body and the immaterial soul. Emotion was thus seen as embodied, and the system as one of constant flux – the balance of the humours and spirits affecting and being affected in turn – in which human emotion is seen as essentially passive.

This focus on an entirely physiological model of early modern emotion in literary studies has recently come under some criticism, however. While acknowledging the importance of the humoral model, recent works have drawn attention to the importance of the plurality of early modern discourses on the passions and their importance for literary analysis, including political thought, religion and theology, and rhetoric and style.[9] For the purpose of this paper, to analyse the passions in scenes of magic in plays, two of these are especially important: religion, especially as it relates to magic, and rhetoric, especially as it relates to the theatre. Taking an active role in the management of the passions, both those of oneself and others, is a central idea in both discourses. In the Protestant philosophy of the time, the passions are seen as both something to be ruled and disciplined and something that is integral to spiritual life. Unlike the popular image of emotionless Puritans, strong spiritual passions were highly prized by British Protestants and thought of as a means to salvation.[10]

Similar importance was ascribed to the passions in the art of rhetoric, taught to every schoolboy and unsurprisingly important for early modern playwrights. Thomas Wilson, in his 1560 textbook, for instance, writes that after teaching and delighting his audience, an orator must "moue the affections of his hearers", a

7 Cf. Paster 2004, Paster/Rowe/Floyd-Wilson 2004.

8 Paster 2004: 7.

9 Cf. esp. Cummings/Siehuis 2013, Meek/Sullivan 2015.

10 This is the argument of the first part of Alec Ryrie's excellent *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (2013). For the passions and religious experience cf. also Bagchi 2015.

phrase he uses synonymously with persuading them.[11] The skilful orator, Wilson argues for much of the second book of this work, moves his audience's passions particularly through the rhetorical figure of amplification, but has to be aware of how human passions work before he can amuse his listeners, or move them to pity, envy or laughter.[12] He defines affections (which he uses synonymously with passions) as "a stirring or forsing of the minde, either to desire, or els to detest and loth any thing, more vehemently then by nature we are commonly wont to doe"[13] and explains that we "desire those things […] that appeare in our iudgement to be godly: wee hate and abhorre those things that seeme naught, vngodly, or harmefull vnto vs", not just for ourselves but also for other people.[14] However, he cautions, listeners' affections also depend on whether they like or dislike someone (they will feel pity for an innocent person but joy at the sight of an evildoer punished), unless that person has better luck than them, in which case the human reaction is envy.[15]

Informed by humoralism, theology and rhetoric, how can passions then be read in early modern plays apart from their explicit thematization and the strategies of classical rhetoric? Simon Palfrey's and Tiffany Sterne's *Shakespeare in Parts* provides particularly valuable tools in this respect.[16] In addition to foregrounding the importance of the passions in the early modern theatre for playwrights, actors and audiences alike, they also trace how passions structure the texts themselves. Since a "snappy and seemingly spontaneous change from one passion to another […] was one of the qualities for which an audience looked when judging a performance",[17] and since actors only received their individual 'parts' rather than the entire text, playwrights had to ensure that their actors knew which passion they were supposed to be presenting and include textual signals accordingly. These include "short lines, complete and incomplete pentameters, and shifts between prose, blank verse, and rhyme" and "help the actor to pace and measure the 'units' of his speech: they indicate a change in the tone or direction of acting; they single out transitions from one passion or humour to another, often within a single speech; and they direct stresses and enunciation, for instance by implicitly 'pointing' pauses".[18]

11 Wilson 1909: 4.

12 Ibid.: 116-156.

13 Ibid.: 130.

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid.

16 Palfrey/Sterne 2007: 311-389.

17 Ibid.: 312.

18 Ibid.: 329.

## MAGIC AND THE PASSIONS

Defining and categorising magic in early modern England, like defining and categorising the passions, is not as neat and straightforward as one might wish. A number of different discourses and practices existed concurrently at the time: one of them was the belief in witches, strongly influenced by continental ideas but with several English peculiarities.[19] At the same time, all strata of society made use of the services of so-called "cunning folk" or "white witches": folk practitioners of magic offering help in all areas of life, from health to love to lost property.[20] And, on the learned end of the spectrum, scholars became interested in the hermetic and Neoplatonic philosophy espoused by writers such as Ficino and Pico. In addition to propagating 'natural magic', based on an intricate system of sympathy and antipathy between every part of the world, this school postulated that there were two kinds of ritual magic, one illicit, one licit: *goëthia*, the calling up of evil spirits, and *theurgy*, operations calling on the help of angels and good spirits and ultimately aiming at a vision of God.[21]

However, clear differentiations between good and bad, popular and scholarly, illiterate and literate magic are difficult to sustain when looking at the historical record, let alone the depiction of magical practice in the theatre. Cunning folk ran the risk of being accused of witchcraft,[22] and scholars like Doctor John Dee, who was employed by Elizabeth I, were regularly suspected of dealing with the devil as the differentiations between natural, theurgic and goëthic magic became blurred;[23] and while the importance of Renaissance philosophy is apparent in the rituals of some English practitioners like Dee, research has recently stressed the continuing influence of medieval ritual magic.[24] Consequently, a number of different discourses can be found in texts concerning magic from the period. The following is a brief discussion of the views on magic and the passions found in the two most common kinds of texts: those condemning magic (as illusionary, as

19 The defining work on popular magical beliefs in sixteenth and seventeenth century England is still Keith Thomas's *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1971), and a still influential study of witchcraft in particular is MacFarlane's *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England* (1970).

20 Cf. Davies 2007, Wilby 2005.

21 Cf. e.g. Yates 2001.

22 Cf. e.g. Davies 2007: 29-65.

23 Cf. Thomas 1991: 264-274.

24 Cf. Klaassen 2013: 187-218 et passim.

harmful or as diabolical) and those featuring instructions on how to conduct magical ceremonies and to what end.

A humoral view that especially links magic to the melancholic humour can be found, for instance, in one of the most striking 16th century works on magic: Reginald Scot's *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (originally published in 1584). Perhaps surprisingly, this book is not concerned with the reality of witchcraft but with its refutation. Scot argues that witchcraft and magic "being contrarie to nature, probabilitie and reason" simply do not exist,[25] attributing the belief in such phenomena to superstition, Catholicism, legerdemain and psycho-physiological conditions.[26] Scot explains confessions by alleged witches with the natural propensity of old women (who are most commonly suspected) to melancholy and therefore to imagining things "which are both false and impossible".[27] Rather than using 'melancholy' as a synonym for depression, Scot explicitly describes it as a fluid. Post-menopausal women suffer from a build-up of melancholic humour because their menses have stopped[28] and "this humor, which is the verie dregs of bloud" produces the psychological consequences, since "these affections, though they appear in the mind of man, yet are they bred in the body".[29]

Melancholy and magic were also linked by the most prolific author on this particular humour, Richard Burton. Burton, in his encyclopaedic work *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, reiterates that melancholy can lead to fantastical imaginings: not only that one is a witch[30] but also that one is bewitched or witnessing an act of magic.[31] However, while cautious, he does not deny the reality of magic and witchcraft, listing "Witches and Magitians" [sic] as one of the possible supernatural causes of melancholy and their help in combating this "disease" as one of its "Unlawfull Cures".[32]

An entirely different approach to magic and the passions can be found in a text on witchcraft first published in 1597 by the then James VI of Scotland, who

25 Scot 1972: 280.

26 Scot uses the term witchcraft to include ritual magic and spirit conjurations, although he does make allowance for some kinds of "naturall magicke" based on a system of analogy and sympathy, like the influence of precious stones. Cf. ibid.: 164-174.

27 Ibid.: 31.

28 Cf. ibid.: 30-33.

29 Ibid.: 33.

30 Cf. Burton 1989/1: 204

31 Cf. Ibid.: 386-387, 424-426.

32 Ibid.: 195-199; vol. 2: 1-4. It has to be stressed, however, that for Burton magic is only one among a vast number of possible causes and cures for the condition.

would ascend the English Throne as James I in 1603. In the form of a learned dialogue, James vehemently denies Scot's argument that melancholy can be a factor in the unreliability of witness testaments.[33] Instead, he offers a different link between affections, passions and magic: human passions, he argues, allow the devil to ensnare his prey. He starts by differentiating between "*Magie* or *Necromancie*" and "*Sorcerie* or *Witch-craft*" and then poses the question, "What, I pray you, and how many, are the means whereby the Devil allures persons into any of these snares?"[34] The answer is as follows:

> Even by these three passiones that are within our selues: Curiositie in great ingines: thrist of revenge, for some tortes deeply apprehended: or greedie appetite of geare, caused through great pouerty. As to the first of these, Curiosity, it is onelie the inticement of Magiciens, or Necromanciers: and the other two are the allureres of the Sorcerers, or Witches, for that olde and craftie Serpent, being a spirite, hee easilie spyes our affections, and so conformes himselfe thereto, to deceaue vs to our wracke.[35]

James, using "passions" and "affections" synonymously like Thomas Wilson before him and applying the terms to a wide variety of emotions, argues that it is curiosity which leads men to become "necromancers", while (male or female) witches are driven by a desire for revenge or by personal hardship. According to James, practitioners are led "vpon the slipperie and vncertaine scale of curiositie" by certain aspects of science, in particular by astrology.[36] While today the focus on curiosity might sound like a wholesale condemnation of intellectual inquiry, the word carried different connotations at the time. Under the definition "Desire to know or learn", the OED lists the obsolete pejorative meaning of "[t]he disposition to inquire too minutely into anything; undue or inquisitive desire to know or learn" as earlier than the neutral or positive meaning common today, which seems to have taken hold in the course of the seventeenth century.

Magic books of the time, so-called grimoires, put special emphasis on ritual fasting and purification but say little about the affects and passions of the practitioner during the ritual. The *Clavicula Salomonis* or *Key of Solomon*, in an English manuscript of the mid- to late-sixteenth century, for instance, prescribes

33 James I 1924: 30-31.

34 Ibid.: 8. James differentiates between "necromancy", or ritual magic focused on summoning spirits, and witchcraft, but finds both equally deplorable.

35 Ibid.: 9. As evident in grimoires and in *Doctor Faustus* and *The Devil's Charter*, greed (with or without actual poverty) can of course also be a factor in the conjurations of magicians using ritual magic for their own gain.

36 Ibid.: 10-12.

confession (to god, not to a priest), fasting and baths before attempting magical operations.[37] Similarly, the *Heptameron*, a grimoire (spuriously) ascribed to the medieval philosopher Pietro D'Abano, advises that "[t]he Operator ought to be clean and purified by the space of nine daies" before making preparations for an invocation "and to be confessed, and receive the holy Communion", and then purified again "with fasting, chastity, and abstinency from all luxury the space of three whole dayes" before undertaking the actual invocation.[38] In the same vein, the *Liber Iuratus Honorii*, or *Sworn Book of Honorius*, advises to "let the worker be clean, not polluted" and to "[l]et him not eat nor drink till he has done his work".[39]

While many grimoires stress the importance of spiritual cleanliness, the *Liber Iuratus* is one of the few texts to also hint at the state of mind of the practitioner: "and let him do it [i.e. consecrate the magic seal] with devotion, not deceitfully".[40] Passions on the part of the practitioner described in grimoires are twofold: firstly, the orations, especially in theurgic works like the *Ars Notoria*, make much of the love of God, and secondly, the magus is advised to be free of negatively connoted passions. "Banish wrath: yt was the first[…] and greatest Commanndment", reads a manuscript written by John Dee.[41] The *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy* states that "the chiefest thing that ought to be observed, is, constancy of minde, and boldness, free, and alienated from fear".[42] Magic, in some instances, was even supposed to be able to help adepts understand the nature of their affections: "But the man that is ignorant of Magick, is carried to

37 Cf. Anonymous: 1999.

38 Abano 2008: s.p.

39 Anonymous 2009: IV.

40 Ibid.

41 Dee 1997: Liber Primus, cap. 2; in a note on this passage, Dee explains that he is referring to a commandment he supposedly received from the angel Annael, not the first of the Ten Commandments.

42 Agrippa 1655: 69. First printed in English in 1655, the original Latin version was published in 1559. The attribution of this book to Agrippa is spurious. Cf. Klaassen 2013: 176-177.

The potential fear of the practitioner is also highlighted by James's *Daemonology*, in which he claims that "if they [i.e. magicians] haue missed one iote of all their rites; or if any of their feete once slyd ouer the circle through terror of [the devil's] feareful apparition, […] hee carries them with him bodie and soule". James I 1924: 18.

and fro, as it were in war with his affections; he knoweth not when they issue out of his own minde, or are impressed by the assisting essence".[43]

While works of 'high' theurgic magic like the *Liber Iuratus* and the *Ars Notoria* seem relatively orthodox in their treatment of passions (however blasphemous they might have seemed otherwise), other works of ceremonial magic add a different aspect: the supposed ability of magic to move the passions of others. Not all grimoires are content with celestial knowledge and aim for more prosaic gains: apart from money, this is often the favour of both women and wealthy patrons. The rituals to achieve these ends or "experiments" are very often acts of sympathetic image magic rather than involving the help of spirits,[44] although there is a comment in the *Heptameron* that "[t]he Spirits of the Air of Thursday […] procure the love of woman" and "pacifie strife and contentions".[45]

## PASSIONATE CONJURING: EVOCATION SCENES

On the stage, ritual magic (in addition to witchcraft) occurs with some frequency, especially between 1590 and 1620.[46] The following section will analyse the way passions are written into the text in two scenes of the ritual evocation of demons: Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* and Barnes's *The Devil's Charter*.

Studies of Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* have long remarked that, while the play shows thorough engagement with contemporary books of magic, Faustus goes about the ritual in precisely the wrong way from the start.[47] He does not follow the instructions to ritually cleanse himself and he does not fast; he has "prayed and sacrificed" to the demons he is about to invoke, and, in his detailed Latin invocation, he does not call upon the power of god but on Beelze-

43 Agrippa 1655: 213. This quote comes from the *Arbatel,* a grimoire included in Turner's English translation of Agrippa's *Fourth Book*. This translation was published in 1655, later than any of the plays discussed here, but the original Latin edition was printed in Basel in 1575. Cf. Davies 2009: 52-3. The translation follows the original Latin text which reads "Ad homo Magiæ imperitus tanquam bellua *affectibus* sursum & deorsum fertur". Anonymous 1997: XLIII, emphasis G.T.

44 See for instance Anonymous 1999: book 1, chs. 8-11.

45 Abano 2008: Considerations of Thursday.

46 For a good overview of the 'types' and development of magicians on the early modern stage cf. Traister 1984, Traister 2014.

47 Cf e.g. Kocher 1962.

bub (I.iii.1-22).[48] When Mephistopheles later informs Faustus that his conjuring has only made the devil appear because he has "rack[ed] the name of God", rather than because the ritual had inherent magical power (43-51), it becomes clear that Faustus, despite his learning, is little better than any other blasphemer.

Faustus, however, is undaunted and makes much of his own strength of character, harping on his absence of fear: "This word 'damnation' terrifies not me" (I.iii.56), he claims, and even berates Mephistopheles for showing an excess of feeling. When asked how, if he is damned to be in hell, he can be out of it, Mephistopheles famously claims, "Why, this is hell, nor am I out of it", and passionately asks Faustus to stop this line of enquiry:

Think'st thou that I, that saw the face of God
And tasted the eternal joys of heaven,
Am not tormented with ten thousand hells
In being deprived of everlasting bliss?
O Faustus, leave these frivolous demands,
Which strike a terror to my fainting soul! (74-80)

Faustus has nothing but contempt for this, quipping, "What, is great Mephistopheles so passionate / For being deprivèd of the joys of heaven?", and even admonishing the devil to learn from his own "manly fortitude" in rejecting fear and despair (81-84). Fear and despair, as opposed to the joys of heaven and the short-lived delights of magic, will of course reappear in the course of the play; but Faustus also forgets that it was passion of a different kind that led him to practice magic in the first place.

In Faustus's famous opening soliloquy, he quickly dismisses the traditional scholarly pursuits of logic, medicine, law and theology, before lighting on magic. In the space of six lines he goes from exclaiming, "[s]weet *Analytics*, 'tis thou hast ravished me!" (I.i.5)[49] to concluding that "[a] greater subject fitteth Faustus' wit" (11). This economy of space and Faustus's abridged and sometimes faulty arguments for his rejections have led to numerous critical readings concerning Faustus's learning and the effect the scene would have had on the audience's judgement of the character,[50] but it also showcases what Palfrey and Sterne have highlighted in terms of the text's performative potential: the "snappy and seemingly spontaneous change from one passion to another", from admiration to distain. This is repeated for each of the disciplines, and Faustus's short quotation

48 All quotations are from the B-Text, Marlowe 2008, unless otherwise noted.

49 Original emphasis.

50 For an overview of critical reactions cf. Brandt 2015: 31-32.

from Romans 6:23 seems particularly cynical, punctuated by a mocking laugh and a sarcastic comment: "'*Stipendium peccati mors est.*' Ha! / '*Stipendium*', etc. / The reward of sin is death? That's hard." (I.i.37-39).[51]

His language changes into something euphoric when he finally takes up a book on magic. The diagrams and shapes he finds in necromantic books are suddenly "those that Faustus most desires" (I.i.51-52), and his desire is at the centre of his excitement about magic: "O, what a world of profit and delight, / Of power, of honour, and omnipotence / Is promised to the studious artisan!" (53-55). The word delight, first introduced here, will continually reappear throughout the play, always connected to the potential of magic to not just entertain but also to distract. And Faustus, goaded on by the Bad Angel, positively raves about the possibilities of magic, starting with rhetorical questions ("Shall I make spirits fetch me what I please?"), but soon eschewing questions for statements: "I'll have", "I'll levy", "I'll make" (77-95). Joined by the magician-scholars Valdes and Cornelius, he sums up his state of mind, subverting his initial statement on Aristotle: "Philosophy is odious and obscure / Both law and physics are for petty wits; 'Tis magic, magic that hath ravished me" (103-104). Faustus's last line in the scene ("This night I'll conjure, though I die therefore", 160) makes clear that the ensuing conjuration scene (I.iii.) takes place very soon after, and Faustus's renewed exclamations about what he will do through magic (I.iii.102-109) tie these two scenes together not just temporally but also emotionally. In the evocation scene, Faustus might not feel fear or despair (yet), but he is anything but dispassionate.

Passions are much more overt in an invocation scene from a later play, Barnabe Barnes's *The Devil's Charter*. Much indebted to Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* and usually dismissed in terms of its quality,[52] it is nevertheless an interesting example of the depiction of magic on the early modern stage, and it features one of the most detailed conjuring scenes in the canon. The play centres on the life of Pope Alexander VI, formerly Rodrigo Borgia, and the diabolical corruption of his court and family. A dumb show in the prologue already shows the pact made between Borgia and the devil, who crowns him pope, although Alexander prefers to use poison rather than magic to dispatch anyone who stands in his way in the rest of the play. He does, however, call up demons when he views the murder of his son, the Duke of Candy, in his magic glass.[53]

51 Original emphasis.

52 Cf. e.g. Cox 1998: 934.

53 For similar scenes of a magician showing far-off scenes happening simultaneously (like an early modern security camera), see e.g. Robert Greene's *Friar Bacon and*

The scene begins with Alexander already distracted to the point of incoherency: "'Fore God, 'tis Candy, 'tis Candy, 'tis Candy, I know 'tis Candy" (IV.i.1).[54] He quickly gives instructions for the magic ritual,[55] interspersing astrological details and the instruments of conjuration with outbursts in which he repetitively harps on his dead son:

Candy my son is murder'd, Candy my son,
Candy my son is murder'd. I will raise
All the great devils to show the murderer.
Even as thou lov'dst my son, haste and dispatch,
Haste and dispatch it as thou lov'st my soul. (IV.i.22-26)

He seems entirely overcome by emotion when the devils he has raised finally show him in a dumb show that Candy's murderer is Alexander's other son, Caesar, demanding the dumb show be stopped and even (untypically) invoking the saints: "Hold, hold, hold, hold, hold! *Per todos santos*, now no more!" (78, original emphasis). Yet despite this, he is not yet finished with the devils, asking them to also show him who murdered his daughter Lucretia's husband. As the dumb show reveals that it was Lucretia herself, he again raves, calling for "no more" and claiming that his "soul dissolves" (84).

Yet the continuous protestations of his misery are double edged. There is a dark pun in the "cureless wounds" he has received in discovering these truths, which at first seem to refer only to his wounded feelings. They are "of my body: / Wounds both of my soul and body" (90-91), i.e. both injuring his humoral constitution and begotten by him, his son and daughter themselves. And indeed, Alexander immediately comforts himself – by giving detailed instructions to have his daughter poisoned, a far cry from the confused rhetoric employed in the beginning of the scene. As with Faustus, this rapid shift illustrates the changes between passions that showcase the ability of the actor; but in this case, it also calls into question the veracity of the passion of the character.

Passions continue to be invoked after the revelation that Caesar is Candy's murderer has the pleasant side effect of giving the father unprecedented power over the son: Alexander can now blackmail Caesar to ensure his loyalty, and

*Friar Bungay* (which also features a magic glass for this purpose), and John Webster's *The White Devil*.

54 All quotes from Barnes 1999.

55 As Robert West has shown, the details of the scene echo the *Heptameron* (quoted in Traister 1984: 59).

indeed he does so in the scene following the conjuration.[56] Seeing his remaining son firmly in his power, Alexander forgives Caesar for the murder and advises him to continue to dissemble grief for his brother: "Look sullen and demure, hold down thy head / Like one swoll'n up with sorrow" (IV.ii.135-136). This affectation of passion fits well with Alexander's diabolical Machiavellianism, which makes even the devil seem more truthful than the supposedly grieving father, but it also touches on the dissembling of passions that an actor must do – whether he is playing Faustus or Alexander.

## THE WAGES OF SIN: *SCENAE ULTIMAE* OF SPIRITUAL DESPAIR

Both characters thus exhibit and utilize different passions when calling up devils and in their interactions with them. Yet in the final hours before their grisly ends, both reflect on their spiritual state and both have extended scenes in which faint hope, fear, and despair are played out on stage.[57] In *The Devil's Charter*, the titular contract is fulfilled and the devil claims Alexander by thwarting yet another attempt at poisoning a political enemy, leading to Alexander and his son drinking the fatal wine themselves. In a final confrontation with the devil, he finds himself outmanoeuvred and taunted by the Devil for his inevitable damnation. For the first time, Alexander shows his knowledge of the doctrines of divine salvation, arguing that God will have mercy on him – but it is his incapability to be moved, to wholeheartedly ask for forgiveness, that seals his fate. "Stir, stubborn, stony, stiff, indurate heart! Not yet up? Why? What? Wilt thou not, foul traitor to my soul?" he cries in a panic (V.vi.163-165). The very words he uses harken back not only to humoral discourses on the passions,[58] but to a common Protestant concept described by Alec Ryrie: the stony, cold, dry and insensible heart, an affliction thought worse than spiritual pain.[59]

56 Cox 1998: 940 even reads Candy's murder by Caesar as purposefully instigated by Alexander to effect this situation.

57 The ensuing discussion of passions in the two final scenes is only partial due to spatial constraints; much more could be said about the interaction of humoral and theological concepts and their rhetorical expressions, and especially on the masterful use of rhetoric in the depiction of Faustus's mounting panic.

58 Alexander imagines his heart "clogg'd with sin / Oppressed with damnation", mixing spiritual and humoral concepts, V.vi.166-167.

59 Ryrie 2013: 20-26.

Faustus's deeds are nowhere near as heinous as Alexander's, and it has often been noted that his magic ultimately gains him little of the riches and power he originally craved. Magic has brought transient "delight", in the form of dancing spirits and a pageant of the Seven Deadly Sins,[60] both called in by the devil to distract Faustus from his doubts (II.i. and II.iii.), a trip to Rome and Italy (III.i.), and in the form of magical demonstrations for the Emperor of Germany (IV.i.) and the Duke of Vanholt (IV.vi); but throughout the play, Faustus struggles with the fact that the "joys" he originally expected to gain from magic (I.i.146) are denied to him, as they are to Mephistopheles. "Joy", apart from Faustus's one mistaken assumption in the first scene, is a word only ever associated with God.

When Faustus finally finds himself confronted with the inevitability of his end, despair wins out over the stale delights of magic. His melancholic mood is interpreted by his fellow scholars as a humoral affliction that can be cured by physicians. They assume it to be a result of him being "over-solitary", but he corrects them: the "surfeit" he suffers from is not an excess of solitude but one of sin. His despair is spiritual, not physical (V.ii.31-40). Faustus, like Alexander, is unable to access the kind of passion that will mollify his heart and allow him to repent, a state of spiritual paralysis he has already encountered in earlier attempts to regain God's favour (cf. II.iii.17-18).[61] Instead, images of a different kind of passion enter into his speech: in the last two scenes, his meditations on blood finally bring him to the Passion of Christ.

Mephistopheles, waiting unseen with other devils for Faustus to appear for his final scene, is the first to link blood to Faustus's heart of stone in an image that can be read literally in the context of humoralism: "now his heart-blood dries with grief; / His conscience kills it" (V.ii.12-13). But Faustus takes up the image of blood and expands it further. Recognising his inability to feel true contrition and to show it with tears, he wishes that blood would gush forth instead (56-57),[62] and finally, in his last hour, he returns to the image of gushing blood in a more symbolic vein. In a beautiful instance of word scenery, he evokes the sunset with "See, see where Christ's blood streams in the firma-

60 Themselves associated with the passions: cf. Gaukroger 1998: 2.

61 "My heart is hardened; I cannot repent" (II.iii.18). Marlowe's influence on Barnes is of course very apparent here, but both writers draw on established theological Protestant discourse as noted above.

62 This macabre foreshadowing of Faustus's grisly end also harkens back to the diabolical contract signed in blood which he finally divulges to his associates (V.ii.61-66).

ment!"[63] and hopes for salvation through even a drop of it. However, when he calls on Christ he seems to suffer immediate physical consequences: "Rend not my heart for naming of my Christ", he begs the devil (V.ii.146). But in the context of the multiple passions in this scene, is this really the devil torturing Faustus's heart, or finally a trace of the true feeling that could conceivable save him? The complex relationship of hearts, blood, and passion retains its typically Marlovian ambiguity when the light disappears and Faustus is left fearing the wrath, rather than hoping for the mercy, of God.

## CONCLUSION

The treatment of passions in *Doctor Faustus* and *The Devil's Charter* is undoubtedly deeply influenced by the concept of the four humours and the physiological basis of early modern emotions. But both plays enrich this physiology with conceptions of the passions that echo other discourses, especially the theological and moralistic ones that can also be found in contemporaneous texts on magic. Human feelings have a basis in bodily states, but beyond that, these texts portray their proper management as integral to both the efficacy of ritual and the spiritual grace of the soul. In *Doctor Faustus* and *The Devil's Charter*, the passions are both dangerous and the only path to salvation. As greed, pride, or undue curiosity, they can lead to damnation; as sincere feelings of repentance and love of God, they can lead to salvation.

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63 This line is only present in the A-text of 1604, but seems to have been omitted in error from the B-text since the later reference to the line appears in both variants. Cf. the parallel texts in Marlowe 1950: 288-289.

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