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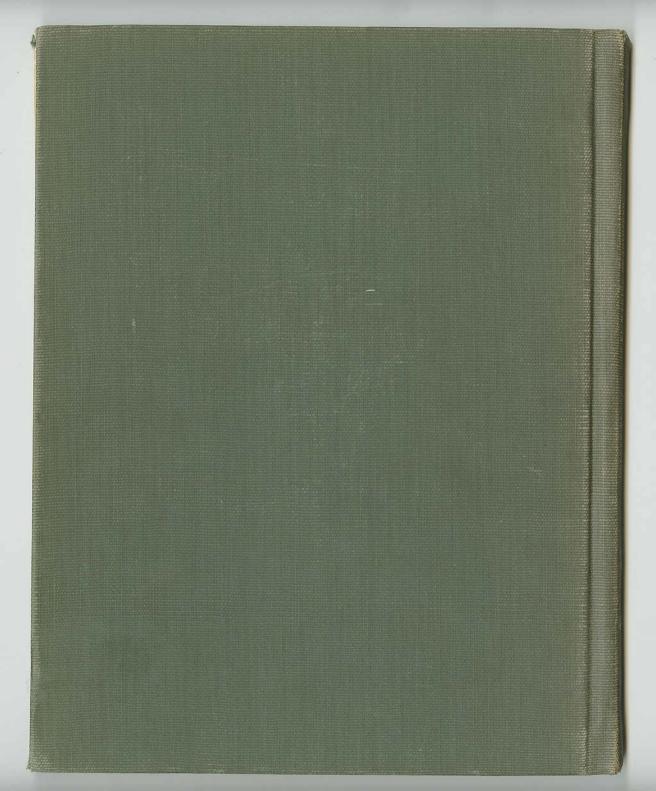
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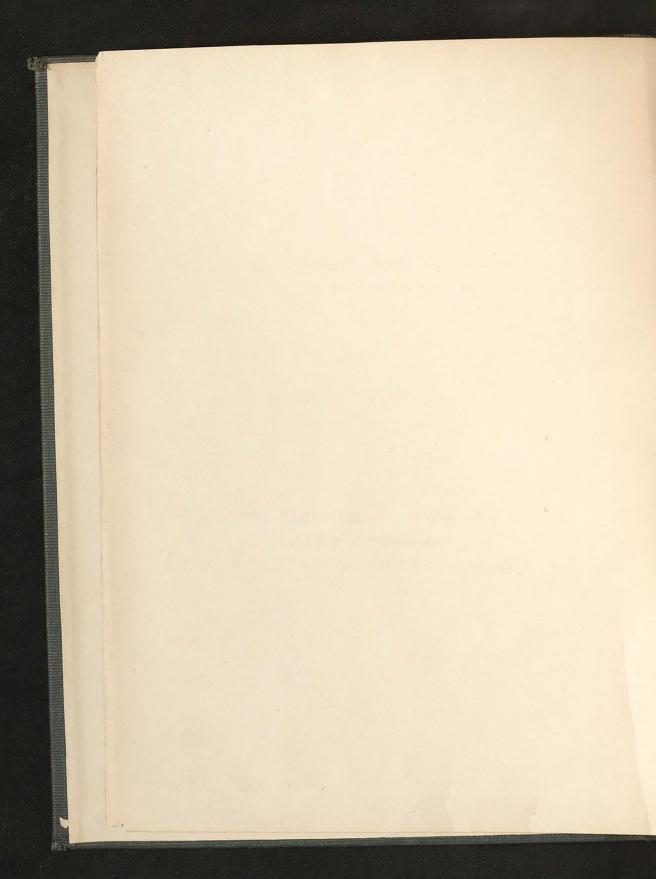
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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF MARLOWE'S "DOCTOR FAUSTUS"

AND CALDERÓN'S "EL MÁGICO PRODIGIOSO".

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## I. Introduction

The object of this paper is to study comparatively two dramas: "The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus" by Christopher Marlowe, and "El Magico Prodigioso" by Pedro Calderón de la Barca. Such a study seems to embrace much that is worth while for various reasons. Each play was written by a dramatist who was an ormament of the Golden Age of the drama in his own country. Each treats the story of a man who sells his soul to the devil, and makes his compact with the Evil One in his own blood. The element of magic holds a very important place in both dramas, and is inseparably connected with passionate love for a woman.

In spite of these common characteristics, the plays present many sesential contrasts to each other in sources, dramatic emphasis, and moral and religious concepts. It is my purpose to point out and in some measure account for these similarities and differences by an investigation of the respective sources and consideration of the different influences to which the Marlowe and Calderon were subject as regards nationality, religion and environment.

Myths and legends about diabolical influences, necromancy, and magic have existed among all peoples; the intense interest and belief in the occult has ever been one of

the most moving forces which has affected the human mind.

It has been, in fact, the progenitor of terrorism, it has colored the ethics and religion of every race; it has exercised a vast influence over the immost soul of man, and therefore has become one of the great motifs in every literature.

From the earliest times, the most marked characteristic of the human mind has been its aspiration; the constant struggle that it effects to extend its knowledge of the elements and its power over them. It has courageously grappled with the unseen and unknown; seeking to explain phenomena which seem inscrutable. And in this great struggle, the contest has been with phenomena which were magical because hitherto unexplained, unknown, - occult. We find the study and practice of magic then, closely connected with the beginnings of all the sciences, all the knowledge that we enjoy today. It is closely bound up with religion, with art, in a word with all human achievment. This connection between magic and the various elements of civilization is clearly reflected in the dramas under consideration; therefore I shall attempt to give a short sketch of certain ideas and concepts of the black art which have a more or less important bearing on the subject in hand.

The story of the unceasing conflict between the forces of good and those of evil is as old as the story of man, and forms the true basis of all ideas of magic; this

universal concept is the basis of the drama of Calderon and that of Marlowe. We cannot here attempt to trace the development of this concept, of course, we can only examine a few general facts which will be of assistance in a consideration of the two plays. The personification of the forces of evil is a distinctly Oriental concept, which may be best studied in Jewish mythology, which contains many stories of the conflict between good and evil. Scholars are generally agreed that most of the Jewish ideas on this subject were unknown among that race before the Babylonian exile. In these early legends we find no actual agreement between men and the Evil One; this concept seems not to have gained much attention before the rise of Christianity. We do find, however, among others, the idea of guardian spirits who fight cease—lessly against the demon Asmodi for the souls of men.

The various elements of demonology and magic taken over from the Babylonian exile, were put into the Talmud. The philosophy of this book is different in many respects from that of the Bible in regard to the power of magic and the nature of our mortal life. Even a cursory glance at the two versions of the story of Solomon will offer striking proof of this. We are familiar with the Biblical account of Solomon's many concubines, his final conviction of the utter vanity of human life, and his pessimistic resignation. The Talmudic account is far different. Indeed, it is not Solomon

who reigns with the concubines, but the devil who has assumed the shape of the Jewish king. The story is briefly as follows. Solomon, by practice of magic, succeeds in taking away the philosopher's stone from Adramalech, or the devil. Adramalech regains possession of the stone from Solomon while the king is asleep and throws it into the sea. He then carries off Solomon into the desert, and assuming his share, returns to the royal palace and rules with five hundred concubines. We find no philosophical conclusion as to the vanity of life in the story. In this account we have several very important elements, first, the use of magic, second, the philosopher's stone, and third, the devil himself who has the power of assuming the shapes of men. In other legends of the Talmud we find accounts of the conjuration of the devil by magic formulae; in many, evil spirits are given human blood to drink.

The Talmud exerted a vast influence over the minds and hearts of many men for centuries, and it did much to establish in the human mind these elements of magic and demonology - the personification of the powers of evil - the devil who could be called up by magic formulae, and who assumed human form at will, the idea of a philosopher's stone which gave its possessor supernatural power, and the propitiation of evil spirits with human blood. These same elements

<sup>1</sup> For one version of this story, see "The Talmud" pp. 76-80 in the Universal Classics Library, edited by M. W. Dunne.

are found in all later ideas of magic.

As already noticed, it remained for the Jewish soriptures to develop the philosophic idea of vanity of life. This concept is clearly stated in the eighth verse of the twelfth chapter of Ecclesiastes: "Vanity of vanities, saith the preacher; all is vanity." It is this attitude toward life that underlies the story of Faust who finds nothing but vanity in knowledge and power which is bounded by human limitations, and seeks other powers outside the realm of the human mind.

importance of life on earth which influenced the mind of the early Christian who was willing to meet unflinchingly any torture for the sake of his religion. Indeed it is only by studying the old Jewish philosophy on which Christianity is based that we can begin to understand the true nature and the growth of the Christian Church. It arose amid as great a mixture of nationalities, religions and philosophies as the world has ever seen, and its beliefs were naturally colored by the various beliefs that existed around it. A great mass of magic lore had been inherited from the Jews, much was absorbed from the various other creeds and philosophies of Pagan Rome. I quote the following statements from a recognized authority to give some idea of the superstitions by which the early Church was greatly influenced: The reality

both of witchcraft and diabolical possession had been distinctly recognized in the Jewish writings. "1

"Through the entire duration of Pagan Rome it was regarded as an unquestionable truth, established by the most ample experience, that prodigies of various kinds announced every memorable event, and that sacrifices had the power of mitigating or arresting calamity."2 Again, "Christianity floated into the Roman Empire on the wave of credulity that brought with it the long train of Oriental superstitions and logends."3

Small wonder, then, that we find the Church from the earliest days committed to a terroristic belief in the constant menacing presence of all sorts of devils and demons. The early saints were tempted constantly by the devil who assumed various shapes, and only by constant prayer and watchfulness did they ensure the salvation of their souls. In Calderon's drama we find reflected the attitude of the Early Church and read in a dramatized form one of the most beautiful of its early legends.

Not only was this belief in demonology universal in the early ohurch, but all the black arts enjoyed the most implicit belief. One Latin writer says that any clever juggler was eminently successful in preying upon the superstitions of the early Christians. 4 The early Christian leaders

l History of European Morals, W. H. Lecky, Vol. 11, p. 86
2 Lecky, Vol. I, page 363
3 Lecky, Vol. I, pp. 373-374
4 Lecky, Vol. I, page 384

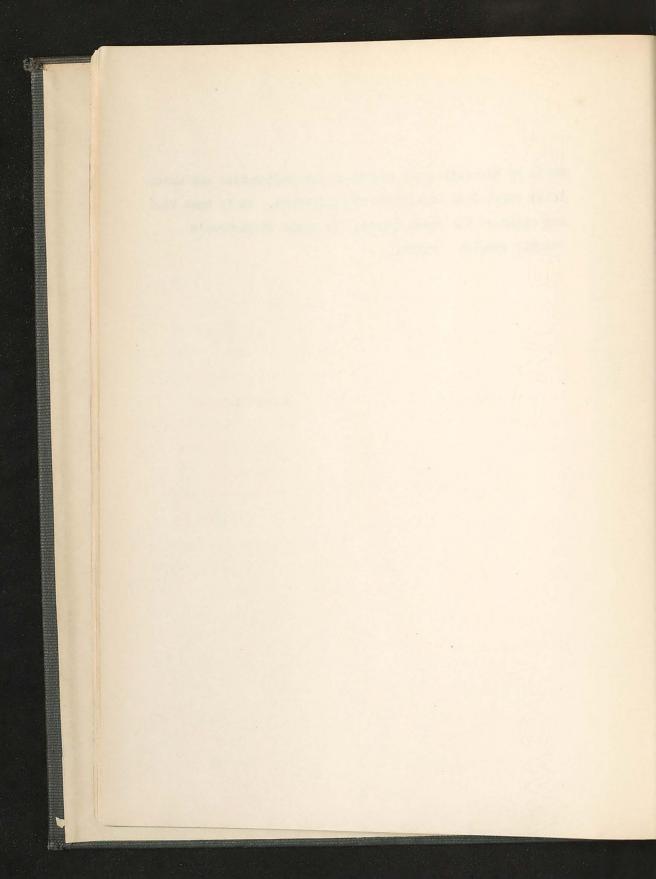
even taught that all religions except their own and that of the Jews were the direct inventions of devils. As early as the time of Saint Augustine the devil and e il angels were called by the recitation of paradied versions of Church ceremonies.

Saint Augustine himself displayed an implicit belief in magic. He divides it into two classes; white magic and black magic. The former consists in the innocent conjuration of the spirits of the elements, for which he himself gives a formula. The permanent service of the devil however can be obtained only by pledging the soul to him. This is black magic. Here we have one of the first mentions of the compact between man and the devil in the early literature of the Church. Verily it is not the last. The history of the Mediaeval Church shows how completely that institution affirmed the existence of demons, witchcraft, necromancy and all the other black arts, and how it implanted the belief in their existence in the minds of its followers. That belief was universal and terrible in its bloody effects for centuries. It was only with the Renaissance and Reformation that we can discern any decrease of these beliefs.

The Renaissance served to partly obscure the conception of personal magic, but it returned in connection with the research in natural science, which began to occupy the

<sup>1</sup> History of European Morals. W. H. Lecky, Vol. I, page 422

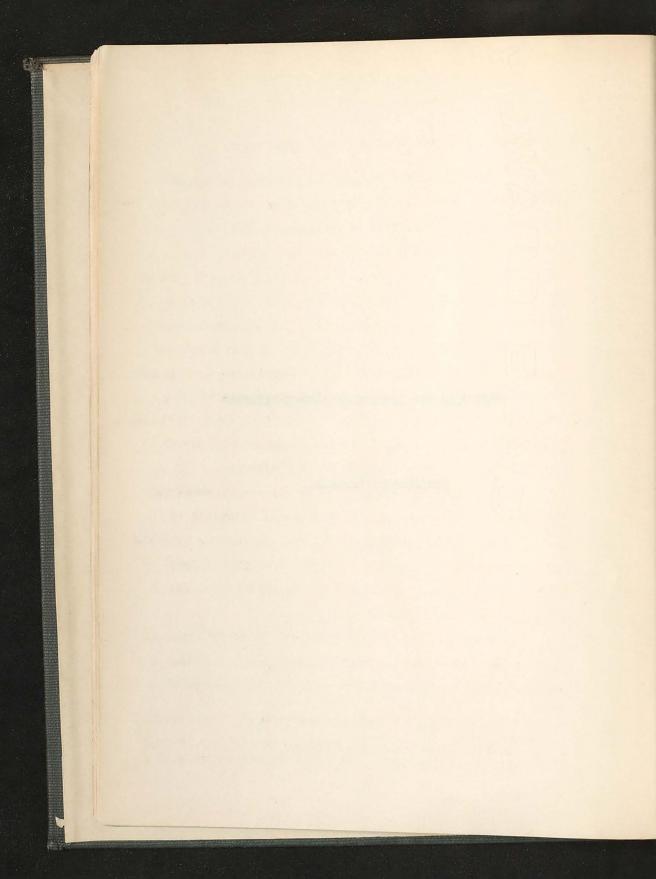
minds of men during the period of the Reformation and which later burst into such bloom of achievment. It is here that our study of the Faust legend, the basis of Marlowe's "Doctor Faustus" begins.



'THE TRAGICAL HISTORY OF DOCTOR PAUSTUS"

by

Christopher Marlowe.



## II. The Origin and Sources of the Faust Legend.

During the middle ages all sorts of legends of diabolical influence and witchcraft were abroad in Europo; they were preached from the pulpits, spread far and wide by the wandering students, and permeated the minds of high and low alike. These legends gradually gathered about the names of various men, who as magicians were supposed to possess supernatural power. About the time of the Reformation, we find many such figures on the continent, of whom Faust was morely the most famous. Among his colleagues and contemporaries he numbered, among others, Trithemius (1462-1516), Henry Cornelius Agrippa (1486-1534), and Paracelsus (1493-1541), the father of modern medicine. Paracelsus was accused of magic because of his many scientific researches.

Our knowledge of the life of the actual Faust and the esteem in which he was held by his contemporaries is gleaned from various writings of men who saw him, or received their information from persons who had seen him. I shall attempt to enumerate our sources<sup>2</sup> of information and the facts that we obtain from them.

Faust was born in the year 1480 at Emittlingen, in what is now Würtenburg. Melancthon is authority for the statement that Faust pursued the study of magic at the Uni-

<sup>1</sup> For brief accounts of these men see Godwin's Lives of the Mecromancers.

<sup>2</sup> All data concerning the life of Faust is found in Witkowski's Maust Commentary unless other references are given.

versity of Cracow in Poland.

The first mention of Faust as a magician is found in a letter written in Latin by Johannes Trihemius, Abbot of Sponhoim, to the mathematician and astronomer Johann Virdung, of Hasfurt, dated August 20, 1507. Trithemius says that Faust called himself -- "Magister Goorgius Sabellicus, Faustus junior, fons Mecromanticorum, astrologus, magas secundus, chiromanticus, aeromanticus, pyromanticus, in hydra arte secundus." Trithemius met Faust at the hostelry in Gelphausen but the latter fled when he heard of the abbot's presence, and could not be induced to return. Priests of the town recounted the magician's boast of his own powers. These claims were as follows:-

- 1. That if all the works of Plato and Aristotle had perished, he could restore the whole with greater elegance, like another Hebrew Ezra.
- 2. That the miracles of Christ were not to be woncould dered at, for he himself, perform the same whenever and wherever he liked.

The same letter also tells us that Faust had been dismissed from a position as schoolmaster on account of homosexuality.

In the records of the University of Heidelberg we have a notice of a Johannes Faust, who was among the students receiving degrees January 15, 1509 - "ad baccalaureatus gradum de via moderna ordine, quo supra notatum, admissi sunt."

Faust is designated as "Johannes Faust ex Kundling". Whether this man was the Faust of the legend we cannot be sure. The baptismal name and birthplace are not the same as those usually attributed to the historic Faust. But there seems to be a manifest relation between this date and that of Trithemius' letter. There is also a letter of Trithemius which represents the historic Faust as starting to the town Heidelberg about this time. 2

The next mention of Faust occurs in a letter written October 3, 1515 by Conrad Mudt (Mutianus) to his friend Heinrich Urbanus.<sup>3</sup> Mutianus says:

"Eight days ago there came to Erfurt a Professor of Palmistry, named Georgius Faustus Hemitheus, Hedebergensis, a braggart and a fool. His art, as that of all divinors, is vain, and such physiognomic science lighter than a water-bug. The vulgar are lost in admiration. Lot theologians rise against him."

There exists a large body of legend about our hero in Erfurt. In an extract of a chronicle of Erfurt, probably written by a contemporary of Faust, (the date, however, is not indicated) we have what seems to be a complete account of all of Faust's remarkable performances in the town. Some German scholars have passed over this account in silence, others

3 Faligand

<sup>1</sup> Faligand - La Legende de Faust, pp. 10-11

<sup>2</sup> Faust - Commentary - Withowski.

consider it merely a copy of certain chapters of the first
Faust book. If the date could be established as previous to
this first collection of the legends, we would know a great
deal more about Faust. According to the legends, whether they
be true or false, the magician is said to have given a course
of lectures in the University at Erfurt, during which he
called up Hector, Achilles, Helen and Ajax as illustrations.
There is some evidence that Faust knew the use of the magic
lantern and of group hypnotism. According to another story,
he took part in the public examination for his doctorate in
Erfurt. On this occasion Faust offered to reproduce by magic
the lost comedies of Flautus and Terfence, in order that they
might be copied. The offer seems not to have been accepted.

It is entirely natural that Faust should have wished to become associated with the Universities of Reidelberg and Erfurt. In order to become identified with the standard magicians of his time, it was necessary that he have a recognized classical education, which was best obtained in those days at one or the other of these institutions of learning. He seems to have enjoyed the confidence of many men who contributed ideas to the Reformation, of some of the nobility, and even of a few members of the orthodox Catholic clergy.

We have documentary evidence that on Pebruary 15, 1920, the Prince Bishop of Bamberg had Faust cast his horoscope, for

which he raid him ten gulden - a very hands one fee. The truth is that at this period of his life. Faust seems to have cut no mean figure among his contemporaries. He lived in wittenberg for some years, and there he came into contact with leaders of the Reformation. Je have documentary evidence of his acquaintance and friendship with Melanethon. To often montioned Faust in private conversation and in his lectures referred to his extraordinary powers. In one of his works he speaks of Paust's flight to Venice on a magic carrot, and of his having smallowed a competing magician alive there. He also threatened at one time to cause all the pots and pass in Melancthon's kitchen to fly up the chimney, so that his guests would have nothing to eat. This threat was never carried out. The last mention of Paust by Melancthon says that he had to flee from Wittenberg when the Mector John of Saxony issued an order for his arrest. In the same statement we find that later he had escaped the constable of Nuremburg by the skin of his teeth.

He next comes to light in Ingolstadt. In the records of the council of that town, dated July 17, 1528 ho is registered as a soothsayer. He is requested to make his departure within a stated time, after giving promise that no revenge will be taken on the city.

We see Faust again in 1534. In that year Philip von Hutten, brother of Ulrich von Hutten, who was a poet and

an intimate friend of Luther, undertook an expedition of exploration and conquest to Venezuela. He applied to Faust for a prognosis of the results of the venture. On January 16, 1540 Philip wrote to Ulrich that all of Faust's prophecies had come true.

In 1539, Thilip Begardi, city physician of Worms published his "Indox Sanitatis," in which he gives a sort of character sketch of Faust, calling him a remarkable man, and a "doughty" one. He was universally known as such, but it was to be regretted that he made claims which were far beyond his powers. To this fault of character he attributes the fact that in 1539 the soothsayer was poor and miserable. He called himself "philosophus philosophorum", and cheated many people of their money.

The date of Faust's death is still open to question. One great authority maintains the emistence of documentary evidence of this event, which is said to have occurred at Breisgau, in the southwestern part of Germany in 1540. All accounts egree that the death was violent and that the body was found face downward. Whether or no this date is certain, it coincides with the general trend of the facts of the case. We know that Faust was alive in 1539 from Begardi's "Index Sanitatis". In the "Table Talk" of Johann Gast (first edition 1544) there is an account of the author's personal experience with Faust. In this work his violent death is described as an event already a little distant. We may safely

l Faligand. La Legende de Faust.

place the date as approximately 1540.

The only other important reference we have to this strange figure is found in John Wier's "De Praestigiuis Daemonum!. The third edition of this work appeared in 1566, in which, according to Faligand, no mention of Faust appears. I have examined the copy of edition of 1568, which is found in the Congressional Library, and the account is given.

Where states that Faust excited considerable attention toward the end of the third decade of the sixteenth century and relates an amusing trick that Faust played on a jailor, the true account of which the author heard from the victim.

The above facts form the basis on which the literary tradition was formed. Our task is now to trace in a brief manner the growth of this tradition.

About 1570, certainly not later than 1575, a citizen of Nuremburg collected the Faust stories that he knew, apparently for the diversion of his family. No manuscript remains, but we know of at least five stories told in this collection:

- 1) How Faust entertained his friends with viands from the table of the kin; of England, whose palace he visited by a journey through the air.
- 2) The hanging of Faust as a spy in England, whither he had flown through the air.
- 3) The trick on the Jew, who was allowed to pull off Faust's leg.

<sup>1</sup> Wier - De Praestigiis Daemonum Ch. III.

<sup>2</sup> witkowski. Paust Commentary.

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- 4) Faust's sale to a dealer of cattle which floated away as bundles of straw when the cattle entered a stream.
- 5) The violent death of Faust.

Above 1575 some wandering student brought together a complete account of Doctor Faustus. No manuscript of this remains, but we are fairly sure that it was the basis of the first written account that has come down to us. This wandering student belonged to the same class of society as Faust evidently, who was himself a sort of wandering vagabond. The compiler added some other remarkable stories to the name of Faust, and made various pseudo-scientific additions. The book appeared in Latin, and was later translated into German without additions.

The first German edition was brought out September 4. 1587 by the publishing house of Johann Spies at Frankfurt-on-Main. This is the basis of all later editions. The work enjoyed immediate success. During 1587 there appeared a revised edition containing eight additional chapters. In 1588 there appeared a rhymed edition of the whole work; before the end of 1588 five editions of the original German publication had appeared. There was another edition containing six extra chapters and two Latin poems. As early as 1588 a Low German edition was brought out, probably in Holland. There is a possibility that the English Faust Book may have been a translation of this last.

the earliest English edition of which we have any definite knowledge is that of 1592, but this bears on the title page the statement that the work is "newly printed and amended". As early as Pebruary 26, 1582, the Bishop of London gave permission for the publication of a Paust Ballad, which is a general sugmary in verse of Spies' book.

Marlowe's "Doctor Facatus" is so obviously founded on Spies publication that a short account of this first popular account is necessary. The edition of 1587 consists of sixty-eight chapters, and is divided into three parts. Part I describes the birth and education of Facat and gives an account of his compact with the devil. Fart II gives the here's conversations with the Evil Che, describes a trip to the infernal regions and a journey through the heavens as well as visits to many parts of the earth. Fart III recounts the adventures of Facat at various courts and the misery of his latter end, which was lightened by his marriage to Helen of Troy, and his joy in their son. Facat finally dies a horrible death at the hands of the devil. Helen and the child vanish.

mation, and this fact accounts for the anti-Catholic tone of it. An illustration of this anti-Roman attitude is furnished by two incidents in the story. First, the devil first appears to Faust as a priest of the Roman Church, and second, he later

<sup>1</sup> For a very good summary of the book, see Coupland: The Spirit of Goethe's Faust.

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makes a demand that Faust renounce completely all idea of lawful marriage. It is hardly necessary to do more turn memtion these facts as showing the strong influence exerted by Reformation thought and feeling on such elements of the legend as these.

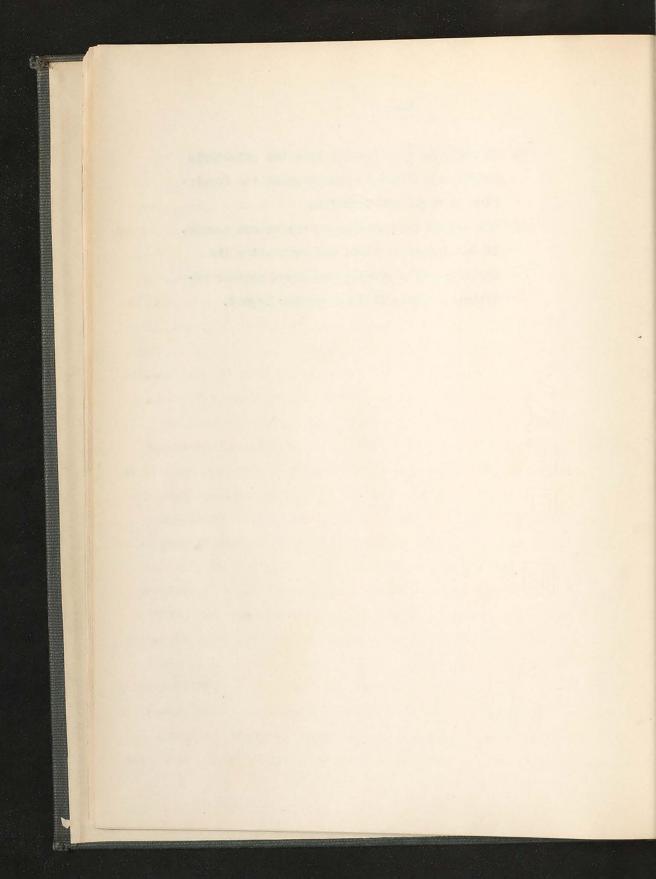
Another prominent characteristic of the legend as told in the caltion of 158V is the curiosity of Faust concerning the nature of the universe. There are rather lengthy conversations with the devil in the second division, dealing with such subjects, and those reflect clearly the intellectual curiosity of the ago, which in so many instances, such as that of Paracelsus, was connected by the popular mind with magic and demonology. Speaking of this tendency to connect original and independent study with the black arts, Godwinl says "At that period it was sufficiently common for any man of deep study, of recluse habits, and a certain sententious and magisterial mein to undergo these imputations (of intercourse with the devil)".

If we examine this legend from a critical point of view, we find four essential characteristics:-

- 1) The legend is Christian and represents the struggle between the powers of evil and the powers of good.
- 2) It is a protestant legend; nay, more, it is belligerently Lutheran and anti-Catholic.

<sup>1</sup> Godwin's Lives of the Necromancers.

- 3) It reflects the struggle that the scientific spirit was forced to make against the imputation of magic and demonism.
- 4) The legend developed among the common people, it was shaped by them, and even after its first printing received numerous popular additions. Hence it is a popular legend,



## III. Marlowe's 'The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus."

In the previous section I have examined the legend which forms the basis of Marlowe's drama as regards its origins, development, and its more prominent characteristics. I shall attempt to discuss the drama itself in view of its relation to its sources, its qualities as a work of Christopher Marlowe, giving some attention to it as a dramatic production of the Elizabethan Age in English Literature.

'The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus" was entered in the Stationers' Books of London January 7, 1600 or 1601. From Henslowe's diary, however, we know that the play was actually performed before that date, and scholars generally agree in fixing the date of composition between 1585 and 1590, on account of internal evidence in the play itself. From Henslowe's diary we know that the drama enjoyed great popularity, for there are records of twenty-five performances in a comparatively short time. The same authority records payments for additions to the play in November of 1602, made by Bird and Rowley. So we may safely conclude that the Quarto of 1604 (the earliest that has come down to us) is a corrupt edition.

a German scholar, tires of his vast knowledge of law, medicine, philosophy and theology. He therefore determines to resort to magic and neoromancy. By the recitation of magic formulae,

he summons Mephistophilis, who at first tries to dissuade him from employing the black arts. Faustus, however, is determined. The two meet again in the scholar's study, where Maustus signs a compact in his own blood with Lucifer, the Prince of Devils. According to this agreement the scholar is to be served by Mephistopholis, who shall do his bidding in all things for twenty-four years, at the end of which time Faustus shall give both his body and soul to the devil. The compact concluded, the victim enquires of Mephistophilis concerning scientific knowledge, but learns little. He is then shown the Seven Deadly Sins, which Lucifer has summoned from hell. Then the wonderful works of Faustus and Mephistophilis are portrayed. They travel over France, Germany, Italy, and many other countries, and we finally see them at Rome, where Faustus becomes invisible and heaps many indignities on the Pope and the Papal Court. The pair next visit the Court of the Emperor Charles V where Faustus calls up the shades of Alexander the Great and his paramour at the request of the Emperor, and causes horns to grow on the head of a courtier who has jeered at his powers. At the court of the Duke of Vanholt he procures ripe grapes in midwinter at the request of the Duchess, Presumably by a magic flight through the air. At enother time, he sells a horse which becomes a bundle of straw in midstream. Returning home, Faustus has Mephistophilis call up the shade of Helen of Troy at the request of some friends.

He becomes enamored of her and takes her for his paramour. Soon the end of the alotted time draws nigh and Faustus is carried off to hell by Lucifer and his angels, in spite of his despairing appeals to heaven. There is no subplot in the play. Faustus' servant Wagner provides much merriment by his antics. especially when he conjures up two devils with magic learned from his master.

The play is introduced by a chorus, which gives the subject and theme. There are fourteen scenes which are not separated into acts, and the drama ends with the chorus which points out the moral of the tale. Blank verse is used almost entirely, except in the scenes with Wagner and other servants, which are low comedy, and therefore in prose.

All the "unities" are disregarded. The play covers a period of twenty-four years instead of twenty-four hours, and the action occurs in Germany. Rome and several other places. The antics of Wagner and others have no bearing on the plot, and in no way contribute to any totality of effect that the drama may possess. Hence no one of the three unities of time, place and action is observed.

Two elements of the mediaeval religious drama survive. In scene six the Seven Deadly Sins appear and in several scenes Faustus is appealed to by an Evil Angel and a Good Angel. These elements are obviously "holdovers" from the mediaeval drama.

As regards dramatic form, then, the play is charac-

teristic of the Elizabethan Age in that,

- 1) A chorus is employed to set forth the subject and theme at the beginning, and the moral at the end.
- 2) It is written in poetry for the most part, while the scenes of low comedy are in prose. It is the blank verse of the first shining light of the age.
- 3) It exhibits the freedom from the classical traditions, especially as regards the three unities.
- 4) The presence of certain elements of the mediaeval drama reflect the work of transition which is characteristic of the dramas of the first years of the age. The lack of division into five acts shows that the play occupies a place of transition between the Elizabethan Age and the old drama.

Much of the blank verse is great postry, which shows us Christopher Marlowe at his best. In the whole range of Elizabethan Drama there is no more exquisite lyric than Faust's apostrophe to Helen:

"Was this the face that launched a thousand ships, And burnt the topless towers of Ilium? Sweet Helen, make me immortal with a kiss.

Oh, thou art fairer than the evening air Clad in the beauty of a thousand stars; Brighter art thou than flaming Jupiter When he appear'd to hapless Semele:

More lovely thou than the monarch of the sky In wanton Arethusa's azur'd arms."

and the tone of the play which clearly reflect Marlowe and the Elizabethan Age. Let us first look at Faustus himself. His was a free spirit, untranmeled by convention, knowledge or religion. This was just the sort of man that would appeal to the strange, meteoric genius of Kit Marlowe. Like Tamburlaine, Faustus's life was ruled by his ambition and lust for power. For it is not really a thirst for knowledge or pleasure that causes the hero to embark upon his career with the devil. Before he has called the devil, Faust says, thinking of his vast knowledge.

"Yet art thou still but Faustus and a men" - Sc 1 - 1. 23. Then turning his thoughts to magic he says,

These metaphysics of magicians,

And necromantic books are heavenly:

Lines, circles, scenes, letters, and characters;

Aye, these are those that Faustus most desires.

O, what a world of profit and delight,

Of power, of honour, of omnipotence,

Is promis'd to the studious artizan!

All things that move between the quiet poles

Shall be at my command: emperors and kings

Are but obeyed in their several provinces.

Nor can they raise the wind, or rend the clouds;

But his dominion that exceeds in this,

Stretcheth as far as doth the mind of man;

A sound magician is a mighty god:

Here, Faustus, tire the brains to gain a deity! Sc I In scene three Faust says to Mephistophilis:

"Had I as many souls as there be stars,
I'd give them all for Mephistophilis.

By him I'll be great Amperor of the world."

It is interesting to compare such lines as these with Tambur-laine's speech:

".....he that conquers Asia,

And means to be a terror to the world,

Measuring the limits of his empery

By east and west, as Phoebus doth his course."

- Tamburlaine, Act. I. Sc. II.

Faustus also resembles the Jew of Halta in his sheer cruelty.

Faustus: "The God thou serv'st is thine own appetite
Wherin is fixed the love of Belzebub;
To him I'll build an altar and a church
And offer luke-warm blood of new-born babes."

Dr. Faustus - Sc. V. 11. 11-15.

Faustus: "And Faustus vows never to look to Heaven,

Mever to name God, or to pray to him,

To burn his Scriptures, slay his ministers,

And make my spirits pull his Churches down."

Sc. VI. - 11. 101-105.

Compare the spirit of these words with that of the words of Barabas:

"First be thou void of these affections
Compassion, love, vain hope, and heartless fear;
Be moved at nothing, see theu pity none.
But to thyself smile when the Christians moan."

- The Jew of Malta, Act. II, Sc. 3, M. 175-179

The characterization of Faustus, then, exhibits the lack of restraint which is found in all of Marlowe's dramas. Like other of his characters, Dr. Faustus, is moved primarily by a lust for power, and like both Tamburlaine and Barabas he exhibits a nature which is essentially unrelieved by the milk of human kindness.

The comedy of the drama consists of the usual kind of horse-play which is so characteristic of the Elizabethan drama. Of course the old cuckhold joke is brought in by Marlowe, just as it was used by so many of his contemporaries. A truly respectable play of this age could not get along without the joke, so Marlowe gives it a prominent place in Scene ten, which describes Maustus' performances at the court of Charles V. Many of Wagner's scenes are horse play, and Faust's doings at the Papal Court, while funny, are extremely rough. We shall discuss these more fully later.

Faustus is the thing. As already noticed, Faust goes to most of the countries in the world, performing all sorts of strange deeds. From the moment when the hero conjures up the devil until he is taken away by demons, something happens every moment. No wonder the play was so popular! We have already alluded to the likeness between Faust and two other of Marlowe's characters. The two qualities that he developed seemed to satisfy the author; his aim was not characterization or philosophy, it was to write a rapid play, and he did it. The audience did not have time to occupy their thoughts with theology or character traits if they wanted to follow the action.

And now let us consider Marlowe's debt to his sources

as regards the actual story, dramatic emphasis and philosophical elements.

The story of the Faust of the drama and the Faust of the German Faustbuch are almost identical; although of course Marlowe's account is much briefer. Both versions agree in the following details:-1) The birthplace of Faust (Roda), 2) his learning, 5) the place and nature of his first three meetings with Mephistophilis, 4) the terms of the compact, and the number of years it covers, 5) Faust's deeds at the court of Charles V, his sale of a horse which turned to straw (cattle in the German source), 6) his connection with Helen, and 7) his death.

Not only did Marlowe follow the German version in all important details of plot, but the philosophy, tone and dramatic emphasis are almost identical in both.

The strong anti-Catholic spirit of the original legend has been noticed, and this same characteristic is evident in "The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus". In the latter, Mephistophilis does not at first appear as a monk, and is straightway requested to do so by Faustus!

Enter (Mephistophilis) a Devil.

Faustus: I charge thee to return and change thy shape;

Thou are too ugly to attend on me.

Go, and return an old Franciscan friar;

That holy shape becomes a devil best."

Sc. III - 11. 26-29.

As in the original legend, Merhistophilis refuses Faust his permission to marry, just as the Roman Church still refuses it to her clergy:-

Mephistophilis: "Tut, Faustus

Marriage is but a ceremonial toy

And if thou lovest me, think no more
of it."

Sc. V. - 11. 153-154.

This antagonism to Rome is shown again in Scene seven, in which much fun and indignity is cast at the Pope.

Marlowe also followed his sources when he identified scientific research in astronomy and other branches of learning with the practice of magic.

Faustus: (to Mephistophilis)

"Now would I have a book where I might see all characters and planets of the heavens that I might know their motions and dispositions.

## Mephistophilis:

"Here they are too.

## Faustus:

"Nay, let me have one book more, - and them I have done, - wherein I might see all plants, herbs, and trees that grow upon the earth.

Sc. V - 11. 173-181.

Both versions place their chief emphasis upon the action of the story, rather than upon any philosophical or

metaphysical ideas. Heither is noticeably didactic in its content. Each tells the story and points a brief moral. The Cerman version ends:

"Thus endeth the whole true history and enchantment of Doctor Faust, wherefrom all Christians, but particularly those of an arrogant, proud, inquisitive and scornful mind and brain, may learn to fear God, to flee enchantments, and all other devil's work......Amen, Amen. "I

Marlowe points his moral in the following manner:

Chorus: "Cut is the branch that might have grown full straight.

And burned is apollo's laurel bough,

That semetimes grew within this learned man.

Faustus is gone; regard his hellish fall,

Whose fiendful fortune may exhort the wise

Only to wonder at unlawful things,

Whose deepness doth entice such forward wits

To practise more than heavenly power permits."

Sc. XIV - 11. 132-148.

"The wages of sin is death" is the moral of both accounts. The powers of heaven will not come to the aid of the despairing Faust, who began as a scholar, became degenerate and morally inebriated, and was finally carried off to hell.

In the above examination of The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus. I have tried to point out the following characteristics:

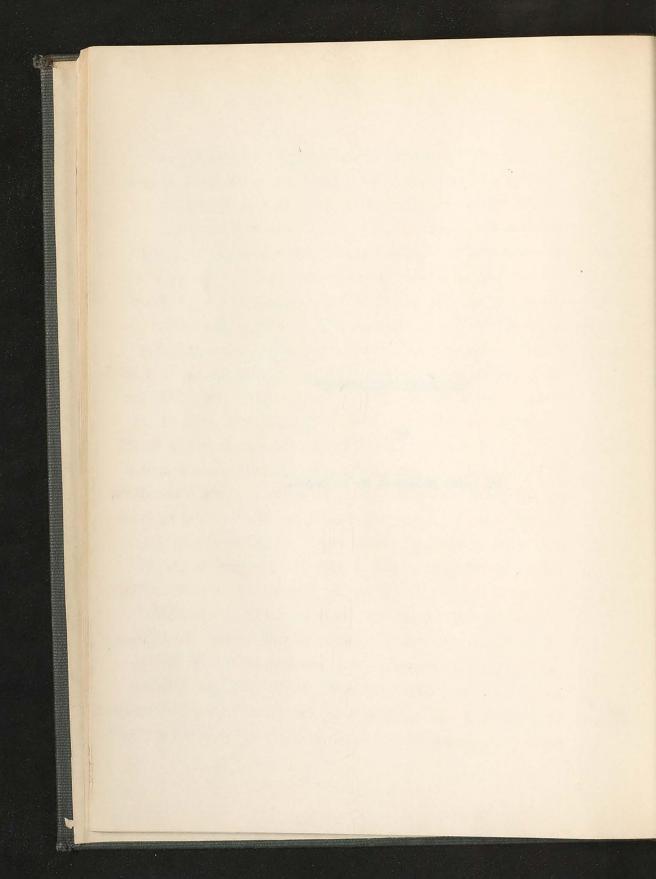
<sup>1</sup> Coupland: The Spirit of Goethe's Faust.

- 1) That the play is typical of the Elizabethan Age as regards its dramatic form, its literary medium, the quality of its humor, and its emphasis on action.
- 2) That it is typical of Marlowe in its general theme, the quality and form of verse, its lack of artistic characterization and restraint.
- 3) That it is strikingly similar to its sources in plot, its attitude towards the Roman Church, and the philosophical conclusion that is reached.

"EL MÁGICO PRODICIOSO"

by

D. Pedro Calderón de la Barca.



The consideration of "Al Lagico Prodigioso" of Calderon presents a difficulty not found in the study of Marlowe's drama. The Elizabethan dramatist used contemporary material and the spirit of his times colored his work. We of the twentieth century can understand the spirit of freedom and boisterousness which that age displays; we can understand more or less thoroughly the secular spirit which characterizes its drama. Not so with the Spain of the seventeenth century. Try as we may, we cannot enter vicariously into that spirit of superstition, loyalty, and religious fanaticism. The world shudders at the Inquisition, rather than attempts to comprehend the attitude of mind which produced it.

It must be remembered that the same fervor of spirit which erected and supported the Inquisition was not so much a spirit of hatred and cruelty as of simple and passionate faith. A heretic was not a man who angered the true believer by holding contrary opinions; he was a murderer of souls whose example and influence tended to damm all with whom he came in contact to eternal hell fire. As such he was to retract these opinions or pay the extreme penalties worthy of his crime. The religious faith which produced so much torture was in many ways very simple and beautiful. The Spaniard of the Sevonteenth century believed implicitly in the power and goodness of God, and adored the Virgin Mary as his own Heavenly Mother. His worldly riches and his sword belonged to the King, his soul

to God. Calderón has well expressed the feelings of his age when he writes:

"Al Rey la hacienda y la vida Se ha de dar; pero el honor Es patrimonio del alma, Yel alma sólo es de Dios."

But the other side of the picture must not be neglected. The faithful, (and few who were not faithful were left alive,) were inclined to divorce faith from reason; they believed with simple credulity and superstition all the miraculous accounts of saints, and martyrs, and, in fact, every story which bore the authority of the Church. Saints and martyrs were no more real than the devil and his angels, and not half so long-lived or wily. As always, Spain was at least fifty years behind the other countries of Europo in her attitude of mind and intellect.

The leaders in every field of activity were proud to number themselves among the priestly orders. According to Buckle<sup>1</sup> "In that country, the Church retained her hold over the highest as well as over the lowest intellects. Such was the pressure of public opinion, that authors of every grade were proud to count themselves members of the ecclesiastical profession, the interests of which they advanced with a zeal worthy of the Dark Ages." Speaking of Calderon, the same authority says, "Calderon was Chaplain to Philip IV; and so fanatical are the sentiments which tarnish his brilliant genius,

<sup>1</sup> History of Civilization in England, Vol. II, p. 38-39

that he has been termed the post of the Inquisition. His love for the Church was a passion, and he scrupled at nothing which could advance its interests. In Spain such feelings were natural; though to other nations they seem so strange."

In the study of a drama of this age and author, therefore, it is necessary that we try in some measure to enter into that spirit of superstition, simple, implicit faith, and fanatical proselytism.

1 History of Civilization in England, Vol. II, p. 40

## IV. The Sources of "El Magico Prodigioso".

Unfortunately, I have been unable to investigate the sources of the play in any adequate manner. Several books to which I shall refer could not be obtained, nor could any information concerning their contents. Hence the development of the legond cannot be satisfactorily discussed.

The hero of "El Magico" is Saint Cyprian of Antioch, who suffered martyrdom under Diocletian, October 6, 280. The Golden Legend, a collection of the lives of saints and martyrs, compiled by Jacques de Voragine in the thirteenth century, contains a detailed account of Cyprian, and this book seems to have been one of the principal sources of Calderon's play. The legend is as follows:

Saint Justine, Virgin and Martyr.

(September 23)

Justine was the daughter of a pagan priest of Antioch. Every day, sitting at her window, she heard the Gospel preached by Proclus; and thus it was that she was converted to the Christian faith. Her mother discussed her conversion with her father one night, as they lay in bed. And when they had gone to sleep, Christ appeared to them, surrounded by angels, and said, "Come unto me, and I will give you the kingdom of heaven." On waking, they were baptized along with their daughter.

Saint Justine suffered a great deal from the machina-

<sup>1</sup> The above account is a translation from the French of Teodor Wyzewa. - La Legande Doree, Paris 1911.

tions of a magician called Cyprian; she ended by bringing him over to the faith of Christ. This Cyprian, who had given himself over to the works of the devil from the age of seven years, practised the magic arts, and knew how, for example, to change women into horses. Falling in love with Justine, he had recourse to his magic to gain possession of her, as well as to free her from a certain Acladius, who was ocually as enamoured of the young girl as Cyprian himself. He then called up the devil. who avreared and demanded to know what Cyprian desired of him. Cyrian replied "I love a young girl of the sect of the Galileans. Can you arrange for me to gain possession of her?" And the devil: "Why should I not be able? I, who have been able to eject man from paradise, to compel Cain to kill his brother, to lead the Jews to kill Christ, and to give trouble and to corrupt all humanity? Take this ungent and rub it on the door of her house, and I. soon, shall kindle in her heart a great love for you." The following night, the demon approached Justine and tried to excite her heart to this criminal passion. But she, sensing the danger, commended herself miously to God, and fortified herself with the sim of the cross. At this sim, the devil, affrighted, fled and came back to Cyprian, to whom he admitted his defeat. Cyprian dismissed him, and called up a more powerful devil. and this one said - "I know your wish, and I have seen the discomfiture of my colleague. But I shall fare better than he, and I shall succeed where he failed." After which he

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went to Justine's dwelling, and tried to kindle in her heart a love for Cyprian. But the saint again resisted the temptation by the sign of the oross. Then Cymlan invoked the prince of devils and said to him: "Your bower, then, is so small that a young girl can overcome it? The devil, very nettled, took the form of a young girl and approaching Justine, said to her, "I come in order to live with you in chastity, but first please tell me this, what will be the reward of our efforts?" Justine: "The reward will be great, and the sacrifice small." Then the devil: "But has not God ordered man to marry and replenish the earth? I fear, dear friend, that by persevering in the ways of chastity, we disober God rather to satisfy him." And Justine, under the influence of the devil, began to doubt, and her heart became inflammed with passion to such an extent that already she wished to rise and go in search of a lover. But soon, coming to her senses, and realizing with whom she was dealing she fortified herself by making the sign of the cross, and the devil vanished. He then took the form of a handsome youth, approached her in the bed where she was sleeping, and wished to throw himself upon her and embrace her. But Justine, aware of the evil spirit, repelled him with the sign of the cross. Then the devil, with the permission of God, overwhelmed her with fever and spread the disease in the town of Antioch, and had proclaimed by the possessed that all the town would perish if Justine did not con-

sent to take a husband. Soon the crowd pressed in front of the house of Justine's parents, demanding that the young girl should be given over to a husband in order to avert the plague. But she, after having resisted for seven years, prayed for them and the epidemic disappeared.

Finelly seeing the uselessness of these tricks, the devil took the form of Justine, to destroy the reputation of the saint. Under this disguise, he causs to Cyprian and throws nimself into his arms. And Cyprian, mad with joy, cried "You've come, Justine, most beautiful of women". But the devil could not support hearing the name of Justine, and inmediately vanished in snoke. And Cyprian, seeing himself deceived, was filled with sadness. For a long time he watched before the door of the young girl, transforming himself first into a woman, then into a bird, but before her he was neither woman nor bird, but immediately took his natural form. And also Acladius, who had been transformed by magic into a sparrow, and flew before the window of Justine, took his own form again as soon as she saw him. And his fear was extrape, since he was afraid of killing himself by his fall. But Justine had nity on him, and made him descend by a ladder. renouncing his sins if he did not wish to expose himself to dammation as a magician.

Then Cyprian called up the devil for the last time, and said to him: "Tell me, I pray you, in what lies the power

of this girl?' And the devil: "I will tell it to you, if you consent to swear solemnly to me that you will never turn away from me." And Cyprian: "I swear it to you." Then the devil: "It is by making the sizn of the cross that the young girl destroyed all my power." And Cryprian "Then the Crucified has more power than you?" And the devil: "He has more power than all the rest of the world, and it is he who hands over to oternal fire all those that we succeed in seducing." Then Cyprian: Then, I myself ought to become the friend of the Crucified, in order to escape this fate?" And the devil: "You have solemly swom to me that you will never forsake me." But Cyprian "I despise you and all your vain power, and I rensuree you and all your devils, and I fortify myself with the sign of the Cross." And immediately the devil fled in great confusion. They Cyprian went to the bishop, who, beliering that he came to molest the Christians, said to him "Those other things which are outside the Church are enough for you; against the Church, you have no power." But Cyprian told him what had happened, and demanded of the bishop to bo bertized. And, afferwards, he was so highly distinguished as much for his knowledge as well as for the virtue of his life, that on the death of the bishop, he himself was ordained bishop. He got Justine to enter a convent, where she became abbess of a large number of saintly young girls. And often Saint Cyprian would write letters to martyrs in order to encourage them in their struggles. Then the governor of the district had Cyprian and Justine brought before him,

and enjoined them to sacrifice to idols. And since they persisted in the faith of Christ, he had them thrown into a cauldron full of wax, pitch and tallow. But they did not experience any discomfiture, any more than if they had been in a basin of cool water. Then the priest of the idols said to the prefect: "Let me go before the cauldron, and immediately I shall overcome the power of these two impostors." And when he was in front of the cauldron, he cried out "Great is Hercules, and great Jupliter, the father of the Gods." And immediately there swept out a flame which consumed him. Then Cyprian and Justine were taken out of the cauldron and beheaded. Their bodies remained exposed to the dogs for seven years, they were then carried to Rome and rest today, it is said, at Plaisance. Their martyrdom took place under Diocletian, October 6, 280.

In the fifth century, the Greek Empress Eudoxia wrote a poem in three books, which told in Greek hexameters the story of Cyprian and Justina. The first and second books of Eudoxia's poem remain. They were discovered by Bandini in the Medican Library and given out as a priceless jewel, with an excellent Latin translation. The Greek manuscript of the first book was headless, the ending of the second book was missing.

We do not know Eudozia's sources but it is thought

<sup>1</sup> For the data concerning Eudoxia's poem, see Gregorovius "Cyprien von Antiochien."

The Confession of Cyprian", to which Gregory of Nazianz referred in his eighteenth homily. As a matter of fact, it is impossible to follow the Cyprian story with any degree of certainty, for most of the old writers have hopelessly confused the saint of Antioch with Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, Gregorovius notices this inaccuracy in Eudoxia's poem.

Book I of the poem gives the history of Justina, who became a convert to Christianity and in turn converted her parents. Cyprian, a pagan magician resorted to magio in order to obtain possession of her. She foils the power of the devil, and Cyprian seeing the power of Christ, embraces Christianity. Book II gives the history of Cyprian, describing his youth as a ragan at Athens, his unholy enquiries into natural science, his travels, his compact with the devil and his embracing of the Christian faith. This book follows the account of the "Molden Legend" as closely as the first does. In it there is an account of a phantom Justina, who suddenly vanishes. Cyprian and Aglaidas (Acladius) on several occasions take the forms of birds, as in the "Golden Legend". The old Jewish concept of the propitiation of evil spirits with blood is also found. In almost every important detail the Empress' account follows that of "La Lagenda Aurea", so we may safely conclude that she was entirely familiar with the legend. She adds stories of many journeys into Asia and

<sup>2</sup> Cyprien von Antiochen. - note on p. 257.

Africa, and gives many contemporary ideas of natural science; these may have been aloat in connection with Cyprian's fame at the time, for they are characteristic of nearly every magician's life, or they may be her own inventions.

It has never been definitely established that Eudoxia's book was known to Calderón; even if it was not, it may have influenced other versions of the story with which he was acquainted.

We cannot in this discussion, at least, go much more deeply into the question of the author's sources. Shack gives as sources the following: "In Coecilii Cypriani Episcapi Carthaginiensis Opera," "Thesaurus novus Anecdatarum" of Martene and Durand, and as the immediate source, "De probatis Sanctorum Actis" of de Surius. These works have not been obtainable, and therefore cannot be considered here. To the modern reader the story of Cyprian and Justina is accessible in Baring Gould's "Lives of the Saints" and in any other work which deals at all completely with the same subject.

This legend is only one of many similar stories, which are found in the traditions of the Catholic Church.

The most famous of all is the legend of Theophilus of Adama, who lived in the sixth century, and was an official of the Church. Theophilus sells his soul to the devil by a compact, in order to obtain means of revenging himself on his superior, who had acted unjustly toward him. He is saved by the Virgin

l Historia de la Literatura y del Arte Dramatico en Espana - note on pp. 308-309, Vol. IV.

Mary, who restores to him the compact he has made with the Evil One, in answer to the prayers of the monk.

The story of Cyprian and Justina has many characteristics not found in the Faust legend. Each is Christian and has as its central figure a man who sells his soul to the devil, but the legend now under consideration is different in the following respects:

- 1) It is a Catholic legend.
- 2) It is ecclesiastical rather than popular. It was handed down by the Church and the atmosphere is intensely religious. The love story, for example, centers about a Christian saint and martyr rather than a pagan enchantress.
- 3) It advocates celibacy, which in the Faust legend is emphatically denounced as an invention of the devil.
- 4) The emphasis is placed more strongly on the question of salvation, and the devil's victim finally repents and is saved, instead of suffering eternal damnation.

## V. Calderon's "El Mágico Prodigioso".

As with "The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus", my plan is to discuss Calderon's drama in the light of its literary and dramatic qualities, as the product of its author and his age, and as a drama of magic and philosophy.

Besides the one under discussion, Calderón wrote twelve other religious dramas, and a great many "autos sacramentales". His strongly religious and ecclesiastical tendencies have already been noticed, and are strongly reflected in "El Magico". His dramas of the former genure are generally considered to best represent his genius as a dramatist and thinker. They certainly aided in placing him shead of all the dramatists of his own time, however far removed in spirit they are from later ages.

Cipriano, mediatating on the nature of God, his mind not yet free from the shades of Paganism, seeks the true faith, while the populace of antioch is dedicating a temple to the worship of Jupiter. The devil, in order to prevent him from arriving at the truth presents himself in the form of a gentleman and tries by argument to lead Cyprian to the wrong conclusions. Cipriano is victorious in the discussion, and the Evil One determines to conquer his adversary by appealing to the sensual side of his nature. Justina, the daughter of a Christian martyr is chosen for this object and

<sup>1</sup> See Shack: Vol. IV

also for the second victim of the corruptor. The plan is quickly put into execution. Floro and Lelio, two youths who are blindly in love with Justina seek the mediation of Cipriano. Cipriano tries to mediate between the young Christian and her lovers, and falls madly in love with her. While Lelio and Floro wait in front of her house for her reply which he is to bring, the devil comes down from her window, and the two lovers become suspicious of the maiden and each renounces her. Cipriano, having been refused by the young Christian, becomes desperate, and flees to a desolate sea shore. As if in agreement with his emotional struggle, a great storm arises; he sees a ship sink and a lone survivor of the wreck comes ashore. It is the same devil in another shape. With an allegorical vagueness, he tells the story of his rebellion against God and his consequent fall, and insinuates the greatness of his own power over naturo, purposing in this way to draw his coils around Cipriano, who is anxious to satisfy his passion for Justina. There follows the sale of Cipriano's soul by the compact of blood, and in consequence of this the promise of the hero's possession of Justina. But the devil knows the weakness of his arts against a strong will, and therefore tries to tempt Justina, producing birds, flowers and vines as lascivious servants, but these avail little, and he leaves the field conquered. Cipriano then tries his magic arts, recently learned from Satan, and conjures up the image of Justina. But on embracing her, he finds only a skeleton which remarks

on the transitory nature of worldly things. Horrified and confused, he realizes that his arts have availed him nothing, and he tells the Devil that the compact is no longer valid, because Satan has not complied with his part of it. The devil tremblingly confesses under pressure from Cipriano, that Justina is protected by power higher than his own, and that this power is exercised by the God of the Christians. Cipriano in his anguish then prays to God, and his prayer vanquishes the enchantment of Satan. The devil abandons the field and Cipriano becomes a Christian, reveals his faith at Antioch before the Governor, and is condemned to martyrdom. Justina has already been condemned to the same fate. The two meet, and in an inspired scene Cipriano relates his conversion and the two go out together to give their lives for the true faith. Satan, riding a serpent enters after the Christians have been decapitated, and amounces that a higher power than his own has ordered him to clear the reputations of Justina and Cipriano who are now in heaven.

Let us consider the dramatic and literary form of the drama. Calderon had little choice in this respect. His great predecessor Lope de Vega had standardized the dramatic form. Following his tradition, Calderon divided his drama into three acts. As in the classic French plays, there is a change of some whenever there is an entrance or exit. The medium is poetry, as in all the dramas of the Golden Age.

In this period of Spanish drama, the "comedia de oapa y espada", or the comedy occerned with amorous intrigue

was one of the most popular types, and there are unmistakable evidences of this "sword and cape" drama in "El Magico". The amorous intrigue of Floro and Lelio makes a subplot which is simply one of these little comedias thrown into a religious and philosophical play.

This is not the only extraneous element. As in all the dramas of that day, the audience must have some one to appeal directly to their sense of humor. So we have three conventional "graciosos" in a conventional situation - two servants in love with the same servant girl.

This discussion of parallel and sub-plots brings us to the question of the "unities". As in Marlowe's play, all three are disregarded. We have just noticed extraneous situations in the plot. The scenes of the play are laid in several places, and the time covered is over one year, since Cipriano studies for that period with Satan, after the compact and before his miracles.

As regards form, the following conventions of the Golden Age have been observed.

- 1) The number of acts and the division of scenes,
- 2) The use of a "sword and cape" sub-plot,
- 3) The introduction of conventional "graciosos",
- 4) The disregard of the Greek unities.

There are several other characteristics of the Golden Age drama. One striking fact is the treatment of the

"point of honor". The old adage

"Mujer honrada

Pierna quebrada

Y en casa" applied to the drama as well as private life, and as in all dramas of the period, no married woman appears, and the heroine herself is under the constant protection of her foster-father. Like the respectable maiden that she is, Justina is an orphan. Speaking of the "pundonor" in the Spanish drame, Menendez y Pelayo says: "Por lo que hace a las relaciones de familia, el drama castellano excluía casi completamente del cuadro de sus escenas el matrimonio: la madre jamas aparace; está oculta en el Baneta Sanctorum del hogar; la heroina es habitualmente una hija soltera, huerfana de madre y sujeta a la autoridad del padre o de un hermano, celoso guardador de su honra y muy propenso a la ira. Si la mujer casada aparece alguna vez, suele ser con los nobles rasgos de la honrada mujer de Garcia del Castanar o de La Luna de la Sierra, y si por caso raro sale a la escena, es como entre nubes; y tras el crimen y la deshonra viene el castigo tremendo, y la justicia patriarcal y barbara que demuestra la rareza de las infracciones."1

The poetry of the drama is characteristic of the author and the age. It exhibits the "cultermanismo" which is one of the worst faults of Spanish literature. Often the simplest idea is expressed in the most artificial and stilted

<sup>1</sup> P. 93 in Calderón y su Teatro, par D. Marcelino Menendez y Pelayo.

language. A spade was almost always a "horticultural implement" as in the days of Pope when "fine writing" held sway over naturalness and simplicity of expression. For example, Cipriano orders his two servents to meet him at a certain place in the following words:

"Idos los dos á Antioquia,
Gozad de sus fiestas várias,
Y volved por mí á este sitio
Cuando el sol cayendo vaya
A sepultarse en las ondas,
Que entre oscuras nubes pardas
Al gran cadáver de oro
Son monumentos de plata.
Aquí me hallareis."

Act. I. Sc. 1.

If we take into consideration the literary traditions of the age, it is evident that this "culteranismo" is not so marked in the drama as we might be led to expect. And there are many simple and beautiful passages of poetry. The scene in which Justina is tempted is particularly well done, as Menendez y relayo has pointed out. It contains a lovely lyric which reminds one of those so often introduced into their plays by the Elizabethans. The reading or any scene in the play, whether marred by culteranismo or not will convince us that Calderón was an artist in his use of language and raythms.

He was not so fortunate in his characterizations.

It was very difficult for men who wrote so many dramas as did Love and Calderón to give to all of their immunerable characters any distinctive personality, and it is generally agreed that lack of characterization is the most usual defect of Calderón's work. In "El Magico" the characters are markedly typical. Justina is in many respects merely a very conventional heroine in a drama which concerned itself greatly with the "pundonor", as already noticed. Lelio, Floro, and the graciosos we have already noticed as typical. Cipriano's career is typical of the lives of many of the saints, and few of his qualities as an individual are portrayed. The devil seems the same gentleman who appears in many other plays of the same age under the same name. We shall discuss the conception of the devil in another connection later on.

as in the Golden Legend. The story is also essentially the same. True, the Cirriano of the Legend is represented as a magician from the beginning, while Calderon's hero is merely a pagan philosopher who is seeking God. The Acladius of the original becomes Floro and Lelio, comic servants are added but these changes have been shown to be characteristic of the age. Calderon has left out the entrance of the hero and heroine into holy orders, but this was probably done in order to facilitate the dramatic adaptation of the legend.

In point of time Calderón was farther removed from his sources than Marlowe was from his, but spiritually the Spanish dramatist was in perfect harmony with the legend that

he used. He evidently wrote the drama with aneye to teaching a lesson. He employed an old Church legend in dramatic form in order to inculcate the doctrines and beliefs of the Church; men saw their thoughts personified in the actors on the stage. It was a challenge made by the Roman Church.

Two concepts in this play are very striking; the doctrine of free will and the pantheism that is treated.

The Church believed that man was put on earth to exercise his free will - his "libre albedrio". He made his own choice between God and Satan. Cipriano expresses this attitude when, speaking of his soul, he says to Satan:

"Lo que ofreci está en mi mano
Pero lo que tú me ofreces
No está en la tuya, pues hallo
Que sobre el libre albedrio
Ni hay conjuros ni hay encantos."

Here we have the philosophical concept which underlies the drawn - man's power of choice. This is an old Jewish concept<sup>2</sup>, which the Talmud states as follows: "Everything is ordained by God's providence, but freedom of choice is given to man," and this is morely a prose statement of Calderon's idea. This doctrine of free will is emphasized throughout the play. Justina, when threatened by the dovil, defends herself with her own will and her power as a Christian:

<sup>1</sup> Act. II - Sc. 19. 2 See Mielziner: Introduction to the Talmud., p. 270

Demonio: ¿Como te has de defender Si te arrastra mi poder?

Justina: Mi defensa en Dios consiste

- Earlier she has replied to the same question "Sabiendome yo ayudar
Del libre albedrio mio."1

Another philosophic idea to be noted is the pantheistic element. The devil tries to implant love longings in the heart of Justina by the use of flowers, birds, and plants. Re says:

"De mil torpes fantasmas que en el viento

Su casto pensamiento

Hay so forme, su honesta fantasia

Le llene; y con dulcisima armonia

Todo provoque amores

Tos pajaros, las plantas y las flores.

Mada miren sus ojos,

Que no sean de amor dulces despejos;

Mada cigan sus oidos,

que no sean de amor tiernos gemidos."2

It is an important point that it is the devil who uses these agents, so evidently Greek in their conceptions, to appeal to the young girl through the medium of the senses. Calieron has thus paid his tribute to Greek pantheism by stamping it an implement of the devil. His Catholic conscience had no place for such pagan horesies.

<sup>1</sup> Act III. Sc. 6. 2 Act III. Sc. 4.

Despite the magical performances, the love intrigue, and the "graciosos", the dramatic emphasis is upon the idea of the play, which asserts anew the power of Christianity over paganism and the wiles of the devil. Calderón simply states that magic, the power of the devil and all the things of this world are mere vanity. The old Heorew idea of the vanity of worldly things receives great emphasis. Cipriano, embracing the Justine which magic has called up, finds only a skeleten which says to him:

"Asi, Cipriano, son

Todas las glorias del mundo."

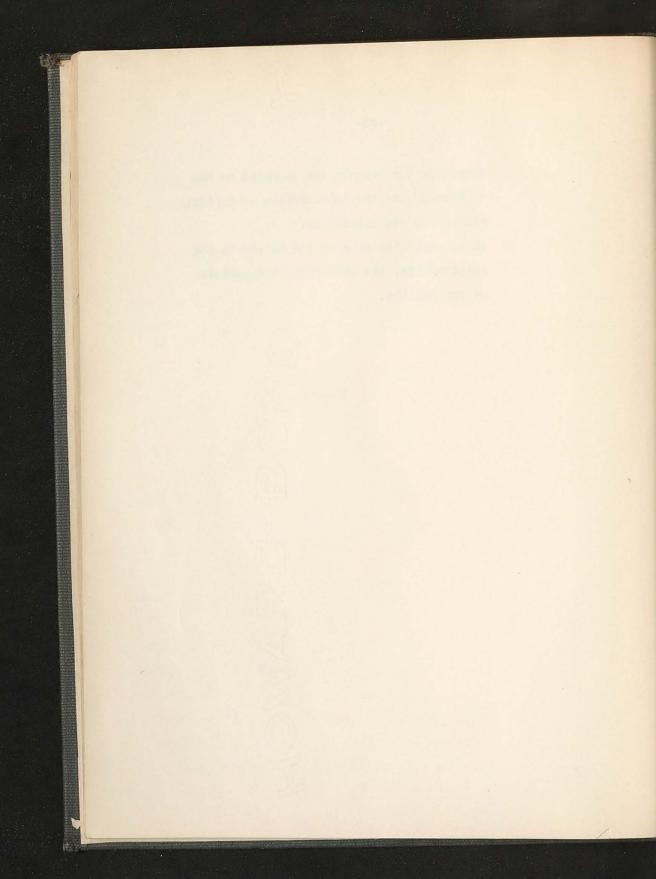
It is this belief which makes Cipriano and Justina willing martyrs at the end of the play. The drame was not a more thing of amusement, but an eulogy of the Church of Rome - the Church which as the representative of God on earth always held out salvation to those who repented, even to magicians like Cipriano.

The drame, then, has the following general characteristics.

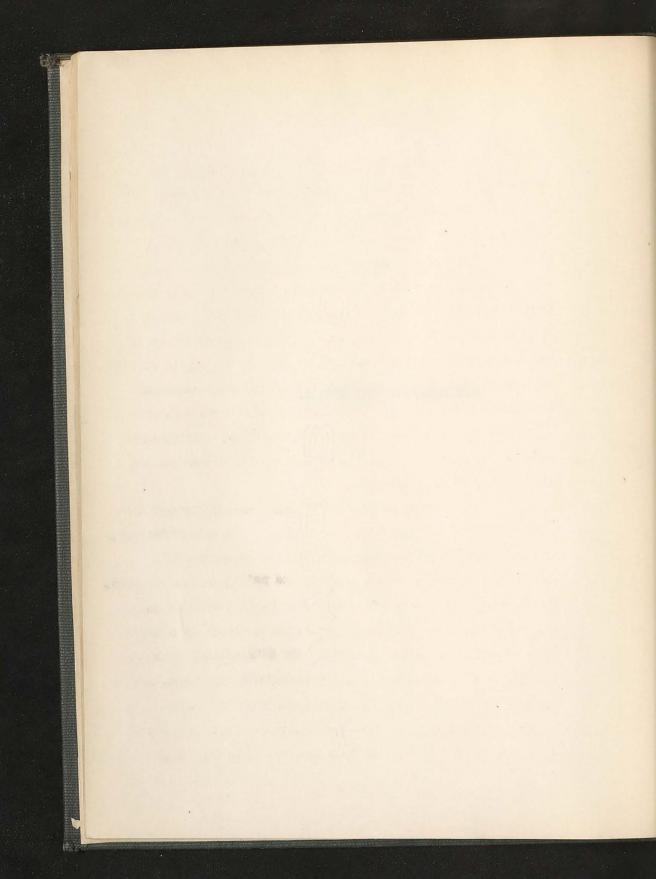
- 1) It deals with the early struggle of Christianity against Taganism, and is concerned with the question of the salvation of the erring and repentant.

  It is thus harmonious in spirit with its scurces.
- 2) It is characteristic of its age in literary and dramatic form and in several other essential

- elements, for example the emphasis on the "pundonor" and the introduction of typical characters and situations.
- 5) It is characteristic of its author in its spirituality, its philosophy and certain of its defects.



COMPARISON OF THE DRAMAS.



In the separate discussion of the plays it has been my purpose to examine each in regard to its fundamental features, and to account for these by consideration of sources, nationality, and authors. The dramatic forms need not detain us. The arrangement of each play arose from a more or less arbitrary convention of dramatic technique, which was almost universal in its own age and nation. The study of this aspect of the plays, then, would lead us far afield in the matter of mere technique, which could in no way be pertinent to the limits set for this paper. The real emphasis must necessarily fall on those factors which were influenced by mental attitudes and religious conceptions. Having taken this as our field of investigation, let us note briefly the main points to be considered.

The sources of Marlowe's drama were Protestant and popular; those of Calderon's play Catholic and ecclesiastical.

These facts must necessarily give rise to differences in spirit and tone, dramatic emphasis, and philosophical concepts.

The nationality of each play must also be reflected in the play itself, not only because the mental attitude of a nation must color its literature, but by mere geographical location one nation is necessarily subject to certain influences with which another has little contact. Hence, the drama of Spain naturally reflects many Oriental ideas, which had no effect on a country as far removed from the Orient as England.

If the intellectual characterists of two national minds differ, we may logically expect a difference in their philosophies, in other words, their philosophical conclusions will not be the same. We shall attempt to show that such conclusions, as stated in the plays, arise from the factors mentioned.

## VI. A Comparison of the Sources, Philosophy and Idea of the Flage.

Perhaps nothing illustrates better the difference in the spirit of the two logends than the attitude of each towards marriage. In the Faust story, the devil demands that the hero abjure the bonds of matrimony and satisfy the sensual side of his nature by unholy pleasure with such enchantresses as Helen of Troy. This part of the legend is merely an expression of the popular antagonism of Protestant Germany towards the collbacy of the priesthood, which the Church of Rome demanded of her clergy. The men of the Reformation found it very easy to show their contempt for such a restriction by having the devil enjoin celibacy and corruption upon his own followers.

shows us the devil advocating matrimony, thinking to corrupt
Justina by convincing her of the necessity of the married state.
Unlike the Protestant legend, the Catholic story was trying
to inculcate a doctrine rather than to cast aspersion on any
particular religious institution. The legend is one of great
antiquity, and echoes the sentiment of a far-off time, when
the lonely places of southern Europe and northern Africa were
peopled with anchoritos, whose idea of salvation demanded that
they renounce all worldly ties. Here, then, is an idea which
has influenced the church for conturies, and which
stands out as uniquely Catholic and Mediaeval.

The Bust logend is the more modern in spirit and in point of ime. It grew up among people who were by no means free from superstitious terror, but who had begun to assert intellectual and spiritual freedom and were neginning to be occupied with the simple joy of living. This attitude of mind was above all calculated to place a greater emphasis on Secular rather than ecclesiastical considerations. Not so with the mediaeval church, which formulated the Cyprian story and propogated it. The joy of living had little place in its attitude of mind, and secular things were of their very nature transitory and of no importance when compared with theological and dogratical interests. The Church and its faithful took care to hand down the legend to postcrity as a moral treatise; it was not so much for ordertainment as for the strengthening of the faith. The emphasis was therefore placed on the element of magic only enough to show its utter futility. whereas the Faunt legend seems to play with it as a force which may help to make a good tale and thereby brighten commonplace existence.

The seeds of each of the sources fell on good ground. The secular Faust legend found its way to Mizebethan ingland, which was occupied with the business of living and was much less inclined to any real interest in religion than was fermany. England has escaped much of the fancticism that was terrifying the continent, by her insular position, and her dramatists reflect the tone of comperative religious levity

which reigned at the time. The Elizabethans might believe that the devil was as simister as he had been painted, or they might not; in either case they could not take him very seriously.

The Cyprian legend found minds no less in accord with its spirit. We have already noticed the smeratitious and fanatical trend of the Spanish intellect in the Seventeenth Century, an intellect which conceded to the Church all its resources. This mind could not take snything with much levity, and Church traditions and legends could never provide boisterous amusement. The character of the devil in these plays presents a great contrast between a carefree attitude and one of great seriousness. Marlowe's Mephistophilis and Lucifer are infernal beings who use their power not only to enslave the souls of men, but to play rather coarse jokes on human beings. Even the Pope is made absurd and ridiculous. Mephistophilis can give Faustus a book containing much knowledge, but he is no scholar or theologican. His chief characteristics are a love of mischief for mischief's sake, and a certain clownishness of temperament. Calderon's devil is a far more sinister figure. He is contemptible in many ways. but he is always productive of awe. Is it a question of theology? Then the devil is not chagrined. He can urge Cyprian to an unholy use of knowledge by a very ant definition of ignorance:

"Esa es la ignorancia, A'la vista de las ciencias, No saber aprovecharlas."

When worsted in an intellectual argument, he has instant resource to other means of attaining his ends, namely, by an appeal to man's sensual nature.

In fact, the devil has a much more difficult task in Calderon's drama. He is not called up by a man eager to sign a compact as in Marlowe's play, but only by constant endeavor does he make sure of Cipriano, in whom he inspires much greater respect than in Faustus. In each play a woman is produced by magic. A devil dressed as a woman comes to Faustus and Mephitophilis says, "Tell me Faustus, how dost thou like thy wife?" Faustus replies, "A plague on her for a hot whore." Cipriano never addressed his devil with so little respect. After his disillusionment by the phantom Justina, he says to the devil: "Lucero, sabio moestro!

Que del mucho

Horror que padezco absorto,

Rescates hoy mi discurso."2

Furthermore, these two speeches illustrate fairly accurately the difference in the moral tone of the plays.

There is nothing of the vulgar and obscene in the Spanish drama, while the former quotation is only one of several similar speeches in Marlowe's "Doctor Faustus". The former play con-

<sup>1</sup> Doctor Faustus. Sc. 15. 2 El Magico Prodigiosos - Act. III. Sc. 15.

sistently adheres to a tone of dignity which is in accord with the purpose of the writer and the nature of his sources, and stands out in contrast to the typically Elizabethan horseplay and vulgarity of Marlowe. This contrast is very natural between a secular drama produced by a secular author and age, and a pious drama written by a monk of the Seventeenth Century in Spain.

The harmony of spirit between each play and its sources becomes more and more striking. The secular Faust legend engendered a non-didactic drama which placed its emphasis on secular things; the Cyprian legend engendered a drama which emphasized the things of the spirit. Calderon's main attention is paid to theological and philosophical considerations.

The Spanish mind has always been in close contact with that of the Orient, and certain elements of the play reflect this influence. It is often characterized by a mystic quality entirely lacking in the English intellect. "El Magico" reflects some of these mystical Eastern conceptions. The magic tempest which Satan raises to conceal his identity from Cipriano is a sort of echo from the East, where natural phenomena are most violent and productive of terror. The confusion of nature when the martyrdom of Cipriano and Justina occurs mingles the element of awesome superstititon and faith, for all nature was supposed to tremble at the death of martyrs.

The emphasis on the Hebrew concept of free will -

"el libre albedrio", has already been noticed. This had become one of the beliefs of the Church, but in the drama of no other nation do we find it so strongly emphasized. The reason for this emphasis may have been merely the intense Catholicism of spain, but it would seem more natural to attribute it, in part at least, to the influence which the Jews exercised over the Spanish intellect during their long sojourn in the country.

The pantheism in the drama so evidently Greek, must be attributed to the wave of Neoplatonism which swept over Spain, for it was through that country that this system of philosophy entered modern Europe. In the dramatic use of it here, we see the aggressive spirit of Spanish Catholicism, which successfully fought every other faith with which Spain dame into contact during invasions that she suffered and the many conquests that she made.

On the other hand, Marlowe's "Doctor Faustus" can not be called a philosophical play. It was written for the diversion of the audience, and had no doctrines to propogate, no really moral interest to serve. The Elizabethans were not interested in philosophy or theology; like Faustus they were glad to throw them aside in order to get the most pleasure out of living.

The dramatic emphasis of the plays, on account of this difference of aim and content, is not the same. The

\* South as pro-portestant and as having a moral tag

Jus Adamy

Elizabethans demanded action, and the dramatic supply was equal to the demand. Shakespeare was a philosopher in the best sense of the word, but he never allowed anything to hinder the action of his plays. The playwrights of his time had nothing to advocate, nothing to explain. Their interest was not man as a religious or social being, but man as a human being. Like his contemporaries, Marlowe held no brief in his play; his aim was to tell a good story, and he therefore placed his dramatic emphasis on plot and action. His play deals with the wonderful works of Faustus, his despair, moral inebriation, and final damnation.

It is superfluous to repeat that Calderon wrote his drama with an aim that was far different. He had to deal with philosophical and religious ideas, and accordingly placed his emphasis on them, rather than on the action. After Cipriano has asserted the freedom of the will, and voluntarily chosen the devil as his master, the interest centers in the salvation of the hero's soul. Calderon is not concerned with the works of the devil except to show that they are powerless against God. But (Harlowe from the first regards Faustus as lost, the magician appeals to heaven in vain; from the signing of the fatal compect, his doom is sealed.) Not so with Cipriano, Calderón is concerned only with his salvation. He asks the question: "How can this man who has sold his soul to the devil be saved?" The snswer is "By martyrdom."

all differences between the two drames, arising from sources, nationality or the dramatic age are summed up in the different fates of the central character in each play. The Frotestant story is concerned with the sensual pleasures and excesses of the hero, and consigns him to eternal torture. The action of the play is based on his moral inebriation. Faustus is not led astray by Helen, she enters the plot after his moral inebriation has become marked. In Calder on's story a man falls into the easiest sin, which is sensual love, and thus he is led to commit the sin which Augustine stamped as the greatest of all - the intellectual sin. But by suffering martyrdom for the Church, he gains the Kingdom of Heaven. This is the grand moral lesson of the drama - the Church Triumphant stands ready to bring men to the Kingdom of God. No such grandeur of ideas is found in Marlowe's drama, the general tone of which is vulgar when compared to the elevated moral plane of the other.

This fundamental difference is evident from whatever angle the plays are examined. Take the central character of each play, for example. Not only were their temptations and fates different, but their intrinsic qualities are entirely dissimilar from the very first. Faustus is a cynic who no longer receives satisfaction from more human knowledge, while Cipriano is a student who is earnestly seeking the true God.

Faustus deliberately makes his bloody compact with the devil, while Cipriano commits him sin under intense emotional excitement, when passion has momentarily unsettled his whole nature. Faustus is a cynic, a man of no very deep moral perceptions, Cipriano a mystic, a man whose nature reaches out instinctively toward the Infinite.

The fate of each is characteristic of the man himself, and of the mental attitude which produced him. Each play has stated its own philosophical conclusion. Faustus cries out in despair

"Ah, rend not my heart for naming of my Christ!

Yet will I call on him! O spare me, Lucifer! 
Where is it now? Tis gone, and see where God

Stretcheth out his arm, and bends his ireful braws!

Mountain and hills come, come and fall on me,

And hide me from the heavy wrath of God."

It is the old Biblical warning: "The wages of sin is death."

How different is the other conception! Cipriano, waiting to die for his faith, says to Justina who is also to suffer the same fate:

Habra

Para mi perdon?

Justina: Es cierto

Cipriano: ¿ Cómo, si el alma he entregado

Al demonio mismo, en precio

De tu hermosura?

and the state of t

Justina:

No tiene

Tantas estrellas el cielo,
Tantas arenas el mar,
Tantas centellas el fuego,
Tantas átomos el día
Ni tantas plumas el viento
Como él perdona pecados.
Cipriano:Asi, Justina, lo creo,
Y por él daré mil vidas.

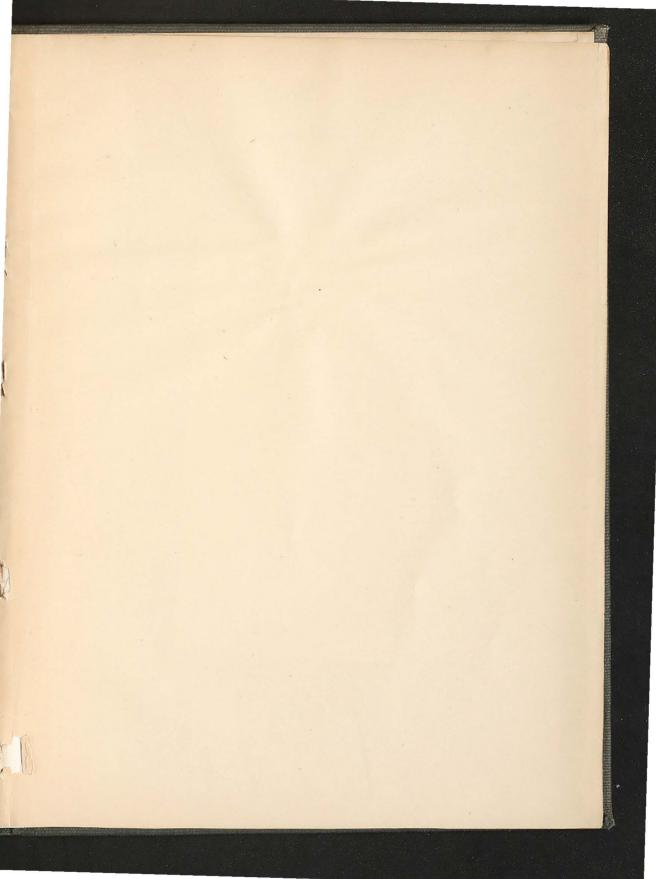
The fundamental differences between the plays may be briefly stated as follows:

Marlowe's "Doctor Faustus" is founded on a legend of Protestant origin and spirit, the dramatic effect is placed on the terrors and sufferings of the man who has made the compact with the devil, who on account of the compact does not receive assistance from heaven, and is overcome by Satan. Becoming Satan's plaything, he alternates between the terrors of despair and the inebriation of the senses. The struggle, then, ends in the defeat and damnation of the guilty. On the other hand, "El Magico Prodigioso" is based on a tradition of the Catholic Church, and the interest centers in the struggle which the man pledged to Satan wages after he is convinced of the vanity of diabolical power. He receives the aid of the heavenly powers in his effort to reconquer his soul and attain salvation, and the combat ends in the victory of Heaven over hell

<sup>1</sup> Magico Prodigiosof - Act III, Sc. 23.

## Souroes.

Calderon y Su Teatro. D. Haroelino Menendez y Pelayo. Christopher Marlowe. Havelook Ellis. Cyprien von Antiochien. Gregorovius. De Fraestigiis Daemonum. John Wier. Edition of Marlowe's Works. Dyce. Faust Commentary. Witkowski. Goethe's Faust. Calvin Thomas. Historia de la Literatura y del Arte Dramatico En Espana. Shack. History of Civilization In England. H. I. Buckle. History of European Morals. W. E. H. Lecky. Introduction To The Talmud. Mielziner. La Legende de Faust. Ernest Faligand. La Legende Dorée. Jacques de Voragine. Lives of The Necromancers. William Godwin. The Spirit of Goethe's Faust. Coupland. The Talmud. edited by M. W. Dumne.



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