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Charming Politics: Magic and Power in Medieval and Early Modern Texts

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CHARMING POLITICS: MAGIC AND POWER IN MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN TEXTS

by
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ABSTRACT

GRACE ELAINE MCMAHEN: Charming Politics: Magic and Power in Medieval and Early Modern Texts
(Under the direction of Mary Hayes)

In this thesis, I look at three works: *The Sorcery Trial of Alice Kyteler*, an account written in 1324 by Bishop Ledrede about his time in Ireland; *Dr. Faustus*, a play by Christopher Marlowe published in 1604 but first performed in 1592; and *The Tempest*, a play written by William Shakespeare in 1610. I am reading these works as literary texts, even *The Sorcery Trial of Alice Kyteler* because of how a literary representation can reveal information about the subconscious and can speak in code about a subject, where historical texts do so to a lesser extent. I explore the relationship between power and magic in these works and how magic can serve as a trope for politics and political power. I also show, in addition to the political nature of the works, how magic becomes demysified. The authors' portrayals of magic give readers a glimpse of how they view the world and use magic to comment upon it.

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Introduction

In this thesis, I look at three works: *The Sorcery Trial of Alice Kyteler*, an account written in 1324 by Bishop Ledrede about his time in Ireland; *Dr. Faustus*, a play by Christopher Marlowe published in 1604 but first performed in 1592; and *The Tempest*, a play written by William Shakespeare in 1610. I am reading these works as literary texts, even *The Sorcery Trial of Alice Kyteler* because of how a literary representation can reveal information about the subconscious and can speak in code about a subject, where historical texts do so to a lesser extent.

Before discussing magic in these works, it is important to understand the distinctions made between different types of magic during the times covered by these works. The history of magic, along with these distinctions between various types, and its moral relevance is a vexed issue. One distinction exists between "good" and "bad" magic. Bad magic, or *maleficium* was "magic used for harmful ends, to cause sickness or to kill" (Willis 27), whereas good magic provided benefits such as finding lost objects, healing the sick, and advising one on future decisions based on astrological signs. People understood this type of magic to be magic in which the practitioner was the source of the power. As the Early Modern period progressed, this type of magic began becoming denounced as demonic. Demonic magic, as the sixteenth-century Jesuit inquisitor Benito Pereira explains, is "[u]nnatural magic... [that] invokes evil spirits and uses their power for its operation" (qtd. in Clark 161). In other words, the devil or one of his various minions provides the power behind the magic and the magician merely serves as the

vehicle for the magic.

The shift in perceiving magic as demonic was influenced by attacks, according to Stuart Clark, by "anyone sufficiently skeptical of the intrinsic powers of words and signs, or of amulets and talismans, to think that demons must be involved in their working" (160). Before this shift from viewing magic as demonic, the church associated witchcraft with heresy. In 906 the *Canon Episcopi* stated that the belief in witchcraft was heretical. Over the course of several centuries, this belief evolved, and, during the Papal Inquisition that began in the 1230's, inquisitors were told to prosecute only cases of magic which involved heresy. As Malcolm Barber claims, "a belief in sorcery and magic, in an ability to control and harness natural forces, is common to many societies in many periods, but in the course of the thirteenth century in western Christendom the practice of these arts began to develop specifically heretical connotations" (184). Instead of a practitioner being guilty merely of *maleficium*, he or she became guilty of consorting with the devil and became an enemy of the church.

Another distinction exists between high or intellectual magic and low magic. Elite individuals, exclusively male, were the practitioners of high magic, and they typically represented some of the most learned men of their day. Much like law and medicine, one had to study books continuously and various texts written by experts to master this form of magic. On the other hand, while both men and women practiced low magic, it had predominantly feminine overtones. Also, women were seen "as a source of harmful magic" (Willis 28), and witchcraft prosecutions in Europe and England mainly involved women while men typically escaped accusations. This type of magic usually involved the household and everyday worries and needs such as butter-churning, crop-

growing, and warding off bad luck. The practitioners typically learned these skills from their parents and most of it was common knowledge because everyday people could recite words to gain good luck or favorable weather. Low magic is the form of magic which came to be seen as demonic. As Lara Apps and Andrew Gow explain, "natural philosophy admitted two branches of *magia*: natural magic [or intellectual magic] and demonic magic. Both were occult, because their processes were secret and hidden from human intellect, but natural magic was not the work of demons" (133). Therefore, a distinction exists between intellectual magic and demonic magic.

In this thesis, I will argue that this demonic low magic, such as that of which Bishop Ledrede accused Alice Kyteler, is a form of magic in which the practitioner herself is constructed as weak-willed and essentially powerless. As mentioned above, low magic and the witch who practiced it – whether male or female – were implicitly feminised. It was a common belief in Medieval and Early Modern periods (and before) that "the essential characteristic of the witch – the thing that made a witch a witch – was weak-mindedness. This trait was associated with femininity, and its correlation with witches meant that male witches were implicitly feminised" (156). All of the power comes from a demonic source which controls the practitioner and his/her magic. Ledrede portrays Kyteler as a powerless creature of this magic in order to attack her and her allies. Dr. Faustus, on the other hand, represents a hybrid of sorts. He begins by studying intellectual magic, but, in summoning Mephistophilis, he sinks into demonic, feminine magic, associated with weak-willed witches. Prospero, in contrast, is the archetype of the powerful male magician who practices intellectual magic and is very learned and in complete control of his own magic which comes from his knowledge rather than from the

devil. While the history of magic is a confused one, this trend of portraying magic more and more as a force that the practitioner can control rather than a force that controls the practitioner, shows how magic gradually becomes demystified.

I will also demonstrate the political nature of each type of magic and explore why the authors chose the particular types of magic that they did. Additionally, I will explain how magic became a trope for politics and political power. It functions this way because using magic is a way of wielding massive amounts of power. Ledrede chooses to show Kyteler as witch, a weak yet malicious woman who allows the devil to work evil through her. With these accusations, he effectively reduces a wealthy woman with powerful connections to a disgusting and disloyal creature whose friends and family (and consequently Ledrede's enemies) suffer blows to their reputations as well. Though Ledrede probably sincerely believes Alice is a minion of the devil, by using witchcraft accusations as a political ploy, he places himself on the high ground since he is, after all, on God's side. He also creates an uneasy atmosphere in which it is hard to attack him in turn without seeming to commit blasphemy or heresy.

In addition Ledrede wanted to use his accusations of witchcraft and heresy to show that Ireland was an uncivilized place filled with devil-worshiping sorcerers and unnatural people, especially women. In doing this, he would make a strong case for the need for the Church to continue being involved in Irish affairs. Ledrede, rather than arriving in Ireland with an open mind, came there with the view of Ireland as a land of non-Christian barbarians, probably strengthened by accounts such as the 1188 work of Gerald of Wales entitled *Topographia Hibernica*, foremost in his mind. By accusing Alice of witchcraft and heresy, Ledrede created in her a representation of the wickedness

of the Irish people as a whole. As evidenced by a letter from Pope Benedict XII to King Edward III which "urged Edward to repress heresy in Ireland and referred specifically to the nests of heretics uncovered by Ledrede in the course of his episcopal visitations" (Davidson 14), Ledrede succeeded in his goal of portraying the Irish in a negative manner.

Dr. Faustus also uses magic as a trope for representing and critiquing political power. It is similar to Ledrede's account, which is about Anglo-Irish tensions and the Church aiding the English agenda, because *Dr. Faustus* deals with state power and Queen Elizabeth's reign and relationship with the Catholic Church. It does not, however, involve the issue of ethnicity as does *The Sorcery Trial of Alice Kyteler*. In *Dr. Faustus*, Marlowe indirectly criticizes the reign of Queen Elizabeth for her reliance on magicians such as John Dee for advice as well as for her lenience towards Catholics. Faustus is an educated man who turns to the study of magic because he believes that it will bring him more power. Faustus begins by studying intellectual magic, but after he summons and signs a pact with Mephistophilis, Faustus sinks into demonic magic, much like the magic of which Ledrede accuses Alice. Rather than becoming more powerful, as he hopes to do with this pact, Faustus gradually loses control and becomes the pawn of Mephistophilis. He descends from high, intellectual magic to a slavish sort of demonic magic.

Faustus' descent from powerful to powerless by means of turning to magic and a demonic pact is an indirect criticism by Marlowe of Queen Elizabeth. Queen Elizabeth depended upon Dee and his arcane knowledge. For example:

> when a wax effigy of Elizabeth stuck with pig bristles was found under a tree..., when a 'blazing star' appeared in the sky, when the queen fell sick

with a mysterious illness, it was Dee who was called upon to advise. Even on strategic matters, such as the maintenance of a navy or management of trade, he could expect an eager audience." (Woolley 83)

According to Marlowe, by turning to Dee for advice, Elizabeth begins to rely on magic rather than the concrete advice of her male counselors. Though she tries to represent herself as a strong, masculine ruler, this is negated by her willingness to follow the advice of a magician. Dr. Faustus also seems to have an attachment to the Catholic Church as evidenced by his desire to see Rome and the stronghold of the Pope. This attraction of Faustus' to the Catholic Church and his inability to do no more than play parlor tricks to frighten the Pope and some of the other high members of the Church are a stab by Marlowe at Elizabeth's perceived leniency towards the Catholic Church. Just as Faustus does no more than throw fireworks at the Pope, Elizabeth's conciliatory actions towards the Catholics likewise have no teeth.

Unlike Marlowe, Shakespeare seeks to please King James, the monarch at the time Shakespeare writes *The Tempest*. To do this, he creates in Prospero a strong male magician in whom King James would have felt a kinship. While Prospero, a duke in his own right, loses his rule because of his pursuit of magic, he regains his dukedom with his use and control of magic. Not only this but he places his daughter and heir in a position which will ensure that his future heirs have even more power than he has. Also, Prospero, in sharp contrast to Faustus, gives up his magic at the end of the play. By renouncing magic, Prospero acknowledges that the pursuit of magic created his problems in the first place, and he is punished for this pursuit by his temporary exile on a remote island. James, who had a hearty dislike for magic and witchcraft, would have seen in

Prospero a ruler much like himself. James would have also been pleased that Prospero, even though he used magic for good after he was banished for its use, was punished for studying magic. Shakespeare uses Prospero to demystify magic and make it acceptable to James. It is a force that a strong male ruler can conquer and control which is not powered by devil-worship. Therefore, Shakespeare would have been able to join in and profit from the witchcraft drama craze which, according to Diane Purkiss (207), was sweeping the theater while pleasing his patron at the same time.

Throughout the three chapters, I refer to Michel Foucault's book *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. In the third chapter, however, I perform a close, Foucaultian reading of *The Tempest* because Prospero's magic enables him to create a figurative panopticon. Jeremy Bentham was a British legal reformer and philosopher who originated the idea in 1785 for the panopticon as a physical prison, and it is this idea which Foucault elaborates on. Prospero's panopticon is not a prison in the traditional sense as envisioned by Bentham and Foucault. Instead, Prospero turns his island into a panopticon with the walls created by Ariel with magic at Prospero's command. Powered by his magic, Prospero's panopticon is the vehicle by which he punishes his enemies for stealing his throne and by which he regains his dukedom. He depends on both his magic and the panopticon it creates to achieve his goals, and he would never have achieved them without one or the other because they are interdependent. The panopticon also represents the power structure through which he rules. Much like King James' privy council, advisors, and network of officials throughout the kingdom, the panopticon allows Prosper to maintain his rule because he can observe and alter events from afar.

Starting with *The Sorcery Trial of Alice Kyteler* and ending with *The Tempest*, I

wish to show, in addition to the political nature of the works, how magic gradually becomes demystified. In Ledrede's account, magic is a thing of terror that takes place in the dark of night and involves pacts with the devil sealed with profane acts. Though magic is used as an example of Irish corruption, it is not understood nor can humans control it except by acting against it to eliminate its existence. In *Dr. Faustus*, his use of magic serves as a cautionary tale. If one uses magic, punishment in the form of banishment to hell will ensue. Faustus does not escape as Alice does. Unlike Alice, who allegedly killed her husbands with her magic and gained wealth and influence, the magic of Faustus, while still evil, is impotent. Faustus is originally in control, much like Prospero, and there is the possibility of magic without Satan. Faustus, however, does not have the strength to remain independent and sinks under the control of Mephistophilis. Magic loses some of its potency in Marlowe's work. This is even more apparent in *The Tempest* where magic becomes completely demystified. Prospero succeeds where Faustus fails. He successfully summons and controls spirits through his will and learning. Magic is no longer a thing of the dark brought about by illicit acts that are little understood. Instead, Prospero practices his magic in full daylight and, rather than coming from an unknown and/or evil source, Prospero gains his magic from the intellectual study of books. The authors of these three works have an unspoken understanding that magic was always a form of political power. Acknowledging this fact, they downplay the mystical aspects of magic in order to make the political allegory more evident.

Irish Magic, English Politics in *The Sorcery Trial of Alice Kyteler*

The Sorcery Trial of Alice Kyteler is an account written by Bishop Richard Ledrede in 1324 about his prosecution of the Dame Alice Kyteler and several of her acquaintances for heresy and witchcraft in Kilkenny, Ireland. By accusing Alice and the others of witchcraft, the Bishop attempts to disempower her and her allies. To that end, the Bishop's narrative depicts Ireland as a place filled with nests of heretics and devil worshipers who present a dire threat to the Church. Although the next two chapters seek to show how the authors use their works to criticize or influence the state powers of their times, the author of this narrative uses his accusations to attack the Irish not so much as a political entity but as a ethnic group and country. One of his goals is to depict a war of sorts between himself, an educated English Bishop and the devil-worshiping, heretical Irish, whom Alice represents. This description is enforced primarily by the crimes of which Ledrede accuses Alice which "were unprecedented in fourteenth-century Ireland" (Davidson 1). This would have helped propel Ledrede's account into the spotlight where it would have increased his fame and possibly given him the power to continue his fight against witchcraft in Ireland. While it is the conflict between secular (Irish lords) and church power (Bishop Ledrede), rather than between witchcraft and the church, which is the main conflict in the narrative, the accusation of witchcraft plays a very important role. When the narrative is viewed as a literary text, as is done here, the portrayal of witchcraft reveals the fears and fantasies of the Church during this period.

One of these fears had surfaced several years prior to Ledrede's appointment in

Ireland. In 1307 the French King Philip IV ordered the arrests of many of the Templars in France because he claimed they had committed heretical acts. The orders for the arrests were soon followed by Pope Clement's papal bull that called on the Christian monarchs of Europe to arrest the Templars as well. This is important because some of the charges against the Templars were very similar to those of which Ledrede accused Alice. The most relevant of the charges against the Templars in this case includes denying faith in Christ, encouraging and participating in homosexuality (then considered an obscene sexual act), and attempting to "gain for the Order by whatever means came to hand, whether lawful or not" (Barber 178). Though there were other charges, such as worshiping a head with three faces, these were not precursors for the charges Ledrede made. All in all, these "charges can be seen to contain many of the elements which were to reappear in the witch-craze of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries" (182). The Kyteler case is very similar to the trials that occurred in these later centuries, and it is, perhaps, a precursor to them. Unlike Alice, however, "the Templars were not accused of doing harm on the devil's behalf" (182) or directly accused of witchcraft. Therefore, the charges against the Templars were not the sole influence on Ledrede. It is worth noting, however, that the spirit of these trials, initiated at least in part so King Philip could acquire Templar lands and avoid paying his substantial debts to them, is also political.

Around the same time, the same French court that was pursuing the Templars also made posthumous accusations against Pope Boniface VIII, attempting to associate him with "heresy, witchcraft, magic, and homosexuality" (179). Furthermore, the court, led by the king's minister Guillaume de Nogaret, attacked Giuchard, Bishop of Troyes, accusing him of making "a mixture from snakes, scorpions, toads and poisonous spiders"

which he allegedly wanted to feed to the French royal princes (179). Both of these cases have similarities to that of Alice Kyteler's, especially the charge involving the mixture created by Giuchard and his desire to use it to murder others. Because Ledrede was present at the Avignon court prior to his appointment as Bishop of Ossory in 1317, he very likely witnessed and was influenced by these charges, some of which he would later duplicate such as the charges of denying faith in Christ and profane sexual acts and the attacks on Church officials by King Philip for heresy and witchcraft. Ledrede, however, would expand upon these when he attacked Kyteler.

Another influence on Ledrede that suggests the Alice Kyteler's trial's political implications was the prominent view that the Irish were barbarous heathens who needed to be conquered and civilized as well as brought under the wing of the church. An account written several centuries earlier in 1187 by Gerald of Wales entitled *Topographia Hibernica* or *The Topography of Ireland*, encouraged and perhaps even founded some of these views. Gerald asserts that the Irish are "indeed a most filthy race, a race sunk in vice, a race more ignorant than all other nations of the first principles of the faith. Hitherto they neither pay tithes nor first fruits; they do not contract marriages, nor shun incestuous connections; they frequent not the church of God with proper reverence" (75). Based on accounts such as this, Ledrede had a preconceived notion of an Ireland that was corrupt and needed drastic measures to remedy its situation. In order to accomplish this, he immediately, upon his arrival, "convened a synod which deplored the state of his diocese, condemned various forms of clerical misconduct, such as the keeping of concubines, and called on the faithful to report any instances of heresy" (Davidson 8). Because Ledrede already believed that the Irish were inherently corrupt, it is no surprise

that he jumped on the opportunity to accuse Alice of witchcraft.

Why did the bishop choose Alice? Essentially, she was a prime target. Alice Kyteler was a powerful woman in a time when women did not traditionally hold power. She married four times, and her last husband died while Ledrede was prosecuting her for witchcraft. In addition to receiving the widow's share when her husbands died, her son William Outlaw (from her first marriage) received the inheritance of her second husband rather than his children receiving it. Ledrede based some of his accusations on accusations made by the children of these men who were trying to get what they believed as their rightful inheritances back from her (Davidson 8-9). In addition to having money and power, Alice and her son were the allies and friends of the le Poers, among others. These families were at odds with Ledrede because they represented the secular power and royal authority in the land, the power which Ledrede had chosen to challenge. In his introduction to the *Narrative*, L. S. Davidson claims that "it may be that Ledrede chose to attack his secular rival [Arnold le Poer] by bringing a charge of witchcraft against one of his female associates" (10). In addition, not only did Alice represent an anomaly because she was a rich woman in charge of her fortune and had powerful allies, but she was a threat because she upset the traditional order of patriarchal power by ensuring that her own son inherited while her step-children, the rightful heirs, did not.

In order to disempower her and, indirectly, her allies, Ledrede accuses Alice of witchcraft, specifically, witchcraft powered by devil-worship. Alice and her son William were both money-lenders and so Ledrede could have charged them with usury rather than witchcraft and probably had a far more solid case. If he had done this and not pursued the witchcraft charges, Ledrede would have succeeded in punishing Alice with fines and,

perhaps, the imposition of penance. The accusation of witchcraft, however, had very broad implications which affected not only her but her friends and allies as well. It also had an impact on the way outsiders viewed Ireland. This accusation of witchcraft affirms Gerald of Wales' claim that in Ireland "the bad are bad indeed – there are nowhere worse" (79).

By labeling her as a witch, Ledrede uses the term to degrade Alice and bring her down to a level that is weak and sub-human, thus reaffirming English notions about the Irish. In his mind, a witch is a person who turns from God to gain short-term power and wealth. In his first charge against Alice and her cohorts, he claims that "in order to get what they wanted by means of their foul sorceries, the sorceresses would deny faith in Christ and the church for a whole month or for a year, according to the extent of what they wished to obtain from the sorcery" (Davidson 27). Alice, however, is not an independent agent because she must rely on the devil to gain and maintain her power. Ledrede describes her magic in such a way that she becomes merely a pawn to the devil, much as Faustus does in the next chapter. This view reflects that of his time period where:

> The view of *maleficium* as a criminal activity undertaken by an individual (sorcerer) using occult means for private advantage seems to have given way to a view of it as the practice of a sect of devil-worshippers, enemies of the larger community, who drew their occult power from a pact with the devil rather than from the correct performance of magical ritual (5).

To obtain her magic and make it effective, Alice must submit to the devil; she has no power of her own.

This submission takes several forms. One is that she "would seek advice and answers from demons" (28). Ledrede wants to depict her as a woman who can make no decisions of her own. Yes, she is rich and she holds power, but these things did not come to her naturally. Instead, she had to turn to an evil outside source to obtain them. This view of women as unable to make informed decisions and having to depend on masculine sources for guidance and advice has historical precedence. According to Lara Apps and Andrew Gow, "when explaining the reasons for women's greater susceptibility to becoming witches, both sceptics and believers in witchcraft attributed it first and foremost to women's intellectual fragility" (131). Ledrede further subverts any image of Alice having real power by claiming that Robin, Son of Art, the demon from whom she receives her advice and power, is "from the humbler levels of the underworld" (28). She does not have access to Lucifer, the most powerful of demons, or even any of his lieutenants such as Mephistophilis, both of whom Faustus has access to in *Dr. Faustus*. Instead, Alice must resort to such measures as sleeping with this lowly demon in order to obtain her "wealth and whatever she owned" (30). This charge is reminiscent of the indirect accusations leveled at the Templars which implied that "perhaps their great worldly wealth had been acquired with the help of the devil, who they worshiped" (Barber 182). Whether by witchcraft or usury, Alice did not earn her money in a righteous way, free of sin.

In addition to accusing her of evil practices involving money, Ledrede understands that he cannot give Alice too much, if any, agency because he does not want to create in her a powerful adversary or an adversary outside his jurisdiction, so to speak. Much like demonologists of later centuries, Ledrede seeks to displace "the witch's power

onto male demons" (Purkiss 64). Alice cannot create or maintain power independent of an evil masculine source. Although "witches were feared for their power... they were also understood to be subservient to the Devil" (Apps and Gow 136). If Alice were similar to Prospero, for instance, and she did not have to deny God or submit to the devil, Ledrede would have no real reason to quarrel with her. By charging her with these crimes, however, Ledrede creates an enemy of the church against whom he can fight and win since she is a weak-willed witch with only a lower demon on her side while he has all the power of God and the Church.

Another way Ledrede seeks to disempower the image of the witch Alice while at the same time keeping her a valid threat is through the type of magic he claims she practices. In addition to gaining power from submitting to demons, Alice practices a very low form of magic and one which is generally associated with household magic. As Diane Purkiss states, "the witch is an antihousewife because she usurps... authority over the household in order to misuse it, to invert it" (97). Unlike John Dee, the court astrologer of Queen Elizabeth, or Prospero, Alice does not seek answers from the stars in heaven or receive power from correctly drawing complicated diagrams or circles of power. She essentially must cook. For example, Ledrede claims that Alice:

> Over a fire of oak wood... would boil up the intestines and internal organs of the cocks... [and] they would mix in some horrible worms, add various herbs and countless other vile ingredients such as nails cut from dead bodies, hairs from the buttocks, and frequently also clothes from boys who had died before being baptised (Davidson 28).

From this mixture, Alice would "concoct various powders, ointments and lotions" (28)

which she and her cohorts would use to harm others. Alice, instead of creating something wholesome and nourishing, corrupts a common, feminine task and creates a poisonous substance. The image of Alice "cooking" her potions brings to mind traditional images of witches presiding over their cauldrons. As Purkiss states, "the trace of the family cooking-pot visible in the witches' cauldron draws attention to a sphere of feminine power separate from sexuality but equally threatening to men" (212). Through her creation of mixtures, Alice makes what is essentially a poison that "represents women's power to intervene decisively in public affairs by using their power over food preparation" (212-213). In Alice's case, this poison is both literal and figurative. Ledrede voices the accusations of the children of her husbands who claim she poisoned them to kill them and get their money. In addition, Alice's potions have a more subtle poisoning effect because they poison the community and weaken communal bonds by causing dissension among people and undermining church power.

Ledrede also associates Alice with feminine and wicked magic by accusing her of attacking traditionally male sources of power. The main way in which Alice does this is by "usurping the authority and the keys of the church," particularly by hurling "the sentence of excommunication even at [her] own husband" (Davidson 28). With these actions, Alice attempts to weaken the church by attacking its strongest members, the men who support the church with their faith and tithes. Ledrede creates in Alice, with his accusations, a creature that is diametrically opposed to men and the church. He sees "the witch as the church's Other, or as man's Other" (Purkiss 97). She attacks these traditional holders of power, and tries to disempower them by separating them from God, the source of all power. Alice also uses her potions to "afflict the bodies of faithful christians"

(Davidson 28), further attacking the church's most valuable commodity, its members. A similar accusation of Ledrede's is that Alice murdered her previous husbands and stole the inheritances meant for the children of those men. In doing so, Alice attacks patriarchal power by preventing the proper transference of wealth and titles, the cornerstones of patriarchy.

In order to attack this power, Alice must first submit to and have intercourse with the devil known as Robin, Son of Art. Supposedly, this devil "appeared to her in the shape of a cat, sometimes in the shape of a shaggy black dog, sometimes as a black man, with two companions bigger and taller than himself, one of whom carried an iron rod in his hands" (30). While the submission to a male power again reinforces Alice's lack of agency, this description also helps to enforce the idea that the Irish were beast-like. It is, after all, not surprising that people such as the Irish who "live like beasts" (Cambrenis 70) should take the next step and stoop to sleeping with them. Alice's unlawful and profane relationship with Robin, particularly when he is in animal form has several implications and sources. One of these sources is the Templar trials mentioned earlier. In these trials, some Templars confessed to adoring and genuflecting "before a cat, variously coloured black, white, brown or red" and "which ten of them said that they kissed on the anus or the buttocks" (Barber 183). While not perfectly alike, Ledrede's charges against Alice of strange and unnatural acts with Robin as a cat do show a strong similarity to the confessions of the Templars. Both the kissing and intercourse were a way to give homage to the devil (Apps and Gow 137). Malcolm Barber also states in his book that "the Templars were therefore brought to trial when attitudes towards magic and witchcraft were crystallising" and that the:

> charges [against the Templars] can thus be seen as a means both of inciting popular hatred and vicarious excitement and of satisfying the intellectual who felt himself to be above the violence of the emotions and superstitions of the mob, and to need a detailed theoretical structure before arriving at the same conclusion. (184-185)

Just as Nogaret and Philip IV sought to use the charges to convince both the common masses and the educated elite of the Templars' guilt, Ledrede also desires to do the same and incite public opinion against Alice and, consequently, the Irish.

Additionally, Alice's relationship, as implied earlier, shows that the Irish and particularly Irish women are naturally evil and prone to vile sexual acts. Gerald of Wales widely propagated this view. For example, as Jeffrey Jerome Cohen states in his article, "in Ireland, unlike in Wales, tales of interspecies hybrids (a man-ox, an ox-man, a crow-stag) immediately give rise to anecdotes about women happily having sex with animals. When a goat and a lion copulate with women, both the animal and the woman are, in Gerald's estimation, beasts worthy of death" (93). Ledrede wants to show that Alice is no different from her predecessors, the wicked Irish women who commit evil acts with animals and have no qualms about doing so. Alice, furthermore, is worse because she has intercourse with demons that appear as animals.

Ledrede's accusations were unique for his time period, and they included charges never before leveled at a person accused of witchcraft. As Davidson claims, this trial "is the first witchcraft trial in European history to treat the accused as members of an organized sect of heretics, and the first to accuse a woman of having acquired the power of sorcery through sexual intercourse with a demon" (1). The novelty of these crimes

would have drawn attention to the region and to Ledrede and his battle against this infestation of witches. Ledrede's descriptions of Alice's crimes also created an air of mystery and fear surrounding witchcraft, which did not become demystified until much later – as shown in the chapter on *The Tempest*. According to Ledrede, witchcraft was strongly intertwined with heresy and involved many dark practices that occurred during the night and included demons. He made magic terrifying to the normal person, and this created a sensationalist aspect that many later authors and clergy played upon.

This sensational aspect also had an impact on the politics of the time. Because such a prominent and wealthy woman in Ireland was accused of these crimes, Ledrede's narrative sent the message that all of Ireland was a nest of heretics and sorcerers. This message was quite popular at the time as evidenced by a letter sent to John XXII, the pope in 1331, by the Justiciar and council of Ireland which claims that in Ireland:

> Heresy and dissension have pullulated and pullulate among the Irish who are an ungovernable and sacrilegious race inimical to God and man, (a race which has) burned three hundred and forty churches in the province of Dublin and as many in other provinces of the aforesaid land. (qtd. in Davidson 87-88)

Therefore, in a way, Ledrede's accusations and desire to destroy witchcraft serve as propaganda that spreads the idea that Ireland is a land of heathens who need to be tamed by the church.

Even though Ledrede ends his narrative on a positive note, claiming that the "most foul den [of sorcery and heretics] was smashed and destroyed by the authority of the holy mother church" (70), Alice is never caught, and she escapes any sort of physical

punishment. Instead, Alice's maid and son serve as whipping boys who receive punishment in her place. Petronilla is beaten and, after she confesses to witchcraft and testifies against Alice, Ledrede has her burned at the stake for heresy and witchcraft. William, who is accused only of heresy and harboring heretics and never of witchcraft, must pay heavy fines and spend money feeding the poor and repairing the church. By allowing Alice to escape, rather than claiming he caught and punished her as well, Ledrede shows that witchcraft has not been entirely stamped out in Ireland. Instead, as evidenced by the supreme sorceress' clean escape from justice, witchcraft and heresy still prevail and have not been eliminated. This gives a reason for Ledrede and other church officials to remain and continue the crusade against the wicked Irish.

Half and Half: Dr. Faustus fades from Master Magician to Witch

While Alice, as seen in the previous chapter, is a static figure who remains an evil witch throughout Ledrede's account, Faustus in *Dr. Faustus* by Christopher Marlowe undergoes a series of transformations throughout the course of the play. He degenerates from a powerful and knowledgeable figure to one who is powerless. In a more detailed look, Faustus represents masculine strength and control in the beginning of the play, evidenced first by his pursuit of science and other traditional forms of masculine knowledge and later by his pursuit of intellectual magic. However, primarily because of his gradual switch to demonic magic and the control he allows Mephistophilis to exert over him, Faustus becomes similar to the female witches who essentially did the devil's bidding and retained no control of their own. His magic also becomes associated with the low, feminine magic mentioned in the introduction. Therefore, he declines from masculine strength and respected intellectual pursuits to feminine weakness and pitiful parlor tricks, losing power in his pursuit of power. Marlowe creates in Faustus a witch that is not only associated with females but also one who is persecuted for his crimes. He also compares Faustus to the popular and powerful John Dee, court magician to Elizabeth. As Benjamin Woolley claims "Dee believed he had a special place next to Elizabeth.... To an extent, he did. He was one of the few commoners to be honored with personal visits" (77). The punishment of Faustus represents Marlowe's critique of Elizabeth's practice of listening to Dee which he reads as seemingly empowering but in fact a tacit sign of weakness.

When the Chorus introduces Faustus to the audience, they learn that he is a very knowledgeable man who "profits in divinity, / The fruitful plot of scholarism grac'd, / That shortly he was grac'd with doctor's name" (i.15-17). Not only is Faustus a medical doctor, but he excels "all whose sweet delight disputes / In heavenly matters of theology" (i.18-19). From these lines, the audience can glean that Faustus is an extremely intelligent man who can master many different fields. This thought is advanced by Faustus himself when he gives his first soliloquy. He talks about how he can "heap up gold" (1.14) as a doctor due to his talents, which have cured entire cities of the plague. He then rejects law and divinity as not worthy of his perusal because one is "too servile and illiberal for me" and the other claims that all humans "must die an everlasting death" (1.46). Because Faustus does not accept any of these branches of knowledge as worthy of his time and effort, he chooses magic as his way to enter a "world of profit and delight, / Of power, of honour, of omnipotence" (1.53-55). Here the audience becomes privy to Faustus' goal. He wants to become a "mighty god" and have more power than the most powerful kings and emperors, a path which is denied to him if he were to be a lawyer or doctor, both of which would confine him to be "still but Faustus and a man" (1.23).

In deciding to pursue magic, Faustus chooses the branch of magic known as intellectual magic. This type of magic is similar in a way to the other forms of knowledge to which he has exposed himself because they all require that he study books intensely over a period of time to master the skills. For the non-magical forms of knowledge, Faustus studied Galen, Aristotle, and Justinian. Therefore, he will study "necromantic books" to learn of the "lines, circles, scenes, letters, and characters" that will unlock magical power for him. Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, an early sixteenth-

century philosopher, theologian, physician, and magician describes intellectual magic as "a faculty of wonderful power, full of most high mysteries" and "the most perfect and principal branch of knowledge, a sacred and more lofty kind of philosophy, and the most absolute perfection of every most excellent philosophy" (qtd. in Clark 148). Stuart Clark goes on to refine this definition by saying:

> In many ways, intellectual magic was synonymous with the attempt to grasp what was hidden – literally 'occult' (Latin = *occulta*) – about nature's workings. It specialized, in particular, in uncovering what were known as "occult virtues," whose remarkable effects were manifest to experience in the form of natural marvels but whose causes remained beyond the reach of human intellect, and so could not be rationally explained. (148-49)

In studying intellectual magic, Faustus plans to become a powerful being who can learn the secrets of the universe and, consequently, control them. The Evil Angel encourages Faustus in this pursuit and tempts him when he says "Be thou on earth as Jove is in the sky, / Lord and commander of these elements" (1.77-78). For Faustus, more knowledge will give him more power, and he seems to believe in the Foucaultian theory that "power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge" (Foucault 27). Therefore, the more he learns, the more powerful and God-like he becomes since God is all-powerful because He knows everything.

After Faustus becomes resolved to pursue magic, he sends his man Wagner to fetch the magicians Valdes and Cornelius (possibly inspired by the famous Cornelius Agrippa quoted earlier) so they can begin teaching him the art. During the interlude

while Faustus waits for their arrival, he tells the audience of all the grand things he plans to do with his magic. Much like Prospero who commands Ariel, as discussed in the next chapter, Faustus wants to have complete control over a number of spirits who will do his bidding for him. One example of his grandiose plans is when he says:

> I'll levy soldiers with the coin they [the spirits] bring,
> And chase the Prince of Parma from our land,
> And reign sole king of all the provinces;
> Yea, stranger engines for the brunt of war
> Than was the fiery keel at Antwerp's bridge,
> I'll make my servants to invent. (1.1.93-98)

As Leo Kirschbaum claims, Faustus "will not only get knowledge and power; his mind dwells longingly on satisfaction of material appetite. The spirits will bring him 'gold', 'orient pearl', 'pleasant fruits', 'princely delicates', [and] 'silk'" (82). In gaining these material goods, as well as knowledge and power, Faustus will achieve his goal of becoming a mighty god beholden to no one and nothing.

Regardless of Faustus' proclamations, however, he actually begins losing power – along with any hope of future earthly omnipotence – and becomes impotent as soon as he summons Mephistophilis. When Faustus summons Mephistophilis, he is encouraged by the ease with which he can command him, and he believes that it is solely his strength of will and power which keep Mephistophilis in check. He exclaims, "How pliant is this Mephistophilis, / Full of obedience and humility! / Such is the force of magic and my spells" (3.30-32). In Faustus' mind, his command of Mephistophilis fulfills everything that Valdes promised Faustus when he said "As Indian Moors obey their Spanish lords, /

So shall the subjects of every element / Be always serviceable to us three" (1.123-125). Faustus believes he has begun transforming into the mighty god that can control all spirits. Faustus exerts control and power over an extremely powerful devil. In the beginning, he does not submit, as Alice submits to Robin. Instead he makes Mephistophilis submit to him, such as when he sends Mephistophilis away to return in the guise of a monk, in order both to satisfy Faustus' squeamish tastes and, perhaps, to demonstrate his residual allegiance to Catholicism. Faustus is so thrilled with this power he is exercising over Mephistophilis that he desires even more. To get it, he rejects Christianity and professes his dedication to Lucifer in hopes that he will have even stronger and more complete control over Mephistophilis and the power he represents.

Faustus' rejection of Christianity in this moment is a key point because it begins his deviation from intellectual magic. During the time of Marlowe, one of the chief practitioners of intellectual magic was John Dee, a very learned man who had powerful patrons such as Queen Elizabeth and whose science was "conducted as a revealed theology and via spirit experiments" (Clark 153). The important thing to note about Dee and his form of intellectual magic known as Enochian Magic is that he believed that the practitioners of magic "were expected to lead holy lives (at least while practicing magic), to cultivate piety and humility, and to abstain from the practice of black magic" (James 180). According to Dee, magic needed to be practiced only by God-fearing men who were responsible and humble in their actions. Dee's insistence on leading a holy life while practicing magic shows that the practitioner must remain pure and above the influence of devils or even humans who might seek to lead the practitioner away from his righteous path. One must remain humble and acknowledge that God, not devils or even

the practitioner himself, is the foundation of magical (and all other) power. By remaining humble, the practitioner avoids the threat of eternal damnation, such as is experienced by Faustus at the end of the play. Had Faustus pursued magic in a manner similar to Dee, he would have escaped his fate.

In a related yet slightly different vein, Agrippa's definition of intellectual magic excludes any mention of God or the Devil and claims that it is a pursuit outside religion involving "the knowledge of the whole of nature" (qtd. in Clark 148). Neither of these definitions from famous practitioners of intellectual magic allow for any form of demon worship. Faustus' magic has the appearance of intellectual magic because, on the outside at least, his summoning and command of Mephistophilis resembles Prospero's control over Ariel. Faustus' magic, however, degenerates into low magic because of his subservience to Mephistophilis. Therefore Faustus begins to slip from the pure practice of intellectual magic to demonology, the practice of magic in which it is the power of the devil rather than that of the practitioner that brings about the magical effects (126). Faustus is no longer practicing the masculine and independent form of magic that requires discipline, knowledge, and no submission whatsoever (unless it be to God, the creator who therefore deserves submission and respect). As Deborah Willis states in her book *Malevolent Nurture*, "At the elite level, astrologers, alchemists, and learned magicians were almost always male" (28). Before Faustus summoned Mephistophilis and signed the pact with him, he was one of these elite males.

In contrast to these elite males were the lower female witches who sold their souls to the devil and became his slaves, such as that which Ledrede accused Alice of becoming. In these relationships, the Devil is "an adult male master, a canny con artist,

an aristocratic warlord" who "controls all; it is a mistake to think the witch has any independent power of her own" (89-90). Some prominent writers on witchcraft and demonology during Marlowe's time, such as Johann Wier who argued against witchcraft persecutions, saw female witches as "senile" and "silly" (Walker 152). Faustus begins to slip from the role of an elite and learned male magician to that of a submissive and pitifully powerless slave of Mephistophilis and, consequently, Satan, when he signs the pact with Mephistophilis, an event which occurs almost immediately after Faustus summons him. In this pact, Faustus trades his body and soul for twenty-four years of Mephistophilis' servitude. As Apps and Gow explain, "both men and women could be intellectually weak, and therefore both could be ensnared by the Devil; however, because this sort of weakness had been regarded since antiquity as a particularly feminine failing, witchcraft was inevitably feminised" (132). By making a deal with the devil, Faustus becomes the equivalent of the weak-minded female witch. Faustus assumes that with Mephistophilis' servitude, he will gain tremendous power and knowledge with which he will be able to control the world if he so desires. Ironically, in his desire to have Mephistophilis "do for him and bring him whatsoever [he desires]" (5.104) Faustus becomes just like the lowly witch whose curses were "believed to be carried out by her familiars or demonic imps" (Willis 52).

Another important thing which links Faustus to feminine submission to the devil is the method Faustus uses to sign the pact. Faustus describes the signing saying "I cut mine arm, and with my proper blood / Assure my soul to be great Lucifer's, / Chief lord and regent of perpetual night!" (5.58-60). Many women who were tried for witchcraft (and devil-worship) around the time Marlowe was writing were accused of and/or

confessed to "signing a devil's pact in their own blood" (Ankarloo 78). It is this pact with the devil which makes witchcraft heresy, and, as in the Kyteler accusations, it was usually sealed with sex. Therefore, Faustus becomes associated with the females who sell their souls to the devil because they are too weak-willed to resist and, more importantly, could not attain power through any other venue.

To understand the power Faustus gains and loses in magic, close attention to the pact is necessary. A key line in this pact is "Mephistophilis shall be his servant, and at his command... [and] shall do for him and bring him whatsoever (he desires)" (5.103-104). This seems to indicate that Faustus, regardless of the connotation a blood-pact has, will not fall under the devil's power as did many female witches but will be the one in charge in the relationship, just as Prospero is in charge of his relationship with Ariel. According to the pact, Faustus is trading his soul and body for absolute power over Mephistophilis, a creature who has the ability to bring him the knowledge and power that will allow him to become a superior being. Ironically, however, Faustus relinquishes some of his personal power, such as the ability to remain completely independent and free of outside influence. His power no longer comes from his personal strength of will or learning. Instead, Mephistophilis is the source of his power and supposedly will do whatever Faustus wants him to do in exchange for Faustus' eternal soul. In this way, Faustus begins to depend on an outside entity, rather than himself, for the satisfaction of his desires. Because Faustus does this to gain greater power, as he sees it, he accepts this trade as advantageous to achieving his desires.

After the signing of the pact, Faustus believes he has complete control over Mephistophilis. However, the audience and reader can see how this is not the case as

Faustus begins to fall under the power of Mephistophilis and therefore slip further into witchcraft and away from intellectual magic. Immediately after Faustus hands the contract over to Mephistophilis, he requests a wife who is "the fairest maid in Germany" (5.147). These are very specific instructions, and Mephistophilis, according to the pact, must do whatever Faustus desires. Mephistophilis, however, disobeys them by bringing Faustus a devil dressed as a woman instead. Before Faustus can insist upon having a real, human wife, Mephistophilis distracts him by giving him books to peruse. He tells Faustus:

> Here, take this book, peruse it thoroughly:
> The iterating of these lines brings gold;
> The framing of this circle on the ground
> Brings whirlwinds, tempests, thunder and lightening
> Pronounce this thrice devoutly to thyself,
> And men in armour shall appear to thee (5.166-172).

Though these books do represent a type of intellectual magic because Faustus can create storms and soldiers to command without relying on Mephistophilis, the books still came from Mephistophilis, who can take them away. Ironically, they are also a way for Mephistophilis to exert more influence by controlling the knowledge Faustus has access too as well as serving to point Faustus away from thoughts and actions Mephistophilis does not want him to have, such as requesting a wife. Mephistophilis blatantly disobeys Faustus and refuses to give him a wife, and he uses his cunning to distract Faustus from his breech of contract. Mephistophilis' disobedience also accomplishes a more subtle goal. Having a wife would cement Faustus' status as a heterosexual male, but since

Mephistophilis does not allow this to take place, Faustus remains attached solely to Mephistophilis. While the books and the abilities they provide such as summoning an army represent a masculine form of magic, Faustus' reliance on Mephistophilis to access these powers ironically puts Faustus in a feminine position. This is the first example of Faustus yielding to Mephistophilis and losing power because he does not enforce his will over that of Mephistophilis.

Though Faustus has, admittedly, not had much experience with Mephistophilis and his tricks, this experience sets the stage for his future relationship with Mephistophilis as well as further exposing one of Faustus' main flaws. This flaw is one of his key weaknesses and the reason he degenerates into Mephistophilis' hapless victim and the equivalent of a female witch who is "a subordinate under Satan's control, a mere servant or 'drudge'" (Willis 90). When Mephistophilis first appears to Faustus, Faustus commands him to leave and return in the form of a monk because he does not like the way he looks in his natural, devilish form. As Leo Kirschbaum states, "Faustus will not and cannot accept things as they are: the truth must be side-stepped in some way, the bitter pill must be coated with sugar" (83). Faustus' unwillingness to see the truth is part of the reason he does not pursue his desire for a wife. A stronger character would not have been sidetracked by an ugly display and books. He would have either forced Mephistophilis to bring him a wife or, if the devil could not, would have declared the contract void and turned to other means of magical power. Faustus, however, allows himself to be led away from his personal desires and goes in the direction Mephistophilis chooses. This is a continuation of his descent from masculine control to feminine subordination.

This fall of Faustus can be read as a critique by Marlowe of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Queen Elizabeth relied on John Dee, a very learned man – but also one who was a magician – for advice. As Diane Purkiss describes in her work, "It was for [the] role of 'national magician' for which Elizabeth selected that walking compendium of Renaissance magicians' roles, John Dee" (184). She relied on Dee for advice in very important matters such as when she should set the date for her coronation (Lysons 1). Elizabeth was a female ruler in a time when men normally held the power, and so she faced resentment and unease from the men subordinate to her. James, who would become king after Elizabeth, felt an uneasiness with Elizabeth's rule because he, "like the English nobility under Elizabeth... the effects of a system in which the caprices of patrilineality occasionally brought women into positions of dominance and made men their subordinates" (Willis 124). As Benjamin Woolley elaborates, "the combination of femininity with majesty was still regarded by many as highly combustible" (53). When she consulted Dee and listened to his advice, she was consulting magic rather than relying on the advice of her more masculine and non-magical courtiers. Therefore, according to Marlowe, Elizabeth gives in to the whims of her gender and becomes weaker in the eyes of both her rivals and supporters just as the audience sees Faustus becoming weaker and more effeminate as he willingly falls under Mephistophilis' illusions.

Another example of Faustus hiding his eyes from his fate occurs in the next scene when tells of how he has "made blind Homer sing to me" and "the ravishing sound of his melodious harp" (6.28,31) has distracted Faustus from the contemplation of his damnation. He knows that he is in trouble, yet he allows Mephistophilis and his pretty

illusions to fill his vision. In this scene, Mephistophilis again refuses to obey Faustus when he does not answer Faustus' question about who made the world. The obvious answer is God, but Mephistophilis either does not want to or cannot answer. In either case, this represents another breach of contract on the part of Mephistophilis, and Faustus seems on the verge of repenting and saving himself, encouraged by the Good Angel who promises, "Repent, and they [devils] shall never raze thy skin" (6.88-89). Faustus, however, ignores the advice of the Good Angel and does not repent. Unfortunately for Faustus, Mephistophilis, realizing that he might lose his charge, seeks the aid of Lucifer who comes in all his terrible glory to convince Faustus to "think of the Devil" (6.101). Lucifer also brings with him the Seven Deadly Sins who serve as yet another distraction and tempt Faustus away from saving himself. Kirschbaum argues that the Devil:

> deliberately offers Faustus sensual satisfaction in order to distract his mind from spiritual concern which might, of course, lead to repentance.... Whenever there is danger (from the Devil's viewpoint) that Faustus will turn to God's mercy, the powers of Hell will deaden their victim's conscience by providing him with some great satisfaction of the senses. (86-87)

Lucifer continues the subtle wearing away of Faustus' powers by distracting him with another book, one that will allow him to change his shape and assume the form of any creature. This shows that Faustus is still exercising intellectual magic to some extent, but since all of the knowledge comes from the Devil and he does not seem to be actually using the knowledge on his own, he weakens and sinks even farther under Mephistophilis' power.

When Faustus reaffirms his commitment to Lucifer, he claims that he is "Never to name God, or to pray to him, / To burn his Scriptures, slay his ministers, / And make my spirits pull his churches down" (6.105-107). However, judging by Faustus' lack of ability to do great things such as wall Germany in brass or conquer the world with his armies, Faustus is unlikely to have the strength to do these things. Though he has the knowledge to perform these acts, he does not have the strength of character and so is impotent. In addition, Faustus is parroting the blasphemies typically committed by women accused of witchcraft. As a pamphlet written in the 1500s about the St. Osyth witches states, a witch was "the servant of Satan and blasphemer against 'the person of the most high God'" and "witches 'worshippe' Satan, to whom they have 'sworne allegiance,' joining his 'hellish liverie'" (Willis 87). Both Kyteler, a confirmed practitioner of demonic magic, and Faustus share these traits.

Unlike Alice, though, Faustus has little to no impact on the world around him, but he does learn the secrets of the world and travel great distances with Mephistophilis. One of the places to which he travels is Rome, and this marks a turning point in his relationship with Mephistophilis. Here, Mephistophilis begins to gain the upper hand because Faustus starts to rely solely upon him for suggestions and power. Even though Faustus would prefer to see the city, Mephistophilis restrains his desire and bids him wait in the Pope's privy-chamber so that he can interrupt the Pope during a feast he is hosting. After bidding Mephistophilis to make him invisible (rather than using his own, personal power gained through knowledge), he proceeds to play boyish pranks on the Pope: snatching and throwing dishes and cups, mocking the Pope for crossing himself, and beating and throwing fireworks among the friars who are attempting to curse him away.

There are several important things to note in this scene as evidence of Faustus' increasing loss of power. The first is in Faustus' desire to be invisible. The man who wanted to make emperors bow before him now wants to remain unrecognized. This shows that he does not have the strength of will to seize power from these rulers, which he could easily do, even if he bid Mephistophilis to do it for him. Instead, he prefers to be a fawning sycophant. Faustus' weakness and his desire for praise and acknowledgement for his good show how he does not have the mentality to be a mighty god. If he had, he would not have spent his time harassing the Pope but would have subjugated him instead. His cowardliness does not allow him to use the full extent of his power, regardless of how much his knowledge supposedly gained him.

In addition to his cowardliness, Faustus' use of his power is very similar to the common witch's petty and vindictive attacks on her neighbor with whom she has a quarrel. Purkiss describes a witch as "a kind of antihousewife... who disrupts food supplies which must be ordered and preserved, who wastes what is necessary. The witch is an antihousewife because she usurps [the wife's] authority over the household" (97). In the Pope's chambers, Faustus disrupts the Pope's meal by snatching away his food and throwing cups and fireworks about the room. He takes away the Pope's authority over his own dining chamber. Faustus is a man who has the power at his disposal to usurp the Pope's authority and rule over a huge number of people and kingdoms. However, Faustus chooses only to act in the silliest and most useless of manners by simply frightening the Pope from his food rather than killing him or forcing him to submit and follow Faustus' orders.

The final thing to note about this scene is how it compares to the farcical scenes in

which the clowns of the play, including Faustus' man Wagner, parody his conjuring and commanding of spirits, with comedic effects. If one were to ignore the tragic quality of Faustus' pitiful uses of his power, the scene in the Pope's chambers is quite comedic, with Friars running around frantically crossing themselves and cursing Faustus with silly incantations. The scene in the Pope's room effectively enforces the sentiment that Faustus is no more than a tragic clown because Faustus is unable to do anything more than perform childish tricks when tormenting the Pope. Also, to reinforce the point that Faustus becomes Mephistophilis' effeminate plaything rather than exerting control over this spirit he conjured and bound to obey him, Faustus cannot even bid Mephistophilis to take him to see Rome. Rather, Mephistophilis coerces him to remain in the Pope's privy-chamber.

In this scene, one can see the political implications because Marlowe indirectly criticizes both Catholicism and Queen Elizabeth's lenient treatment of the Catholics during her rule. In addition to taking the advice of Dee, Elizabeth was accused of treating Catholics with velvet gloves and not prosecuting them to the fullest extent of her power. As Arthur Klein comments, "the Catholic danger was, during the whole reign of Elizabeth, the one most prominent in English religious politics, yet the lenient policy in the handling of her Catholic subjects, inaugurated at the beginning, was maintained by Elizabeth and her government" (35). Not only does Faustus seem somewhat beholden to the Pope (he is similar to a child who secretly listens in to his parents' conversation and then interrupts), he, like Elizabeth, treats the Pope with velvet gloves compared to the things he could do. In regards to Elizabeth, it could be argued that her association, however distant, with magic has caused her to be weak, just as Faustus becomes weaker

the longer he uses demonic magic.

After his interlude in Rome, Faustus, for a time, becomes the equivalent of the court magician for Charles (Carolus) V, the Holy Roman Emperor. This is a sharp contrast to his desire to fling the intruding Prince of Parma from his homeland. Charles V controlled some parts of Germany during his rule, and so should have felt Faustus' wrath as well. However, Faustus shows nothing but a desire to please this emperor and fawn over him, seeking favor (although this is fairly easy for one as knowledgeable and willing to please as Faustus) from a man he could easily crush with his magical power. While it may seem natural to fawn about someone who has so much political power, Faustus shows weakness by doing so since he originally vowed to do much greater things such as create armies and conquer.

During his time with the Emperor, he continues his pitiful parlor tricks by tormenting a Christian knight who, while pompous and judgmental, presents a poor target for a man of Faustus' learning and ability. Again, it is Mephistophilis who performs all of Faustus' magic for him, fetching and removing horns from the knight's head as a symbol of cuckoldry, a very base form of humor. As will be discussed later, Ariel in *The Tempest* is similar to Mephistophilis because he performs most of Prospero's magic, but Prospero is clearly the one in charge of the relationship whereas Faustus is under Mephistophilis' influence. Faustus has reached the point where he does not have the power or will to act for himself, regardless of his great knowledge. Rather, he depends solely upon Mephistophilis to perform his simple tricks. Faustus no longer represents the elite and powerful magician he was in the beginning. In choosing the pompous yet harmless knight as his rival, Faustus lowers his standards and status, and he is now very similar to

the lowly female witch who concerns herself with getting even with her fellow village women who slighted her in some aspect.

Faustus' petty use of magic appears again when he goes to the court of the Duke of Vanholt, a lesser ruler than the Emperor he visited previously. Here Mephistophilis fetches grapes for the Duchess. This act is not a simple kindness to a friend or equal, but rather Faustus does it so he can receive praise regarding his works, just as when he calls the supposed spirit of Helen to impress the Scholars who are his peers and students. While Faustus is not directly doing the devil's work as it was understood at that time – which according to Clark in his chapter on demonology included "the practice of infanticide and anthropophagy, the aim of destroying Christian society and attendance at... notorious assemblies or 'sabbats'" (122) – Mephistophilis, in conjunction with Faustus' weak personality, has managed to restrain him from doing anything productive with his powers. This shows Faustus when he is most impotent. He does no great works of any degree, neither good nor evil. While he supposedly has all of the secret knowledge of the universe, he does not have the will to put this knowledge to use. He does not even have the will to force Mephistophilis to do great things for him, managing only to have him torment a knight or bring treats to a lady. Faustus seems to have lost his ability to "think big," primarily because he has become so dependent upon Mephistophilis and his suggestions.

Faustus' interaction with the Duchess highlights an important aspect of his magical endeavors. Much of the magic he performs or has Mephistophilis perform for him involves women which, in turn, involves the association of his magic to feminine magic. In the beginning of the play, before Faustus decides to turn towards magic, he

favors masculine trades such as that of a doctor or lawyer, and even after he decides to turn to magic, he does so with the intention of pursuing it as a masculine discipline. However, the reasons he uses his magic and the ways in which he uses it turn more and more towards the feminine as the play progresses. For example, one of the first things he requests upon gaining Mephistophilis' servitude is a wife. As will be discussed in greater detail later, Faustus turns toward the fabled Helen to provide him comfort when his the time specified in his pact is almost up. Ironically, these two instances indicate that Faustus needs women to comfort him, and this need for comfort shows his domestic and sexual weakness. Also, he takes on a nurturing aspect in his treatment of the Duchess when he provides her with the grapes she desires. Nurture such as this, feeding and giving nourishment, is generally associated with women. Finally, as mentioned earlier in the discussion of the Pope, Faustus engages in activities that normally are committed by weak female witches, such as disrupting tranquil domestic settings. All of these interactions involving women or feminine pursuits show Faustus as effeminate and pursuing feminine forms of household-type magic rather than the independent and masculine forms such as intellectual magic.

The episode with Helen is of particular importance because it is the final point in Faustus' descent to demonic witchcraft and the loss, as it were, of his manhood. Faustus, after reaffirming his oath with Lucifer, willingly requests that the veil be pulled over his eyes again and illusion distract him from the doubts and guilt that plague him. He requests of Mephistophilis:

> One thing, good servant, let me crave of thee,
>
> To glut the longing of my heart's desire, –

That I might have unto my paramour

That heavenly Helen, which I say of late,

Whose sweet embracings may extinguish clean

These thoughts that do dissuade me from my vow (13.87-92).

Even though he has ample evidence to the contrary, he truly believes that he will have the real Helen that lived in Sparta and Troy thousands of years ago. When the Emperor requests that Faustus show him Alexander the Great, Faustus explains to him that he cannot bring the real Alexander for he was long ago turned to dust but that he can bring spirits in Alexander's form. Also, Faustus has seen for himself how Mephistophilis turns devils into people to create illusions and even turns into a monk to suit Faustus when he first summons Mephistophilis. Faustus ignores this knowledge and chooses instead to believe in an illusion.

Faustus purposefully blinds himself to the fact that he is sleeping with a demon and perhaps even the Devil himself. Nicholas Brooke argues that:

> Helen is only a devil in disguise, the same spirit that Faustus produced to beguile his students' senses; and further that in committing adultery with the devil (as we are given to understand that he does) Faustus commits the final sin, consummates his bond with Lucifer, and from then on is acknowledged even by the Good Angel as beyond redemption (98).

In consummating his bond with the Devil, Faustus completely submits to Lucifer and Mephistophilis. As shown in the Kyteler case, this act of submission is one of the primary accusations during witchcraft trials where women would confess to "having sexual intercourse with demons" (Ankarloo 79). By sleeping with a devil disguised as

Helen, Faustus becomes very similar to Alice Kyteler in the previous chapter who does the same and shows her submission through intercourse with a demon. With this submission, Faustus is symbolically rejecting the power that he could have had had he chosen to remain independent and free of Lucifer. There is no chance, after this episode, that he can rely on his own strength. Instead, he has completely become Lucifer's pawn and turned his back on intellectual magic and the power he could have attained.

Towards the end of Faustus' life, the audience can see fully see his degeneration into an effeminate devil's pawn. Where he could have created and commanded armies, he instead fetches grapes for a woman's pleasure. He is no longer the powerful independent man whom everyone respected for his learning – though he is respected for the cheap tricks he displays and the pieces of knowledge he chooses to dole out, these things are so minor compared to what he could have done that the respect is rendered trivial. In Clark's article on demonology, he cites from the *Canon Episcopi*, which was written in the ninth century, which describes witches as "wicked women, perverted by the Devil, seduced by illusions and phantasms of demons" (123) and even goes as far as to condemn belief in witchcraft as blasphemy. Faustus is not a female physically, but he has been both perverted by the Devil and seduced by his illusions. He is a man of great potential, as evidenced by his ability to absorb knowledge and his skill as a doctor, but he continually chooses to listen to the Evil Angel and Mephistophilis and so accomplishes nothing in his life. Also, every time Faustus even thinks about attempting to escape from his pact or tries to go in a direction which Mephistophilis does not want him to go, Mephistophilis sidetracks and distracts him with illusions of devils, fireworks, Homer, the Seven Deadly Sins, and Helen. Faustus has relinquishes his control over the situation

and Mephistophilis. While he once commanded Mephistophilis in a display of masculine power and magic when he first summoned Mephistophilis through the use of arcane and learned magic, he now meekly gives in to Mephistophilis' suggestions and does not exercise any of the magic at his disposal unless it is in a manner more akin to that of the village witch.

Soon after finalizing his vow to Lucifer with both a new pact and intercourse with the spirit portraying Helen, demons come to drag Faustus to Hell. Faustus is utterly unable to stop his damnation – he does not even have the strength of will to repent. The Chorus laments, "Cut is the branch that might have grown full straight, / And burned is Apollo's laurel bough, / That sometimes grew within this learned man" (14.124-126). Faustus has great potential because of his ability to learn and apply what he learned, but he lacks the power and strength to harness his own abilities. Because of this, he becomes a pawn of the devil, gradually losing power and moving from the independent and powerful study of intellectual magic to the slavery of demonic magic. He becomes the equivalent of the "mad, senile or ill" women who were "prey to wholesale demonic delusion" (Clark 125). In his pursuit of power, he becomes the weak pawn of the Devil, suitable only for encouraging Mephistophilis to perform parlor tricks for those he could have conquered.

In addition, through Faustus' descent, one can see how Marlowe uses magic as a trope for politics. He wishes to warn Elizabeth of the dangers of trusting in magic to answer her questions and give her good advice. The predominantly Christian view at the time held that all magic came from the devil, no matter that the practitioner, such as Dee, claimed it did not (Apps and Gow 133). Because magic came from the devil, the

practitioner was weak-minded and associated with feminine gullibility since only women and fools turn to the devil for answers and power. By asking the advice of Dee, Elizabeth would have been seen as weak because she sought the advice of a perceived devil-worshiper. Marlowe wants to show that even if one starts out with good intentions – Faustus is very patriotic and wants to do great things for his country – it does not matter because magic is inherently evil and will lead one astray.

Prospero's Panopticon

In *The Tempest* William Shakespeare creates a type of witchcraft drama that portrays Prospero, the main character, as a benevolent figure who uses his magic for good purposes instead of portraying him as a witch in the conventional sense who uses her magic, gained from a pact with the devil, for evil purposes. This benevolent figure uses his magic to right the wrongs committed against himself and his daughter and to punish wrongdoers. As mentioned in the introduction, Prospero is one of the practitioners of high, or intellectual magic. Unlike Faustus, Prospero never turns to demonic sources for his power and always maintains control over the spirits he summons. He is a very powerful, masculine figure who uses magic as a tool to regain his power. Once he has achieved this goal, he discards magic and no longer uses it.

While Shakespeare was writing, female witches – ambiguously empowered by a pact with the devil to practice low magic – were being prosecuted in trials, some of which King James initiated and oversaw during the years 1590-1597 (Willis 124). As evidenced by his involvement in the North Berwich Witch Trials, James took an avid interest in persecuting witches. He even wrote *Demonologie*, his book on witches and witchcraft trials. Deborah Willis asserts in her book *Malevolent Nurture* that James' fear of witchcraft and his desire to hunt witches down resulted from a misplacement of his resentment and fear of his two "mothers," his figurative mother Queen Elizabeth and his literal mother Mary Queen of Scots. These two women represented female power in a world of traditionally male rulers and had the ability to threaten his rule. James could not

directly confront them and win. Therefore, he was determined to assert his authority over those who practiced witchcraft - an act that constituted a form of treason against the king and God and threatened patriarchal rule.

James saw witchcraft as an act of disloyalty because:

> in order for her magic to work, the witch had to enter into a pact with the devil; in doing so she betrayed both God and godly nation. By shifting loyalties from God to his worst enemy, she defied not only divine authority but also the earthly 'chain of command' it authorized, stretching from king to magistrate to local master. (Willis 129)

Not only were witches traitors, they also represented a threat to male power and patriarchy, as shown in the chapter on Kyteler, because witchcraft placed a woman in a position of power which she normally would not have been able to achieve. This threat was perhaps inflated in James' mind because a witch's power came from the devil, not from within herself. He fashioned the witch as a symbol of female power, when she was in fact only ironically so. Although the witch hunts initiated by James had died down by the time Shakespeare wrote *The Tempest* in 1612, the unease surrounding powerful females – epitomized in the figure of the witch – was probably still fresh in James' mind.

During James' rule, "the stagings of witchcraft grew more and more sensational" (Purkiss 231), and Shakespeare wanted to be able to cash in on this trend. Since he also needed to create a character James would have approved of, he develops Prospero, a character whom James would have liked and to whom he probably would have felt a kinship. Shakespeare's approach is in sharp contrast to Marlowe's who uses the figure of the low witch to critique Elizabeth. Shakespeare makes Prospero palatable to James

because, in the first place, Prospero's magic is of the higher sort that does not come from a pact with the devil. Instead it comes from knowledge, books, and time spent learning, much as a doctor, lawyer, or even priest would gain his skills. His magic does not represent that of a malevolent mother (or witch) who seeks to usurp her son's power such as with James and Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots. Instead, Shakespeare represents Prospero as a "learned and benevolent" high magician as opposed to a "lower class and malignant" witch (Willis 166). In addition, Prospero uses his magic to reassert his authority and gain back his rightful throne. In this vein, magic aids in enforcing patriarchal power rather than subverting it. Prospero becomes the strong male ruler who does not submit to the devil to gain power, but rather has the strength to command magic and assert power over it. He uses magic to reinforce his claim to the throne and punish those who usurped the rightful order, primarily his brother and the king of Naples.

Shakespeare's creation of a strong male ruler who controls a force popularly associated with women is not the only aspect of *The Tempest* which seeks to appeal to King James. Prospero, acting in a way very similar to the king at the time, colonizes the island where he becomes marooned. After he has drained the island of the "resource" for which he needed it - its isolation that allows him to bring his schemes to fruition - he leaves the island to Caliban, the "native." Diane Purkiss makes this assertion in *The Witch in History*, but her main focus is on Sycorax and her similarities to colonized peoples. She does make the point, however, that in inhabiting this island, Prospero (and Sycorax before him) effectively lives on the periphery of the civilized world and that this "living outside the law [and] occupying a position from which it is possible to escape its workings - or control them" (259) gives Prospero power. This manipulation of the law is

exactly what Prospero does with his magic when he creates his panopticon, the force which allows him to control events around him.

Prospero's use of high magic to create this panopticon would have appealed to James. With this tool, Prospero uses magic not to subvert authority such as would a witch, who is "by definition a traitor, always already the enemy of any king who aligned himself with God" (Willis 129). Instead, he enforces his rights as a ruler and uses high magic to build a panopticon to seize back his throne. In his *Discipline and Punish*, Michel Foucault describes the concept of the panopticon, an all-seeing tower which can observe and manipulate isolated subjects in cells surrounding the tower in whatever way the controller of the tower wishes. The ultimate goal of this structure is to "strengthen the social forces" (Foucault 208) and better society as a whole by disciplining, educating, and morally improving members. Prospero, the disposed Duke of Milan and magician, uses his magic to create a panopticon on the island where he temporarily resides. Primarily through Ariel, an airy spirit whom Prospero controls, he sets right all the wrongs that he feels were committed against him when he was deposed by Antonio, his brother, and Alonso, the king of Naples. He does this by punishing and deceiving members of the king's entourage (including Antonio) who were washed ashore during a tempest.

This tempest was created by Prospero and Ariel to initiate the building of Prospero's panopticon – an act which would not have been possible without his magic. According to Foucault, an effective panopticon has a single tower which watches "the peripheric building [that] is divided into cells, each of which extends the whole width of the building; they have two windows, one on the inside, corresponding to the windows of the tower; the other, on the outside, allows light to cross the cell from one end to the

other" (200). Though Prospero does not build the physical structure of a panopticon, he uses the principle of subjects isolated from one another and placed where they can be supervised constantly even though they do not know when they are being watched. Therefore, as Ariel tells Prospero, "I boarded the King's ship. Now on the beak, / Now in the waist, the deck, in every cabin, / I flamed amazement" (Shakespeare 1.2.196-8). His actions induce all of the king's party to jump overboard and swim to the island because of fear of St. Elmo's fire. Ariel also controls the winds and waves in such a way that the men are separated from one another in groupings all over the island. After the storm is over Ariel, at Prospero's bidding, has divided those from the king's ship into four "cells" which are prevented from interacting, not by physical walls, but by their various placements over the unfamiliar territory of a large isle and by Ariel who carefully leads each party where Prospero desires. The first cell consists of Ferdinand, the son of the king of Naples. His father Alonso, the king's brother Sebastian, the usurping Duke of Milan Antonio, the faithful counselor Gonzalo, and various other lords make up the second cell. Trinculo the jester, Stephano the butler, and Caliban create the third cell while all the mariners on the king's ship are in the fourth cell.

Once Prospero has separated these various parties, he sends Ariel out to observe and begin inducing his "subjects" to various actions because, in addition to being a mechanism for observation, the "Panopticon was also a laboratory [which] could be used as a machine to carry out experiments, to alter behavior, to train or correct individuals" (Foucault 203). Prospero first focuses his attention upon Ferdinand, the eligible bachelor to whom he would like to marry his daughter Miranda. By doing this Prospero will secure an heir for himself and wealth and position for his daughter. Using magic in this

way would have appealed to James because Prospero advances the social and financial position of his daughter and heir, just as any ruler would attempt to do in a similar situation. To prime Ferdinand and make him more prone to fall to Miranda's charm, Prospero sends an invisible Ariel to enchant Ferdinand with sad melodies about his father's supposed drowning. Under this atmosphere of enchantment, Ferdinand sees the beautiful Miranda who is likewise amazed by the first man she has ever seen other than her father and the ugly Caliban. Ferdinand immediately falls in love with Miranda, saying, "O, if a virgin, / And your affection not gone forth, I'll make you / The Queen of Naples" (1.2.448-50). When Prospero is sure that the two young lovers have ensnared each other, he becomes more directly involved and plays the role of a tyrannical father "lest to light a winning / Make the prize light" (1.2.452-3). After observing unseen a conversation in which Ferdinand and Miranda profess undying love for one another, Prospero knows that his scheme with the son of the king has succeeded.

While dealing with Ferdinand, Prospero also uses the panoptic structure to manipulate the king and those with him. As with Ferdinand, Alonso thinks that only those who landed with him have survived and that his son is drowned. As the king is grieving and Gonzalo is trying to comfort him, Ariel enters and puts all except Antonio and Sebastian to sleep and then enters again to prevent the murder of Alonso and Gonzalo at their hands. Ariel says, "My master through his art foresees the danger / That you, his friend, are in, and sends me forth / (For else his project dies) to keep them living" (2.1.301-4), thus enforcing the idea that Prospero uses his magical abilities to always observe and control matters according to his will, as King James might. Prospero's ultimate goal with this group becomes clear when various spirits, under Prospero's

supervision, set out a banquet for the party which Ariel, as a harpy, disperses the moment they are about to eat. Ariel explains to them saying:

> But remember
> (For that is my business to you) that you three
> From Milan did supplant good Prospero;
> Exposed to the sea, which hath requit it
> Him and his innocent child; for which foul deed
> The pow'rs, delaying, not forgetting, have
> Incensed the seas and shores, yea, all the creatures,
> Against your peace. (3.3.68-75)

Prospero leaves Alonso, Sebastian, and Antonio, the three he wants to punish and make remorseful, in an enchanted state where each experiences certain torments. When he isolates them from the outside world by trapping them inside their own heads, Prospero once again divides them into cells where they are unable to communicate and where Prospero's punishment can take its toll. After allowing their consciousnesses to work on them, Prospero lifts the enchantment and tells Alonso who he is. He regains his dukedom and Alonso approves of Ferdinand's and Miranda's marriage.

In addition to the cells containing Ferdinand and Alonso, Prospero also must monitor Trinculo and Stephano, two drunken servants of the king who have decided to murder Prospero and take his daughter at the insistence and encouragement of Caliban. Just as the watcher in the tower of the panopticon is not able to see everything in the cells at the same time, neither is Prospero immediately aware of Caliban's plot. However, soon after the plot forms, Ariel discovers it. Prospero decides to use the situation to his own

advantage and set them up for a theft for which they can be punished. This set up will serve to show Caliban the folly of attempting to kill Prospero and that of following fools. After the servants steal some of Prospero's garments from a line, Prospero sends hounding after them spirits which will "grind their joints / With dry convulsions, shorten up their sinews / With aged cramps, and more pinch-spotted make them / Than pard or cat o' mountain" (4.1.258-61). Being able to command spirits such as these was a hallmark of high magic. As D. P. Walker describes in his book *Spiritual and Demonic Magic*, it is the spirit which is "the most usual medium of transmission" for magic, and "the effects may be either on an animate being, or on an inanimate one (or directly on the body)" (76). Lastly, the fourth cell in Prospero's panopticon is that which contains the mariners who are held by their fear on the vessel which carried the king. These do not play into Prospero's plans until the end when they reunite with the king and tell him that the vessel is fit to carry everyone home, and so Prospero uses Ariel to ensure that they stay on the boat and sleep until they are needed.

As demonstrated above, Prospero's panopticon consists of Prospero's art and the airy spirit Ariel who does his bidding. The magical foresight and ability to control spirits given to him through his practice of high magic, along with a virtually uninhabited island provide the apparatus for the panopticon rather than the conventional methods of physical towers and cells. As Foucault explains, "whenever one is dealing with a multiplicity of individuals on whom a task or a particular form of behaviour must be imposed, the panoptic schema may be used" (205). Prospero's unique use of this concept allows him to watch his subjects in their natural habitat, as it were, and manipulate them from a distance without having to expend his energy watching them with his own eyes. The

terrain of the island and its size would not normally be ideal for observation, but the use of magic makes this inconvenience irrelevant. The size actually turns into an advantage since those in the "cells" are hampered by the island's physical features as well as magic. Also, without high magic as a vehicle, Prospero would never have been able to bring the king and those with him under his control by wrecking their ship, much less maintaining the multiple schemes and manipulations necessary to bring about the resolution that he wanted.

This power over those who wronged him and the magic that gives Prospero power stem from knowledge which, in turn, comes from power. High magicians were of necessity very learned men such as Heinrich Agrippa, for example, who was not only a magician but also a philosopher, physician, and theologian. Foucault describes this phenomenon by saying that:

> power produces knowledge (and not simply by encouraging it because it serves power or by applying it because it is useful); that power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations. (27)

In Prospero's case, this knowledge is magical knowledge. As a duke, he had the power to take his leisure reading books with gave him knowledge of magic. Once Prospero landed on the island, his magical knowledge allowed him to free Ariel from the tree in which Sycorax the witch had confined him. With the additional power that Prospero has under his control through Ariel, he is able to bring the king's ship to his island and deposit the

travelers where he sees fit. Once Prospero has dispersed them, he uses magical foresight and Ariel to follow their movements, and he controls them based on the knowledge of their actions.

Therefore magic and the knowledge he gained by it give Prospero the power to build a panopticon from which he can "strengthen social forces" by successfully marrying his daughter to a prince, regaining his dukedom (both of which ensure that his heirs will rule over two powerful cities), and punishing the three who wronged him in the past, Antonio, Alonso, and Sebastian, and those who attempt to wrong him in the present, Trinculo, Stephano, and Caliban. After the panopticon has allowed Prospero to achieve these goals, he dissolves it by giving up magic and reassuming his title as Duke of Milan. Prospero's act of giving up his magical power would have appealed to James because the magic had served the purpose of helping him gain back his throne. Had he remained a magician, there is every reason to believe that he would have neglected his kingdom and again been ousted from his proper place.

In addition to using his magic to create a panopticon to enforce his will and set things back to their proper political order, Prospero's magic allows him to punish the transgressions of the wrongdoers and discipline them so they will not commit similar acts. Once again, Shakespeare plays to James by having Prospero use magic to enforce justice. The first instance of Prospero using his magic to punish is the creation of a storm to strand on a seemingly deserted island Alonso, the King of Naples, and his son and followers, including Prospero's usurping brother Antonio who stole Prospero's rightful throne. Alonso, who had assisted Antonio in stealing his brother's throne, is separated from his only son and heir Ferdinand. Because of Alonso's agency in the loss of

Prospero's throne (Antonio could not have completed the act on his own), Alonso's punishment is the most severe of those inflicted on the island. He is first separated from Ferdinand, whom he thinks "i' th' ooze is bedded" (3.3.100). The next stage of Alonso's punishment, after the grief of losing his son, is to learn that the loss of his son was no mere mishap of fate but rather a direct punishment for helping Antonio usurp his brother's throne and then sentencing Prospero and his child Miranda to death at sea. Prospero inflicts this punishment by commanding Ariel to appear as a harpy at a banquet set out by spirits supposedly to feed the lost and hungry travelers. Ariel describes Alonso's punishment by saying:

> Thee of thy son, Alonso,
> They have bereft; and do pronounce by me
> Ling'ring perdition (worse than any death
> Can be at once) shall step by step attend
> You and your ways (3.3.75-79).

Then Prospero traps Alonso within his own mind and guilt with a spell, forcing him to face what he has done and the things he has lost because of it.

When punishing Alonso in this manner, Prospero also punishes Sebastian, the king's brother who planned to overthrow Alonso, and his own brother Antonio for overthrowing Prospero and planning to aid Sebastian. Their punishment consists of the same type of mental torture Alonso endured. As Prospero explains:

> Flesh and blood,
> You, brother mine, that entertained ambition,
> Expelled remorse and nature; whom with Sebastian

(Whose inward pinches therefore are most strong),

Would here have killed your king (5.1.74-78).

However, their pain, because they do not lose their sons and heirs, is not as great since their sins are not seen by Prospero to be as severe as those of Alonso. Without Alonso, Prospero could not have been supplanted and so he deserves a greater punishment.

On the other side of the island, other culprits are punished for their wrongdoings in a slightly different manner. Stefano and Trinculo, urged by Caliban, plan to murder Prospero and usurp his place as ruler of the island in a similar manner to how Antonio usurped Prospero in Milan. James would have seen this act, in particular, as threatening because it was treason. Prospero, however, uses magic, a force normally associated with aiding treason, to stop treason, and this would have eased James' fears of it. Though they do not succeed in killing Prospero, they do fall for his trap and steal some of his clothes. For these transgressions (theft and planning murder), all three are harried by spirits appearing as hell hounds which have been summoned by Prospero. Prospero commands the spirits saying, "Go, charge my goblins that they grind their joints / With dry convulsions, shorten up their sinews / With agéd cramps, and more pinch-spotted make them / Than pard or cat o' mountain" (4.1.258-261). This punishment is far more physically painful as opposed to that of the nobles who suffer from inward pain. These two types of punishments echo the punishments of practitioners of high and low magic. Those in authority hanged and burned witches at the stake and used torture to extract confessions, such as what happened with Petronella, while nobles accused generally fled or were fined, similar to the fate of Alice and her son.

Prospero is also one of the characters punished by magic, and this is one way

Shakespeare again seeks to appease James. Even though Prospero is using magic to reinforce patriarchal power, magic use is still wrong, and so Prospero's punishment is important because it shows that even though he uses it for a good reason, he still must face the consequences of his actions. Prospero is not punished in exactly the same manner as are the others because his crimes are of a different nature. Prospero, before the main action of the play, neglected "worldly ends, all dedicated / To closeness and the bettering of [his] mind" (1.2.89-90). In other words, he devoted himself to learning and, specifically, to learning magic. Because of his dedication, Prospero failed his people by not governing them. This negligence, in turn, allowed his brother to forcefully remove him from his position and leave him adrift at sea where, instead of dying according to plan, he and Miranda were marooned upon an island. Therefore, Prospero is indirectly punished by his magic through his use of it for had he not sought to learn it, he would never have neglected his duties to his people.

Prospero's punishment, his and his daughter's banishment on the island, end when Prospero gives up his magic and, as he explains, "my charms are all o'erthrown, / And what strength I have's mine own / Which is most faint" (epilogue 1-3). By punishing Prospero, Shakespeare shows how he does not endorse the practice of magic. Because his plot is driven by the practice of magic, he is following the trends of the time, influenced by the Jacobian witchcraft drama craze. He also, however, wants to write a play of which James will approve, so he creates a "good" magician who uses magic to enforce patriarchal power and simultaneously, is punished until he gives up his practice.

The punishments by magic of the characters in this play takes two different forms. The first is the punishment of the physical body, suffered by Caliban and the clowns.

while the second is a form of mental torture, suffered by the nobles and by Prospero. In Foucault's *Discipline and Punish*, he explains that over time the power of punishment shifted its focus from the body, with physical displays of torture and death, to the soul and mind, where the rehabilitation is the main goal. As punishment changed over the years, the law began to "treat in a 'humane' way an individual who is 'outside nature' (whereas the old justice treated the 'outlaw' inhumanely)" (Foucault 92).

Caliban and his accomplices experience this older form of punishment. As Foucault states, "In the old system [of punishment] the body of the condemned man became the king's property, on which the sovereign left his mark and brought down the effects of his power" (109). Prospero, the sovereign of his island, uses his magic to mark these transgressors. Ariel, at Prospero's command, led Caliban, Stephano, and Trinculo through

> Toothed briers, sharp furzes, pricking goss, and thorns
> Which ent'red their frail shins. At last I left them
> I' th' filthy mantled pool beyond [Prospero's] cell,
> There dancing up to th' chins, that the foul lake
> O'erstunk their feet (4.1.180-4).

This is a very visible form of punishment, that leaves physical pain and marks as a reminder of the crime. In these older systems of punishment, the authorities relied on "the horrifying spectacle of public punishment" (Foucault 9) to discourage crime. When Prospero uses magic, his vehicle for enforcing punishment in the place of societal authority or control over an enforcement agency such as the police, he treats Caliban and the clowns in an inhumane way compared to the way he treats Alonso and his cohorts

because he views their crimes as more primitive and deserving of a more visible form of punishment. Caliban's plan to supplant Prospero, as mentioned earlier, is very similar to Antonio's previous plan which succeeded in removing Prospero from power. However, it fails because Caliban, Stephano and Trinculo lack the cunning and allies that Antonio had and because Prospero is always vigilant, as mentioned earlier with the aid of his magic, in protecting his domain.

In contrast to the visibly shocking and outwardly painful punishments of these three characters, the punishments of the nobles is far more "humane." They suffer from "inward pinches" inflicted by Prospero. As he tells Ariel, "My high charms work, / And these, mine enemies, are all knit up, / In their distractions" (3.3.88-90). These "high charms" are used to punish a higher form of crime, that of usurping a rightful ruler and planning to do the same to another. Prospero's power's focus is "no longer the body, but the soul" (Foucault 101), and he seeks to reform those he is punishing by making them want to change of their own will according to their consciousnesses. Prospero's punishment is similar in that he has had to live for many years with the knowledge that his pursuit of magic cost him his kingdom, so in a way, though he does not curse himself, he has his own "inward pinches" to punish him. In the outward and inner forms of punishment, one sees how punishment evolved over time from grotesque and physical displays of pain to hidden torments away from the public eye and how Prospero sees a distinct difference between the criminal actions of those on his island. Though these two types of punishments are very different, they do have some things in common in that both of them seek "to find the suitable punishment for a crime [which] is to find the disadvantage whose idea is such that it robs for ever the idea of a crime of any attraction"

(Foucault 104).

In order for this to be accomplished, there are six steps that Prospero must take to be effective, and Prospero's treatment of Caliban and his group will serve to illustrate how he follows these steps. The first is that "the penalty must be made to conform as closely as possible to the nature of the offense, so that fear of punishment diverts the mind from the road along which the prospect of an advantageous crime was leading it" (104). Caliban and his cohorts, who plan to take a life, fear for their own lives when they are chased by hound-like spirits, receiving a taste of what it would be like for the victim of their criminal act. In addition, Prospero makes the thieves clean his stolen belongings and his house after they are returned to him by his spirit-hounds. In doing this, the "idea of the offense will be enough to arouse the sign of the punishment" (105) because after expending energy caring for and repairing Prospero's clothing they will always associate this labor with their theft.

The second step in making punishment effective is to "reduce the desire that makes the crime attractive; increase the interest that makes the penalty to be feared; reverse the relation of intensities, so that the representation of the penalty and its disadvantages is more lively than that of the crime and its pleasures" (106). Prospero must go directly to the source (such as pride or envy) of the crime and "irritate it and stimulate it more than the crime was able to flatter it" (107). Caliban envies Prospero and wants him "destroyed" because, as Caliban accuses Prospero:

> This island's mine by Sycorax my mother,
>
> Which thou tak'st from me...
>
> and here you sty me

In this hard rock, whiles you do keep from me

The rest o' th' island. (1.2.331-2, 342-4)

Prospero uses Caliban's own isle, of which he is very proud, to inflict the punishment by having briers claw him and rocks trip him as he is driven by the spirit-hounds.

The third way to ensure effective punishment is to "use a temporal modulation" (107) and only punish for a certain short time because permanent punishment would not be useful in reforming criminals. Also, punishment should diminish as it produces its effects" (108). To this end, both sets of criminals, the nobles and the clowns, are only punished for a short period of time, no more than several hours. Though their torment may have seemed to last for a long time, Prospero did not spend years or decades enforcing his will because "punishment can function only if it comes to an end" (107). Once he believes that the criminals understand their guilt and the reason they are being punished, he ends his magical torment and proceeds to restore order, first by returning the chastised clowns to their masters and then by letting everyone know that they can all leave the island together because the tempest did not wreck the ship.

In his fourth point, Foucault claims that "the guilty person is only one of the targets of the punishment... [which] is directed above all at others, at all the potentially guilty" (108). Because Trinculo, Stephano and Caliban all see punishment meted out against the Alonso, Antonio and Sebastian, not just themselves, they understand that their crimes are taken seriously and no one is punished more or less than the others. This shows them that they can expect the same punishment if they decide to commit another crime.

On a similar note, Prospero must make these punishments public in order to get

his point across and ensure that no more crimes are committed. In this case, Prospero handles Caliban and his cohorts in a different manner than he does Alonso and his. In the old form of punishment, he tortures Caliban, Stephano and Trinculo, and "the example was based on terror: physical fear, collective horror, images that must be engraved on the memories of the spectators" (110). The spirit-hounds do promote fear and terror as they drive these three about, and they are physically marked by their wounds and abrasions. They are seen by everyone, including each other, and they set an example to anyone else who would wish to commit the same crimes they did. In their minds, Prospero is undeniably their master and they must bend to his will. On the other hand, Prospero employs a different, more evolved, method with Alonso and his nobles. With them, "the example is now based on the lesson, the discourse... the reactivation of the code, the collective reinforcements of the link between the idea of crime and the idea of punishment" (110). Prospero reactivates this code of authority and law when he restores himself to his rightful position as the Duke of Milan. He tells Antonio "you, most wicked sir... / [I] require/ My dukedom of thee, which perforce I know / Thou must restore" (5.1.130, 132-4). These three men are reminded of the law and Prospero explains everything to them. This conversation reinforces the lesson their punishment was inflicting; namely, that they lost everything because they went against natural law by removing a rightful leader.

In Foucault's sixth and final point in how to make punishment effective, there must be "in society an inversion of the traditional discourse of crime" (112). In other words, crime can no longer be glorified and viewed as a noble or clever endeavor, but rather, it must be seen as something no one would aspire to because it dirty and low.

Stephano, Trinculo and Caliban attempt to glorify their crimes as they gloat over the "glistening apparel" that they steal from Prospero; however, once they are driven around the island, they lose all glory and pleasure they may have had in their thefts.

By using high magic to enforce his will, Prospero reforms all of these wrongdoers and creates a link in their minds from the crimes they committed to the punishments they received. His magic is the vehicle that allows him to return as the rightful ruler of Milan with his enemies so properly chastised that they will not think to attempt any further transgressions. Once Prospero has achieved his goal, he gives up his magic so that he can end his own punishment of banishment from his throne and return rule his people. In this witchcraft drama, Shakespeare creates a character who would appeal to James because he is a powerful male ruler, but he also punishes the character for using magic. In this way, Shakespeare appeals to the common audience who craved plays about witchcraft and to James who was in power.

Conclusion

As shown, magic, in addition to representing the authors' views about the politics of the times, becomes demystified. From dark and misunderstood in *The Sorcery Trial of Alice Kyteler* to completely controlled and documented in books of learning in *The Tempest*, magic comes into the light, so to speak. An interesting thing to note in these three separate portrayals of magic is that these works are not necessarily concerned with witchcraft as pure witchcraft. Instead, magical power always represents something else and is not an entity unique and independent in itself. For example, in Ledrede's account, Alice's use of magic represents the evil and heretical nature of the Irish in general. In *Dr. Faustus* and *The Tempest* it is more of a trope for political and state power as it relates to, alternatively, Queen Elizabeth and King James.

Alice, based on Ledrede's accusations against her, represents the evil and wicked side of magic. Not only is she a devil-worshiper, but she dares to attack the Church and the roots of patriarchal power. Because of her crimes and the ideas she attacks, Ledrede must also depict her not only as evil but as weak. He does this by having her submit to a masculine source of power which itself cannot stand up to the might of the Church. Ledrede also wants to use Alice as a scapegoat for the Irish people. She is heretical and practices witchcraft, and so must the people as a whole.

Faustus is a hybrid of sorts. At first, he is a Renaissance man who can conquer and master any type of knowledge he puts his hands on. Once he turns to magic, however, his intellect and personal power fail him and he begins to submit, like Alice to

demonic forces. Marlowe uses Faustus' descent from masculine power to feminine powerlessness to show the dangers of trusting magic rather than less controversial methods of obtaining power and knowledge.

Prospero, on the other hand, is everything Alice is not and everything that Faustus should have been. He controls the spirits he summons with an iron fist, and Ariel, in particular, seems to have a respect for Prospero that is completely lacking in the relationship between Mephistophilis and Faustus. He is a strong, masculine force that has conquered magic and tamed it to fit his needs. Magic, to Prospero, is not a thing of mystery and uncertainty, but a tool which, with the proper learning and application, can be of great benefit to the wielder.

These three works, when taken together, show a sample of the progression of views regarding magic. They also allow one to see how magic is "brought down to earth" and taken out of the darkness and fear that surrounded it in the Middle Ages and brought into the more modern, enlightened era. Interestingly enough, this trend seems to continue into the modern day. Magic, as depicted in popular books and television shows, never really exists as its own entity. Rather, it always stands for another idea or concept. Magic has been tamed to the point that it needs to symbolize something else. For example, in the popular television show *Charmed*, the witchcraft and magic of the three sisters represents feminine empowerment in a world that is normally dominated by male power (corporate, business, or otherwise). In the *Harry Potter* series the main character's gradual mastery of magic is a metaphor for growing up. His magic expands and grows as he becomes older and more experienced. Magic, perhaps because of its ambiguous nature – there is no proof that it exists, yet it remains a very popular topic even today –

cannot exist on its own, in a pure state. This is just as true today as it was during the time spanned by the three works examined here.

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