

REDEEMING FAUSTUS: TRACING THE PACTS OF MARIKEN AND FAUST FROM THE 1500S TO THE
PRESENT

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ABSTRACT

Janice Elizabeth Hansen: Redeeming Faustus: Tracing the Pacts of Mariken and Faust from the 1500s to the Present
(Under the direction of Ruth von Bernuth)

This dissertation uncovers and analyzes the complicated history of the devil's pact in literature from approximately 1330 to 2015, focusing primarily on texts written in German and Dutch. That the tale of the pact with the devil (the so-called Faustian bargain) is one of the most durable and pliable literary themes is undeniable. Yet for too long, the success of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *Faust I* (1808) decisively shaped scholarship on early devil's pact tales, leading to a misreading of the texts with Goethe's concerns being projected onto the earliest manifestations. But Goethe's *Faust* really only borrows from the original Faust his name; the two characters could not be more different. Furthermore, Faustus was not the only early pact-maker character and his tale was neither limited to the German language nor to the Protestant faith. Among others, tales written in Dutch about a female, Catholic, late-medieval pact-maker, Mariken van Nieumeghen (1515), illustrate this. This dissertation seeks to redeem the early modern Faustus texts from its misreading and to broaden the scholarship on the literature of the devil's pact by considering the Mariken and Faust traditions together.

The first chapter outlines the beginnings of pact literature as a Catholic phenomenon, considering the tales of Theophilus and Pope Joan alongside Mariken of Nijmegen. The second chapter turns to the original Faust tale, the *Historia von D. Johann Fausten* (1587),

best read as a Lutheran response to the Catholic pact literature in the wake of the Reformation. In the third chapter, this dissertation offers a new, united reading of the early modern Faust tradition. The fourth and fifth chapters trace the literary preoccupation with the pacts of both Mariken and Faustus from the late early modern to the present.

The dissertation traces the evolution of these two bodies of literature and provides an in-depth analysis and comparison of the two that has not been done before. It argues for a more global literary scholarship that considers texts across multiple languages and one that takes into consideration the rich body of material of the pact tradition.

“Alles Gescheite ist schon gedacht worden; man muss nur versuchen, es noch einmal zu denken.”

-- Johann Wolfgang von Goethe,
Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre

“I’ll believe in anyone or anything [...] that’ll batter these cursed Telmarine barbarians to pieces or drive them out of Narnia. Anyone or anything, Aslan *or* the White Witch, do you understand?”

“Call her up [...]. We are all ready. Draw the circle. Prepare the blue fire.”

--C.S. Lewis, *Prince Caspian*

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INTRODUCTION

In a single entry for January and February 1877, Louisa May Alcott writes of the influence Goethe's *Faust* had on her writing: "Went for some weeks to the Bellevue, and wrote 'A Modern Mephistopheles' for the No Name Series. It has been simmering ever since I read *Faust* last year. Enjoyed doing it, being tired of providing moral pap for the young."¹ This quote is somewhat misleading, for Alcott's Goethean novel had been "simmering" for eleven years at this point. In September of 1866, Alcott notes having penned a long tale of the same title, but this novel was refused publication because it was "too long & too sensational."² Louisa May Alcott is only one of many authors profoundly influenced by this "simmering" of the Faustian myth, and her two adaptations wrestle with the devil's pact and the possibility of redemption in a manner relevant to her time, the very issues at the heart of this dissertation.

Alcott's original 1866 version was discovered long after her death and finally published under the title *A Long Fatal Love Chase* in 1995. Her revision of this thriller, the 1877 *A Modern Mephistopheles* was, despite having the same title, incredibly different from her first Faustian endeavor, albeit it still contained the shared thematics of the question of evil, sex, and drugs. The pact-maker in the first rendition is a female named Rosamond who, out of desperation declares in the opening lines, "I often feel as if I'd gladly sell my soul to Satan for a year of freedom."³ The devil in the form of Phillip Tempest offers her an escape from her prison, as she becomes his

¹ Louisa May Alcott, *The Journals of Louisa May Alcott*, ed. Joel Myerson and Daniel Shealy (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1989), 204.

² *Ibid.*, 153.

³ Louisa May Alcott, *A Long Fatal Love Chase* (New York: Random House, 1995), 3.

wife and they travel together. After a year of marriage, she learns he was married to another woman and has likely murdered his young son, and she recognizes the depth of his depravity. Rosamond escapes, and Tempest spends the next years making a sport of chasing her. As she moves from place to place, only to be found out again and again, she comes to know and fall in love with a Catholic priest while seeking refuge in a French convent. The priest attempts to help Rosamond return to the home she left for Tempest, but Tempest murders Rosamond in an attempt to murder the priest. In a fit of rage upon this discovery, Tempest thrusts a dagger into his own breast, securing a marriage in hell for the pair: “Mine first—mine last—mine even in the grave.”⁴

A Modern Mephistopheles, Alcott’s revision first published anonymously in a series meant to keep audiences guessing on authorship, provides a Faustian pact-maker by the name of Felix Canaris. Felix, an aspiring yet failing author, enters into the service of the devil-figure, the disabled Jasper Helwyze, receiving publication and fame for his absolute obedience. Helwyze spends his days moulding his subjects according to his own fancies. Felix is forced into marriage with the innocent Gladys, whom he does not love, but who ultimately redeems him and frees him from the manipulations of Jasper. Helwyze’s main goal is to find the wicked in someone’s soul, force it out, and conquer the person, but Felix’s tendency towards evil is thwarted by the love he is learning to feel towards Gladys. Some hashish dreams and lurid metaphors later, Helwyze loses his control over Felix due to Gladys’ intervention. The female thus conquers the devil, dying in childbirth to redeem Felix and give him rebirth. Alcott’s anonymous publication was hailed as a “variation of the master’s theme with much good sense.”⁵ Her warning against the

⁴ Ibid., 242.

⁵ *The Atlantic Monthly: A Magazine of Literature, Science, Art, and Politics* (Boston: H.O. Houghton and Company, 1877), 40:109.

high price of temptation is described as a moral pedagogy, teaching the lesson that “wanton exercise of the intellect and a suppression of the better forces of the heart are very dangerous and devilish.”⁶

In her two renditions of the Faustian theme, Louisa May Alcott presents two very different pact-makers, the desperate Rosamund and the aspiring Felix. Perhaps unwittingly, Alcott’s tales parallel the two strains of pact literature that preoccupy this dissertation: the histories of Mariken van Nieumeghen and Doctor Johann Faustus. At the outset, it is important to understand that there are two common early modern Faustian characters, the earliest of which was no doctor (or even man), but instead took the form of a young girl, Mariken. In her earliest iteration, Mariken van Nieumeghen spends seven years as the devil’s lover before repenting and escaping his hold. She escapes, performs penance, and ultimately attains redemption due to a maintained connection to the Virgin Mary. Mariken first appears in print around 1515. In his earliest form, Doctor Faustus enjoys twenty-four years of epicurean pleasure as the devil on earth in return for his soul’s eternal presence in hell. The first appearance of his story dates to about 1580 in the form of a manuscript, a revision of which was printed in 1587 by Johann Spies. The similarities between these two strains of pact literature are more than superficial, mirroring each other even in the deployment of specific literary devices. For example, in the 1515 *Mariken van Nieumeghen*, a Catholic and Dutch play, the reader finds herself in the devil’s shoes, as Mariken becomes “one flesh” with the devil through unholy matrimony. The 1587 *Faustus*, too, allows the reader to vicariously experience the devil’s persona, as Faustus undertakes a transformation into the devil himself.

⁶ Ibid.

In revising her Faustian “simmerings,” Alcott mirrors the differences between the underpinnings of these two tales, and raises questions that are echoed through centuries of pact literature. Alcott offers two possibilities in her novels: redemption and damnation. She offers two pact-makers: one female, the other male. She designs two devils: both embody a particular evil—that of absolute control and manipulation, the very evil she felt as a female author in a male-dominated world. Questions of the devil and his evils, of redemption and damnation, and of continuing relevance form the backbone of this dissertation, as does the question of the relationship between these two strains of pact-literature.

Louisa May Alcott was working with the Goethean Faust material that was quickly making its way into world literature. The name on everybody’s lips in the latter part of the nineteenth century was Goethe. As Unitarian minister James Freeman Clarke remarked in 1836:

Five years ago, the name of Goethe was hardly known in England and America, except as the author of a “silly book Merther”—an incomprehensible play, Faust—and a tedious novel—Wilhelm Meister. So at least our critics called them. But now a revolution has taken place. Hardly a review or magazine appears that has not something in it about Goethe, and people begin to find with amazement that a genius as original as Shakespeare, and as widely influential as Voltaire, has been amongst us.⁷

Indeed, *Faust* caused a “simmering,” as Alcott puts it, and is one of the most recognized and profuse literary themes today,⁸ having firmly entered the English language as the term *Faustian* in 1876, denoting the sale of one’s soul to the devil.⁹

⁷ *The Western Messenger: Devoted to Religion and Literature*, ed. J.F. Clarke, vol. 2, 1836-1837 (Louisville: Western Unitarian Association, 1837), 60-61.

⁸ From its first publication, Goethe’s *Faust* has been the subject of countless articles, monographs, and other scholarly literature. Clarke’s remarks that “[h]ardly a review or magazine appears that has not something about Goethe” still holds true. Scholarly work on Goethe’s *Faust* runs the gamut from textual analysis to modern theatrical responses, as this body of work grows significantly each year. Harold Jantz, a twentieth-century Faust scholar, even devoted a portion of his enormous rare book collection, now housed in the David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library at Duke University, to create a guide to read Faust with unique materials that informed his own research and writing. In his 2007 monograph devoted to, as the title puts it, *Seeking Meaning for Goethe’s ‘Faust’*, J.M. van der Laan remarks that “[o]f the many variations on the Faust theme, Goethe’s in particular remains especially provocative and laden with meaning, the most important and extraordinary conduit for the Faust tradition, and the work most responsible for determining the subsequent character of the Faust archetype.” J.M. van der Laan,

Pact literature, however, has been done a great injustice by this “simmering,” for it has long been overshadowed by the scholarly projections of Goethe’s Faust creation onto the earliest Faust manifestations. Faust was not the first person to make a deal with the devil, nor was his story the first devilish bestseller on the market. The devil’s pacts have fascinated authors, readers, and scholars for centuries. Indeed, modern depictions owe a great deal to authors from hundreds of years past. This dissertation tells the story of the pact in literature from some of its earliest forms to the present, from the fifteenth century to the present. In so doing, I seek to correct several of the common misreadings of these earlier texts.

Tracing the stories of the late medieval Dutch heroine Mariken van Nieumeghen and the early modern German anti-hero Doctor Johann Faustus, I detail the varying and complex character of their devils past. Modern scholarship has tended to characterize devils of the past using current or simplified historical archetypes, overlooking the malleability of the devil’s character. Each devil and the very specific depravity that he embodies must be considered a monument to a particular moment in time. The tales of Mariken and Faustus circulated rapidly through translations, adaptations, and re-workings, developing a complex interplay of language and culture. Exiting one language, entering another, and then oftentimes returning to the original language via yet another language, these texts form a body of pact literature that has been, for the most part, overlooked with the exception of the original versions. Their stories transgress time, constantly evolving, and still maintain a firm foothold in literature today. The devil presented in these texts does not simply embody evil, as some have suggested, nor does a pact with the devil conflate with a quest solely for forbidden knowledge. Read closely, the devil in these texts is

Seeking Meaning for Goethe’s ‘Faust’ (London: Continuum, 2007), 12. This is the very problem my dissertation seeks to correct, offering a very different picture of Faust outside of Goethe’s version of him.

⁹ *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.v. “Faustian,” accessed December 14, 2015, <http://www.oed.com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/view/Entry/68652?redirectedFrom=faustian&>.

instead a complex embodiment of the many perceived social ills of his time—the ills that the author so longingly wishes to combat and those that society in that moment most fears, vividly illustrated in the gradual debasement of the pact-maker and (in some cases) her eventual redemption. With this in mind, I comprehensively address the early devil pact stories in Europe and the devil’s continued presence vis-à-vis Mariken and Faustus in literature today.

The scholarly literature on *Mariken van Nieumeghen* pales in comparison to the pages spent on the Faust tradition, limited to a handful of monographs, critical editions, literary history entries, and tangential remarks and articles, leaving much work to be done.¹⁰ The abundant Faust scholarship requires much sifting, and, for the most part, reads the *Historia* and other pact literature through the lens of later and more prominent Faust stories, particularly Goethe’s *Faust*. Viewed in that light, much of the literature portrays the earlier texts as stories warning against the dangers of curiosity.¹¹

However, in reading and comparing early modern texts, I challenge that view; these texts portray protagonists consumed by desire for transgression, informed heavily by their cultural, moral, and religious backdrops. Instead of a protagonist voraciously pursuing knowledge, one sees a protagonist in pursuit of anything but God—the devil. Knowledge becomes just one of many godless pursuits. This wider view is not only historically grounded, but it also makes sense of passages within these texts that do not fit with otherwise accepted theory. For example, the lengthy humorous sections in the early modern texts in which the protagonist plays the devil are

¹⁰ For an extensive descriptive bibliography of the scholarly literature related to *Mariken van Nieumeghen*, see P.F.J.M. Eligh, *In wisselend perspectief: bijdragen tot een cultuurhistorische benadering van Mariken van Nieumeghen* (Den Bosch: Malmberg, 1991).

¹¹ See, for example, See Jan-Dirk Müller, “»Curiositas« und »erfahrung« der Welt im frühen deutschen Prosaroman,” in *Literatur und Laienbildung im Spätmittelalter und in der Reformationszeit*, ed. Ludger Grenzmann and Karl Stackmann (Stuttgart 1984) 252-271; Ian Watt, *Myths of Modern Individualism: Faust, Don Quixote, Don Juan, Robinson Crusoe*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Marina Münkler, *Narrative Ambiguität: Die Faustbücher des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011).

often dismissed as entertainment and episodes that need not be considered with the “main” text.¹² Based on the religious-educational function that these texts originally served, I argue that these moments of transformation into the devil should not be dismissed. They show the warnings of the author; as the readers, too, take part in the devilish transformation, the author guides them in their dealings with the devil, reminding them of how they should act when faced with this situation lest they become ensnared.

The material I draw from to answer the questions that fuel this work (that of the devil’s pact, of redemption, and of continuing relevance) is vast and varied. With the help of these two tales and their continued literary presence, I show a more complicated picture of pact literature and the entanglement of these two traditions. I begin with Mariken as a late-medieval prose drama and see her through to iterations as a popular ballad, a Jesuit example, a philosophical novel, a children’s film, and a modern poem, to name just a few. Faustus’ story meets a similar fate, though his is much more profuse than I can cover, so I have included a variety of adaptations that exemplify the Faustian strain. He takes the form of a Lutheran pedagogical manual, a drama, a ballad, an episode in an almanac, and a science fiction novel. Peter Conrad describes literature as “a matter of continuation.”¹³ He goes on to say that “[a] literary tradition accrues like a coral reef. It is a collective creation, in which the task of the present is the continuation and reevaluation of the past.”¹⁴ It is this understanding of literary history that I use as

¹² Examples of this reading of the *Historia* include: Albrecht Classen, “New Knowledge, Disturbing and Attractive: The *Faustbuch* and the *Wagnerbuch* as Witnesses of the Early Modern Paradigm Shift,” in *Daphnis* 35 (2006), 515-535; Maria E. Müller, “Der andere Faust. Melancholie und Individualität in der »Historia von D. Johann Fausten«,” in: *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 60 (1986), 572-608; Barbara Könniker, “Faust-Konzeption und Teufelspakt im Volksbuch von 1587,” in *Festschrift Gottfried Weber zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Heinz Otto Burger and Klaus von See (Berlin: Verlag Gehlen, 1967), 159-213.

¹³ Peter Conrad, *To Be Continued: Four Stories and Their Survival* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 1.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

I tell the history of these two figures—one that understands that each manifestation is haunted by the original and haunts our understanding of the history.

It is a fruitless labor to determine how closely a reworking mirrors the original, for “[t]exts are always inter-texts, and borrow, rework, and adapt each other in complex ways,” and it is often possible to “discern specific forces (social, economic, historical, and authorial) at work.”¹⁵ Mikhail Bakhtin has suggested that literary consciousness is shaped by “[t]ranslation, reworking, re-conceptualizing, re-accenting” and even goes so far as to propose that “*European novel prose is born and shaped in the process of a free (that is, reformulating) translation of others’ works.*”¹⁶

Reworking and adaptation are a crucial part of literary history and are certainly of great importance to the stories of Mariken and Faustus that have been continuously reformed over the past 500 years. Each adaptation of both Mariken and Faustus answer the three questions at the heart of this dissertation: each defines the devil and the devilish, each offers a solution to this problem in the form of redemption or damnation, and each is relevant to the time in which it is written and to the times after as it shows a particular historical moment, its problems, and proposed solutions. The fact that a work is an adaptation does not deem it any less worthy of consideration; on the contrary, the manner in which the original(s) are interpreted and reworked provide great insight into particular historical, political and cultural moments. It is the insight that these reworkings provide that I am interested in, and it is in the figure of the devil and the transgression he perpetrates that these insights can most often be found. By acknowledging each work as its own particular engagement with the pact material, as haunted as the pages may be

¹⁵ Christa Albrecht-Crane and Dennis Cutchins, eds., “Introduction: New Beginnings for Adaptation Studies,” *Adaptation Studies: New Approaches* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2010), 19.

¹⁶ Mikhail Bakhtin, “Discourse in the Novel,” *Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 377-378. The emphasis is that of Bakhtin.

from devils past and present, I complicate the simplified understanding of the devil and the transgressive pact that is often projected onto these texts.

In the first chapter of my dissertation, “The Sinner’s Advocate: Mary, the Devil’s Pact, and Redemption,” I begin by placing pact literature in its historic context, when—as with the earliest Faust stories—signing oneself over to the devil did not necessarily mean eternal damnation. Faust was not the first pact-maker on European soil; others came long before him. The fifteenth century *Theophilus-Spiel*, *Mariken van Nieumeghen*, and *Ein schön Spiel von Fraw Jutten* all offer up Catholic protagonists who ultimately return to God, voiding their pacts and obtaining salvation. But these three tales are the last of their kind; with the introduction of the post-Reformation *Historia*, there is no such reneging on the pact. Looking at the tradition of the *Processus Sathanae* and the status of Marian devotion at the time of these texts, I argue that there is a greater textual change between these three texts than has been acknowledged by scholars.

Before the Reformation, the devil was kept at bay by the “power of holy words, gestures, and things,”¹⁷ and, as is the case in the trio of late medieval pact-makers, by the intercession of Mary as a “powerful legal advocate”¹⁸ with the “unparalleled power” to “contend with the Devil, win back a damned soul, and undo a bad contract.”¹⁹ In the case of Mariken, the devil will not leave her alone after her repentance and it is the threat of holy words that is powerful enough to force him away. With what Robert Scribner describes as the “disenchantment of the world”²⁰ at the advent of the Reformation, and what Erik Midelfort describes as the “growing demonization

¹⁷ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400-1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 280.

¹⁸ Adrienne Williams Boyarin, *Miracles of the Virgin in Medieval England: Law and Jewishness in Marian Legends* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2010), 42.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 47.

²⁰ R.W. Scribner, “The Reformation, Popular Magic, and the ‘Disenchantment of the World,’” *Religion and Culture in Germany (1400-1800)*, ed. Lyndal Roper (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 346-366. Scribner derived this term from Max Weber’s “Entzauberung der Welt.”

of the world”²¹ in the sixteenth century, a great need arose to determine how to educate the populace on the devil. Midelfort characterizes sixteenth-century life as “full of spirits,” and argues that “[t]he learned and literate found that it made better sense of their world to describe the apparent chaos of life as a dramatic encounter of good with evil, of angelic with diabolical.”²² With a growing need to educate their congregations on the dangerous and very real presence of the devil, devilish literature became prolific. It is in this atmosphere that the stories of Faustus and Mariken took hold and took off, the various iterations pointing to a need to warn the general populace of the devil’s wiles and point the readers toward God. As Euan Cameron points out, “[t]he Reformation did not abolish the world of fallen angels nor remove the threat of witchcraft and hostile sorcery. Demonic magic suffered no incompatibility whatever with the Protestant world-view.”²³ The devil was very much a part of the Reformation and this must be kept in mind when reading the early modern pact literature.

My second chapter, “The Devil as the Early Modern Adversary,” explores the role of the devil himself in pact literature. He plays the lead role and gets a great deal of speaking time. Looking first at the developing character of the early modern devil and the devesting of the power Catholic rites and rituals held over him, I argue that there are two distinct early modern Faust traditions—the German and the English. It is the English tradition we find played out in Goethe, and it is here that the German Faust tradition is entirely misread, done this great injustice by projecting the English and Goethean traditions onto it. The German tradition is borne out of a need to fill the void left in the wake of the disenchantment of these Catholic tools against the

²¹ H.C. Erik Midelfort, “The Devil and the German People,” in *The Witchcraft Reader*, 2nd ed., ed. Darren Oldridge, 211-222 (London: Routledge, 2008), 211.

²² Midelfort, “Devil and the German People,” 211.

²³ Euan Cameron, *Enchanted Europe: Superstition, Reason, and Religion 1250-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 12.

devil; it offers a series of Lutheran pedagogical manuals on how to recognize the devil and his deceptions, and on how to keep oneself out of his grasp. No longer able to rely on things like exorcism as Mariken did, Protestants were “supposed to use only the scripturally warranted methods of prayer and fasting.”²⁴ These methods are taught in the German Faust Books, alongside methods for distinguishing the devil’s illusions from reality in a world where the devil’s ability to deceive was unparalleled.

The English tradition of Faust is decidedly different, for it focuses not only on educating the reader on the devil and his ways, but also on defining knowledge and learning, particularly on parsing out the line between heterodox learning and that which furthers and supports the Protestant understanding of the world. I propose that these changes that occur in the loose translation of the German Faust Book tradition into the English mirror the questions simmering in early modern England at the end of the sixteenth century. The vacillation of the state religion between Catholicism and Protestantism between the 1530s and 1550s led to the “sense that religious opinions were a matter of personal responsibility, and this idea fuelled a tremendous outpouring of religious publications.”²⁵ The sixteenth-century English populace became “avid consumers of religious literature,”²⁶ as they probed Reformation thought, both Lutheran and Calvinist, for themselves. It is in these circumstances that the English Faust Book was printed and circulated, and the changed focus is very much a product of this particular early modern English problem. This new focus on knowledge and learning entered the German Faust tradition through Goethe, but not before.

²⁴ Brian P. Levack, *The Devil Within: Possession and Exorcism in the Christian West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 22.

²⁵ Kristen Poole, “*Dr. Faustus* and Reformation Theology,” *Early Modern English Drama: A Critical Companion*, ed. G.A. Sullivan et al., 96-107 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 100.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

Another grievous misreading of the German Faust tradition involves the series of comic episodes found in the middle of the text. Most often dismissed by scholars as irrelevant and purely entertaining in nature, I offer a very different reading that fits with this new understanding of the German Faust Book as a Lutheran pedagogical manual. In the third chapter of my dissertation, “Just Like the Devil: Becoming Transgression,” I focus on the transformation of the Faust into the devil. With the exception of the *Theophilus-Spiel*, in which the protagonist regrets his decision the moment he signs the pact and seeks a way out from then on, every other piece of pact literature shows a protagonist who, in many ways, transforms into the devil himself. Mariken and Faustus make this journey, along with their readers. This is particularly important in the German Faust tradition, for it provides a unified reading of the 1587 *Historia von D. Johann Fausten*, something that has not been afforded in scholarly literature thus far. I read these episodes as evidence of Faustus’ transformation into the devil himself—his chief desire when he enters into the pact—as Faustus perpetrates the exact illusions and feats the devil has performed before him, only this time without Mephistopheles’ help. To aid this thesis, I trace the history of transgression from early Christianity to the present and in a variety of disciplines, which is particularly helpful for my final two chapters, in which I examine the various manners in which adaptations of both Mariken and Faustus are used to discuss the transgressions of their time and the proposed solutions.

Finally, in my fourth and fifth chapters, entitled “Mariken and Her Heirs” and “Faustus and His Scholars,” my dissertation surveys the evolution of the pact in relation to each of these figures, considering the numerous early modern and modern derivatives, translations, and spin-offs and offering a literary history of Mariken and Faust. These texts are numerous but have one thing in common: they detail the happenings surrounding a pact the protagonist makes with the

devil. With the exception of Goethe's *Faust*, this body of texts has very little to do with the search for knowledge, instead concerned with the transgressions of their time and effecting social change. I consider each of these texts as an important wrestling with the devil and transgression, defined differently in each text. Each text is indeed haunted by the pact tradition and informed by it, but also provides great insight into specific historical moments and issues, as the pact with the devil transgresses time, language, and place.

Faustus and Mariken: The Beginnings of their Histories

It is only fitting to conclude this introduction with the stories of these two pact-makers, Faustus and Mariken. Faustus is most assuredly the better known of the pair, so I will keep his story brief. But it is Mariken's tale that has gone relatively unnoticed in pact scholarship and she requires a longer introduction. Mariken's story not only provides a new lens through which the Faust tradition can be examined, but it also enriches the tradition, as the two pact-makers are very much intertwined despite their differences. Without further ado I present our two pact-makers from 1587 and 1515.

Johann Faustus is born to good Christian parents who do as all good Christian parents are wont to do and require him to study theology. Unfortunately, Faustus pushes these good and godly intentions aside, lets his Bible gather dust, and turns, instead, to the devil. His love for the devil and the devilish leads him to pursue studies that will bring the devil before him to fulfill his greatest wish—to become a devil himself, or at the very least, a member of his evil team. With the help of his newfound knowledge, Faustus manages to summon Mephistopheles before him, finalizing in blood the trade of twenty-four years of the devil's service for his eternal soul. Faustus fills his subsequent days with epicurean delights—good food, excellent booze, endless sex with devils, and whatever else he fancies—before finally getting around to asking

Mephistophiles a few questions. What Faustus really wants to know is about the devil and hell, given his recent membership to the club. If he is told something that does not hold up to biblical standards, he knows it. Mephistophiles does what he can to keep Faustus entertained and not thinking about God—illusions, majestic animals, pretty women, trips around the world. And he does a really good job, so good, in fact, that Faustus does not even need him anymore. Faustus starts answering the questions of others, performing delightful acts for his audiences, and joking around with them. No one is the wiser because Faustus has absorbed his new persona perfectly, distracting many a soul right into hell.

As his twenty-four years come to an end, Faustus laments his decision to become a devil. He was too good at it, but, regrettably, he simply cannot change back. The chasm between who he is and who he was is, in Faustus' mind, just too great for God's grace. Faustus does manage to warn a few students not to follow in his footsteps. He lets them know that the devilish desires that led to this expertise were manifold: bad company involved in such devilish affairs, his own stubborn and godless flesh and blood, and lofty devilish contemplations that he constantly allowed to control his thoughts. The students had no idea. Shortly thereafter they find his scattered remains: blood and brains splattered everywhere, bodyparts strewn. Thus ended Faustus' story, but not without the narrator's last words of warning: do not be arrogant, bold, and reckless. Instead, be alert and of sound mind, prepared to take on the devil with faith as he traipses mightily through this world.

Mariken van Nijmegen was an unassuming girl. One could hardly accuse her of any devilish enterprise, but it was precisely this that she would later go on to accomplish quite literally. Mariken was once just a young Dutch orphan who served the needs of her uncle,

Ghijsbrecht, a pious priest who lived far outside the hazards of city life. But Mariken's true and very strange story to corruption begins, as many good stories do, with a journey.

Kind uncle Ghijsbrecht needs some things for his house and so he decides to send Mariken from the quiet suburbs into the big, bustling city of Nijmegen to buy what he lacks. The days are getting shorter and the city is a good walk away. It is certainly not proper for a chaste young woman such as Mariken to walk the way back alone in the dark. Godly Ghijsbrecht suggests that if it gets too late before Mariken can head back, she should stay with his sister and travel the next morning. So she would avoid the great sinfulness of the world after sunset that might take interest in such a beautiful, young, nice girl.

Mariken makes it to town without a problem, but it takes so long to purchase the long list of things uncle Ghijsbrecht needed that it is starting to get dark. So she takes her uncle's advice and goes to seek a place to sleep from her aunt. Her aunt is, however, in no condition to take in Mariken, for she has spent the day arguing politics with her friends and cannot be bothered to deal with her niece. Instead of taking in Mariken to protect her niece's chastity, her loving aunt accuses her of lying and then sleeping with her uncle: "You're a cheating slut; you haven't once told the truth and have most certainly slept your way around. Lying with your own uncle so shamefully." Emotionally distraught and unable to convince her aunt that the accusations are false, Mariken is so broken from this encounter that she is open to help from anyone, crying out: "Whether God or the devil, it's all the same to me!"

The sobbing girl makes her way through the dark streets, unaware of the dangers that will soon befall her. The enemy lies in wait, ready to pounce on his unsuspecting victim in her state of despair. When he offers to make her the greatest of all women, Mariken is so upset and out of her mind that she can do nothing but succumb to him as he pops the big question: "Would you be

my lover?” She cannot resist his silky sweet voice. For her love she will receive education and worldly goods like that no other woman has ever received. Mariken knows well the true identity of her soon-to-be lover, addressing him as the enemy from hell. She says yes only after Moenen, as the devil calls himself, brings to her attention the great fame and fortune this learning will bring her. Sleeping with the devil does come with a few caveats: she is to never again make the symbol of the cross and her name has to go. Mariken is far too close to the sacred virgin’s name and this connection must be broken. Changing her name entirely is asking too much of the girl, and after some wheeling and dealing Moenen acquiesces and allows the “m” to remain intact. Mariken becomes Emmeken.

The pair of lovers travels on to Den Bosch, partaking in a life of debauchery and indulgence until they reach their final destination in Antwerp. There they spend their time together in a bar with Emmeken as the bait to entice and distract the unknowing intoxicated so that Moenen can win their souls for hell. While Emmeken performs, Moenen slits throats and bludgeons, laughing at the ease with which he seizes many immortal souls. All good times must come to an end, and Emmeken is torn up by the sinful life she is leading. Her regret doesn’t last long; she spies a couple of old drinking partners she knows and really must “go have fun with them.” Moenen’s self-confidence soars so far as to exclaim: “Men will believe in me like they do in God, and I will drive them to hell with their hopes.”

After six years as the devil’s paramour, Emmeken decides she needs to go back to where it all began and see her family. Moenen grudgingly agrees after a long-winded debate, and the two set off toward Nijmegen. It just so happens that a play is being performed in the center of town, which moves the sinful Emmeken to total repentance, loosing every bond held by Moenen. Knowing full well that he has lost her soul to God once more, Moenen transforms from his

human to devil form, sweeps Emmeken off her feet, flies her to a great height, and then hurls her to the ground. Miraculously, Emmeken is unharmed and good Ghijsbrecht is there to exorcize the devil from her. Emmeken and her uncle then seek help from the bishop in Cologne, who is unable to deal with the situation. The pope in Rome cannot promise forgiveness of her sins, but places three iron rings tightly around her neck and arms. If these are to fall off in some miraculous way, Emmeken will know she has been forgiven. Emmeken enters a cloister for converted female sinners in Maastricht and does penance the rest of her life. Two years before her death, angels remove her rings while she sleeps. Emmeken has been forgiven and, despite her long list of transgressions, saved.

CHAPTER 1: THE SINNER'S ADVOCATE: MARY, THE DEVIL'S PACT, AND REDEMPTION

A man on his deathbed cries out for help as his soul begins to exit his body in the form of an infant: "I hope that in my need you help me, O Mother of God I pray to thee." The devil, off to the side, believes he will win the departing soul: "I shall challenge this for the win, for this man is full of sin." Revealing her breast, Mary turns to her son: "This you suckled as a babe, my son, forgive him his misdeeds." Convinced by a motherly appeal, Christ, in turn and bleeding profusely on the cross, points to his wounds and prays to his father: "I pray thee, Father, grant this thy son, for my sake and that of my good mother." God, on his throne and holding the book of life, responds: "Son, all that you have asked shall be. Nothing will I deny you." The sinner's soul attains salvation via Mary's intercession with Christ and Christ's with God, in the form of double intercession. The devil simply loses despite the sins of the dying man. This dialogue can be found as part of the following image from the late fifteenth century in the MS Additional 37409 held in the British Library.

Figure 1: The Wilfridus dialogue between Soul, Death, the Devil, an Angel, St. Mary, Christ, and God the Father on scrolls in a drawing of a death bed



British Library MS Additional 37049, fol. 19r. © British Library Board

Adrienne Boyarin describes this image as a “visual-textual instruction on the proper role of Mary.”²⁷ Mary’s baring of her breast to Christ in order to win her petition was a common

²⁷ Boyarin, *Miracles of the Virgin*, 122.

representation of her intercession to save a soul from hell, particularly at the peak of Marian devotion in the fifteenth century, just prior to the Reformation²⁸

In a triad of late medieval texts depicting three very different pact-makers, the redemption missing in the sixteenth-century Faustian tales is very much present. Perhaps most interesting of all, we find a scene with dramatized proceedings involving Christ, Mary, and the devil in some combination in each of these texts. Mary is the source of redemption for not only Mariken, but also for Theophilus and Jutta, two other early pact-makers. The legend of Theophilus dates back to the sixth century and has been adapted many times since then. Theophilus is a jealous vicedominus who gives his soul to the devil for the furtherment of his career, quickly turning to the Virgin Mary for her aid in escaping his contract. His tale finds itself in a series of Middle Low German plays and these plays are the version of Theophilus discussed in this chapter. Jutta's legend begins in the thirteenth century and Dietrich Schernberg wrote the German adaptation considered here between 1480 and 1510. Jutta, more commonly known as Pope Joan, is a young woman in league with the devil who dresses as a man to study and eventually become popess. Pregnancy alerts others to the fact that she is, indeed, a woman, and the Virgin Mary intercedes for Jutta's soul, saving her from an eternity in hell.

The Middle Low German Theophilus plays, Dietrich Schernberg's *Ein schön Spiel von Fraw Jutten*, and the Middle Dutch *Mariken van Nieumeghen* were all written 1450 and 1510.²⁹ Richard Haage has already shown the striking similarities between the Theophilus and Jutta

²⁸ See Peter Heffernan, "The Virgin as an Aid to Salvation in Some Fifteenth-Century English and Latin Verses," *Medium Aevum* 52 (1983): 229-238.

²⁹ See Richard Haage, *Dietrich Schernberg und sein Spiel von Frau Jutten* (Marburg: Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1891), and G.W. Wolthuis, "Frau Jutte en Mariken van Nieumeghen," *Levende Talen: Berichten en Mededelingen van de "Vereniging van Leraren in Levende Talen,"* ed. C.L. de Liefde, 247-250 (Groningen: J.B. Wolters' Uitgevers-Maatschappij, 1940).

material and P. Leendertz has alluded to the possible connection between Mariken and Jutta,³⁰ but there is a clear link between the embedded wagon play in *Mariken van Nieumeghen* and the Marian intercessions in the Theophilus and Jutta material that has not been fully discussed in scholarship. This wagon play, likely performed on a moveable stage or cart, is one of the earliest examples of a play within a play. Plays performed in this manner were typically mystery or miracle plays, and the play embedded here is a portion of a court case between the devil's procurator, Masscheroen, and Christ. The Virgin Mary intercedes for mankind, reminding Christ of his sacrifice, and this is pivotal in Mariken's reconversion.

Mary serving as an intercessor for sinners was certainly nothing new, as the belief in her powers of intercession grew steadily from the ninth century onward. But until the fifteenth-century Theophilus, dramatized legal proceedings in which Mary pleads Theophilus' case before Christ were not present. That both the Dutch Mariken text and German Jutta text also include such proceedings is surely no coincidence, especially since both of these texts were written between 1480 and 1510.³¹ While the participants vary to some degree in each of these cases, Marian intercession is present in all three and results in the redemption of each pact-maker. Wolthuis dismisses the possibility of exchange between the Mariken and Jutta material on the basis of this scene due to the fact that it is "een te algemeen middeleeuws motief"³² (a too common medieval motif). The structure and language of these scenes, however, are clearly linked and it seems much more likely that textual interchange is indeed the culprit here, particularly in light of the single intercession with Christ as judge, a characteristic of the *Processus Sathanae*.

³⁰ Wolthuis, "Frau Jutte," 247-248.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 247.

³² *Ibid.*, 248.

This chapter will look at the three medieval pact-makers, Theophilus, Jutta, and Mariken, and the redemption they obtain for their sins. In each of these cases it is Mary's intercession for the sinner before Christ that leads to her triumph over the devil. It is therefore necessary to trace both the history of these legal proceedings with the devil and the development of Marian devotion in the medieval time period to better understand the contribution of this body of texts to the pact tradition. I will show the extent of textual interchange across language and land for these medieval texts and the redemption they offer their readers in light of a devil who can be contained with the help of the Virgin. In addition to showing Mary's intercession for the sinner that triumphs over the devil in a court of law, each of these texts present a devil whose tricks and temptations can be overcome by this intercession. I argue that these devils are very different from the early modern devils of Doctor Faustus to be discussed in the next chapter; they are easily recognizable and able to be warded off by various means—exorcism, pleadings with Mary, and general Marian devotion.

The Processus Sathanae

While Satan presenting himself before God can be traced back to the biblical Job, placing the devil, God, and Mary in a court of law was a formula that came much later. The earliest version of the *Processus Sathanae* can be found in Jacob van Maerlant's *Merlijn* (1261). Maerlant was a Dutch poet who chose to write in the vernacular, rather than Latin. Little is known about his life, but he was known for his translations of works, which he often reworked and adapted. Maerlant's *Merlijn* is one such work, working with Robert de Boron's *Merlin* (late twelfth/early thirteenth century).³³ Because de Boron's work only exists in fragments, it is uncertain how much Maerlant added in his version. However, the episodes that detail a trial

³³ Robert de Boron was a French poet famous for *Joseph d'Armathe* and *Merlin*, which only exists in fragment form. *Merlin* tells of the birth of Arthur and his early childhood. His poems greatly impacted later reworkings of Arthurian legends.

involving the devil, God, and Mary cannot be found among the French fragments. In her tracing of the devil court case motif, Hope Traver finds it hard to believe that Maerlant simply wrote these Masceroen³⁴ episodes without some sort of base material. However, the earliest she and other scholars can find is a bare-bones description of a similar trial scene found in a twelfth century commentary on Psalm 15 by Hugo of St. Victor.³⁵ Jacob van Maerlant's *Merlijn* contains the earliest-known version of the *Processus Sathanae*,³⁶ and is an excellent starting point for the discussion of the devil's lawsuit and Marian devotion as they pertain to these late medieval pact-makers.

The nine hundred lines not present in de Boron's version of the life of King Arthur's magician, Merlin, come relatively early in the approximately 36,000 lines that comprise Maerlant's *Merlijn*. They occupy lines 2013-2900 and detail legal proceedings between God, the devil, and the Virgin Mary. The premise is one that will be reworked many times by the sixteenth century: the devils, feeling as if they have been tricked by Christ's conquest of hell through his death, choose one of their own, named Masceroen, to represent their interests and petition God for control of mankind once more so as to maintain their grip on the souls of sinners. As the trial progresses, Mary steps in and offers to serve as an advocate, insisting that the devil lost his hold

³⁴ Masceroen is the name of the devil's procurator. There are various spellings of his name and the different spellings used reflect the original spellings for each text. Maerlant used "Masceroen." In *Mariken van Nieumeghen*, it was "Masscheroen." "Mascheroen" is the title of a fourteenth century Dutch poem. "Maskeroen" is the modern Dutch rendition of the name. For more information on this tradition, see F.P. van Oostrom, "1261: Jacob van Maerlant bewerkt de 'Maskeroen': het recht als voedingsbodem voor episch drama," in *Een theatergeschiedenis der Nederlanden: tien eeuwen drama en theater in Nederland en Vlaanderen*, ed. Rob Erenstein, 10-15 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996).

³⁵ Hope Traver, *The Four Daughters of God: A Study of the Versions of this Allegory with Especial Reference to those in Latin, French, and English* (Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Co., 1907), 55. For a thorough analysis of Hugo of St. Victor's commentary on Psalm 15, see C.W. Marx, *The Devil's Rights and the Redemption in the Literature of Medieval England* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1995), 47-64.

³⁶ There is also another legal tradition related to the devil, the *Processus Belial*, but it is slightly later and involves a court case that puts Jesus on the stand with Moses as the defender against the devil. For more on this tradition, see Norbert Ott, *Rechtspraxis und Heilsgeschichte: zu Überlieferung, Ikonographie, und Gebrauchssituation des deutschen Belial*, (Munich: Artemis, 1983).

on man at the moment Christ's death paid for all sin. Masceroen wants to return to the weighing of the souls, but Mary insists that her son's death has nullified this manner of judgement. The scene evolves into a debate involving the four virtues, and Masceroen eventually loses. One hundred years later, this court case became the subject of a Dutch poem *Mascheroen*.³⁷ From here, Karl Shoemaker proposes that "[a]t some point in the first half of the fourteenth century [...] an unknown person rendered van Maerlant's text into Latin, set it within the procedural framework required by Roman-canon law, and supplied the various legal and theological assertions within the text with citations to relevant legal authorities."³⁸ He continues, stating that "[c]opies of the lawsuit circulated widely, identifiable in two distinct manuscript recensions, and were printed several times in the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries."³⁹ It is in this context that the proceedings in *Theophilus*, *Fraw Jutta*, and *Mariken van Nieumeghen* come to be, albeit in altered form.

By the fifteenth century, Marian devotion was blossoming in Europe. As Christine Peters writes,

The petition 'Jesus mercy, lady help,' commonly found on funeral monuments, summarises the roles of Mary and Christ in late medieval religion. It places them firmly in the context of every christian's search for salvation, and illustrates the priorities of the laity in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. It also draws attention to their partnership of clearly defined roles: Mary is the one who will respond to devout intercession and will aid by interceding for the seeking soul; Christ is the one who offers help in the form of mercy rather than supplication.⁴⁰

³⁷ For a detailed description of both the Masceroen episodes found in *Merlijn* and in the poem, see Traver, *Four Daughters*.

³⁸ Karl Shoemaker, "When the Devil Went to Law School: Canon Law and Theology in the Fourteenth Century," in *Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, Volume 36 : Crossing Boundaries at Medieval Universities*, ed. S.E. Young, (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 267.

³⁹ *Ibid.* See this article for a detailed discussion of the Latin *Processus Sathanae*.

⁴⁰ Christine Peters, *Patterns of Piety: Women, Gender and Religion in Late Medieval and Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 60.

It is this division of roles that we see in this collection of literature from the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. This tradition, however, began much earlier as can be seen from the Maskeroen episode from the thirteenth century. In fact, scholars often date the birth of Marian devotion to the twelfth century, arising with the propagation of collections of tales honoring the Virgin Mary.⁴¹ In her case for a more complicated understanding of Marian devotion in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Germany, Bridget Heal makes the case that the sweeping conclusion that this devotion just disappeared with the advent of the Reformation is simply not true. She argues that the “quest for Mary’s merciful intercession was a universal theme”⁴² in late medieval Germany, and that post-Reformation, one should “not expect to find either that Mary disappeared entirely from Protestant devotional life or that the Jesuits succeeded in imposing their own form of the cult of the Virgin throughout Catholic Germany.”⁴³ Interestingly enough, in one of the seventeenth century iterations of *Mariken van Nieumeghen*, Mary’s role as intercessor was replaced with Christ in her role and the 1518 English translation simply removes the embedded play in which the clearest Mariolatry could be found. Mary, however, was not fully removed from any of these reworkings, as Mariken’s salvation still depends on her devotion to the Virgin, but just not as intercessor. However, in this trio of pact texts, the veneration of the Virgin is very much present and a clear testament to the time in which Marian devotion was at its peak.

With the increase in Marian devotion and in viewing Mary’s role as intercessor for the sinner, the idea that Mary could intervene in legal proceedings and obtain salvation for a sinner

⁴¹ See, for example, Peters, *Patterns of Piety*; Boyarin, *Miracles of the Virgin*; and Bridget Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany: Protestant and Catholic Piety, 1500-1648* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

⁴² Heal, *Cult of the Virgin Mary*, 23.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 8.

became commonplace.⁴⁴ This allowed Mary the ability to demand legal documents, such as contracts or pacts, from the devil, and to act as the defense for sinners. Her mediation was often able to calm Christ's anger and her reliance on her motherly role was a common defense strategy. Boyarin places the start of linking Mary's ability to intercede with her breasts in the mid-thirteenth century, when, she explains, "[i]t is common to see her holding her breasts at Judgment, thereby inextricably binding her flesh to her ability to function as a legal authority."⁴⁵ She notes that the "motif of the breast at judgment, however, was in fact quickly conflated with Mary's ability to intercede for sinners in matters of contract law, especially because of the long visual and narrative popularity of the legend of Theophilus in England."⁴⁶ Sarah Jane Boss describes this motif as one that was also prevalent in fourteenth-century iconography, where "Mary's breasts are revealed in order to turn Christ away from a judgement of death upon sinful humanity."⁴⁷

What is interesting is that many texts and images that show this breast-baring as a means of intercession also involve Christ interceding for Mary's sake and imploring his father, on the basis of baring his wounds. However, this double intercession is strikingly absent in these German and Dutch texts. In *Mariken van Nieumeghen*, God and Christ are conflated, and the sinner is saved on the sole basis of Mary's appeal. In Theophilus and Jutta, it is again Mary appealing to Christ, reminding him of both her motherly role and his earthly suffering. The tradition in these texts is distinctly different from the English tradition seen in the image above, and there are also a number of Latin verses from the fifteenth-century presenting an almost

⁴⁴ Boyarin, *Miracles of the Virgin*, 81.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 113.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Sarah Jane Boss, *Empress and Handmaid: On Nature and Gender in the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London: Cassel, 2000), 38.

identical dialogue in which Mary appeals to Christ and then Christ to God.⁴⁸ At this point, I now turn to the triad of pact-makers present in late-medieval Germany, England, and the Netherlands, in order to look at this phenomenon of courtly proceedings and the naked breast.

Mary and the Devil in Late-Medieval Pact Literature

In the embedded wagon play in *Mariken van Nieumeghen*, Masscheroen, attorney for Lucifer, speaks: “God of mercy, why is it that we devils, guilty of only one short uprising against you, should meet a more horrible fate in hell than these humans who spend their days committing evil acts. How is this fair?” God replies in an even-keeled manner, “Any human whose heart remains hardened and continues in sin will sink in hell with all the devils.” “That is all fine and good,” continues Masscheroen, “but you forget that in the olden days mankind was punished for every evil thought. Now someone can rape his mother, murder his father, and do dirty things with his brother and, yet, he receives your grace. Something is wrong here.” Convinced of the injustice here God replies: “You are right, Masscheroen. Why would I suffer such a horrible death on the cross for all of these horrible people to simply have their sins forgotten?” “Now we are getting somewhere. You need to be stricter and filled with righteous anger. You can’t let your death purify those who continue to do these evil things. They don’t deserve it. Let’s take things back to the way they were with Moses and punish them swiftly and firmly.” “You are right again, dear Masscheroen. I should send another plague and put these people in their place.”

Mary appears in an attempt to calm her son’s anger and rash decision: “My child, you cannot do this. Send first a sign or warning. Maybe then they will repent out of fear for an impending plague.” “Mother, I have given them chances and warnings enough. They just keep

⁴⁸ See Heffernan, “Virgin as Aid to Salvation.”

sinning, all the while thinking that they have only to repent afterwards to keep themselves from hellfire.” Masscheroen interrupts, “Give us devils permission to chastise these sinners. They deserve to be punished.” “I think you are right. Something must be done.” Mary, who cannot fathom the loss of a single soul, tries once more: “My son, give them just one more chance. Think of my breasts, from which you received nourishment. Think of my womb, your first home. Think of your death and your wounds that made it possible for mankind to be with your father in heaven. Think of how you told them to come to you for grace and you would receive them. You cannot just desert them.” At his mother’s choice words, he has a change of heart. “I still stand behind this. If the most sinful person were penitent, I would surely forgive him. I would suffer double the pain to keep from losing a single soul.”

This scene marks the moment of Mariken’s repentance and return to God. She views this wagon play against Moenen’s wishes and learns that even her foray with the devil can be forgiven if she shows remorse. The oldest extant copy of *Die waerachtige ende Een seer wonderlijche historie van Mariken van nieumeghen die meer dan seuen iaren metten duuel woende ende verkeerde* can be found in the holdings of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek and was printed by Willem Vorsterman in Antwerp around 1515.⁴⁹ Describing *Mariken van Nieumeghen* as a “Mariawonder”⁵⁰ and as a “miracle-play,”⁵¹ scholars such as Margaret Raferty and Bart

⁴⁹ This particular printing, filled with errors, repetitions, and incorrectly written rhymes, is often considered to have been a practice text for an apprentice typesetter. Despite the poor quality of the print, this one text has survived, along with two other versions printed much later, the first in 1608 in Utrecht by Herman von Borculo, the second in 1615 in Antwerp by Pauwels Stroobant. In addition to these Dutch and Flemish printings, the text enjoyed a reception in the English market as *Mary of Nemmegen*, printed around 1518 by Jan van Doersborch in Antwerp. See the introductions of Dirk Coigneau and Bart Ramakers for further information on this topic. *Mariken van Nieumeghen*, ed. Dirk Coigneau (Hilversum: Verloren, 1996). *Mariken van Nieumeghen & Elckerlijc: Zonde, hoop en verlossing in de late Middeleeuwen*, trans. by Willem Wilmink and text edition by Bart Ramakers (Amsterdam: Prometheus / Bert Bakker, 1998). An English-language introduction to the text and critical edition of the 1518 English translation can be found in Margaret M. Raferty’s *Mary of Nemmegen*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991).

⁵⁰ Wilmink and Ramakers, *Mariken van Nieumeghen*, 35.

⁵¹ Raferty, *Mary of Nemmegen*, 5.

Ramakers typically define the text by its ending and consider it to be an expression of the grace of God and the Virgin Mary. Dirk Coigneau, however, points to an aspect that many overlook, calling the text a “duivel- en wonderverhaal,”⁵² or a “devil and miracle story.” Both Mary and the devil are crucial to Mariken’s story, and many lines belong to the devil, including moments where the audience is allowed to enter into his private thoughts.

Mariken van Nieumeghen contains nine woodcuts, and five of these woodcuts show the devil in some form. Here, the devil makes a last-ditch effort to claim Mariken’s soul for himself, hurling her to the ground in hopes that she dies before penance can save her.

⁵² Coigneau, *Mariken van Nieumeghen*, 23.

Figure 2: Mariken in the grasp of the devil



Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Rar. 518 p. 51⁵³

The devil of Mariken is vastly different from the devil of the early modern Faust tradition. In *Mariken van Nieuweghen* Moenen attempts to disguise his devilish nature. Moenen's tricks are not the near-perfect illusions of the early modern devil, but are flawed as his missing eye marks him. Fascinating, too, is that in this text we glimpse two different devils, albeit they share some characteristics. In fact, scholars have traced the history of the name Masscheroen, the devil figure in the embedded wagon play, and believe its roots to be in the Romance root for *mask*, which originally came from the Arabic *maschara*, which denotes a comical or grotesque

⁵³ The oldest extant copy is held at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek and is cataloged under the title: *Die waerachtige en[de] Een seer wonderlijche historie van Marike[n] van nieuweghen die meer dan seuen iaren mette[n] duuel woe[n]de en[de] verkeerde*. This title has been digitized and this particular image can be found at: http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00082566/image_51.

performance.⁵⁴ This derivation is certainly fitting, and the devil's deceptions are clearly imperfect. The many asides of the devil, pointed commentary from the author, and general portrayal of the devil in the text give insight into a changing devilish form. His illusions are great, but their imperfection and Mariken's unwillingness to absolve her link to Mary⁵⁵ allow for salvation in the end. The reader is made aware of how to "see" through the devil's tricks with the knowledge that they are, indeed, imperfect, and reminded that the choice to turn back to God is always there.

Moenen makes his first appearance in the fourth chapter, introduced in a telling description before his first monologue: "Die viant die altijd zijn stricken ende netten spreit, haeckende nae die verdoemenis der sielen"⁵⁶ (The enemy who always spreads his ropes and nets, desiring the damnation of souls).⁵⁷ In Moenen's personal opinion, Mariken's soul is ripe for the picking and certainly worthy of pursuit since she is in a state of despair after hearing the harsh words of her aunt. The devil, however, knows he cannot win the girl over without the help of some of his tricks:

Nu willick mijn voiseken wat gaen versoeten
Ende spreken so welvallende ende met beschede
Dat ick mijnen boel niet en verleede⁵⁸

⁵⁴ J.P. Wickersham Crawford, "The Catalan Mascarón and an Episode in Jacob van Maerlant's *Merlijn*," *PMLA* 26.1 (1911): 36, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/456873>.

⁵⁵ As part of the conditions of their pact, Moenen asks Mariken to change her name given its closeness to Mary. Mariken falters on this one stipulation, not wanting to give it up because of what the Virgin Mary means to her. Here, Moenen makes his biggest mistake, allowing Mariken to keep the letter *m* in her name as she becomes Emmeken. This retained *m* keeps Mariken linked to Mary and allows for her redemption. It marks the fact that Mariken did not denounce her devotion to Mary despite all that Moenen offered her. In fact, badges with the letter *m* were in circulation well before the only extant printing of the text, attesting to the desire to visibly link oneself to the Virgin Mary. See H.J.E van Beuningen and A.M. Koldewij, eds., *Heilig en profaan: 1000 laat-middeleeuwse insignes uit de collectie H.J.E. van Beuningen*, Rotterdam Papers 8 (Cothen 1993), 310-314.

⁵⁶ Wilmink and Ramakers, *Mariken van Nieumeghen*, 55.

⁵⁷ Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

⁵⁸ Wilmink and Ramakers, *Mariken van Nieumeghen*, 55.

Now I want to sweeten my voice a bit
And speak so pleasingly in a becoming manner
That I do not displease my love

It takes effort and disguise to win a soul, and the devil reveals his own trick to the reader. The devil does not fully reveal himself to Mariken, instead avoiding answering her question as to who he is with tempting promises. As the conversation progresses, Mariken's first impression of fear disappears and she even begins to address the devil as "friend," proof of how easily she is persuaded to replace God with the devil.

Even the devil remarks on the ease with which he will gain her soul, once more highlighting this point:

Bi Lucifer, tes noch al ghewin!
Si heeft de beroerte te deghe op ghesopen;
Si sit noch even versteent in wanhopen.
Nu soudic hopen, te min so claech ic nu,
Dat ic niet missen en sal. Scoon kint, noch vraech ick u,
Oft ghi met mi versamen wilt in ionsten?⁵⁹

By Lucifer, it is already won!
She has truly taken to my calling;
She sits petrified in despair.
Now I should hope, at least there is no reason to complain,
That I will not fail. Beautiful child, I will ask you once again,
Would you join me as my lover?

The devil, or Moenen, as he has taken to calling himself, offers her whatever she desires in return—honor, money, learning, goods, jewels, and the like. Surprisingly, Mariken knows well that Moenen is "die viant vander hellen"⁶⁰ (the enemy from hell), but because of his willingness to act in her favor, does not seem to care. This shows the power of the devil to appear less harmful than he really is, one of his more devious traps.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 62.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 64.

Emmeken and Moenen can next be found in Antwerp, enjoying all the city has to offer in terms of a life of sin. Moenen does not really give Emmeken the life he has promised her; they spend all of their time in a bar, gaining souls for hell. The beautiful Emmeken is reduced to a spectacle that distracts onlookers from the reality at hand while Moenen slits their throats and sends them to eternal damnation. In essence, Emmeken has been transformed into a version of the devil himself, distracting the bar-goers with a dazzling display of her math “skills”—the ability to tell how many drops of wine are in a container in a poetic performance. In what the narrator describes as the devil showing his true face, or “aert,”⁶¹ Moenen’s monologue presents himself as undeniably proud of his ability to exponentially increase his soul count for Lucifer:

Ick doer noch hondert dootsteken int iaer,
Soe crijcht Lucifer tsine int helsche estere
Ick sal mi ghelaten al seen bequaem meestere,
Als een kijcpisse, dies staet mi elck te prijsene.
[...]
Mi sal volcx naeloopen meer dan duyst,
Eer een maent, doer mijn practijke.
Oock sal ick scats winnen sonder ghelijcke.
Mijn lief Emmeken en sal mi maer beminnen te bet.
[...]
Ick sal, eer een iaer, meer dan duysent sielen verlacken⁶²

I’ll stab another hundred dead in a year,
So Lucifer will get them in his hellish garden
I’ll put myself forth as a kindly professor
These quacks will all come to praise me.
[...]
More than a thousand will come to follow me
Before the month is out through my deception.
I will gain treasure unlike any other.
My lovely Emmeken will love me even more for this.
[...]
Before the year is out, I’ll slip my noose around more than a thousand souls

⁶¹ Ibid., 96.

⁶² Ibid., 98.

By disguising himself as a kindly professor, Moenen firmly believes that many will follow him into hell. His deceptions are so distracting that the viewers cannot see past them and thus meet with a horrid fate.

Moenen's final revelation of his innermost workings shows yet again how he functions and what his intentions are. After a particularly fruitful evening of misdeeds, Moenen is quite prideful, and discloses to Lucifer that mankind believes in him and considers him to be a great man, or a "groot cadet."⁶³ His understanding of how to deceive and capture souls is intricate:

Ic weet al te segghen wat die lieden let,
Ende daer omme te bet
Volchtmen mi naer.⁶⁴

I know exactly what matters to them,
And for this reason
They follow me around.

Moenen knows just what to do to keep his followers entranced and this is working very well at the moment. Moenen then reveals his true intentions, even going so far as to predict that

Men sal noch als een god aen mi gheloooven,
So voer ickse met hoopen ten helschen suchte.⁶⁵

They will believe in me as they believe in God
As I drive them to hell filled with hope.

The little distractions that the devil provides are not important; these distractions all lead to the replacement of God with the devil. This is the crime that Emmeken and those deceived by Moenen have committed. They have allowed themselves to be distracted into putting the devil in God's place, thus upsetting proper order. This transgression is not a mere overstepping of bounds in pursuit of earthly pleasures, but a sin against God himself. The devil is presented as the

⁶³ Ibid., 100.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 102.

⁶⁵ Wilmink and Ramakers, *Mariken van Nieumeghen*, 102.

ultimate transgressor, playing the role of God and leading others to worship him with his distractions. This is made abundantly clear to the reader through the moments in which Moenen is given the stage.

When Mariken decides to join the devil as his lover, she asks him to teach her necromancy. She describes black magic as a “ghenoechelijck,”⁶⁶ or “pleasurable,” art that her uncle, Ghijsbrecht, practices with great skill. Ghijsbrecht can even perform miracles with the help of this art, sometimes even controlling the devil:

Hi soude door die ooghe van eender naelde
Den Viant wel doen cruypen teghen sinen danck.”⁶⁷

He could even make the Enemy
Crawl through the eye of a needle against his will.

Naturally, Moenen refuses to teach her this, claiming he is not versed in black magic, but revealing in an aside that he must distract her from this, for if she knew necromancy, it would be his downfall. With it, as Moenen reveals only to the audience, the magician can force the devil to do his will, but if Moenen keeps her from it, he will retain his agency over her.⁶⁸ Necromancy is presented as an art that is dangerous to the devil and that allows its user to enact control over him. If Mariken is kept from learning this skill by remaining occupied with the devil’s distractions, he maintains control over her and she is not much of a threat to his plans.

There is one more devil present in *Mariken van Nieuweghen*, and that is Masscheroen, the devil’s lawyer, and a devil himself. This devil does not disguise himself, but does his trickery in the form of a legal battle. In an attempt to claim the souls he feels rightfully belong to hell, Masscheroen attempts to convince God that he needs to be less forgiving. He seeks permission to

⁶⁶ Ibid., 66.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 68.

punish those who sin continually, and God is inclined to agree with his case but for Mary breaking in and reminding him of the need for grace. Ultimately Mary is able to convince God to forgive those sinners who show remorse, and so Masscheroen loses his case. As Emmeken sees this loss and that her own sinful life is able to be forgiven, she transforms back into Mariken, a girl filled with regret for her sins. At this moment, too, Moenen shows his true nature: “Hoe ick blaecooghende werde. Dit meysen crijcht berou den balc al vul”⁶⁹ (My eye are shooting flames. This girl will regret this with her entire body). Eyes aflame, Moenen drops his flawed human disguise and tries to figure out what to do to keep Mariken in his grasp. His plan is simple: kill her before she is forgiven through penance. He takes her up into the clouds and hurls her to the ground. Miraculously, Mariken survives. Her uncle Ghijsbrecht prepares for exorcism, which makes Moenen quickly back off, never to be heard from again.

The devils present in *Mariken van Nieumeghen* are very different from the early modern devil. Moenen’s physical imperfection points to his devilish nature that would otherwise be unrecognizable. The reader is also given great insight into Moenen’s thoughts and motivations, something that is also plays an important role in the *Faust-* and *Wagnerbooks*. Masscheroen, the devil-lawyer, makes no attempt to disguise himself, but is willing to fight for his souls. He is, however, powerless against the ultimate triumph of Mary and her emphasis on the abundant grace and mercy granted to all remorseful sinners through Christ’s death. Both of these devils are easily thwarted in an attempt to show the reader how the devil can be restrained. In the case of Moenen, the threat of exorcism and the link Mariken has maintained to the Virgin Mary is enough to banish him. In the case of Masscheroen, he loses his fight for the human soul at Mary’s plea to Christ for the remembrance of his babyish suckling and the adulthood sufferings

⁶⁹ Ibid., 122.

he endured once for all. Here we have the devil in transition. His skills in deception are honed and great, but he does not quite have the capability to create a perfect illusion, as the early modern devil in the Faust tradition does.

The Middle Low German *Theophilus-Spiel* comes from a long line of texts that detail Theophilus' pact with the devil. The story of Theophilus is that of a sixth-century bishop who was not satisfied with his position in life and ended up in league with the devil. Legend claims that it was originally written in Greek, based on an eyewitness account in the sixth century. From there, Paulus Diaconus translated it into Latin in the ninth century and his version became the source of many later adaptations.⁷⁰ The Theophilus legend flourished as a Marian miracle story, both in Latin and the vernacular, and has been reworked from the sixth century well into the twentieth. The particular version discussed here hails from the fifteenth century and exists in three slightly different manuscript versions.⁷¹ As the *Theophilus-Spiel* focuses on the limitations of the devil in relation to the power of God and Mary, the devil presented in it is not nearly as developed as the devil in *Mariken van Nieumeghen*. The text, however, still provides significant insight into the medieval portrayal of the devil and the enormous change that starts to occur with the *Mariken* text. In fact, these changes are visible in the difference between the way the devil is illustrated in *Mariken van Nieumeghen* and in a manuscript illustration of the legend of Theophilus from the fourteenth century. In the case of *Mariken*, the devil presents himself in the form of a human, with only the horns alluding to his true devilish nature. In the much earlier Theophilus illustration, the devil is presented in his true form; there is no mistaking his citizenship in hell.

⁷⁰ See Boyarin, *Miracles of the Virgin* for an extensive survey of the Theophilus tradition.

⁷¹ See Schnyder, André, *Das mittelniederdeutsche Theophilus-Spiel: Text, Übersetzung, Stellenkommentar* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009), for more information on these manuscripts.

Figure 3: Moenen approaching Mariken



Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Rar. 518 p. 16

Figure 4: The Devil approaching Theophilus



The Hague, KB, 76 F5, fol. 41r (1290-1300)

Theophilus' story begins with a lament over the fact that he was not chosen to succeed as bishop and in his despair opens himself to the devil for help. He meets a black magician who purports to be able to control the devil to do his will: "Den duuel kan jk duyngnen, / Dat he my mot bryngnen / Ghut vnde aller leyghe schat"⁷² (I can compel the devil to bring me all sorts of goods and treasures). The magician's words please Theophilus well, and he begins to consider seeking the devil in the place of God seriously:

Wuste yk eynen duuel hyr so nar
By my uppe der erden,
Syn eyghen wolde yk werden
Myt selen vnde ok myt lyue
Syn eyghen wolde yk blyuen
Nu vnde jummer mere.
Ik wolde em beden groter ere,
Wan jk Gode ye ghe dede,
Dat he my helpe dar mede,

⁷² Ibid., 18.

Dat jk werde so rechte eyn man,
Dat yk mochte wedder stan
Den pysschop vnde de heren,
De myne wedder sathen syn vnde weren.⁷³

If I knew of any devil somewhere near
To me on this earth,
I would like to become his servant
With soul and with body
I would remain his property
Now and forevermore.
I would bestow great honor upon him,
As I once bestowed upon God,
So that he would help me
To become a man
Who could stand up to
The bishop and the priests
Who were and are against me.

In an attempt to regain the status he has lost, Theophilus is willing to give the devil greater honor than he ever gave God, giving him both body and soul. With no further contemplation, Theophilus calls upon the devil for his help: “Ik bede dy, bose Satanas”⁷⁴ (I summon you, evil Satan). Calling the devil, or Satan, “evil” in his summoning, shows that Theophilus is fully aware of the devil’s character. Satan appears immediately, revealing that he must respond to any summoning: “Gy bynden vns myt juwen eyden, / Dat sy vns lef ofte leyde, / Dat wy moten to jw komen”⁷⁵ (Your invocations bind us, we must come to you whether we like it or not). He has no choice in the matter; the devil must appear at the whim of the summoner, no matter what.

To obtain membership in the devil’s league, Theophilus must entirely forsake God and Mary. The devil informs him: “Du schalt vorsaken alder dyngh, / De myt Gode in deme hemmele synd; / Du scholt dencken vnde lezen, / Al dyn dancke de schal to my wezen”⁷⁶ (You

⁷³ Ibid., 24-26.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 26.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 30.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 46.

must forsake everything that is with God in heaven; Everything you think and read, all of it should be directed to me). All of his thoughts must be pointed at the devil and his glory, and nothing godly may play a role in Theophilus' new life. Theophilus takes pause at giving up "de sute maghet Maria"⁷⁷ (the sweet Virgin Mary), but then readily agrees to do so and go into league with Satan. He gives his written pact to Satan, in which he agrees to entirely forsake God and "Mariaz de eneghe bar"⁷⁸ (Mary who bore him). To complete the pact, Satan must travel into hell and hand it over to Lucifer, to whom he is subject and who is the lord of all the devils.

Life as the devil's compatriot begins, and Theophilus receives beautiful clothes and expensive jewelry to wear, exquisite food and wine to eat, and fine jewels to give to noble women so that they will notice him and choose to be his companions.⁷⁹ Not long into his new life, Theophilus stumbles upon a sermon while trying to chase after beautiful women. Satan tries halfheartedly to keep him away, but Theophilus does not care and is only interested in fulfilling his desires. Just moments into the sermon, he realizes his grave mistake and decides to seek Mary's help in escaping his damning fate. Mary is "eyn pat vnde en stech"⁸⁰ (a path and overpass), and everyone who comes to her, "de werden deme duuele benomen"⁸¹ (they will be ripped from the devil's grasp). Mary has power over the devil and he is subject to her, so it seems only fitting to Theophilus to begin his request with the "scryn [...] aller gnaden"⁸² (shrine to all that is holy).

⁷⁷ Ibid., 48.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 52.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 59.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 86.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

In order to free Theophilus of his obligations, Mary must approach her son, who is not as forgiving as she is and holds Theophilus in low regards, describing him as “dat stynkende as”⁸³ (that stinking carcass) and stating that “syn vlesch stynket sere vtermate”⁸⁴ (his flesh stinks horribly), wanting nothing to do with Theophilus. Mary has to play the mom card, reminding him that it was she who nursed him as a babe and he has her to thank for his life, begging for permission to save this poor sinner. Christ finally acquiesces to her tears, begrudgingly imparting grace to Theophilus. This scene of Mary interceding with Christ begins, to the best of my knowledge, with this fifteenth-century text. Earlier versions of the tale in various languages show Mary responding to Theophilus’ forty days and nights of fasting and prayer with the promise to intercede for him. Theophilus then continues to pray and fast for three more days, after which Mary appears to him again, letting him know that her intercession was successful. In Jacob van Maerlant’s *Spieghel Historiael*, an early fourteenth-century chronicle, the Theophilus episode follows this traditional pattern:

Ende onse Vrouwe vertogede haer echt,
 Met bliden ansichte, alst es recht,
 Ende seide: “Gods man, sonder waen,
 God hevet dine trane ontfaen
 Dor minen wille, omdat ics bat,
 Blivestu toter doot in dat,
 Dattu belooft heefs minen Sone.”⁸⁵

And Our Lady showed her true goodness,
 With a happy outlook, as is right,
 And said: “God’s man, without hope,
 God has received your tears
 By my will, because I asked this,
 You may rest assured until your death in this,
 That my Son has promised you.

⁸³ Ibid. 98.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 100.

⁸⁵ Jacob van Maerlant, *Spiegel Historiael*, ed. M. de Vries and E. Verwijs, vol. 2 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1863), 394.

Here we do not see Mary's intercession, but simply hear of it. Theophilus gains the favor of God because Mary asked for it, but the manner in which she asked is not present. This insight into the intercession only comes with the Middle Low German drama, and we see this same intercession with both the wagon play in *Mariken van Nieumeghen* and in *Fraw Jutten*.

To fully free Theophilus, Mary must collect the pact he signed from Satan. It is in her conversations with Satan that we see much more of his character. "Ik bede dy, bose Satanas, / Du vule vnryne dwas, / Dat du komest hyr vore / Vth der helle dore / Vnde dost hyr wedder den bref, / Den Theophelus suluen scref"⁸⁶ (I command you, evil Satan, you rotten, dirty scoundrel, to come forth out of the gates of hell and to return the contract that Theophilus wrote himself), proclaims Mary, as she demands the return of the pact from Satan. In an attempt to maintain his hold on Theophilus, Satan claims that he knows very little about the pact, including where it might be. Mary, however, asserts her power and insists he obtain it, forcing the devil into a corner and relieving him of the legal document: "Owe, yk mot dat don, / Dar brynghet my dyne walt to"⁸⁷ (Woe is me, I must do this, your power forces me to do so). Knowing full well he cannot compete with her, Satan returns to Lucifer and informs him that their "walt nu vyl kleyne stat"⁸⁸ (our power is now much smaller). Lucifer confirms their relationship to Mary: "se ys vnse vrouwe, we synt ere knechte"⁸⁹ (she is our mistress, we are her servants). There is no question about who is in charge, and so the pact is given over to Mary.

⁸⁶ Schnyder, *Theophilus*, 110.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 114.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 118.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 120.

Figure 5: Mary demanding the contract from Satan and returning it to Theophilus



The Hague, KB, 71 A 24 fol. 6v (1327)

Theophilus is freed from his bonds and the text ends with a call for the audience to forever praise this great redeemer of sinners (and to thank Christ for allowing her to redeem them).

Although it seems to be much more about Mary and her interventions for Theophilus in order to teach the reader to seek after God alone, the fifteenth-century *Theophilus-Spiel* still reveals a great deal about the devil. Theophilus is certainly aware of who the devil is from the start, and Satan makes no effort to disguise his intent to win his soul for hell. Most striking in this text is perhaps the distribution of power and hierarchical relationships that are outlined. The devil himself seems to have very little agency, as he makes clear that he is subject to the will of anyone who seeks after him. He can demand a contract, but the moment someone wishes to summon him, he must appear. He does not use trickery or show for his converts, but simply outlines the procedure: the pact-maker must fully separate himself from God (and Mary), and Satan will provide him with earthly pleasures. Lucifer and his devils have no power to withstand

Mary, and it is only here that trickery comes into play. Pitiful attempts to convince her the pact cannot be found do not even faze her, and the fight is easily won. Satan seems very much the devil of the Middle Ages who tempts, but when God calls, Theophilus answers and the battle over his soul is quickly lost for the devil. Teaching that the choice to return to God is always there, Theophilus' story of repentance and rebirth serves as a positive example for its audience: it is never too late to turn back to God. The devil is merely a helpless agent who can be tempting, but the decision is left to mankind. Calling on Mary for help is the preferred solution to the problem and her ability to intercede with Christ and force the devil to give up the pact paints her as the heroine in this story, a story that uses the tradition of the *Processus Sathanae* to teach her power and role in overcoming the devil in everyday life.

In 1572, Catholic priest and poet William Forrest transformed the legend of Theophilus into poem form, maintaining the Catholic elements that were beginning to fade away in the aftermath of the Reformation. In his hands, Theophilus' tale becomes highly didactic, teaching of Mary's power to save the sinner from eternal damnation. Forrest begins by setting up Theophilus' story as the truth, for penning a lie is a "dampnable stayne."⁹⁰ His is the story "Of Theophilus, which Chryste dyd forsake, recovered by prayer his mother can make."⁹¹ An eternity in hell is something no man would want to endure, and Forrest makes sure to paint it as such:

In helle hee pleaseth—let man vnderstande—
To be theare tyere inextinguable hotte;
The place called the oblyvion londe,
For that of God theye ar eaver forgotte;
Thyther descendynge, that all syn by rote,
Customablye, with out all repentaunce,

⁹⁰ William Forrests *Theophiluslegende*, ed. F. Ludorff, 60-115, in *Anglia: Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie*, vol. 7 (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1884), 81.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 82.

For eaver therefore to taiste Godes vengauce.⁹²

Human nature is not held in high esteem either, as “man enclined by processe of tyme more to the worldes vayne delectatyons, and to syn of fleshlye fylthye cryme.”⁹³ Theophilus, upset by being passed over for promotion, seeks help from a man who “professed to Sathan, his lorde.”⁹⁴ He helps Theophilus seal a pact with the devil. The pact written by Theophilus with the blood of the sorcerer reads: “I Christe forsake and his mother Marye.”⁹⁵ The devil enters the heart of the bishop who holds Theophilus’ coveted position, forcing him to restore Theophilus to a higher position. The power of the devil is significant; he has the ability to possess the godly and control their actions.

The relationship between Christ and the devil is described as one of both pulling man in different directions:

And as the devyll wrought to his hindaunce,
And furthered to moste extremytee,
So Christ him stirred vnto repentaunce,
By knowing his fawte with all humylytee.⁹⁶

Christ’s pulling is significant enough to stir Theophilus to repentance, in an attempt to slip the noose of the devil, who “seeketh, each deye, night and howre, whom hee maye thrall and vtterlye devowre.”⁹⁷ Theophilus knows no other way to obtain the grace of God, except by “prostratinge him self before her [Mary’s] image, in pyteous wise suinge to haue her suffrage.”⁹⁸ The next section is summarized as “The humble oration of the penitent synner Theophilus to the glorious

⁹² Ibid., 84.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 89.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 91.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 93.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 95.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 96.

virgin Marye, to be medyatrice to her moste mercyfull sonne for him in this his moste miserable falle and greate necessite, to be rayseed by her, and reconcyled vnto grace againe.”⁹⁹ Theophilus laments to Mary the fact that he had not been “ledde by rules of reason,”¹⁰⁰ and instead blinded by the devil. He lies on the ground, groveling for three days and nights before an image of the virgin, in hopes that she will take pity on him.

After three days, Mary appears to him and agrees to do what she can for his “reconscyliation.”¹⁰¹ Mary’s mediation on Theophilus’ behalf is both “humble and motherlye.”¹⁰² Mary takes Theophilus’ “pyteous complaint”¹⁰³ before Christ. Her argument is long-winded and she reminds Christ that even sinners are “formed vnto thy gloryous image.”¹⁰⁴ Then she asks him to recall his “dolorous peyne on the crosse,” and her role as his “poore nurse.”¹⁰⁵ Based upon her argument, Christ readily agrees to her petition, for he understands the “frailtee” of human nature and “of our enemye the great vexation.”¹⁰⁶ He goes on to say that her case has been won: “Your sute, therefore, concerninge yonder man, take and doe with him what your pleasure ys.”¹⁰⁷ Mary, in effect, has gained control over Theophilus and his fate is in her hands. Upon this reconciliation with Christ, Theophilus forsakes everything gained by his pact with the devil, putting all his efforts into amending his ways. His trials are not over, however, as his contract remains in the hands of the devil. He beseeches Mary to obtain this for him, so as to

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 97.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 99.

¹⁰² Ibid., 103.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 104.

keep his soul from perishing. The conversation between Mary and the devil is not present in this version, but she is able to return the pact to Theophilus, who became a “newe man.”¹⁰⁸ The devil, thwarted once more by Mary, cursed at her for depriving him of “his praye.”¹⁰⁹

Theophilus’ transformation is the focus of the remainder of the text, and what a transformation it is. He now recognizes the devil as the “author of eaverye evyll.” “As childe onse burned of fyer will beware, Theophylus so tavoyde the devylles snare.”¹¹⁰ He has learned from his mistake, as should the reader, and spends his life seeking God:

Hys mynde from the earth was upwardes elevate,
Of purpose to seeke celestiall thingis.
All worldye vnder foote he dyd conculcate,
For that to sowles health no good thyng yt bringeth.
The gloryous Ladye he ofte in mynde myngeth,
How her to serve and here sun magnyfye,
That had for him doone so mercyfullye.¹¹¹

Because he felt that the magnitude of this miracle should not be withheld from the people, Theophilus took it upon himself to have his story published, “to the glorie of God and his moste blessed mother, the virgin Marye.”¹¹² An example of the fact that no sin is too large to be covered by God’s grace, Theophilus’ story is presented as one of conversion from sin to grace. Mary is the mediator of this grace and able to save sinners from an eternity in hell. The narrator steps in once more with a final reminder to the reader of just how to read this text:

To this ende, o moste Christian audyence,
This noble acte to you I doe declare,
To praise of Godes moste highe magnifycence,
Who wolde the death of on Christian synner,
How eaver grevous hee happeneth to erre:

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 106.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 107.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid., 108.

Much more readyer our synnes to forgeive
Then wee, through our meanys, him therin to meve.¹¹³

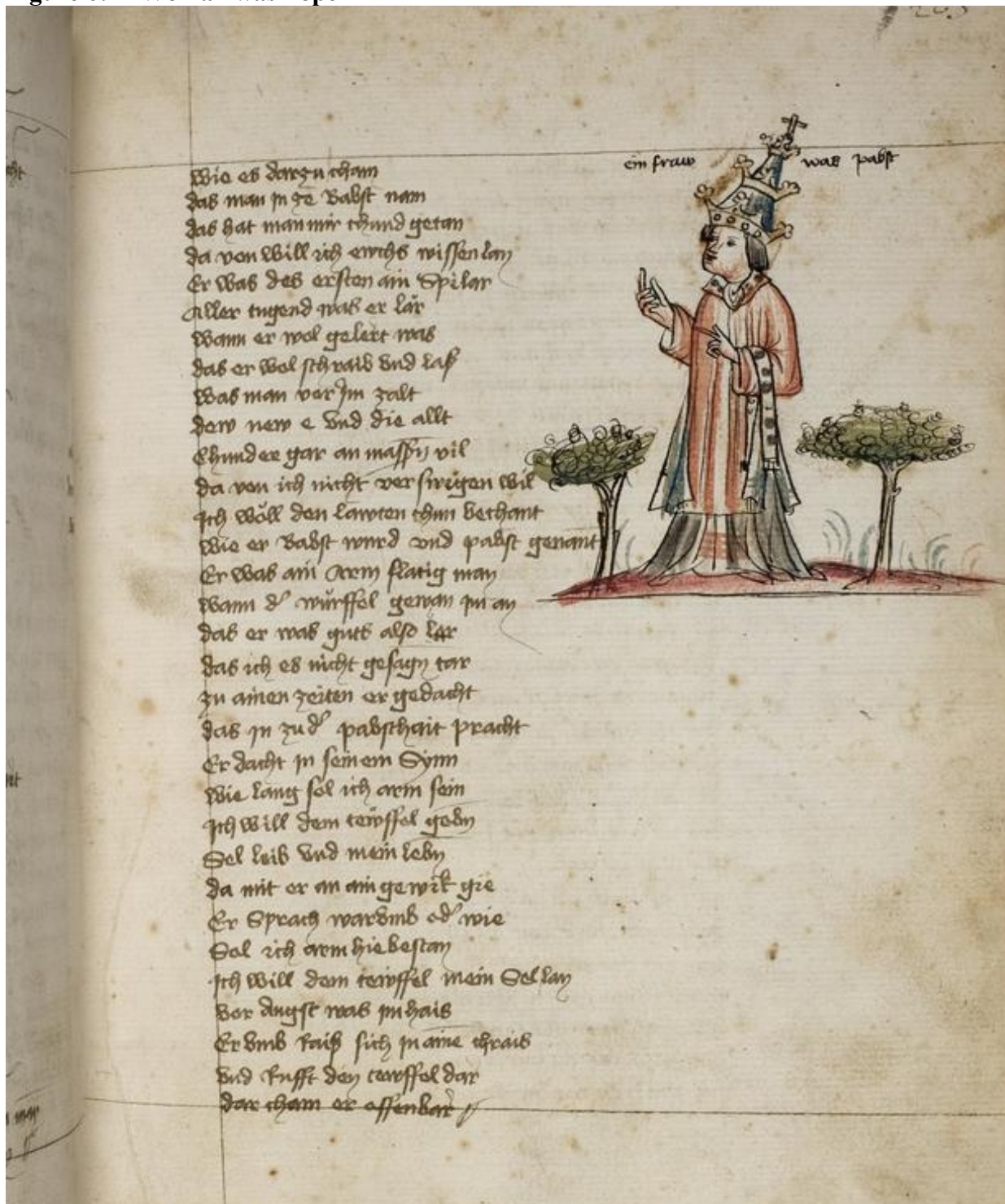
No matter how grievous the sin, God will much rather forgive than let a soul perish.

Dietrich Schernberg's *Ein schön Spiel von Fraw Jutten* is rather different from *Theophilus* and *Mariken*, but there are certain continuities that make it necessary to consider in this chapter. It was first printed in 1565, but the scholarly consensus is that Pope Joan's story was dramatized between 1480 and 1510, at exactly the same time as Mariken's tale.¹¹⁴ Schernberg borrows profusely from the Middle Low German *Theophilus*, some passages taken almost word for word. Jutta is a female tricked into a pact with the devil by the promise of knowledge. Jutta pays the punishment for her sins with her life, but it is the intercession of the Virgin Mary (and of Saint Nicholas) on her behalf that rescues her soul from the grasp of hell. She does not, however, spend significant time with the devil (and neither does Theophilus), but the devil and his cohort are given a significant amount of speaking time in the play. This is something new, as most earlier versions were not concerned with the devil, but with the fact that a pope was giving birth. In the following images illustrated just prior to Schernberg's adaptation, one sees this incredibly different focus.

¹¹³ Ibid., 111.

¹¹⁴ Wolthuis, "Frau Jutte," 247.

Figure 6: A Woman was Pope



Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, *Weltchronik*, Jans Jansen Enikel, Cod. Pal. germ. 336 (ca. 1420)

Figure 7: Pope Joan Giving Birth

namen zenobia / von der künigin behielte / bÿ dem palast diui adriani / allda endet sie ir leben .



Von johañe anglica der bābstin das xcvi capl .



Obañes wie wol der nam ains mañes ist / so ward doch ain wÿb also geneñet . Ain junkfrölin ze men cz (als etlich sagen) gilibertha gehaissen / lernet in vätterlicher

Penn Libraries, Heinrich Steinhöwel's translation of Giovanni Boccaccio's *De mulieribus claris*, Inc B-720 (ca. 1474)

Figure 8: Pope Joan Giving Birth



Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Giovanni Boccaccio, *Der kurz syn von ettlichen frauen*, fol. 137v (1479)

The scene opens with Lucifer, as he is named in Schernberg's text, calling his army of devils to gather in his court. This gathering takes place to discuss a particular young woman by the name of Jutta who is heading in the direction of a promising devilish disciple. Jutta wishes to move to England to attend school by dressing as a man and becoming her male alter ego, Johannes of England.¹¹⁵ Lucifer sends his underlings, Sathanas and Spiegelglantz, to make Jutta their servant with their "behenden listen"¹¹⁶ (slithery craftiness). Sathanas approaches Jutta and offers her wisdom and intelligence alongside great honor. This pleases her greatly and she

¹¹⁵ Dietrich Schernberg, *Ein schön Spiel von Frau Jutten: Nach dem Eislebener Druck von 1565*, ed. Manfred Lemmer (Berlin: E. Schmidt, 1971), 32.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 33.

promises to follow their advice. Jutta's willingness to cooperate seems to satisfy the prerequisites for entering in league with the devil, thus forming an implicit pact. This pact is similar to Mariken's, with no official documentation transferred. The premise is clear: Jutta will receive help from hell for her obedience to the devil. Whether or not Jutta knows she has been conversing with devils is unclear, nor is the manner in which the devils physically manifest themselves.

Upon the return of the two devils to hell to report their success to Lucifer, Sathanas boasts of the ease with which they were able to gain her allegiance:

Das wir die Jungfraw so hübsch han gefangen /
Vnd mit behendigkei vbergangen /
Vnd haben sie gar wol betrogen /
Vnd mit falscheit zu vns gezogen /
Das sie von vns nicht kan geweichen /
Das sage ich dir sicherleichen.¹¹⁷

That we have caught the young lady so beautifully
And descended upon her with great skill
And we have deceived her well
And brought her to us with falsity
So that she cannot stray from us
This I assuredly say to you.

From this conversation, it seems that Jutta has been deceived, tricked and captured, and thought to be incapable of escape from her fate in hell. The scene returns to Jutta and her companion, Clericus. She informs him of her plan to travel to another country and present herself as a man with his help so that they can learn and debate. Clericus agrees and they travel to Paris to search for someone who can teach them. They find themselves a professor willing to teach them and begin to learn the seven liberal arts (exactly what Mariken was taught by Moenen). With enough book-learning they receive doctorates and travel on to Rome.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 37.

In Rome, the pope confers upon the pair the office of cardinals on the basis of their advanced degrees. The pope then dies and Jutta, also known as Johannes, is chosen to be his successor. A man brings his devil-possessed son before Pope Johannes for him to cast out the demons. This, however, backfires, and the devil reveals that Pope Johannes is pregnant and really Jutta. The scene switches once again to Christ vocalizing a complaint to his mother about Jutta:

Maria liebe Mutter zart /
Ich klage dir auff dieser fart /
Das das Weib / welchs ein Bapst ist /
Nicht abzuwenden ist zu keiner frist
Von jhrer bösen missethat /
Die sie lang wieder vns begangen hat /
Vnd hat sich noch nie wolt bekeren
Das klage ich dir Mutter heere.¹¹⁸

Mary, dear Mother tender
I come to you with a complaint on this journey
That the woman, who is a popess,
Is not to be averted for any period of time
From her evil misdeeds
That she has long committed against us
This I lament here before you, Mother.

Because of her grievous sin and lack of repentance, Christ wishes to sentence her to death. The Virgin Mary, however, balks at the idea of losing a precious soul for whom Christ's blood had been spilled. She asks to be allowed to reconcile Jutta back to him and he agrees to let Mary try. Her "mütterliche sitten" (motherly ways) have succeeded in tempering Christ's anger.¹¹⁹ Jutta must still pay with her death for the sins of being a cross-dressing, pregnant pope, but Mary might be able to intercede and save her soul from the torments of hell.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 58.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 60.

Jutta prays to Mary and receives her promise to try to keep her soul out of hell. Death commands Jutta to give birth to her child and then she cries out once more to Mary for the sake of her soul before succumbing to death by childbirth. A devil accompanies her soul into hell, bringing her before Lucifer. She learns of what is to become of her soul in hell and cries out to Mary, noting that she never forsook her, only God. In the midst of hellish torment, Jutta's soul continues to remember the Virgin Mary and her promises. In return for her faithfulness, Mary goes to Christ to pray for Jutta. Christ does not budge from his decision until Mary reminds him of her role in his upbringing—of his humble birth and the manger in which she cared for him; of the pain she endured because of his death. Moved by this appeal, Christ allows Jutta's soul to be granted mercy and release from hell.

Upset at the loss of Jutta's soul, the devils complain to Lucifer. Lucifer commands them to be quiet, for they cannot contend with Christ: "Wenn er ist vnser Herr vnd wir seine Knechte / Darumb können wir mit jhm nicht fechten"¹²⁰ (For he is our master and we his servants. That is why we cannot contend with him). The devil is ultimately powerless and can do little but continue to tempt souls to hell in hopes that Christ has no interest in their salvation. Jutta's soul is brought before Christ and all is forgiven. Her final words and the subject of her eternal utterances are the praise and worship of God for his mercy shown, but this mercy was only gained through Mary's intercession, not out of the goodness of his heart.

Mary's Intercession for Sinners in the Pact Texts

The conversations between Mary and Christ and Mary and the devil in the *Theophilus-Spiel*, and between Mary and Christ in *Fraw Jutten* contain legal undertones and religious imagery similar to that present in the embedded Masscheroen play in *Mariken*. Adrienne Boyarin

¹²⁰ Ibid., 87.

refers to moments of intercession in the Theophilus tradition as legal in language and tone, and it is not a stretch to extend this description to scenes in *Fraw Jutten*. Additionally, the intercession Mary makes for sinners in these texts is strikingly similar. To bring Christ to her point of view, Mary reminds him of her motherly love, in three of four cases in the form of her breasts filled with the milk that nourished him. She reminds him of the great pain he suffered and how it should not be wasted on a grudge against sin. It is with these two things that Mary wins her case for the sinner before Christ (and, in two of the cases, before the devil as well). With the help of Mary's intercession and Christ's mercy, a pact with the devil is not even too much for grace and forgiveness.

The continuities between the Middle Low German *Theophilus* and Schernberg's *Fraw Jutten* have been discussed at length, but I argue that these similarities extend beyond the borders of the German language. The fact that all four of the texts only involve Mary interceding with Christ for the sinner, and not the additional step of Christ appealing to his father, sets these texts clearly in the tradition of the *Processus Sathanae*, which is different from the example set forth in the image at the beginning of this chapter. Not only this, but the imagery used in all four texts points to a continuity that has yet to be discussed. Mary reminds Christ of the breasts that nursed him, the body that bore him, and the motherly care given to him in the first part of her case. Then she moves on to remind him of his suffering on behalf of sinners. This is the pattern in each of the four texts—the earliest-known version of the *Processus Sathanae* found in Maerlant's *Merlijn*, and in the particular versions of Theophilus, Jutta, and Mariken discussed in this chapter. In fact, even William Forrest's *Theophilus* follows this model, except that Mary first points to Christ's pain and then her milk poured out for him.

Merlijn (1261)	Theophilus (1450-1470)	Jutta (1480-1510)	Mariken (1480-1510)
<p>Zie, sprack si den zone nu an, Den lichaem, die dy droech gere, Ende die borste, die du zoges mede,¹²¹</p> <p>See, she now said to the Son, “The body, that carried you, And the breasts that you suckled.</p>	<p>Dencke, kint, dat myn hant Myt kranken doken dy bewant, Do du an der krubben legest Vnde grotes armodes plegest. Su kind, dat sint de brusten, De du to dinen lusten Dicke heft ghe soghen Vnde leflike to dem munde togen.¹²²</p> <p>Think, child, that my hand wrapped you snugly with swaddling clothes As you lay in the manger in great humility. See, child, these are the breasts that you suckled in contentment And that you gladly took into your mouth.</p>	<p>Vnd gedencke / das dich dicke mein hand Mit geringen vnd armen tüchern bewand / Da du in der Krippen lagest Vnd grosses armuts pflagest.¹²³</p> <p>And think, that my hand wrapped you snugly in swaddling clothes As you lay in the manger In great humility.</p>	<p>Denckt om die borstkens die ghi hebt ghesoghen, Denckt om dat buixken daer ghi inne gelegen hebt¹²⁴</p> <p>Think of the breasts That you have sucked, Think of the womb In which you lay</p>
Merlijn (1261)	Theophilus (1450-1470)	Jutta (1480-1510)	Mariken (1480-1510)
<p>En gedencket iu niet, sone, des Dat ghy dat al hebbet verdinget Al daer gy an den cruce hinget, Also doget der werlt in die wage Ende optie anderside, optie ander vlage,</p>	<p>Denk wat ik leyt an der stunt, Do dyn herte wart ge wunt Van dem blinden ioden spere grot, Dat dat blot dorch dine siden vlot. Leue kint, dorch alle de bitterlicheit,</p>	<p>Auch gedenck was ich leid an der stund / Da dein hertze ward verwundt / Da du an dem Creutze hingest / Vnd den tod daran empfindest. Durch solche bitterkeit Las dein gnad den</p>	<p>Dinckt om die passie die ghi gheleden hebt, Dinckt om alle dbloet dat ghi stortet in ghescille. Waert niet al om smenschen wille, Om dat si thuus vaders genaden souden geraken.</p>

¹²¹ Jacob van Maerlant, *Merlijn, naer het eenig bekende Steinforter handschrift*, ed. J. van Vloten (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1880), 26.

¹²² Schnyder, *Theophilus*, 102.

¹²³ Schernberg, *Frau Jutten*, 81.

¹²⁴ Wilmink and Ramakers, *Mariken van Nieumeghen*, 120.

<p>Hinck die moedener, hoe so dat gaet, Als zonde der werelt; dat verstaet, Sone, dat ick dy doe aensach Met droeviger herten, op dien dach, Ende met wenenden ogen mede; Daer was gewoegen ter selver stede Met ener effener schalen die doget, Ende die quaetheit onverhoget, Ende du, die waers die doget gereit Verwones daer alle quaetheit, Also dattu nedervoeres daer Totter Hellen ombe die zielen vorwaer, Ende treckedes daerwt die keytive; Ende of dan zulcke wage blive, Die vor alle die werelt feestelike Gedaen was, ende oeck hogelike, Opten berch van Calvarien eer, So en wil ick wegen nember meer; Maer ik houde my an dat allene, Ende en wil ander gewichte negene.¹²⁵</p> <p>And think, son, that you accomplished everything as you hung there on the cross, as the virtue of the world on the scale, and on the other side, on the other</p>	<p>De ek ju dorch dinen willen leit, Efte ek di do wat gudes dede, So twide my dusser bede, Vnde lat my dussen sunder bewaren, Vnde lat one an mynen hulden varen.¹²⁶</p> <p>Think of what I suffered in the hour, When your heart was pierced by the long spear of the blind Jew So that the blood flowed down your side. Dear child, through the bitterness that I suffered for your sake, If I could do something good for you, So grant me this request, and allow me to save this sinner and let him enter into my favor.</p>	<p>armen Sündern sein bereit / Vnd las deinen vnmut / Das ist den armen Sündern wol gut /¹²⁷</p> <p>Also consider what I suffered in the hour That your heart was wounded As you hung on the cross, And received death there. Through such bitterness Let your grace be ready for poor sinners. And let go of your resentment. That is good for the poor sinners.</p>	<p>Ghi hebt stelve ghesproken, wat wildi maken, Al hadde een mensche alle die sonden alleene Ghedaen van alle die werelt ghemeene, Riep hi eens hertelijck op u ontfermen, Hi soude ontfanghen sijn met openen armen. Dits u woort, menich mensche es vroedere.¹²⁸</p> <p>Think of the passion that you suffered, Think of all the blood you shed, Was it not for the sake of mankind, That they might be able to enter into the house of their heavenly father? You said yourself what he would do: Even if someone had committed all the sins in the world, if he called to me and asked for my mercy, he would be received with open arms. This is what you said; and many know it.</p>
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¹²⁵ Maerlant, *Merlijn*, 27.

¹²⁶ Schnyder, *Theophilus*, 104.

¹²⁷ Schernberg, *Frau Jutten*, 82.

¹²⁸ Wilmink and Ramakers, *Mariken van Nieumeghen*, 120.

<p>balance, hung the murderer holding all the sins of the world. Son, that I saw you there with a sad heart, on that day, and with crying eyes. There was weighed in the same stead, with plain bowls, virtue and evil, and you, who was virtue, overcame all evil, That you thus descended into hell for the sake of the souls, and drew the wretched out; And if so a scale remains, done festively before the world, and also highly on Mount Calvary, then I never want to weigh this again, but only hold myself to this, and want no other standard of weights.</p>			
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Maerlant's episode is certainly the longest and its imagery is much more extensive than the later triad of texts, but the later texts are surprisingly close in their versions of this scene. Mary's intercession for Theophilus and Jutta is not before the devil, but the language is very much in the same vein as that found in *Merlijn* and the wagon play in *Mariken van Nieumeghen*. In *Theophilus*, Mary reminds Christ of her motherly care for him and her breasts that he so loved to suckle. She then transitions into the pain that she, as a mother, endured upon his death. After this, Mary requests permission to protect Theophilus. The *Jutta* version is slightly more condensed and contains some minor changes, but the language is almost identical to that in *Theophilus*. Here, Mary only alludes to her tender care for Christ as his mother and her suffering during his passion. Because of this suffering she implores him to let go of his anger against sinners and allow them the mercy and grace he died to impart. This is a much more universal request, not aimed simply at the sinner at hand, but applicable to all mankind. And it is this

universal plea that is also found in *Mariken*, after Mary points to the womb that housed him and the breasts that nourished him. She asks Christ to remember his sacrifice and the promise he made to man that no matter how great the sin, if he only repented, he would be received back into grace with open arms. Looking at these two portions of Mary's intercession to Christ, it becomes very clear that the picture is much larger than a simple blatant copy and paste from Theophilus to Jutta. That this imagery is included in such a similar fashion attests to some manner of textual interchange; the way in which this imagery is handled in later versions of *Mariken* is very much a testament to the workings of the Reformation, though the Marian devotion does not fully disappear.

It also important to note the status of the Masscheroen wagon play within *Mariken van Nieuweghen*. Although it cannot be certain, it is very plausible that this play was inserted after its original printing, which is very interesting given the cases Mary pleads for Theophilus and Jutta. It is generally accepted that the earliest extant Dutch text printed by Vorsterman was done before the English translation by Jan van Doesborch. The English translation entirely omits the inserted wagon play, describing Mariken's moment of conversion as due to a play about sinful living. This leaves a couple of possibilities. One plausible option is that there was an earlier fully prose printing of *Mariken van Nieuweghen* that is no longer extant and it is this that was translated into English. The prose was then reworked into a mixture of verse and prose, and the Masscheroen play was then inserted. The other plausible option is that Jan van Doesborch felt the text was too complicated for his English audience and he simplified it. At the time of the English printing, the Reformation had not yet really reached Antwerp, so the removal of Catholic elements is not necessarily a possible solution to this question. Given the rich history of Marian devotion in

England, it certainly seems odd that Jan van Doesborch simply deleted this episode, for it likely would have added to the commercial interest of the piece.

The only other vernacular rendition of these legal proceedings that has surfaced thus far in my research (and this topic is most certainly worth continued exploration) is in the early fourteenth-century *L'advocacie Nostre Dame (Our Lady's Advocacy)*. This contains extended legal proceedings that seem to be an amplified version of the Latin *Processus Sathanae* in which Mary presents her case against the devil before Christ. It contains a strikingly familiar scene because of this link to the Latin tradition taken from the Dutch:

Ha, beau douz filz, je suy ta mère,
qui te portey .IX. mois entiers:
tu me dois oïr volentiers.
Je t'enfantey mout pouvrement
et te nourri mout doucement.
Ta mère suy, mère m'apèles.
Beau filz, regarde les mamèles
de quoy aleitier te souloie,
et ces mains, dont bien te savoie
souef remuer et berchier.
Tu me feis le cuer perchier
quant tu souffris de mort l'angoisse.
Tout le cuer me ront et défroisse
toutes les foiz qu'il m'en souvient;
mèz endurer le me convient.
Einsi la douce Virge sainte
fesoit à son filz sa complainte
com mère qui enfant doctrine,
en démonstrant li sa poytrine [...]

Tu fus mis en la droite poise,
où l'en voit bien le quel plus poise,
et tant y pesas et pendis
que si qu'en enfer descendis
et d'illec les chétis jetas,
que de ton saint sanc rachetas.
Tant pesas et contrepesas

AH, fine, gentle Son, I am Your mother,
who carried You nine full months;
You should be willing to listen to me.
I gave You birth in poverty
and brought You up very gently.
I am Your mother. You call me mother.
Fair Son, look at the breasts
with which I used to feed You,
and these hands, with which I knew how
to handle You and gently rock You.
My heart was pierced because of You
when You suffered the agony of death;
my whole heart breaks and is torn apart
every time I remember it,
but I must endure it.
Thus the sweet holy Virgin
made her complaint to her Son,
like a mother teaching her child,
showing Him her bosom [...]

You were put in the true balance,
where one can see which side weighs more,
and You weighed and forced down that
side so much
that You went down as far as Hell
and cast forth from there the prisoners
whom You had redeemed with Your holy

Que les en treisis; or les as.¹²⁹

blood.
You so outweighed that other side
that You brought them out; now they are
Yours.¹³⁰

Mary makes the same case, although in a very long-winded argument, relying on her motherly role as the deciding vote for Christ, saving her bare bosom for her closing remarks. While this is much more a vernacular translation based on the Latin tradition, it makes it all the more interesting how this argument is taken up in the three pact texts approximately one century later.

The redemption of the pact-maker is something only found with Theophilus, Jutta, and Mariken, and their reworkings. The Faust tradition has a very different agenda and it is the damnation of the pact-maker that should move the reader not to follow in Faust's footsteps. Here, it is the redemption granted by Mary that is the focus, as well as her (and Christ's) triumph over the devil for all sinners. God and the devil do not converse in Faust, they simply offer him choices. It is, however, worthy of noting, that in Goethe's *Faust*, God and the devil do have a chat. But it is a bit reminiscent of their bet over Job, not a discussion over their rightful territory. In fact, the Faust tradition almost seems like a continuation of the conversations in these early pact texts. The devil's request for control on earth that is thwarted in *Mariken van Nieuweghen* is very much allowed in Faust, due to the Reformation and its devesting of the power of Catholic sacraments and rites against the devil. While these medieval characters are caught up in a game of tug of war between God and the devil, Faust is caught up in a battle. The early modern devil is very much in charge of the earthly sphere and does all he can to take charge of his subjects. God, however, offers mercy to all who seek him, but the devil's power is often too vast to escape. That

¹²⁹ Judith M. Davis and F.R.P. Akehurst, eds., *Our Lady's Lawsuits in 'L'Advocacie Nostre Dame' and 'La Chapelierie Nostre Dame de Baiex'* (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2011), 70-71; 78-79.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

Faust is a Protestant response to the Catholic legacy disseminated via these three pact-makers is the primary concern of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 2: THE DEVIL AS THE EARLY MODERN ADVERSARY

“God or the devil, it’s all the same to me,” wails Mariken as she no longer knows where to turn for help. The devil, ever waiting for such opportunities, exclaims: “These words make her soul viable to me! I have made myself to look just like a human as God tolerates. It’s just perfect, except for my eye: it looks like it is festering out. We spirits no longer have the power to transform ourselves with no limits. There is always something not quite right—something wrong with the head, the hands, or the feet. Now I’m going to sweeten my voice and speak so well and humbly that I don’t lose my love. You must always start out by treating women sweetly.”

Mariken’s last encounter with the devil is very different. After being hurled to the ground in a last-ditch effort to gain her soul for hell, Mariken miraculously survives. Moenen turns jester, picking a fight with pious old Uncle Ghijsbrecht: “Help me, I’ve pissed my tail. I must be out of my mind. I should have broken her neck before this guy showed up. Hey, big talker, don’t think that you can take her from me.” “Do you really think so, you evil spirit?” “Yes, I do, you son of a whore. She is mine and there is nothing you can do about it.” “These eight or ten lines on this paper say otherwise,” retorts Ghijsbrecht. “Oh no! My spines are prickling, my hair is getting stiff! What if he reads those words?! By Lucifer I must lose her soul. I’m gnashing my teeth in anger. I’m spewing hellfire out of my face and ears.” Just the threat of exorcism is enough to send Moenen packing, but this threat disappears in the Protestant pact-literature and the reader must learn to ward off the devil with theology and knowledge of the power of grace.

The monologue of the devil in which he introduces himself at the beginning of the 1515 *Mariken van Nieuweghen* and the scene of threatened exorcism towards the end of the text raise

a number of interesting questions and this devil is rather different from his early modern counterpart. The devil lies in wait for the perfect opportunity to entrap his victim. His deceptions are imperfect and with careful observation the viewer can decipher what is of God and what is not of God. The medieval reader has the tool of exorcism and the aid of the Virgin at his disposal, an arsenal of weaponry against the devil that begins to disappear with the Reformation. In the early modern depictions of the devil found in the *Historia*, among other texts, the devil certainly is prepared to jump in the minute he sees a particularly fruitful thought or desire that will lead to damnation. His deceptions, however, are much more powerful, creating what Stuart Clark argues are “virtual worlds, [...] where unreal phenomena were scarcely, if at all, distinguishable from their real equivalents.”¹³¹ The power afforded to the devilish deceptions and transformations in the early modern is nearly perfect. The victims thereof stand little chance of seeing through the facades without the help of blatant imperfections such as the missing eye in the late-medieval *Mariken*, and their tools for defeating the devil come in the form of being versed in recognition of his wiles.

The difference between the medieval and early modern devil is rather vast and has been well put by Euan Cameron:

For the Middle Ages human beings were poised between God and the devil. God called; the devil tempted. Once cleansed of original sin through baptism, human beings were delicately balanced between the tinder of sin and the residual potential for goodness within them that survived the fall. In Luther, human beings were not poised waiting to choose. God and the devil were fighting over each individual soul. People were like mules or horses which must be bridled and ridden: the only question was who was doing the riding.¹³²

¹³¹ Stuart Clark, *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 137.

¹³² Cameron, *Enchanted Europe*, 170.

The early modern devil is a very powerful figure against whom Christians must defend themselves. The devil's tools of deception in the early modern were numerous, whereas in medieval thought the devil merely enticed with the thought of transgression. The early modern devil was the creator of transgressive seductions. These differences can be clearly seen between *Mariken van Nieumeghen* and the early modern pact literature. The late medieval Moenen is certainly a seductor and calls Mariken to follow him. She is, however, able to escape his temptations by relying on the transformative power of ritual penance. Mephostophiles, Faustus' devil, and Auerhan, the devil of Faustus' disciple Wagner, on the other hand, are presented as very powerful devils who not only tempt, but also father transgression to maintain a hold on Faustus and Wagner. These two early modern texts instill fear of the devil, whereas the medieval showcase the redemptive grace of God (through Mary).

This chapter explores the character of the devil and how this character changes from the medieval to the early modern. The early modern devil is given power nearly rivaling that of God himself, painting a strong warning for the reader to take heed lest he fall, as opposed to the medieval focus on saving grace and power of the sacrament upon recognition of the devil's falsity. With the rise of Reformation thought leading to the divesting of the power of the sacrament, early modern readers must learn other ways to avoid the traps of the devil. They do not have the benefit of exorcism that forces Moenen to leave Mariken alone. It is this loss of sacramental solutions to the devil's advances that Robert Scribner sees as a result of the Reformation and which gives birth to the genre of literature to which these pact-texts belong: the profuse how-to manuals that detail the devil and his deceptions in order to educate the reader with a new solution of recognizing and avoiding the devil at all costs. In fact, both Faustus and

Wagner cannot see past the devil's detailed deceptions to recognize them as imperfect and therefore false.

Building on the material from the previous chapter, I now consider the early modern pact-makers found in the 1587 *Historia von D. Johann Fausten*, the 1593 *Wagnerbuch*, the 1599 *Warhafftigen Historien*, the 1592 *English Faust Book*, and Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (written at some point between 1588 and 1593). This chapter shows the drastic change that the character of the devil underwent in the early modern period, as well as the change in solutions offered to combat the devil's wiles. It argues that the early modern pact literature is more than a collection of stories that preach against putting faith in knowledge. These texts are, rather, predominantly about the devil himself; they warn against putting faith in his false illusions, and are a response to the Reformation's disenchantment of the sacraments. By showing the incredibly intricate "virtual worlds" that are barely discernable as such, the reader must learn to pay careful attention to the world around him. The devil's immense power seems almost unlimited compared to the medieval devil, who, as evidenced in the earlier example from *Mariken van Nieumeghen*, even points out his own limitations and does his best to hide them, and is easily forced to distance himself from the sinner on basis of a few choice holy words. Looking at these five texts and considering the manner in which the devil presents himself and to what ends, the narratorial portrayal of the devil, as well as the devil's form and the extent of his powers, this chapter will show the vast difference between the devils of these time periods. It will also show the distinct difference between the German and English early modern Faust traditions, arguing that the quest for knowledge entered the German tradition first with Goethe and was not there from the beginning. In fact, the English tradition, which influenced Goethe,

alters the German one, focusing not only on the devil, but also on defining the proper place of knowledge in a Christian's life.

The Creator of Virtual Worlds

Before turning to the literary texts themselves, it is important to first consider the historical context in which they were written. This section offers a brief overview of the devil and how he was perceived in the medieval and early modern time periods. As Eva Marta Baillie observes, "There is no one 'biography' of Satan. There is no authoritative body of text we can refer to when we speak of Satan, rather Satan appears like a shape-shifter, and every story gives him another face and body, deploying the old stereotypes, but adding new elements at the same time, creating a curious mixture of familiarity and strangeness."¹³³ Attempting to define the devil in a particular literary work is a task impossible to complete, as each appearance is nuanced and unique. There are, however, general perceptions in the medieval and early modern periods that provide fertile ground for thinking about the role of the devil in the texts of these times.¹³⁴ Important to keep in mind is that, as Stuart Clark argues, the early modern devil exists to define God. Philip C. Almond alludes to this concept in his secular biography of the devil, stating that "[t]his Christian story cannot be told without the Devil. Within Christian history, he plays, next to God himself, the most important part."¹³⁵ In this particular network of texts, this is most certainly true. The devil plays the most important role and exists to point the readers toward God.

¹³³ Eva Marta Baillie, *Facing the Fiend: Satan as a Literary Character* (Eugene: Cascade Books, 2014), 29.

¹³⁴ This section is by no means an attempt to create a biography of the devil as has been done by scholars such as Philip C. Almond, Jeffrey Burton Russell, and Peter Stanford. It is rather intended to show broader thoughts and understandings of the devil in a way that will shed light on the texts considered in the remainder of this chapter.

¹³⁵ Philip C. Almond, *The Devil: A New Biography*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), xv.

Keith Thomas paints a vivid picture of the medieval devil with “horns, tail and brimstone” who appeared to “tempt the weak and carry away desperate sinners.”¹³⁶ According to Thomas, the Reformation only made the hold of the devil stronger: “For Luther the whole world of visible reality and the flesh belonged to the Devil, the Lord of this world.”¹³⁷ The immediacy of the devil played an enormous role in the medieval period, but was even more of a reality in the early modern. Thomas proposes that pact legends existed and were proliferate for their ability to serve as “excellent cautionary tales, revealing Satan as a trickster and showing how his recruits always came to a bad end.”¹³⁸ The Protestant denunciation of exorcism as “sheer necromancy” led to a general rejection of this solution to the problem of the devil.¹³⁹ It sent the sinner to God to repent and accept grace, rather than rely on the practice of exorcism to fight off the devil.

In his seminal work, *Thinking with Demons*, Stuart Clark presents a comprehensive picture of the early modern devil. Working with a wide variety of early modern sources, he argues that the early modern devil “was also allowed enormous skills as a deceiver—and this in physical and not merely ethical terms. Where his power to produce real effects gave out—where he came up against the ultimate boundaries of nature—his ingenuity in camouflaging his limitations took over. In consequence, he was credited with a wide range of illusory phenomena.”¹⁴⁰ The devil’s power was limited by the natural, but his ability to mask illusion as such was great. Further discussing the status of the early modern devil in his *Vanities of the Eye*, Clark shows the significance of the devil to early modern culture. He notes that “[e]arly modern

¹³⁶ Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1971), 470.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 470.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 473.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 479.

¹⁴⁰ Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 166.

intellectuals inherited a conventional demonology [...], but developed and broadened it to such an extent that it became one of their defining preoccupations.” The early modern devil, he states, is “nothing less than the inventor of virtual worlds. As the supreme and worthy adversary of God, Satan had to come closest to him and wield almost identical powers, while necessarily falling short of complete equality. He was thus virtually a deity in the sense of being almost one [...] but actually a creature and so confined within the bounds of nature and its realities.”¹⁴¹ His ability to dupe was unparalleled, and it was nearly impossible to decipher between true miracles and devilish illusion. It was up to authors to display the devil’s almost undetectable falsity and give the readers the tools to learn to see through it, since they could no longer rely on exorcism or other rites to keep the devil at bay.

Of particular interest to this chapter is Robert Scribner’s discussion of the devil in his essay, “The Reformation, Popular Magic, and the ‘Disenchantment of the World.’” He writes that the devil “represented and occasioned spiritual, moral, social, and material disorder in the natural world, and the sacramental system was primarily (soteriologically) directed at reversing the effects of his actions and offering future protection against them.”¹⁴² With a blurring of religion and magic in the face of the workings of the devil, the pre-Reformation church needed to find a balance between the theological underpinnings of the sacraments and their functions as a part of everyday life, particularly their function as a combatant of “the wiles of the Devil.”¹⁴³ With the Protestant church and the Reformation, these sacraments lost their magical power. The devil and spirits were very much a part of the Protestant world, because, Scribner argues, “such beings were mentioned in the Bible, although there was a tendency to trace many such

¹⁴¹ Clark, *Vanities*, 123.

¹⁴² Scribner, “Disenchanted,” 349.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 350.

phenomena back to ‘tricks of the Devil.’”¹⁴⁴ However, with the desacralization of the Reformation, Protestants “found themselves deprived of ritual and sacramental ways of dealing with the activities of such beings [...],”¹⁴⁵ and it is likely this situation that led to the rise in didactic literature teaching the ways of recognizing and steering clear of the devil. Scribner makes clear that “the puzzle of how a massive witchcraze could apparently arise in a period said to usher in the dawn of ‘modern rationality’ [...] rests on a false dilemma. There was no inconsistency between Protestant thought-modes and a mentality that accepted diabolical efficacy in the world.”¹⁴⁶ Scribner’s argument that the Reformation left Christians without the pre-Reformation tools used to combat the devil is a very convincing one. This argument is even more convincing when considered alongside the prolific Protestant works that were penned in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the intent of educating the reader on the devil. Many words were spilled in this endeavor, in an attempt to provide the Christian public with a new solution to the problem of the devil—pedagogical instruction in the recognition of the devil and the subsequent avoidance of the devil and his workings.

This idea was first touched on by Keith Thomas in his attempt to answer the question of what “technical remedies” did the Protestants put in place after they renounced the “magical solutions offered by the medieval Church.”¹⁴⁷ Thomas proposes two main Protestant remedies: first, the doctrine of providence, and second, prayer and prophecy. The doctrine of providence, instead of “holding out the prospect of supernatural aid,” reminded the “faithful that the hardships of this life would be made tolerable by the blessings of the next,” and that the “world

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 357.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 362.

¹⁴⁷ Thomas, *Decline of Magic*, 77.

provided abundant testimony to the continuous manifestation of God's purpose."¹⁴⁸ Everything that happened was permitted by God, which led to all happenings being explained theologically. Thomas argues that this type of thinking led to the drastic increase in the printing and dissemination of cautionary tales, which attached "moral importance to such natural occurrences as thunder and lightning, earthquakes, eclipses, or comets."¹⁴⁹ The other Protestant remedy was the belief that "there was no benefit which the pious Christian might not obtain by praying for it."¹⁵⁰ This dissertation's understanding of the early modern German Faust tradition relies heavily on these arguments of Robert Scribner and Keith Thomas. I argue that the early modern German Faust Books were a part of the Protestant remedy offered in place of the Catholic magical solutions. They teach the devil and the ways to withstand him, offering prayer in the place of exorcism or sacraments. These texts are not mere treatises against the hazards of learning, but rather examples of how the Reformation sought to remedy the desacralization of the solutions offered by the medieval church.

The Early Modern German Devils and Their Pact-Makers

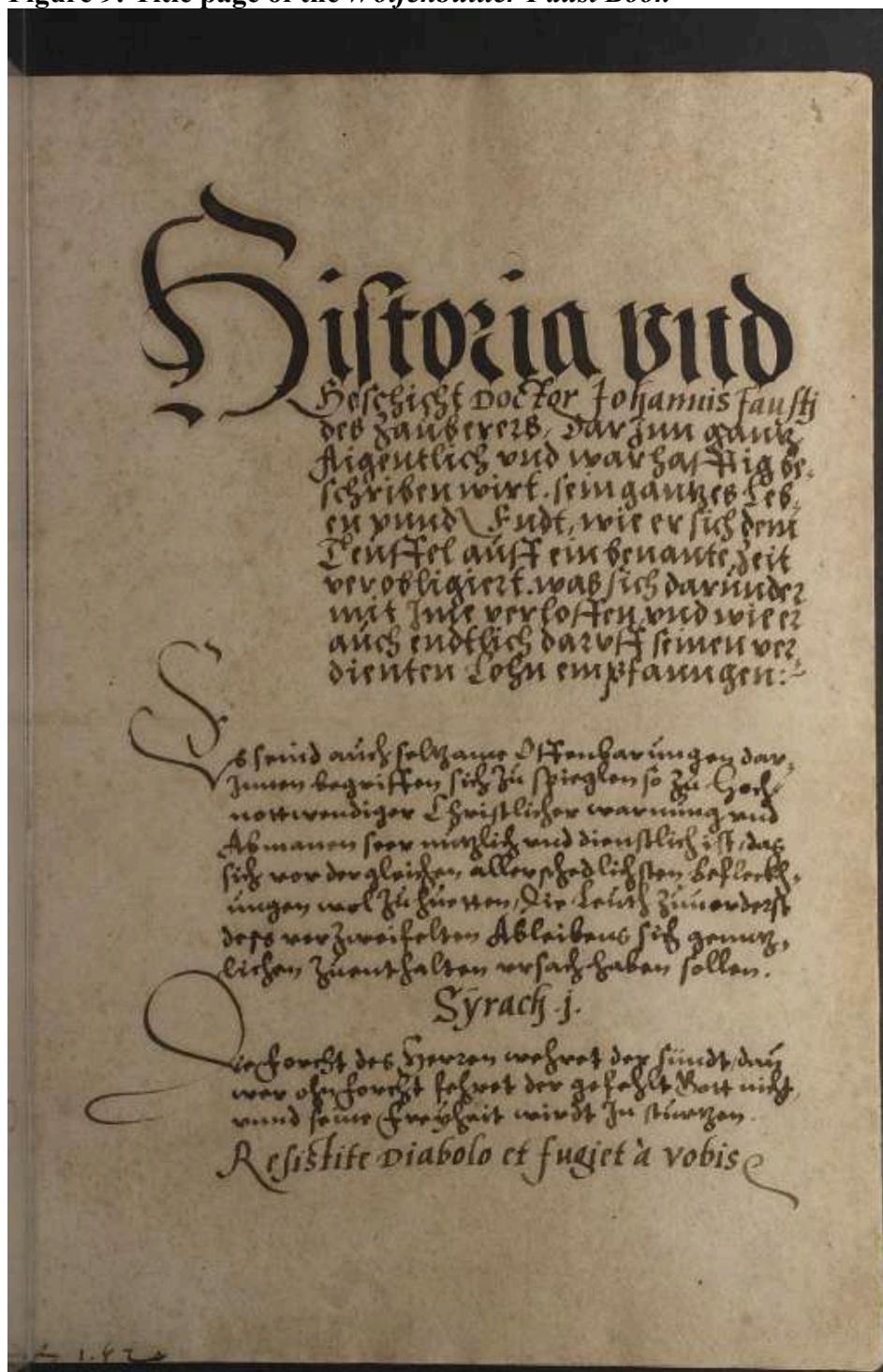
Looking at the 1587 *Historia von D. Johann Fausten*, the 1593 *Wagnerbuch*, and the 1599 *Warhafftigen Historien*, the clear progression of this pointed didacticism and its aim of curating the reader's weaponry against the devil shows the intense need of picking up the slack left in the wake of the disenchantment of the Catholic rites and sacraments. The 1587 *Historia*, however, was not the first time Faust entered the German language. There is one earlier extant copy in manuscript form and housed at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, commonly referred to as the Wolfenbüttel Manuscript.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 78.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 89.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 113.

Figure 9: Title page of the *Wolfenbüttler Faust Book*



Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 92 Extrav., 3^r (ca. 1580)¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ This manuscript has been digitized and can be found at: <http://diglib.hab.de/mss/92-extrav/start.htm>.

While certainly didactic in nature, the Wolfenbüttel manuscript is not the Lutheran propaganda that Spies printed. From the title page it is clear that the text is meant as a warning and intended to educate the reader. The preface to the reader, however, presents the text more as a response to what the author sees as misunderstandings related to magic. The preface relays a pressing need to keep people from doing what Faustus is purported to have done: get involved with magic and thus with the devil.

Gunstiger Lieber Freundt vnnd Brueder, Dise Dolmetsch vom Doctor Fausto / vnnd seinem Gottlosen Vorsatz / Hat mich bewegt auff deine Vielfelttge Bitt auss dem Latein jnn das Teutsch zu Transferiern / wie jch dann achte niemahls jnn Teutsche sprach kommen ist / was dann solliches bewegt hat / das es nit jnn den Teutschen Truckh oder schreiben gebracht worden / hat es ein sonnderliche Causam vnnd gelegenheit gehabt Einmahl / Damit nit Rohe vnnd Gottlose Leuth sich hierJnn spieglen / vnnd zu ainer Laruen machen / vnnd jm das werckh nachthuen wöllen.¹⁵²

My very dear friend and brother, this translation of Doctor Faustus and his wicked design is the result of your repeated request that I should put the Latin into German, which, so far as I am aware, has not been done. The reason it has not been printed or written in German is clear: so that no wicked and uneducated persons will use it as a model on which to build their fantasies and attempt to do as he did.¹⁵³

The author goes on to point out the necessity of protecting oneself from the devil, sticking to God's rules and not using one's capacity to learn for the devilish:

Wie dann der Teuffel nit allein den Leib suecht / sundern es ist jm nur vmb die Seel zuthuen / Soll sich Derhalben ein jeder Christen Mensch dafur hiettn / Gott vertrauen / sein vernunft nicht jns Teuffels weiß verfuern / noch sich damit beflecken lassen / sonnder ein jeglicher soll dem Teuffel nicht statt geben / Damit Er Gottes zorn nit heuff / vnnd die Regell Christj behalte.¹⁵⁴

The devil does not only seek after the body, but the soul is important to him too. Every Christian person should then protect himself from this, trust God, and not allow his reason to be ensnared in the devil's ways, nor let himself be sullied with this, instead allowing the devil no room so that he does not attract God's anger and sticks to rules established by

¹⁵² *Das Faustbuch nach der Wolfenbüttler Handschrift*, ed. H.G. Haile (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1963), 27.

¹⁵³ Translation by John Henry Jones, found in: William Empson, *Faustus and the Censor: The English Faust-book and Marlowe's Doctor Faustus*, ed. John Henry Jones (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), 31.

¹⁵⁴ *Wolfenbüttler Faust*, 29-30.

Christ.

But what is perhaps most fascinating of all, are the preface's closing words, in which the reader is encouraged to find entertainment in Faust's stories, even going so far as to "take it and read it to enliven your garden walk"¹⁵⁵ John Henry Jones describes how he thinks the author of the manuscript must have felt upon reading Spies' edits and additions: "He might have been horrified to learn that he had sent his translation to one who was to pass it directly to a publisher, with the express purpose of making it public as a pious and terrifying warning."¹⁵⁶

And a terrifying warning it became. In just twelve years after its first printing, greeted with many reprints and translations, the *Historia* was an enormous success and just the success the Lutherans needed to help their readers understand the gravity of the situation. Faustus' story was transformed into the perfect outlet to fill in the gap created by the weakened power of the sacraments. Over these twelve years, the length of the *Historia* also increases dramatically, with the addition of commentary in Widmann's version, which bares the devil and his tricks before the reader, longer than the episodes themselves. For, as Martin Luther writes in his *Auslegungen über das zweite Buch Mosis*, "Wenn bei uns Gottes Wort nicht ist, so sind wir im Reiche des Teufels, und sind junge Teufel und Teufels Kinder. [...] Aber wer Gottes Wort hat, der ist ein junger Gott"¹⁵⁷ (If God's word is not with us, so are we in the kingdom of the devil, and are like devils and children of the devil. [...] But whoever has God's word, he is like God). The pact literature that grew so abundantly as Reformation thought spread had exactly this goal in mind: to bring God's word to the reader and remind him of the necessity of using it to understand and

¹⁵⁵ Trans. Jones, Empson, *Faustus and the Censor*, 32.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Martin Luther, "Auslegungen über das zweite Buch Mosis," in *Dr. Martin Luthers Sämmtliche Schriften*, ed. Dr. Johannes Georg Walsch (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1894), 3:782.

defeat the devil, so that he might remain in the kingdom of God. Without the word of God, one becomes a devil, just as Faustus and Wagner illustrate and hold as their true desire.

Much as in *Mariken van Nieumeghen*, the devil in the *Historia von D. Johann Fausten* has a number of moments in which he reveals his innermost workings to the reader. Alongside these moments, the narrator paints a vivid picture of who the devil is and Faustus himself, as the devil, reveals much of the devil's character as well. The devil of this text, however, is almost impossible to detect. His illusions are flawless, and only with the narrator's careful guidance is the reader able to discover the devil's imperfections and decipher between reality and illusion. Beginning with the manner in which the devil portrays himself and moving on through the narrator's and Faustus' portrayals, this section will show the very different devil present in the early modern and one who is clearly accepted as a present danger. The early modern reader is being equipped to do battle against the devil, who is actively fighting for his soul in such a conniving manner that is almost impossible to detect.

By being made privy to the devil's thoughts and true intentions, the reader sees Faustus' false sense of security and belief that he truly has control over the devil. In reality, Faustus has absolutely no control; it is the devil who has the upper hand at all times and never loses his authority, revealed through the devil's contemplations as Faustus attempts to summon him:

Wolan / ich wil dir dein Hertz vnnd Muht erkühlen / dich an das Affenbäncklin setzen / damit mir nicht allein dein Leib / sondern auch dein Seel zu Theil werde / [...] wie auch geschach / vnnd der Teuffel den Faustum wunderbarlich afft [...].¹⁵⁸

I want to calm down your heart and thoughts and make a fool of you so that not only your body, but also your soul will belong to me. [...] So it also happened and the devil quite wonderfully made a fool out of Faustus [...].

¹⁵⁸ *Historia von D. Johann Fausten: Text des Druckes von 1587. Kritische Ausgabe*, ed. Stephan Füssel and Hans Joachim Kreutzer (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2006), 16.

The devil feigns anger at Faustus' summoning in order to push him further, as the summoning is met with a bang—an explosion accompanied by music and song and by tournaments filled with spears and swords—showcasing the devil's power and allowing Faustus to think he has forced the devil into submission.

By playing the part of an unwilling participant, Mephostophiles makes Faustus believe he is in total control. The reality of the situation, however, as revealed by the narrator, is that he is more than willing to take hold of Faustus' soul and has a number of tricks up his sleeve by which he will accomplish this great feat:

Denn als D. Faustus den Teuffel beschwur / da ließ sich der Teuffel an / als wann er nicht gern an das Ziel vnd an den Reyen käme / wie dann der Teuffel im Wald einen solchen Tumult anhub / als wollte alles zu Grund gehen / daß sich die Bäum biß zur Erden bogen.¹⁵⁹

As Dr. Faustus summoned the devil, the devil pretended as if he did not want to come to him and caused such a stir, making it seem as if everything would implode, making the trees bend to the ground.

Faustus briefly considers fleeing, but his godless and bold resolve takes over and he continues to summon the devil, not realizing he is the one being manipulated. He does not tempt Faustus with promises, but instead uses battle tactics to wage war against his soul. The results of the devil's labors are increased pride and arrogance on Faustus' part, leading him to believe that “der Teuffel wer nit so schwartz / als man jhn mahlet / noch die Hell so heiß / wie man davon sagte”¹⁶⁰ (the devil was not as black as people made him out to be, nor hell so hot as it has been said to be). Faustus has been blindsided by Mephostophiles' portrayal of an uninterested bystander who has, in fact, already taken the spoils of war for himself. The devil's trickery has

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 21.

come to fruition, with Faustus now fully under his dominion, even though Faustus believes he has the devil under his thumb.

Mephostophiles does not appear with blemishes of any kind that might allow an unsuspecting victim to identify him as evil incarnate, but rather manifests himself in any number of ways with complete perfection, including the figure of a large monkey. Mephostophiles' final appearance is in "Gestallt vnnd Form eines Münchs"¹⁶¹ (in the figure and form of a monk), with no mention of a slighted countenance or body. Indeed, the devil's performance is so spectacular and perfect down to the last detail that Faustus truly believes himself to be in heaven, not in the presence of a creature of hell. He does not consider for a second that he has seen evil, but only, as the narrator remarks "Lust vnnd Frewd"¹⁶² (delight and pleasure).

In a particularly revealing conversation between Faustus and Mephostophiles, and one in which the devil's intentions and actions are directly stated rather than indirectly reported by the narrator, Mephostophiles details how devils have possessed humans from the beginning, bending them to their wills.

Vnd sind also vnser der Geister unzehlich vil / die den Menschen beykommen / sie zu Sünden reitzen vnd bringen / Also theilen wir vns noch in alle Welt auß / versuchen allerley List vnd Schalckheit / werffen die Leuth abe vom Glauben / vnd reitzen sie zu Sünden."¹⁶³

Our demons, who plague mankind and prod them into sin, are innumerable. We spread ourselves throughout the world and do our best, through all sorts of tricks and roguishness, to throw people from their faith and provoke them to sin.

He goes on to boast how they possess the hearts of the leaders of this world, to which Faustus asks "So hastu mich auch Besessen?"¹⁶⁴ (So did you possess me?) He is starting to realize that he

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 25.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 35.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

certainly was not in control, but rather the devil had entrapped and controlled him, as is proven by Mephostophiles' response to Faustus' inquiry:

Ja / warumb nicht? Denn so bald wir dein Hertz besahen / mit was Gedancken du vmbgiengest / vnd wie du niemands sonst zu deinem solchen Fürnemmen vnnnd Werck köndtest brauchen vnd haben / dann der Teuffel / Sihe so machten wir deine Gedancken vnd Nachforschen noch frecher vnd kecker / auch so begierlich / daß du Tag vnnnd Nacht nicht Ruhe hettest / Sondern alle dein Tichten vnnnd Trachten dahin stunde / wie du die Zäuberey zu wegen bringen möchtest / Auch da du vns Beschwurest / machten wir dich so Frech vnd Verwegen / daß du dich ehe den Teuffel hettest hinführen lassen / ehe du von deinem Werck werest abgestanden. Hernach behertzigten wir dich noch mehr / biß wir dir ins Hertz pflantzten / daß du von deinem Fürnemmen nicht mochtest abstehen / wie du einen Geist möchtest zu wegen bringen. Letzlich brachten wir dich dahin / daß du dich mit Leib vnd Seel vns ergabest [...].¹⁶⁵

Of course, why would we not? For as soon as we saw your heart and the thoughts that filled it, and how no one other than us could help you in your endeavors, we made your thoughts and research bolder and rasher, and also so desirable that you had no rest day or night. You spent all your thoughts and strivings figuring out how you might make magic work. Even when you summoned us, we made you so rash and overbold that you led yourself to the devil before you even finished the job. We took your case to heart and made you not be able to stop your efforts of bringing us devils before you. Finally, we brought you to give us your body and soul [...].

Faustus was part of the devils' master plan from the beginning, never in control at all. They were able to direct his thoughts and efforts towards the devilish and so ensnare their prey. Faustus realizes how little autonomy he really had, commenting: "Auch habe ich mich selbst gefangen / hette ich Gottselige Gedancken gehabt / vnd mich mit dem Gebett zu Gott gehalten / auch den Teuffel nicht so sehr bey mir einwurtzeln lassen / so were mir solchs Vbel an Leib vnnnd Seel nicht begegnet"¹⁶⁶ (I caught myself in this trap. If only I had had godly thoughts and held myself to God through prayer and not allowed the devil to work his way into my heart, I would not have encountered this terrible evil to my body and soul).

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

Faustus has realized the gravity of his situation, but it is one he will never escape. For if he attempts, the devil is there with another seduction, keeping him from God:

D. Faustus gieng abermals gantz Melancholisch vom Geist hinweg / wardt gar Verwirret vnd Zweiffelhafftig [...] Aber es hatte kein bestandt bey jme / Sondern wie oben gemeldet / hat jhn der Teuffel zu hart Besessen / Verstockt / Verblindt vnd Gefangen. Zu dem wann er schon allein war / vnd dem Wort GOTTes nachdencken wolte / schmücket sich der Teuffel in gestalt einer schönen Frawen zu jme / hälset jn / vnd trieb mit jm all Vnzucht / also daß er deß Göttlichen Worts bald vergaß / vnd in Windt schluge / vnnd in seinem bösen Fürhaben fortfuhre.¹⁶⁷

Dr. Faustus departed from the spirit with great melancholy and was very confused and filled with doubt. [...] But this did not last, for as it was told above, the devil had possessed him too tightly, making him stubborn, blinded, and captured. Also, whenever he was alone and wanted to contemplate the word of God, the devil adorned himself as a beautiful woman, embraced him, and did all sorts of dirty deeds with him so that he quickly forgot the word of God, threw it into the wind, and continued in his evil ways.

The moment Faustus reconsiders his deal with the devil, Mephostophiles steps in, taking on the form of a beautiful woman, and entraps him in a world of sin. Without God's word, Faustus is powerless against the deceptions of the devil, who has clearly won the battle over Faustus' soul. The only solution for the reader is to never let the devil in, which requires the reader to know who the devil truly is and how to recognize him; once the devil is let in all is lost. Exorcism is no longer a viable solution.

The narrator makes a point of highlighting the falsities of the devil that are, for the most part, impossible to detect. Faustus vacillates on the status of his journey into hell, sometimes believing that it truly happened, other times not sure if it was an illusion. If Faustus cannot distinguish between illusion and reality, how can anyone stand a chance against the wiles of the devil? The narrator reveals that Faustus' journey into hell was, in fact, merely an illusion, the

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 42.

distinguishing factor being that if he had really gone into hell, Faustus would never want to go back.¹⁶⁸

Throughout the entire text, the narrator makes his point abundantly clear: beware the devil lest he draw you into his fold. The title page of the *Historia* places its emphasis on Faustus' relationship with the devil, the "seltzame Abentheuer"¹⁶⁹ (strange adventure) that he saw, and the "wol verdienten Lohn"¹⁷⁰ (well earned pay) that he received. The text is addressed to "allen hochtragenden / fürwitzigen vnd Gottlosen Menschen"¹⁷¹ (every proud, reckless, and godless person). In the first preface, the reader is told that he will not only see the horrors of the devil, but feel them too, in order that he will gird himself properly on the true battlefield:

Dieweil es dann ein mercklich vnd schrecklich Exempel ist / darinn man nicht allein deß Teuffels Neid / Betrug vnd Grausamkeit gegen den Menschlichen Geschlecht / sehen / sonder auch augenscheinlich spüren kan / wohin die Sicherheit / Vermessenheit vnd fürwitz letztlich einen Menschen treibe.¹⁷²

This is then a remarkable and terrible example in which one not only sees the devil's jealousy, deception, and cruelty toward the human race, but can also physically experience where confidence, presumptuousness, and recklessness can lead a man.

The narrator emphasizes again the necessity of unveiling the devil's deceptions and his use of these tools to ensure mankind's fall from God.

The two prefaces which precede the text itself provide a specific lens through which the text should be read, namely as a "schrecklich Exempel"¹⁷³ (terrible example). The *Historia* was written "Damit aber alle Christen / ja alle vernünfftige Menschen den Teuffel vnd sein

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 55.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 3.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Ibid., 5.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 12.

Fürnemmen desto besser kennen / vnnd sich dafür hüten lernen”¹⁷⁴ (so that all Christians, yes all reasonable people, can better know the undertakings of the devil and protect themselves from them), thus with the clear purpose that the wiles of the devil be exposed and the Christian reader be able to defend against these wiles. The devil is characterized as “ein abgünstiger / listiger vnd verführischer Geist”¹⁷⁵ (a resentful, cunning, seductive spirit), who, if turned away by one man, will turn to another, and upon finding a man sure in his faith, turns up the heat by bringing in more devils to aid him. Summarizing how the story is to be understood, the author of the preface writes:

Jn Summa / der Teuffel lohnet seinen Dienern / wie der Hencker seinem Knecht / vnnd nemmen die Teuffelsbeschwerer selten ein gut Ende / wie auch an D. Johann Fausto zusehen / der noch bey Menschen Gedächtnuß gelebet / seine Verschreibung vnnd Bündtnuß mit dem Teuffel gehabt / viel seltzamer Abenthewr vnd gewliche Schandt vnd Laster getrieben / mit fressen / sauffen / Hurerey vnd aller Vppigkeit / biß jm zu letzt der Teuffel seinen verdienten Lohn gegeben / vnd jm den Halß erschrecklicher weiß vmbgedrehet.¹⁷⁶

In summary, the devil rewards his servants like the executioner does his subjects, and those who summon the devil seldom meet a good ending, as is seen in the case of Dr. Johann Faustus, who lives on in memory, his life marked by his pact with the devil, the strange adventures he had and terrible scandal and vice he committed, all his gluttony, drinking, whoring and opulence up until the devil gave him his well-deserved wages and wrung his neck in the most terrible manner.

The author lists the various evils Faustus participated in that kept him distracted long enough for his soul to remain in the devil’s possession, emphasizing the fleshly lusts he succumbed to and his disregard for the gravity of the situation. With a final plea to the readers to diligently consider the admonition in James 4, to submit oneself to God and resist the devil,¹⁷⁷ the readers are asked to think about the revealed ways in which Faustus is tricked and deceived as a way to resist the

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, 9.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 11.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 12.

devil. Throughout the text, there is constant commentary on the part of the narrator as to the character of the devil. Everything the devil gave to Faustus could be summed up as “gestolne vnd entlehnete Wahr”¹⁷⁸ (stolen and borrowed goods), and certainly not worth one’s soul. Everything that proceeds from the devil’s mouth is “ein Gottlosen vnd falschen Bericht”¹⁷⁹ (a godless and false report), unable to be trusted and without truth. The devil is a “Lügen Geist”¹⁸⁰ (lying spirit), who acts by illusion, deception, and trickery.

Faustus, too, acts as the great illusionist, creating such perfect experiences for the people he deludes that they believe in the created reality. For example, Faustus deceives a farmer with an experience of zealfully consuming a horse and wagon full of hay. The farmer is so convinced by this deception that he takes his complaint to the mayor, who laughs in the farmer’s face. The narrator’s commentary is surprisingly succinct as he reports on the event: “vnd hatt jhn Faustus nur geblendet”¹⁸¹ (and Faustus had merely blinded him to reality). By this point in the text, the reader should get the point. While it certainly seems real experientially, it is merely the creation of the devil (or Faustus acting as the devil). Faustus also must convince those living in his world that his creations are not illusions (even though they most certainly are).¹⁸² Once he begins playing the devil, Faustus’ illusions are just as powerful as those of Mephostophiles, and those confronted with them are unsure of their reality. His conjuring of Helen of Troy is so convincing, that those viewing her wish to remain in the world Faustus has created:

Als er wider hinein gehet / folgete jm die Königin Helena auff dem Fuß nach / so wunder schön / daß die Studenten nit wusten / ob sie bey jhnen selbstnen weren oder nit / so verwirrt vnd innbrünstig waren sie. Diese Helena erschiene in einem köstlichen

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 27.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 48.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 84.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 81.

¹⁸² Ibid., 94.

schwartzten Purpurkleid / jr Haar hatt sie herab hangen / das schön / herrlich als Goldfarb
schiene / auch so lang / daß es jr biß in die Kniebiegen hinab gienge / mit schönen
Kollschwartzten Augen / ein lieblich Angesicht / mit einem runden Köpfflein / jre
Lefftzen rot wie Kirschen / mit einem kleinen Mündlein / einen Halß wie ein weisser
Schwan / rote Bäcklin wie ein Rößlin [...] Jn summa / es war an jr kein vntädlin
zufinden.¹⁸³

As he returned into the room, the Queen Helen followed at his feet. She was so incredibly beautiful that the students had no idea if she were truly with them, they were so confused and impassioned. This Helen appeared in expensive purple garb, and her hair was flowing down to her knees, as beautiful as golden thread. She had lovely coal-black eyes, a kind countenance, a round head, lips like cherries with a small mouth, a throat like a swan [...] in short, there was no detail neglected.

The world Faustus has created is perfect down to the tiniest detail, so wonderfully convincing, in fact, that those who experience it only want more.

As the text shifts to the final days of Faustus' life, the reader is confronted with various interpretations of how Faustus has lived his life and why. In his lamentations, Faustus once again expresses his regret, but never sees a way out of his situation. He simply does not believe that grace can save him, or perhaps more specifically that God's grace alone is enough, for he thought that "er hette es mit seiner Verschreibung zu grob gemacht"¹⁸⁴ (he had gone too far with his pact). As Faustus gives his final speech to his students, he describes his expertise in sorcery and other arts as having no other source but the devil.¹⁸⁵ The devilish desires that led to this expertise were manifold: bad company involved in such devilish affairs; his own stubborn and godless flesh and blood; and lofty, devilish contemplations that he constantly allowed to control his thoughts.

Faustus construes his own life as one driven by seeking after the devil and the distractions he offered, his downfall caused by obstinacy and by allowing the devil control over

¹⁸³ Ibid., 97-98.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 122.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 119.

his mind. The skills and learning he has become proficient in stem from the devil, mere tools to keep Faustus distracted and controlled by his devilish contemplations and desires. Faustus asks the students to consider his life an example of someone who succumbs to the devil's deception, that is, as a negative model of reception, and thus to be avoided at all costs:

Was aber die Abentheuer belanget / so ich in solchen 24. Jahren getrieben habe / das werdt jhr alles nach mir auffgeschrieben finden / vnd laßt euch mein greuwlich End euwer Lebtage ein fürbildt vnd erjnnung seyn / daß jr wöllet Gott vor Augen haben / jhn bitten / daß er euch vor des Teuffels trug vnnd List behüten / vnnd nicht in Versuchung führen wölle.¹⁸⁶

What punishment my 24 years of adventure bring, that you will find in my writings after my death. Let my horrible ending be an example and a reminder for you all the days of your life, so that you will keep your eyes on God and ask him to protect you from the devil's trickery and deception, and keep you from temptation.

After hearing this, the students have their own understanding of Faustus' life and motivations. They view his deeds and driving forces in a very different way—his boldness led him to give away his life for mischief, curiosity, and sorcery.¹⁸⁷ The implication here is that Faustus was filled with a recklessness that allowed him to be ensnared by tools of the devil. These very devilish tools are unmasked as such in the *Historia*, and once more the focus is given to the necessity of being aware of the devil and his deception.

The narrator uses the final portion of the text after Faustus' gruesome death to once more drive his point home. The didactic lens is clearly focused, and the warning of this example made clear:

Also endet sich die gantze warhafftige Historia vnd Zauberey Doctor Fausti / darauß jeder Christ zu lernen / sonderlich aber die eines hoffertigen / stoltzen / fürwitzigen vnd trotziges Sinnes vnnd Kopffs sind / GOTT zu fürchten / Zauberey / Beschwerung vnnd andere Teuffelswercks zu fliehen / so Gott ernstlich verboten hat / vnd den Teuffel nit zu Gast zu laden / noch jm raum zu geben / wie Faustus gethan hat.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 120.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 121.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid. 123.

Thus ends the very true story and necromancy of Doctor Faustus, from which every Christian should learn, especially those with proud, bold, reckless, and defiant thoughts, to fear God and flee necromancy, conjurations, and other works of the devil that God has so earnestly forbidden, not inviting the devil as a guest, nor giving him any room, as Faustus did.

This story is to be an example for every Christian, especially the arrogant, proud, curious, and defiant Christian. The devil remains in the spotlight, as he uses these very specific attributes to bait, hook, and catch his victim—exactly what happened to Faustus. The text concludes with a final verse from 1 Peter 5, which highlights the devil and the necessity to see through his tricks: “Seyt nüchtern vnd wachet / dann ewer Widersacher der Teuffel geht vmbher wie ein brüllender Löwe / vnd suchet welchen er verschlinge / dem widerstehet fest im Glauben.”¹⁸⁹ (Be sober, be vigilant; because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour: whom resist steadfast in the faith).¹⁹⁰

The *Wagnerbuch* was first printed in 1593 by Friedrich Schotus Tolet. Nothing is known about Tolet, and the author of the *Wagnerbuch* is also unknown. Wagner’s tale, however, quickly became a bestseller, enjoying subsequent print runs in 1595, 1596, and 1601.¹⁹¹ It sets itself clearly in the tradition of the *Historia*, designating itself as: “Ander theil D. Johann Fausti Historien” (The Other Part of Dr. Johann Faustus’ History). The full title reiterates Christoph Wagner’s relation to Faustus—that of Faustus’ disciple—and that this story tells of his pact with the devil. Already this title shows a turn toward entertainment literature, describing the apish

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 124.

¹⁹⁰ 1 Peter 5:8-9 (King James Version)

¹⁹¹ Günther Mahal and Martin Ehrenfeuchter, eds., *Das Wagnerbuch von 1593*, 2 vols. (Tübingen: A. Francke Verlag, 2005), 2:335.

form in which Auerhan appears to Wagner, Wagner's "Abentheurliche Zoten vnnd possen"¹⁹² (adventurous ribaldry and buffoonery), and the "schrecklich ende"¹⁹³ (terrible end) he met.

The work itself begins with a foreword, addressed simply to the reader. This foreword begins with reference to the same verse in 1 Peter 5 that the *Historia* ends with, pointing to the central role designated to the devil in this work.¹⁹⁴ The author then goes on to describe the ways in which the devil traps his prey:

Dieser seiner listlichen fallstrick einer ist auch die Zauberey vnnd Schwartzkünstlerey / eine spitzfindige teuffelische kunst / von dem sie denn auch ihren vrsprung erfindung vnnd erhaltung hat / mit welcher er denen Menschen stellet / vnd sie mit vielen seltzamen bossen dazu locket / reizet vnd treibet / biß sie einen lust dazu gewinnen / vnnd denn hernacher gar in das netz gebracht werden / vnnd darinnen stecken bleiben vnd verderben.¹⁹⁵

Necromancy and black magic are just some of his crafty snares, subtle arts of the devil from whom they are also sourced. He uses these snares to capture mankind and attract them with strange antics, until they attain a taste for these tricks and are thereafter caught up in his nets, remaining stuck in them and perishing.

The devil is constructed as a promulgator of falsehoods and deceptions from the beginning, using his own creation of magic, itself grounded in these falsehoods, to lure his prey and trap them.

The fate of Johann Faustus, "welchen der Sathan so lang nachgeschlichen / biß er jn endtlich auch gefangen vnnd mit solcher blindheit betrogen / das er gantz vnnd gar daraus nicht kommen können"¹⁹⁶ (who stalked Satan for so long that he was also caught and deceived with such blindness, that he could never come out of it), is the same fate Wagner is to meet, and the focus is laid on the devil as a seducer who uses beautiful displays to distract mankind. There are numerous subsequent references describing the behavior of the devil, such as the following:

¹⁹² Ibid., 1:i.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 1:1.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 1:3.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 1:4.

Aber sehet nur wie der Teuffel die Leut so künstlich verführen / vnd seiner teufflichen verfluchten vnd vermaledeiten Künst ein solch verführisch vnd schluckerhafftiges mäntelein anziehen kan damit er die armen Leut blendet.¹⁹⁷

But see how the devil can so artfully deceive people and his accursed and damned devilish arts can take on such an alluring and quenching appearance with which he can bedazzle these poor people.

By showing the reader the various ways in which the devil can deceive, seduce, and sweet talk, it is hoped that the reader learn to defend himself against these devices, not falling into the same trap that caught Faustus and then Wagner.

Even after being designated Faustus' heir, Wagner was not satisfied, for he wanted Mephostophiles for himself after Faustus died.¹⁹⁸ This, however, was not under Faustus' control, and instead he offers Wagner a different devil that will serve him in the same way Mephostophiles served Faustus.¹⁹⁹ The first time Wagner meets his devil, Auerhan, is in the form of an ape, exactly according to his desires.²⁰⁰ Auerhan gives a wonderful performance, which greatly pleases Wagner, this enjoyable distraction marking Wagner's seduction by the devil.²⁰¹ In fact, this performance entices Wagner so much, that he cannot wait until after the death of Faustus to summon Auerhan again, almost dying in his attempt to call his devil to him.²⁰² The devil tailors himself perfectly to Wagner's wishes and there seems to be no imperfection in his illusion.

The first time Wagner summons Auerhan after Faustus' death, his devil appears with great fanfare and ostentatious illusions of paradise, as is pointed out by the narrator: "Also hat

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 1:6.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 1:23-24.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 1:24-25.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Ibid., 1:25.

²⁰² Ibid., 1:25-35.

jhn der Teuffel vier gantze stunden schendtlich geöffet vnd verblendet”²⁰³ (Thus the devil had shamefully mocked and blinded him for four whole hours). The devil continues his wooing of Wagner with this luring mirage of paradise, and again the devil and his trickery come to the forefront of the text. These tactics entice Wagner into making a pact with the devil. After this, the narrator takes a rather lengthy chapter to remind the reader of the dangers of dealings with the devil. The way in which the devil has captured Wagner is even reiterated so that there is no ambiguity in this topic:

Also hat er auch der Teuffel den Wagener alhier mit Hoffarth erstlich / durch verhengknuß GOTTes angegriffen / denn er war gantz vnnd gar in Menschlicher Natur vnd vergänglichlichkeit ersoffen / er hatt lust zu zeitlichem Rhum vnd weltlichen Lob / darnach strebt er / vnd vergaß darüber seiner eigenen Seelen seeligkeit. Darnach kombt der Zauberey / stellt jhm auch listigklich damit / biß er ihn erschnappet / vnd ob er sich gleich stellt als wolte er nicht kommen / vnd dem beschwerer zu willen sein / so ist es doch nur ein Betrug vnd falscher Sinn.²⁰⁴

Thus the devil also attacked Wagner, with God’s permission, first with arrogance, for he was entirely inundated in human nature and transience. He wanted temporary fame and worldly praise, after this he strived and forgot the blessedness of his own soul. He happened upon necromancy and practiced this astutely until it caught him by acting as if it did not want to come to him and do his bidding. This is also deception and false.

Again, Wagner’s desire for knowledge is not mentioned, rather the devil again becomes the main topic of conversation. The author then turns to proposing ways in which the things Wagner desired in his pact could be achieved, but with God, rather than the devil. He encourages “fleiß in Studiren”²⁰⁵ (diligence in studying) when it does not overstep the bounds of God’s omnipotence, for God’s knowledge, power, and wonders are real and good, whereas those of the devil are mere illusion, filled with deception and evil.

²⁰³ Ibid., 1:63.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 1:74.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 1:88-89.

As they come to agreements on the pact stipulations, the devil reveals his true

motivations to him:

Die ander vrsach ist mein / vnd vnsers obersten deß Teuffels / das wir auch gerne wolten / das wir mehr Seelen in die Höll bekommen möchten / vnd das wir die Menschen desto besser betriegen mögen so soltu vnser Mittel darzu sein / du bist ein außewölter Rüstzeug / durch den wir hoffen vnser Reich soll wol erweitert werden.²⁰⁶

The other reason is mine and that of the higher devils, that we would love to gather more souls for hell and so that we can better deceive people, you will be our tool for this. You are our chosen weapon by which we will increase our kingdom.

Not only has Wagner been seduced by the devil, he now becomes a tool of the devil himself, to be used to seduce others and lead them into damnation. Through this, yet another example of the devil's guiles is revealed to the Christian reader, warning him not only of the power of the devil, but also of the power of the devil to work through other people. Auerhan only gives Wagner five years, showing the authority he holds over Wagner,²⁰⁷ then leaving in pomp with musical accompaniment.²⁰⁸

Wagner immediately begins his employment as tool of the devil, as he spends his time entertaining people with devilish illusions, distracting them, and drawing them away from God. In Padua, Wagner even has many students come to him who want to learn the art of necromancy, "denn sie meynten nit das es Teuffels Betrug war"²⁰⁹ (because they did not think it was a trick of the devil). Wagner has performed his job as devil's aide so well, that he has convinced his students that this art and these devils are actually not evil.²¹⁰ Wagner asks Auerhan to tell him

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 1:93-94.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 1:94.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 1:97.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 1:180.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

how many different types of devils there were, and in his explanation, the true motivations of the company of fallen angels are revealed:

[W]ir wolten die gantze welt vmbkehren vnd alle Menschen betriegen / also das nicht einer solt in den Himel kommen / wir wolten allezeit bey den Menschen sein / vnd sie noch mit mehr seltzamen Künsten betriegen vnd verführen [...].²¹¹

We wanted to convert the entire world and deceive all of mankind so that not one would enter into heaven. We wanted to be with mankind at all times and to deceive and seduce them with strange arts [...].

Black magic is revealed to be an invention of these devils, used to pique man's interest because of its ability to provide them with what they desire, be it money, entertainment, power, or great ability, to name just a few. If someone wished to know how things were in other lands, their will would be done, but this, too, is mere illusion.²¹² The devil's tools are vast, but they all hold one thing in common: they are illusions and distract from reality.

Wagner's decides to visit Lappenland to see a land where he believed many magicians and masters of the dark arts lived.²¹³ In this land "seind die Leut wie der Teuffel selber"²¹⁴ (the people were like the devil himself), just as Wagner has become, though he is too blinded by the devil to realize it. After this trip, three of the five years have gone by, and Wagner has spent the majority of this time living a distracted life. Wagner shows no remorse, he simply regrets having been tricked by the devil with a mere five years, and hopes to receive more time.²¹⁵ There is, however, no hope for Wagner, for Auerhan reassures him: "Was du einmal gethan / kan nit wider

²¹¹ Ibid., 1:188.

²¹² Ibid., 1:190-191.

²¹³ Ibid., 1:227.

²¹⁴ Ibid., 1:228.

²¹⁵ Ibid., 1:236-237.

zu rück gebracht werden”²¹⁶ (What you once did, cannot be undone). To forget his sadness over this fact, Wagner buries himself in women and devilish entertainment.

Wagner’s time comes to an end and in the last days the devil makes very sure to keep him distracted with many things, so that he never has the chance to repent and thus receive salvation. His death at the devil’s hands is quite gruesome, and should serve as an example to those who wish to join with the devil. The author emphasizes once more the purpose of writing this book filled with “Zauberische vnd andere Aberglaubische Sünden”²¹⁷ (magical and superstitious sins), “[n]emlich / das ein jeder Mensch den Teuffel desto besser kennen lerne / vnd sich für jm bey Tag vnd Nach desto besser hüten vnd fürsehen möchte”²¹⁸ (namely that each person could better learn to recognize the devil and better protect himself from him both day and night). The focus and centrality of the text is once more attributed to the devil with the purpose of ensuring that the readers are fully aware of the ways in which the devil can deceive them, and will therefore be better able to protect themselves against his trickery. The devil’s constant blinding of Wagner through illusion, travel, entertainment, worldly pleasures, and other such distractions comes to the forefront once more.

Georg Widmann published his extensive reworking of the *Historia* in 1599, filling three volumes with almost 700 pages. What makes Widmann’s *Warhafftigen Historien* remarkable is not the Faust story itself, as that is, for the most part, the same as in the 1587 *Historia*, but the explanatory remarks that follow each chapter. These remarks, labeled “Erinnerung” (reminder), come immediately after each chapter of Faust’s story. Often they are longer than the story chapter itself and they offer theological explanations and reminders for what the reader has just

²¹⁶ *Wagnerbuch*, 1:238.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1:315.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1:316.

read. They remind the reader of the capabilities and power of the devil and show the reader how to recognize the devil for what he is. Because of the closeness of the story to the original and the expansiveness of the volume, it is not profitable to discuss the work in its entirety. Instead, it makes sense to look at two episodes at length with their explanatory remarks to show just how the devil was perceived and with which tools the reader is provided. For this purpose, I will include a comic episode so that it becomes clear how these episodes should be read, as well as an episode from the beginning of Faust's life and the circumstances which led him to the devil.

There is no better place to start than the very first chapter, described as the story of “Wie Johannes Faustus, als er zu Ingolstatt fleissig gestudiret / durch böser Gesellschaft verführung mit Abergläubischen Charactern / vnd der zeit mit Zäuberey vmbgangen sey”²¹⁹ (How Johannes Faustus, when he was studying diligently in Ingolstadt, at that time came to be involved with magic through bad company's entanglement with superstitious signs). Widmann blames Faustus' fall into magic on the Catholic tradition of blessings and other superstitious undertakings, which led to idolatry.²²⁰ Faustus gets caught up in the wrong crowd and switches his studies from theology, which would allow him to strengthen himself against the devil, to medicine, astronomy, and astrology, before moving on to the darker side of learning and the summoning of the devil. This takes up just over three pages and is followed by a reminder of the same length. Here the reader learns that if God gives someone the gift of learning, he should not squander it but use this gift on godly pursuits. Faustus did not do this, loving his circle of bad influences more than his higher calling. This lesson is backed up by many biblical references and examples.

²¹⁹ Georg Rudolf Widmann, *Erster Theil Der Warhafftigen Historien von den grewlichen vnd abschewlichen Sünden vnd Lastern, auch von vielen wunderbarlichen vnd seltzamen ebentheuren S.D. Iohannes Faustus Ein weitberuffener Schwartzkuenstler vnd Ertzzauberer durch seine Schwartzkunst biss an seinen erschrecklichen end hat getrieben*, vol. 1 (Hamburg: Hermann Moller, 1599), 1.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

The next part of the teaching is about protecting oneself from the devil and not being led astray by him. Widmann writes, “Man sihet auch auß diesem Exempel / wie diese grosse Sünde der Schwartzkünstlerey einen so gahr geringen vnd kleinen anfang gehabt. Solchs ist auch des Teuffels weise / die er bestendig pflegt zu halten / wenn er die Leute zu verführen sich hat vnterstanden”²²¹ (From this example one can see how this great sin of black magic had such a small beginning. Such are the constant ways of the devil, whenever he dares to seduce people). The devil sneaks in and convinces man just like a teacher that what he has to say is the word of God and before they know it they are practicing the works of the devil. Darumb man dann in zeit wol zusehen sol / vnd sein selbst in acht haben / wenn man von segnen vnd büßen / wicken vnd warsagen höret / das man ja solches nicht gering schätze / sondern es für eitel Teuffels gifft vnd betrug halte”²²² (In time one should then see, and take care to look after oneself, whenever one hears from wishing and suffering, from dancing and fortune-telling, that one should not consider these unimportant, but rather as vain, devilish poison and deception). The lessons on recognizing the devil and the falsity he perpetrates are there from the start, as well as a call to no longer rely on the magical Catholic sacraments for their salvation, but rather on the word of God.

In chapter thirty three, we come across an entertaining episode and one in which Mephostophiles is entirely absent and Faustus acts on his own in the role of the devil. This is the story of three young men who wished to attend a wedding in Munich and were brought there via Faustus’ flying cloak. The Erinnerung section provides interesting commentary and seeks to answer the question that the reader surely has: “ob solches hab möglich sein können?”²²³ (whether such a thing could be possible?). The answer to this question is most assuredly yes,

²²¹ Ibid., 6-7.

²²² Ibid., 7.

²²³ Ibid., 263.

given the example of Satan's temptation of Jesus, found in three of the four gospels, in which he sets Jesus on the pinnacle of the temple in Jerusalem and asks him to throw himself down. If the devil can do this for Christ, he can certainly do this for a humble human. Widmann does not just stick to biblical examples for the support of this idea, he also turns to cultural and historical ones, citing devilish flights related to Simon Magus and Hermogenes, among others.²²⁴ Given that the devil has the ability to make people fly, it only follows that Faustus, acting in the devil's stead, has the same power.

The Early Modern English Devil and His Pact-Maker

The English Faust tradition is markedly different from the German, as it focuses less on the devil and more on defining the line between heterodox and orthodox, particularly in the case of knowledge. This is likely due to the "messy affair"²²⁵ that was theology during the Elizabethan era, with the flux in national religion from 1534 to 1558. A. G. Dickens points to the problematic nature of describing the English Reformation as an "act of state,"²²⁶ preferring to view it as a "Reformation from below,"²²⁷ so as not to ignore the fact that "in England as elsewhere, the Reformation also involved personal conversions and convictions."²²⁸

Protestantism was not just a religion implemented by state at the whim of a ruler wanting a

²²⁴ Ibid., 264. The flight of Simon Magus referred to is one found in the apocryphal *Acts of Peter* and *Acts of Peter and Paul*, in which Simon Magus attempts to prove himself a god by flying with the help of demons from above the Forum. In the first account, Peter prays to God to stop this demonic magic, which causes Simon Magus to fall and break his legs. He dies shortly thereafter in the hands of doctors. In the second, Peter, Paul and Simon Magus are debating before Nero. Simon Magus levitates and then falls to this death. The flight of the magician Hermogenes, recounted in the *Legenda aurea*, was an unwilling one on Hermogenes' part, as St. James the Greater forced demons to fly Hermogenes to him so that he could convert him and turn him from his evil, demonic deeds.

²²⁵ Poole, "Dr. Faustus," 101.

²²⁶ A.G. Dickens, "The Early Expansion of Protestantism in England 1520-1558," in *Reformation to Revolution: Politics and Religion in Early Modern England*, ed. Margo Todd, 157-178 (London: Routledge, 2002), 173.

²²⁷ Ibid..

²²⁸ Ibid..

divorce the papacy would not grant,²²⁹ but rather a movement of the people. Kristen Poole views the English Reformation as the “combination of these forces,” driven by both “official decrees” and “popular action.”²³⁰ In her view, the English Reformation “lurched forward and backward, right to left, in uneven and unsteady paces.”²³¹ “[T]he disjunction between the doctrine of the top, that promulgated by the bishops du jour, and the doctrine of the bottom, those beliefs and practices maintained by the laity, created at any given point theological confusion and contradiction.”²³² Borne into this theological mess and confusion, it seems only fitting that the *English Faust Book* is concerned with defining the knowledge that it deems worth seeking—knowledge that supports a Protestant worldview.

One cannot consider the *English Faust Book* without too considering Christopher Marlowe’s *Doctor Faustus*. Given the debated datings of his play in relation to the English “translation” of Spies’ *Historia*, it is only right that his Faustus, described as occupying a “pivotal position in the development of the English drama,”²³³ be given space here too. It is generally agreed that Marlowe used the *English Faust Book* as his source, and that he first wrote the play in 1588 or 1599, no later than 1593. This poses a problem, given the 1592 publication date of the only extant copy of the *English Faust Book*. R. J. Fehrenbach offers a relatively simple solution to this problem: there was an earlier printing of the *English Faust Book*, and he can even point to an entry in the personal inventory of Matthew Parkin showing “Doctor faustus” in 1589. Based on the nature of Parkin’s collection, it is presumably an earlier translation of

²²⁹ Poole, “*Dr. Faustus*,” 99.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 101.

²³² *Ibid.*, 101-102.

²³³ Sara Munson Deats, “*Doctor Faustus*,” in *Christopher Marlowe at 450*, ed. Sara Munson Deats and Robert A. Logan, 71-100 (Surrey: Ashgate, 2015), 94.

Spies' *Historia* into English.²³⁴ Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, the interpretation of which is still highly debated among scholars, is a part of this messy theology as well. Poole describes his *Faustus* as a "quintessential Elizabethan play. Like the culture that produced it, the theology of *Doctor Faustus* is messy, ambiguous, and often contradictory. The play seems to vacillate between a theology based on free will and God's forgiveness and a theology based on Calvin's conception of double predestination."²³⁵ The audience for Marlowe and the *English Faust Book* is not so much searching for a solution against the devil, but seeking to understand the mass of theology before them, caught between the remnants of Catholicism and the possibility of repentance, and the emerging Protestantism and the responsibility of mankind juxtaposed with predestination.

Disguised as a translation of the 1587 German *Historia*, the *English Faust Book* is actually strikingly different. The earliest extant edition of the *English Faust Book* was printed in 1592 and translated into English by P.F. Gent (short for Gentleman). It is this version that influenced Marlowe and subsequently Goethe, and, as John Henry Jones describes it in his excellent critical edition, was "never long out of print" from 1592 until the eighteenth century.²³⁶ The warning against the devil and the focus on his character no longer takes center stage. Instead, the subtle changes of the English "translation" portray a very different message. By looking more closely at the additions and deletions by the English translator and comparing these with the original German text, this section will show just how different the English *Faustus* and German *Faustus* are. Through this comparison, this section will show that while the German

²³⁴ R.J. Fehrenbach, "A Pre-1592 English Faust Book and the Date of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*," *Library: Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* 2 (2001), 327-335.

²³⁵ Poole, "Dr. *Faustus*," 102.

²³⁶ *The English Faust Book: A Critical Edition Based on the Text of 1592*, ed. John Henry Jones (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 10.

version focuses on revealing the devil and the falsity of his aid in these pursuits, the English version focuses mainly on the knowledge to be gained in these pursuits. The texts establish themselves to be read in very different manners, the German text setting itself up clearly as a warning to the Christian reader and the English as an account of Faustus and his life:

A Discourse of the Most Famous Doctor John Faustus of Wittenberg in Germany, Conjurer, and Necromancer: wherein is declared many strange things that he himself hath seen and done in the earth and in the air, with his bringing up, his travels, studies, and last end.²³⁷

From the outset, these texts take very different stances towards Faustus and the purpose of memorializing his life. The devil himself is removed from the title page and by careful deletions and pointed additions, the translator of the *English Faust Book* transforms Faustus into what Christa Knellwolf King argues is the epitome of the early modern Faust-figure: “In all early modern versions of the Faustus legend, Faustus is a scholar who is possessed of an insatiable thirst for knowledge.”²³⁸

After despising the Scriptures and casting them aside,²³⁹ Faustus began “das zulieben / das nicht zu lieben war”²⁴⁰ (to love that which was not to be loved), namely the devil. Because of his love of the devil, Faustus wishes to conjure the devil before him, and in order to do this, he needs to learn “zäuberische vocabula / figuras / characteres / vnd coniurationes”²⁴¹ (magical words, figures, characters and conjurations). In the English version, however, Faustus “sometime [...] would throw the Scriptures from him as though he had no care of his former profession.”²⁴²

²³⁷ Ibid., 91.

²³⁸ Christa Knellwolf King, *Faustus and the Promises of the New Science, c. 1580-1730: From the Chapbooks to the Harlequin Faustus* (Farnham, England 2008), 27.

²³⁹ *Historia*, 14. “[...] hat die H. Schrifft ein weil hinder die Thür vnnnd vnter die Banck gelegt”

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 15.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² *English Faust Book*, 92.

His love for the devil is replaced with a mind that “was set to study the arts of necromancy and conjuration, the which exercise he followed day and night”²⁴³ and that was already “expert in using his *vocabula*, figures, characters, conjurations and other ceremonial actions.”²⁴⁴ While in the English version “his speculation was so wonderful”²⁴⁵ that he wanted to pursue this knowledge even further, the German attributes Faustus’ turn to occult science to his “Fürwitz / Freyheit vnd Leichtfertigkeit” (recklessness,²⁴⁶ arrogance, and disregard for the seriousness of the situation). The pursuit of the devil is subtly replaced with the pleasurable pursuit of heterodox knowledge.

Faustus’ sole desire is encapsulated in his confiding in Mephostophiles that “er kein Mensch möchte seyn / sondern ein Leibhafftiger Teufel”²⁴⁷ (he wants not to be human, but rather a veritable devil), recorded in the English version merely as the wish “to become the devil.”²⁴⁸ This desire drives the German *Historia*, but not the English. The author’s numerous warnings against following in Faustus’ footsteps disappear in the English text. The English text shows image of Faustus the Speculator, “sitting pensive”²⁴⁹ while waiting for Mephostophiles, an image not included in the German version. This scene in which the devil appears to Faustus is also

²⁴³ Ibid., 93.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁶ While many scholars translate “fürwitz” as “Neugier,” or “curiosity,” when dealing with the *Faust Book*, I choose to translate it as “recklessness.” This comes from an examination of the term “fürwitz” in various sources contemporary with the *Faust Book* in which the term is much more complicated than simple curiosity and seems to denote more of a reckless pursuit of desire stemming from pride. See, for example, Hans Sachs’ 1536 carnival play, *Ein spil mit dreyen personen und heyst der Fürwitz* in which *fürwitz* itself is a main character. Hans Sachs, *Ein spil mit dreyen personen und heyst der Fürwitz*, in *Hans Sachs*, ed. Adelbert von Keller, vol. 7 (Tübingen: 1873), 183-201. In addition to this, the 1592 Dutch translation, which follows the German version almost word for word replaces “fürwitz” with a “groote lichtveerdicheyt” (great disregard for seriousness) (Aiiij) and “duyuelsche hoouaerdije” (devilish arrogance) (Biiij). *Warachtighe Historie van Doctor Iohannes Faustus* (HAAB Monographien Digital), 1592.

²⁴⁷ *Historia*, 20.

²⁴⁸ *English Faust Book*, 96.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 99.

strikingly different in each version. Mephostophiles appears with a bang, in the “likeness of a fiery man.”²⁵⁰ After a series of enthralling transformations that greatly please Faustus, Mephostophiles collects the letter signed with blood. Whereas the narrator of the German version often interrupts, pointing to the illusory nature of this show that distracts Faustus from the truth and revealing the devil and his tricks as false, this is not the case in the English version, which focuses only on Faustus joining with the powers of Mephostophiles:

Historia

English Faust Book

Vnd ist hie zusehen / wie der Teufel so ein süß Geplerr macht / damit D. Faustus in seinem fürnemmen nicht möchte abgekehrt werden.²⁵¹

Thus the spirit and Faustus were agreed and dwelt together: no doubt there was a virtuous housekeeping.²⁵²

(And here is to be seen / how the Devil made such a sweet spectacle / so that D. Faustus might not be turned from his undertaking.)

After living his “epicurish life day and night,”²⁵³ Faustus finally gets around to his “pursuit” of knowledge, which mainly consists of questioning the Mephostophiles on matters of demonology and hell. While the answers to these questions are terse in the German, in the English are quite polished and, once again, focused on filling the mind with the forbidden:

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ *Historia*, 25.

²⁵² *English Faust Book*, 100.

²⁵³ Ibid., 101.

Historia

Vnnd also hast du kürztlich mein Bericht
vernommen.²⁵⁴

(And thus you have just heard my report.)

English Faust Book

And thus far Faustus, because thou art one
of the beloved children of my lord Lucifer,
following and feeding thy mind in manner
as he did his, I have shortly resolved thy
request and more I will do for thee at thy
pleasure.²⁵⁵

When Faustus questions Mephostophiles about the power of the Devil, Mephostophiles reveals the total control he has over Faustus. Faustus asks: “So hastu mich auch Besessen?”²⁵⁶ (So did you also possess me?) or as the English version puts it, with a statement from Faustus, “Why then, thou didst also beguile me.”²⁵⁷ Mephostophiles’ explanation of the devil’s control differs significantly between the texts:

²⁵⁴ *Historia*, 30.

²⁵⁵ *English Faust Book*, 103-104.

²⁵⁶ *Historia*, 35.

²⁵⁷ *English Faust Book*, 107.

Historia

Ja / warumb nicht? Denn so bald wir dein
Hertz besahen / mit was Gedancken du
vmbgiengst / vnd wie du niemands sonst
zu deinem solchen Fürnemmen vnnnd Werck
köndest brauchen vnd haben / dann den
Teuffel / Sihe so machten wir deine
Gedancken vnd Nachforschen noch frecher
vnd kecker / auch so begierlich / daß du
Tag vnd Nacht nicht Ruhe hettest / Sondern
alle dein Tichten vnnnd Trachten dahin
stunde / wie du die Zäuberey zu wegen
bringen möchtest [...] ²⁵⁸

(Yes / why not? For as soon as we saw your
heart / the thoughts with which you went
around / and how you could not use anyone
else for your undertakings and work / than
the Devil / So we made your thoughts and
inquiries even bolder and brasher, you see /
also so desirable / that you had no rest day
and night / but all of your efforts and
contemplations were put to bringing magic
to work [...])

In both texts it seems that Faustus has little control over his situation, but the German makes clear that Faustus is merely continuing his attempts to become like the devil, whereas the English focuses on his attempts “to search and know the secrets.” After this is revealed to Faustus, the German and English counterparts react quite differently:

Historia

Auch habe ich mich selbst gefangen / hette
ich Gottselige Gedancken gehabt / vnd
mich mit dem Gebett zu Gott gehalten /
auch den Teuffel nicht so sehr bey mir
einwurtzeln lassen / so were mir solchs
Vbel an Leib vnnnd Seel nicht begegnet / Ey

English Faust Book

Why should we not help thee forwards?
For so soon as we saw they heart, how thou
didst despise they degree taken in divinity
and didst study to search and know the
secrets of our kingdom, even then did we
enter into thee, giving the divers foul and
filthy cogitations, pricking thee forward in
thine intent and persuading thee that thou
couldst never attain thy desire until thou
hadst the help of some devil: and when
thou wast delighted with this, then we took
root in thee [...] ²⁵⁹

English Faust Book

Thou sayest true Mephostophiles, I cannot
deny it. Ah, woe is me, miserable Faustus;
how have I been deceived? Had I not
desired to know so much I had not been in
this case: for having studied the lives of the
holy saints and prophets, and thereby

²⁵⁸ *Historia*, 35.

²⁵⁹ *English Faust Book*, 107.

was hab ich gethan?²⁶⁰

(I have also caught myself in this / if I had had godly thoughts / and held to God through prayer / and not let the Devil root himself so firmly in me / then such evil would not have happened to my body and soul / Ay, what have I done?)

thought myself to understand sufficient in heavenly matters, I thought myself not worthy to be called Doctor Faustus if I should not know the secrets of hell and be associated with the furious fiend thereof; now therefore I must be rewarded accordingly.²⁶¹

Transitioning away from a passion for the devil, the English early modern Faustus is given a passion for transgressive knowledge that completes his learning. Magic is not merely the means by which to summon the devil, but the rounding off of his education. The English Faustus is “never satisfied”²⁶² in his mind, always seeking further forbidden knowledge, whereas his German inspiration was filled with “stoltzen vnd frechen Mutwillen”²⁶³ (proud and bold recklessness).

Because of Mephostophiles’ refusal to answer any more questions about God or the spirits, Faustus busies himself with calendar making and astrology, which brings him great praise and fame. When he asks about the effectiveness of studying the stars, Mephostophiles claims that humans cannot practice the art of astrology with any confidence, only the “alte vnd erfahrne Geister”²⁶⁴ (old and experienced spirits) are able to do so, and leaves it at that. The mere twenty-five lines in the German version are expanded into seventy in the English version, the additions being the offers of Mephostophiles to teach Faustus the secrets of nature and the revelations of some of these secrets:

Wherefore Faustus, learn of me [...] Learn, Faustus, to fly like myself, as swift as thought from one kingdom to another [...] Yea, Faustus, I will learn thee the secrets of nature,

²⁶⁰ *Historia*, 35.

²⁶¹ *English Faust Book*, 108.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 112.

²⁶³ *Historia*, 43.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 45.

what causes that the sun in the summer, being at the highest, giveth all his heat downwards on the earth [...] Come on, my Faustus; I will make thee as perfect in these things as myself [...]²⁶⁵

In the English version, Mephistophiles offers much more than vague answers, he offers a life in pursuit of transgressive knowledge that will make Faustus his intellectual equal. No longer focused on revealing the deceptions of the devil, the text offers a glimpse into heterodox methods of learning.

The next set of adventures upon which Faustus embarks is a series of journeys—to hell, to the heavens, and around the world. In the portrayal of these voyages the texts remain remarkably similar to a certain extent. The tricks of the devil are clearly revealed as such and the English text becomes pointedly more didactic, directly addressing the Christian readers and warning them against the wiles of the devil and the great power of his illusions:

But mark how the devil blinded him and made him believe that he carried him into hell [...]. When he awaked he was amazed, like a man that had been in a dark dungeon, musing with himself if it were true or false that he had seen hell, or whether he was blinded or not: but rather he persuaded himself that he had been there than otherwise, because he had seen such wonderful things: wherefore he most carefully took pen and ink and wrote these things [...] which afterwards was published [...] for example to all Christians.²⁶⁶

The German author constantly points to the “Verblendung” (deception) and “Affenspiel” (tomfoolery) which characterize the devil, while the English author seems to expect more of the readers, letting them discover the blinding illusions of the devil on their own.

One of the largest additions by the English translator is one that he clearly marks in the middle of Faustus’ report on his journey into the heavens. The German Faustus boasts of his travels and describes the heavens within a geocentric system in which the sun is bigger than

²⁶⁵ *English Faust Book*, 114-115.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 121-122.

anyone could ever imagine.²⁶⁷ At this moment in the English text, the translator breaks in indignantly, offering a confusing heliocentric understanding of the heavens moved by the breath of God:

Yea Christian Reader, to the glory of God and for the profit of the soul, I will open unto thee the divine opinion touching the ruling of this confused chaos, far more than any rude German author, being possessed with the devil, was unable to utter; and to prove some of my sentence to be true, look into Genesis unto the works of God, at the creation of the world.²⁶⁸

Quite indignantly the translator protests against Faustus' devil-possessed explanation of the universe that does not agree with the biblical account. Strangely enough, one of the earliest German episodes, in which Faustus questions Mephostophiles about the creation of the world and Mephostophiles gives him a false answer (which Faustus recognizes as such because he still believes in the authority of the Bible)²⁶⁹, is not included in the English translation. But at this moment, the translator chooses to recognize and point out the authority of the Bible and its agreement with his personal understanding of the universe. It is also here that the English translator's stance towards the pursuit of knowledge, heterodox or otherwise, seems to solidify. Time and time again Faustus' sinful folly (or deviation from the norm) has been his never-to-be-satiated thirst for knowledge unable to be attained by human efforts. This stands in stark opposition to the German version where Faustus' true folly is his pride that makes him forget God and seek after the devil. But here the English offers an instance in which science is allowed—when it stands in support of the Bible and brings the learner to a better understanding of God. In the German, the only legitimate science is theology, for it is the only method of

²⁶⁷ *Historia*, 56-59.

²⁶⁸ *English Faust Book*, 125-126.

²⁶⁹ *Historia*, 48-49.

learning that keeps the learner focused on the things of God and that keeps the devil at bay through the revelation of his deceptions.

Faustus' third and final journey around the world also contains significant differences. The English version is much more polished and filled with rich details, whereas the German text comes across as a mere compilation of outdated facts taken from various sources such as the *Schedelsche Weltchronik* or *Elucidarius*. The beginnings of Faustus' transformation into the devil are made clear as he perpetrates his own "Affenspiel"²⁷⁰ (apish play) meant to distract his audience, just as the Devil has repeatedly used this "Affenspiel" to distract him. In fact, Faustus becomes so good at his job that he, too, is summoned at the whim of those he spends his time deceiving and distracting:

The last Bacchanalia was held on Thursday, where ensued a great snow, and Doctor Faustus was invited unto the students that were with him the day before, where they had prepared an excellent banquet for him: which banquet being ended, Doctor Faustus began to play his old pranks, and forthwith were in the place thirteen apes [...] it was most pleasant to behold [...]²⁷¹

While the German describes a summoning where the English points to an invitation, the idea still remains the same—Faustus has truly appropriated the likeness of the devil and is fulfilling his role. There is no longer the remotest interest in learning, implying for the English text the vanity of pursuing heterodox knowledge and for the German the gravity of turning momentarily from God in an act of pride and the necessity of being aware of the devil and his deception.

At the end of the twenty-four years, when Mephostophiles comes to collect his dues, Faustus gives a final speech to his students. He offers his life story as "a sufficient warning, that you have God always before your eyes, praying until Him that He would ever defend you from

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 68.

²⁷¹ *English Faust Book*, 161.

the temptation of the devil and all his false deceits, not falling altogether from God as I.”²⁷² After Mephostophiles rips Faustus apart, leaving nothing behind but splatters of blood and brain, the narrator reminds the reader once more of the urgency of the situation:

And thus ended the whole history of Doctor Faustus and his conjuration and other acts he did in his life; out of the which every Christian may learn, but chiefly the stiff-necked and high-minded may thereby learn to fear God and to be careful of their vocation and to be at defiance with all devilish works, as God hath precisely forbidden, to the end we should not invite the devil as a guest, nor give him place as that wicked Faustus hath done.²⁷³

This final warning is translated quite closely, but the German text closes with a final image from 1 Peter 5 that the English text leaves out, an image that points one last time to the very real threat of the devil and the need to learn to recognize him and his deceptions and protect oneself against this danger: “Seyt nüchtern vnd wachet / dann ewer Widersacher der Teuffel geht vmbher wie ein brüllender Löwe / vnd suchet welchen er verschlinge / dem widerstehet fest im Glauben”²⁷⁴ (Be sober, be vigilant; because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour: whom resist steadfast in the faith).²⁷⁵

The English translation presents a very different Faustus and the devil loses much of his centrality. This figure is driven by a desire to know that cannot be satiated. The text focuses on the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, and treats any desire for heterodox knowledge as sinful and vain, while accepting the pursuit of knowledge within certain bounds; any learning that promotes a better understanding of the biblical view of God and all things created by him is acceptable, and, in fact, encouraged.

²⁷² Ibid., 178.

²⁷³ Ibid., 181.

²⁷⁴ *Historia*, 124.

²⁷⁵ 1 Peter 5:8-9 (King James Version)

Sara Munson Deats comments, “[f]ew works of English literature have evoked such violent critical controversy as Marlowe’s *Doctor Faustus*.”²⁷⁶ The controversy often centers on whether the text is Satanic or Christian didacticism and on whether Faustus is consumed by an insatiable thirst for knowledge or by something else altogether. These two controversies are of great importance for the Faust material as a whole, as this dissertation shows. Deats argues that the insatiable scholar often described in Marlowe’s *Doctor Faustus* “is largely a projection from the original ‘spectator’ of the *EFB* [English Faust Book], although Marlowe’s sorcerer does retain some shrunken vestiges of the keen curiosity of the *EFB* original.”²⁷⁷ Just as later Fausts have been projected onto earlier ones, so too has Marlowe’s Faust been overshadowed. It is therefore a worthy endeavor to take a closer look at this early modern Faust who has met a fate similar to his contemporaries.²⁷⁸

The narrator (and his commentary) is replaced by the voice of the chorus as the play opens with a choral prologue telling the tale of a successful German scholar, who, having exhausted his theological learning, took to necromancy from a bout of prideful conceit and met with a terrible fate from his attempt to move into the forbidden. The opening scene is a familiar one: Faust in his study lamenting his education and its limits. He discusses the benefits of necromancy as a course of study and that which he “most desires”—“a world of profit and delight, of power, of honor, of omnipotence, is promised to the studious artisan!”²⁷⁹ Faustus turns from the teachings of the Bible not for knowledge, but for complete power, pleasure, and financial gain. Learning is a means to an end, not his chief desire. This idea is once more stressed

²⁷⁶ Sara Munson Deats, “*Doctor Faustus*: From Chapbook to Tragedy,” *Essays in Literature* 3 (1976): 3-16, 3.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.

²⁷⁸ This chapter only considers the 1604 A-text. For more on the textual history of Marlowe’s *Doctor Faustus*, see Eric Rasmussen, *A Textual Companion to Doctor Faustus* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993).

²⁷⁹ Christopher Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus*, ed. David Scott Kastan (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005), 9.

with the words of the Good Angel, who attempts to keep Faustus' eyes on God and the Bad Angel, who tempts Faustus with the thought of being a god on earth.

Faustus summons Mephistopheles with ease and thinks himself already an excellent student of the dark arts if the devil bends so willingly to his will. Mephistopheles is clear with his intent; he is present because Faustus' soul is up for grabs and ready for damnation. For twenty-four years filled with "all voluptuousness,"²⁸⁰ Faustus offers the devil his soul. Faustus believes a pact with the devil will make him "great emperor of the world."²⁸¹ The Good Angel and Bad Angel constantly plague Faustus by offering their wisdom and battling for his soul. Faustus, however, stands fast and begins to sign over his soul in blood. Despite difficulties and writing that appears on Faustus' arm warning him to flee the devil, Mephistopheles gains the contract and ensures its success with something "to delight his mind"²⁸² and distract him from the warning. A troupe of dancing devils does the trick. Despite the Good Angel's buzzing about the possibility of repentance, Faustus knows he can never turn back, for his heart is "so hardened"²⁸³ that this would be impossible. Here we see Faustus caught up in the messy remnants of Catholicism and the new tenets of Lutheranism and Calvinism, suspended between free will, grace, predestination, and repentance.

After a number of travels with the devil, the chorus has a few words, noting a very particular transformation. Faustus' skill in astrology is so complete that he has no need of Mephistopheles to instruct his friends and acquaintances: "They put forth questions of astrology, which Faustus answered with such learned skill as they admired and wondered at his wit. Now

²⁸⁰ Ibid., 17.

²⁸¹ Ibid.

²⁸² Ibid., 23.

²⁸³ Ibid., 28.

his fame is spread forth in every land.”²⁸⁴ As is the case in the vast majority of the pact texts discussed so far, Faustus is quickly becoming the devil he so desired to be and Mephistopheles is becoming obsolete as Faustus begins to take on his role. Faustus spends his final hours attempting to deter other scholars from his hellish fate. The devils take Faustus away and the chorus has the last words:

Faustus is gone. Regard his hellish fall,
Whose fiendful fortune may exhort the wise
Only to wonder at unlawful things,
Whose deepness doth entice such forward wits
To practice more than heavenly power permits.²⁸⁵

The exhortation to only wonder at necromancy and not to seek it out is a lesson also found in the *English Faust Book*. There any seeking after heterodox knowledge was deemed sinful, but knowledge pursued with the intent to better understand God was perfectly acceptable. Learning is construed in a somewhat different manner in Marlowe, for Marlowe’s Faust does not really seek knowledge as a means to become like God, but rather as a means to accrue worldly goods and pleasures. Learning is a way to fulfill his desires, but not necessarily his heart’s desire. This distinction seems to make Marlowe’s Faust more like that of the *Historia* in that knowledge is a means to an end. For Marlowe, knowledge that does not attempt to place the learner in the position of God is acceptable; learning that thinks itself superior to God and the order of his creation is not. The devil’s illusions and lies have forced Faustus to believe his salvation impossible, attesting once more to the power of the early modern devil, and transgression is the pursuit of a position not befitting the nature of mankind.

Each of these texts reveals facets of the early modern devil and serves as part of the Protestant solution to the problem of keeping the devil at bay. Holy sacraments steeped in magic

²⁸⁴ Ibid., 39.

²⁸⁵ Ibid., 53.

are no longer an acceptable force against the devil's advances; instead, one must gird himself with knowledge of who the devil is and how he acts so that one can recognize the devil and reject him during moments of temptation. Even the devils in these four texts are remarkably different from the medieval devil marked by some marred element; here the devil is able to disguise himself and perform in ways that are indistinguishable from God's truth without sufficient training to see through them. And it is training that these early modern pact-texts provide with their extensive commentary, examples, exhortations, and warnings.

In fact, both the 1587 *Historia* and the 1592 *English Faust Book* contain an example of how to withstand the devil's advances and force him to flee from you. Eamon Duffy describes the powerful spiritual weapons Catholicism provided to send the devil packing, noting the "insistence on the objective power of sacred things and formulae, and especially the sign of the cross, to banish the Devil [...]." ²⁸⁶ Items blessed by the virtue of the cross were imbued with "the power [...] to send the Devil and all his ministers 'trembling away'. Here at the heart of liturgy, and not simply in the uninformed minds of ignorant peasants, was the assertion of 'an inexorable and compelling power' inherent in the name and cross of Christ." ²⁸⁷ None of these methods of dismissing the devil are employed by the old man who attempts to convert Faustus as he nears the end of his life, thus engendering the renewal of Faustus' vows with the devil and Faustus' placement of a bounty upon the old man's head. It is instead his "Christlich Gebett vnd Wandel" ²⁸⁸ (Christian prayer and faithful walk) that does not allow the devil to touch him. That and his mocking of the devil, "welches die Geister oder Teuffel nit leyden können" ²⁸⁹ (which the

²⁸⁶ Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 281.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

²⁸⁸ *Historia*, 104.

²⁸⁹ Ibid., 105.

spirits and devil can not tolerate). Because he was close to God and ardent in prayer, the old man was able to recognize the devil, who had appeared with “a mighty rumbling,”²⁹⁰ and see through his illusions, forcing him to flee. There are, however, some slight differences between the German and the English that are worth noting. While the German describes the old man as strong in prayer and walking the Christian faith, the English version tells of an old man “strong in the Holy Ghost.”²⁹¹ The narratorial remarks in the German relay the teaching that God protects the pious Christian who gives himself to God and stands in opposition to the devil. The English presents a God who protects the man devoted to godly studies: “Thus doth God defend the hearts of all honest Christians that betake themselves under his tuition.”²⁹² These differences are certainly aligned with the intents of each tradition. The German tradition points to the importance of sticking to God to defeat the devil; the English points to the importance of study to determine theology for oneself during a time in which religion was messy and in flux. This same scene occupies a handful of lines in Marlowe’s *Doctor Faustus*, where Faustus asks Mephistophiles to torment the man who tried to steer him clear of the devil. Mephistophiles’ response is simple yet ambiguous as to the fate of the old man: “His faith is great; I cannot touch his soul; but what I may afflict his body with I will attempt, which is but little worth.”²⁹³ Here it is simple faith, however messy it might be, that protects the old man from the devil, but this faith does not preclude him from bodily affliction, forming him into a Job-like sufferer, whose faith, though tested by the devil, will surely stand.

²⁹⁰ *English Faust Book*, 168.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*

²⁹² *Ibid.*

²⁹³ Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus*, 48.

CHAPTER 3: JUST LIKE THE DEVIL: BECOMING TRANSGRESSION

“The time is ripe!” exclaims the devil Moenen in the 1515 *Mariken van Nieumeghen*, “if I ask her now, she shall surely concede.” Addressing the desperate young Mariken he continues: “Beautiful girl, will you accept my offer and be my beloved?” Mariken’s first interactions with the devil come as she cries for help in the depths of despair, hoping only for help, be it from God or the devil. After momentary fear of the one-eyed man speaking sweetly to her, Mariken starts to address him as a friend, already beginning to replace God with the devil, giving herself over to him. It is all business with the sweet-talking devil. He immediately begins to offer Mariken a myriad of wonderful things if she becomes his wife: shared knowledge, numerous possessions, money, jewels, fluency in every language, fame, and honor. In return, Mariken would be taking is to be the devil’s wife and become one flesh with him. In other words, Mariken must become the devil. Per the devil’s request, she becomes his “schoone mine”²⁹⁴ (beautiful love), fully investing all her love into him, even going so far as to change her name for him and becoming Emmeken.

The pair of newlyweds travels on to Antwerp to spend their time in bars, where souls are ripe for the picking. Emmeken, as she is now called, quickly blossoms into her new role as devil. Two men, noticing the exquisite woman on the arm of a hideous man, plot to take her from him after a number of drinks. As soon as they invite themselves to share a table, Emmeken begins her distraction. She boasts of knowing “hoe vele dropelen wijns dat in een canne ware”²⁹⁵ (how

²⁹⁴ Wilmlink and Ramakers, *Mariken van Nieumeghen*, 68.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 90.

many drops of wine there are in a can). This precise knowledge coming from a woman, and such a dazzling one at that, boggles the two men. Moenen takes Emmeken's lead and further vaunts her vast knowledge. Emmeken is asked to perform in front of the men, drawing an enormously distracted crowd. During this distraction, Moenen causes a disturbance that leads to heads being sliced off and many souls continuing on to hell. So continue the days of Emmeken and Moenen in Antwerp, as they work together to distract, slaughter, and win souls for hell.

Emmeken's time spent as the wife of the devil is only given a few pages in the text, but the manner in which she acts mirrors his exactly. As she realizes the depths of her sinfulness, this becomes even clearer. She describes her actions as going "den wech der hellen"²⁹⁶ (the way of hell), as she becomes more and more like the devil. She notes the power she holds over those who come into contact with her, and curses her aunt for making her into the devil's whore, forever outside the grace of God. Emmeken tells the story of how she cost a man his life because of his firm belief that the imaginary treasure she pointed him to was in existence. In reality, the post that marked the supposed treasure caused the ground to sink when it was removed and buried the treasure-seeker alive. These tricks were numerous and resulted in many followers who believed in her, thus placing their hopes in hell, rather in the true God.

Generally described as a continuation of the legend and miracle traditions, most scholars never even discuss Mariken's bodily unification with the devil. Frans Krap describes Moenen as "de laagste"²⁹⁷ (the lowest) of the devils, an incubus who seeks sexual relations with humans, but says little about Mariken's actual relationship with him. Willem Kuiper notes the highly sexualized language used by the devil and argues that the devil's lack of physical attractiveness,

²⁹⁶ Ibid., 98.

²⁹⁷ Frans W. Krap, *Emmeken, ik ben 'sduuels amie: Neerslag van een onderzoek naar het heksen-profiel van rond 1500 en van het speuren naar onderdelen daarvan in het drama Marieke van Nieuweghen* (Nijmegen: ALFA, 1983), 59.

in comparison to Mariken's intense beauty, leads to the deaths of the many onlookers distracted by this apparent incompatibility between the couple.²⁹⁸ Kuiper, however, allows Mariken no personal agency as he describes her merely as an "animeermeisje van de duivel" (female entertainer of the devil) and as "slechts lokaas"²⁹⁹ (merely bait). For him, Mariken is a means to attract souls ripe for harvesting. However, Mariken's role is much more active, as she is intensively involved in distracting, playing the devil just as well as Moenen himself. This playing the devil is not limited to Mariken's story; it is integral to Faustus' tale as well. In fact, reading the comic episodes in the *Historia* as Faustus' career as the devil unifies the structure of what most scholars have considered a disjointed text. I argue that understanding Faustus' devilish transformation is crucial to understanding the *Historia*. It not only allows for a more comprehensive understanding of the text, but this transformation is also a very necessary part of the pointed Lutheran pedagogy that underpins the early modern German Faust tradition. The reader must see how quickly Faustus was transformed and how he acted as the devil, perpetrating the exact same transgressions to drive people into the grasp of hell.

This chapter looks closely at this devilish transformation of both Faustus and his protégé, Wagner. While Mariken's transformation was incomplete because of Moenen's failing to completely remove her link to the Virgin Mary, Faustus and Wagner were wholly transformed. Through these two pact-makers, the reader vicariously assumes the persona of the devil, learning to recognize him and the depths of his illusions. The authors of these didactic manuals allow the reader's fleeting transformation in hopes that it is enough to teach them to keep well enough

²⁹⁸ Willem Kuiper, "Mariken van Nieumeghen, een gerenoveerd Maria-Mirakel," in *Spektator: Tijdschrift voor Neerlandistiek* 15 (1985-1986), 249-264: 255.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

away. Once you truly become the devil, there is no turning back, for he blinds you at every opportunity.

In order to fully understand these texts and the transformations of their protagonists, it is necessary to carefully consider the theological underpinnings of the medieval and early modern periods. For, as Euan Cameron argues in his monograph on superstition, “[m]edieval and early modern Europeans read their world theologically, and we must take their theological readings of it seriously.”³⁰⁰ Central to the pact texts are their understandings of the devil and transgression that must first be determined before turning to the texts themselves. There is an enormous difference between the presence of the devil in the 1515 *Mariken van Nieumeghen* and the devil of the 1587 *Historia* and the 1593 *Wagnerbuch*. While all three devils are shown as crafty deceivers, the relationships of the devils to transgression follow different trajectories. Four theologians inform medieval and early modern thinking about the devil and transgression: Augustine, Aquinas, and Luther, and Böhme, and their understandings of the devil are paramount in parsing out the early modern morphings into the devil.

The Devil and Transgression

Chris Jenks poses a series of intriguing questions in his monograph entitled *Transgression*.

What is it about the idea of ‘transgression’ that captures the imagination? What resides in the word ‘transgression’ that reaches out, that magnetises, that touches the shadow side in us all? Is there perhaps some vicarious imaginative element involved – the supposition and fascination of sin; the desire to view through a glass darkly?³⁰¹

³⁰⁰ Cameron, *Enchanted Europe*, 28.

³⁰¹ Chris Jenks, *Transgression* (London: Routledge, 2003), 2.

These same questions can be asked of the literature of the early modern period, particularly of the literature that is the focus of this study, which displays the devil prominently.³⁰² Jenks defines *transgress* as “to go beyond the bounds or limits set by a commandment or law or convention, it is to violate or infringe. But to transgress is also more than this, it is to announce and even laudate the commandment, the law or the convention.”³⁰³ For him, transgression “is that conduct which breaks rules or exceeds boundaries.”³⁰⁴ This understanding of transgression as a violation of a limit is well aligned with the early modern understanding of the term. During this period transgression was, for the most part, a negative action that disrupted order and required containment.

Augustine of Hippo, an author who profoundly influenced medieval and early modern theology, very clearly places the link between the devil and transgression in *The City of God*, where he deems any man who lives according to desire and not according to the law is “like the devil,”³⁰⁵ abandoning God. Augustine offers his most succinct definition of sin in his *Answer to Faustus, a Manichean*: “A sin, therefore, is a deed, word, or desire contrary to the eternal law. But the eternal law is the divine reason or will of God, which commands that the natural order be preserved, and forbids that it be disturbed.”³⁰⁶ The eternal law is in place as an unchangeable limit and transgression is anything that violates this law. A more nuanced description can be found in *The City of God*, where Augustine explicates the fall of man and shows that only

³⁰² This dissertation will limit itself to the study of transgressions that involve the devil. The body of early modern literature that portrays transgression is immense and provides excellent material for study, but will be excluded from this study for the purpose of focusing on the link between the devil and transgression in early modern pact literature.

³⁰³ Jenks, *Transgression*, 1-2.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

³⁰⁵ Saint Augustine, *The City of God*, in *Writings of Saint Augustine*, trans. Gerald G. Walsh and Grace Monahan (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1952), 14: 353.

³⁰⁶ Saint Augustine, *Answer to Faustus, a Manichean*, in *The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century*, ed. Boniface Ramsey and trans. Roland Teske (Hyde Park, New York: New City Press, 2007), 20: 317.

through disobedience to God, and therefore sin entered creation through transgression of God's eternal law, bringing death as its punishment.³⁰⁷ Only with the help of grace can mankind come to disregard the "illicit desire" and "inclination to sin" that law incites.³⁰⁸ For Augustine it was not the act of eating the fruit that was the first transgression of man, but rather pride, or "when the soul cuts itself off from the very Source to which it should keep close and somehow makes itself and becomes an end to itself,"³⁰⁹ was the true transgression that leads to all other transgressions. Transgression is rooted in pride and therefore the abandonment of God; the particular transgression itself is irrelevant. The devil himself is, for Augustine, the ultimate transgressor. While he was created good, he was dragged away from God by his willful pride into transgression. Thus the devil "secretly tempts and incites"³¹⁰ mankind to sin. Augustine marks the devil as both a transgressor and a seducer, driven by pride.

Thomas Aquinas, too, links the devil closely with transgression. He writes, that when man commits sin, "they thereby become children of the devil all the same in that they imitate the first sinner himself."³¹¹ Just as Augustine does, Aquinas describes the sinner as an imitator of the devil and therefore just like him. Differently from Augustine, he presents a tiered view of transgression in which the particular transgression is relevant. Aquinas accepts the definition of transgression found in Augustine's *Answer to Faustus*, but also creates a much more complicated understanding of transgression, arguing for a system in which certain transgressions are worse than others. For Aquinas there is a distinct difference between a venial and a mortal sin. A mortal

³⁰⁷ Augustine, *City of God*, 13: 299-346.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 13: 305.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 14: 380.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 14: 353.

³¹¹ St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, trans. John Fearon (New York: Blackfriars, 1965), 15: 81.

sin is “when the soul is so disordered by sin that it turns away from its ultimate goal, God.”³¹² A venial sin, however, is “when this disorder stops short of turning away from God.”³¹³ To Aquinas, the difference lies in whether or not the transgression causes a turn from God, whereas according to Augustine all sin is an abandonment of God. Aquinas also argues that the source of sin is man’s will, not God or the devil.³¹⁴ Anyone born of a man’s semen (the woman does not carry the sin gene) inherits a corrupted nature that makes him a transgressor. The devil has no power to move man’s will to sin; he only has the power to suggest the sin and man has the final decision.³¹⁵

In many ways similar to Augustine and Aquinas, Martin Luther preaches man as a fallen being, this fallen nature inherited from the original sin of Adam and Eve. Luther juxtaposes a completely corrupted nature with the perfection of God, and this nature is only able to become purified and subsequently engage in battle with transgression through the blood of Christ. Everyone is a transgressor from birth, not someone who fully focuses on God, “sondern das hertz an andern dingen henget und verlest sich auff ein ding, das nicht Got ist”³¹⁶ (but rather sets his heart on other things and places his trust in something that is not God). The entire human race is guilty of the transgression of pursuing something else in God’s place. God’s commandments are intended as a mirror in which man sees himself as God does:

Wir wollen heilig seyn, rhuemen uns unser vernunft, weissheit und des freyen willens, was helt aber Gott von uns? das helt er von uns, das wir alle moerder und todschleger

³¹² Ibid., 25: 43.

³¹³ Ibid.

³¹⁴ Mechthild von Magdeburg, however, places the source of sin in the devil, not man. In her opinion, sin is not “menschlich,” but entirely “tufelich,” for if it were of man, Christ could not be without sin. *Offenbarungen der Schwester Mechthild von Magdeburg, oder das fliessende Licht der Gottheit, aus der einzigen Handschrift des Stiftes Einsiedeln*, ed. P. Gall Morel (Regensburg: Georg Joseph Manz, 1869), 141-142.

³¹⁵ Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 25: 129-142.

³¹⁶ Martin Luther, *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Paul Pietsch (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus, 1899), 16: 462d.

sind, keiner aufsgenomen; Was ist die ursach? Dein boese natur, darynne du geboren bist.³¹⁷

We want to be holy, and to boast in our reason, wisdom, and free will, but what does God think of us? This is what he thinks of us: we are all murderers and killers, no exceptions. What is the cause? Your evil nature in which you were born.

The devil is given enormous power, as he is the ruler of the earthly realm:

For it is undeniable that the devil lives, yes, rules, in all the world. [...] But we are all subject to the devil, both according to our bodies and according to our material possessions. We are guests in the world, of which he is the ruler and the god. Therefore the bread we eat, the drinks we drink, the clothes we wear—in fact, the air and everything we live on in the flesh—are under his reign.³¹⁸

The devil has the power to make man believe lies as the truth, causing him to embrace “lies, errors, and horrible darkness as the most certain truth and the clearest light.”³¹⁹ The devil creates illusions for man to believe, such as witchcraft, which is “nothing but artifice and illusion of the devil,”³²⁰ that distort his vision of the world and lose sight of God.³²¹ These illusions are created by the devil to keep mankind in transgression and blind them from the truth.

For Luther, the holy and the evil certainly stand in opposition, but only through Christ can man achieve the holiness given to Adam before he partook of the forbidden fruit.

Als bald aber da sie von dem verbottenen baume assen unnd gesündigt hetten [...] Da begunden sich in yhn boese lüste zû erregen unnd zû wachsen, da wurden sie genaygett zû hoffart, unkeuschait, wollust des flaischs und zû allen sünden, wie wir yetzt sindt, Denn wie Adam unnd Heva dazuemal waren nach der ubertrettung, also sindt alle jre kinnder, Denn gleich wie er da hette ain flaisch mit sünden vergifft, also haben auch alle seine kinnder vonn jm geporn gleich ain solch flaysch genaiget zû allem boesen [...].³²²

³¹⁷ Luther, *Luthers Werke*, 16: 508d.

³¹⁸ Martin Luther, “Lectures on Galatians: 1535: Chapters 1-4,” trans. Jaroslav Pelikan, in *Luther’s Works* (Vol. 26), ed. Jaroslav Pelikan and Walter A. Hansen (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1963) 190.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 192.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, 190.

³²¹ *Ibid.*, 190-192.

³²² Luther, *Luthers Werke*, 17.2: 283.

As soon as they had eaten from the forbidden tree and had sinned, [...] then evil desires began to awaken and grow in them. They became inclined to pride, unchastity, lust of the flesh, and to all sins, just as we now are, for as Adam and Eve were after their overstepping of bounds, so are all of their children. For just as he poisoned his flesh with sin, so also are all children born of him also of such flesh inclined to all evil [...].

Adam and Eve committed the violation that left all of their descendants steeped in transgression. They sought to put themselves in the place of God and paid dearly for this transgression. The commandments God gave to man are intended to reveal his constant overstepping of these limits and so bring him to the realization that the only way to overcome this transgression is through faith in Christ's sacrifice for the human race.

Nu aber hats Got also geordnet, das niemant selig soll werden, er sey denn rain von diser sünde [...]. Die weil wir aber solches nicht thun künden, so hat er Christum seinen ainigen son für unns im den tode gegeben, auff das er uns durch sein plüt von diser erbsünd und von allen sünden, so von der erbsünde herfliessen, errettete unnd frey machte. [...] Denn wenn wir getaufft sind unnd glauben, so empfaen wir gnade, woeliche wider die boese zûnaigung in uns streyttet und die erbsünd außtreybet unnd vertilget.³²³

Now God has ordered it that no one should be holy unless he is cleansed from this sin [...]. Because we could not do such a thing, God sent Christ, his only son, to give himself for us in death, so that he could save us and free us through his blood from this original sin and from all sins. [...] For when we are baptized and believe, so we receive grace, which fights against the evil inclinations in us and drives out and destroys the original sin.

In Luther's opinion, transgression is the overstepping of God's command by seeking something else in God's place, only to be remedied by the blood of Christ. Through faith, man puts himself in opposition to transgression and must fight it for the rest of this life on earth: "denn so lang als wir hie leben, seyen wir nit on sünd, Es bleiben nach allzeit boese lüste und begirde in uns, die uns zue sünden raitzenn, wider welche wir streitten und fechten müssen"³²⁴ (for as long as we

³²³ Ibid., 17.2: 284.

³²⁴ Ibid., 17.2: 285.

live here, we are not without sin. There are always evil lusts and desires in us, that provoke us to sin, against which we must battle and fight).

In his *Morgen-röte im Aufgangk* (1612), early modern mystic and theologian Jacob Böhme presents a cosmos in which good and evil are in constant opposition and mankind is perpetually met with the temptation to transgress. Many of Böhme's ideas were considered heretical during his time and for this reason *Morgen-röte im Aufgangk* was never brought to completion. For Böhme, nature has two qualities: first, "eine liebliche / himlische und heilige"³²⁵ (pleasant, heavenly and holy)³²⁶ and second, "eine grimmige / hoellische und durstige"³²⁷ (fierce, wrathful, hellish and thirsty).³²⁸ The heavenly and the hellish oppose each other; every created thing has both the good and evil qualities within it and can easily fall into the hands of the evil through transgression.

Nun gleich wie in der Natur gutes und boeses quillet / herrschet und ist / also auch im Menschen: der Mensch aber ist Gottes kindt / den Er aus dem besten kern der Natur gemacht hat / zu herrschen in dem guten / und ueberwinden das boese. . . . Weil aber der Mensch in beiden den trieb hat / so mag er greiffen zu welchem Er will / dann er lebet in dieser welt zwisschen beiden / und seind beide qualitaeten / boeß und guth in jhme / in welches der Mensch wallet / damitte wird er angethan / in heilige oder hoellische krafft.³²⁹

Now as in nature there are, spring up and reign, good and bad; even so in man: But man is the *child of God*, whom God hath made out of the best kernel of nature, to reign in the good, and to overcome the bad [...] But because man hath an *impulse* or inclination to both good and evil, he may lay hold on which he pleaseth; for he liveth in this world between *both*, and both *qualities*, the good and the bad, are in him; in whichsoever man moveth, with that he is endued, either with a holy, or with a hellish power.³³⁰

³²⁵ Jacob Böhme, *Morgen-röte im Aufgangk*, in *Bibliothek der Frühen Neuzeit: Werke*, ed. Ferdinand Ingen (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1997), 23.

³²⁶ Jacob Böhme, *The Aurora*, trans. John Sparrow (London: J.M. Watkins, 1914), 3.

³²⁷ Böhme, *Morgen-röte im Aufgangk*, 23.

³²⁸ Böhme, *Aurora*, 3.

³²⁹ Böhme, *Morgen-röte im Aufgangk*, 24-25.

³³⁰ Böhme, *Aurora*, 4-5.

Through the sin of Lucifer and the fallen angels, mankind now occupies a world in which these two forces are at odds. Man must choose which force to succumb to and which to overcome.

For someone to give himself over to the hellish power, the devil's seduction is necessary.

Wan die Natur hat oft einen gelehrten / verstaendigen Menschen zugerichtet mit schoenen gaben / so hat der teuffel seinen hoechsten fleiß daran geleet / daß er denselben verfuehret in fleischliche lueste / in hoffart / in begierde reich zu sein / und gewalt zu haben. Darmitte hat der teuffel in jhm geherrschet / und hat die grimme qualitaet die gute ueberwunden / und ist auß seinem verstande / und auß seiner kunst und weisheit / kaetzerey und irrthumb / welcher der warheit gespottet / und grosse irrthumb auff erden angerichtet hat / und ist dem teuffel ein guter Heerfuehrer gewesen.³³¹

For nature hath many times prepared and fitted a learned judicious man with good gifts, and then the devil hath done his utmost to seduce that man, and bring him into *carnal pleasures*, into pride, into a desire to be rich, and to be in authority and power. Thereby the devil hath ruled in him, and the fierce wrathful *quality* hath overcome the good; his knowledge and wisdom have been turned into *heresy* and error, and he hath made a mock of the truth, and been the author of great errors on earth, and a good leader of the devil's host.³³²

The devil as the embodiment of the hellish force has one role: to constantly dangle temptation before mankind, so forcing him to overstep the boundaries and cross over from good to evil.

Transgression is then actively accepting the evil quality in place of the good, or choosing the devil and his will over God: "Darumb muß die Seele des Menschen stets mit dem Teuffel kaempffen und streiten / dan er haelt ihr stets die Saeuaepffel des Paradises fuer."³³³ (Therefore the soul of the man must fight and strive continually with the devil, for *he still presents before it the crab-apples of Paradise*.)³³⁴

While medieval and early modern understandings of transgression and the devil vary to some degree, transgression is always negative and requires active engagement to overcome. With

³³¹ Böhme, *Morgen-röte im Aufgangk*, 25-26.

³³² Böhme, *Aurora*, 6-7.

³³³ Böhme, *Morgen-röte im Aufgangk*, 311.

³³⁴ Böhme, *Aurora*, 449-450.

Augustine, transgression is the prideful abandonment of God for oneself. Aquinas differentiates based upon the severity of transgressions perpetrated, ranking them according to whether they turn the transgressor from God or not. Luther argues for the fallen nature of man in need of grace who is a transgressor from the start and who focuses not on God, but on other things. For him, the law forces the transgressor to notice his transgression, turn to God, and thereafter battle his corrupt nature for the rest of his life. Learning to recognize the devil is thus of utmost importance in battling him, and it is Luther's understanding of the devil and transgression that lies at the heart of the early modern German Faust tradition. For Böhme, the battle between the godly and the devilish is constant; man must always seek to overcome the devil within. What Augustine, Aquinas, Luther, and Böhme have in common is that for each of them transgression is a clear violation of God's law and the overstepping these limits is not acceptable. It is this understanding of transgression that is central to the *Historia von D. Johann Fausten* and the *Wagnerbuch*.

Just Like the Devil: Faustus and Wagner Transformed

Printed in Frankfurt am Main in 1587 by Johann Spies, the first edition of the *Faustbook* met with great acclaim. As the story begins and Doctor Faustus summons the devil before him, beautiful instruments play and singing fills the forest. The noises of dancing and jousting echo in the distance. A fantastic scene unfolds: a lion roars into the room, promptly followed by the dragon that devours it; indeed, animal after animal arrives, performs, and leaves. The viewer, before whom this illusion takes place, believes he is heaven, entirely captivated by the deception. Much later, the following scene takes place. The air is saturated with the sounds of instruments, one after another, with no indication from whence the notes are coming. As the sound of every imaginable instrument rings through the room, animals start to appear, stirred into a frenzied

dance by the supernatural music; everyone joins, surrendering themselves to the hands of the magician and his illusion.

The differences between these two scenes are minimal, but one is crucial. The first scene shows Mephostophiles—Faustus’ devil and primary antagonist—seducing Faustus; the second scene paints a picture of Doctor Johann Faustus—a theologian by trade—leading a group of students in a drunken orgy. Between these two events, one dramatic change occurred: Faustus, in assenting to Mephostophiles’ pact for Faustus’ life and soul, has become the devil he once so despised; as time passes, he fulfills in the lives of others the role the devil once had in his own life. The devil becomes superfluous, as the now-devil Faustus distracts those around him as Mephostophiles once did to him. Parallels such as this fill the *Historia von D. Johann Fausten*, as Faustus spends his time playing the devil. He leads followers astray with false teachings, wonderful illusions, and sinful pleasures—the exact arsenal of tools with which Mephostophiles turned Faustus from God. His transformation into the devil is clear from the numerous analogous episodes found in the text, and it is just this metamorphosis into the devil that seems to have been overlooked by scholars in their considerations of the *Historia*.

The *Historia* itself contained sixty-eight chapters. These sixty-eight chapters, not including the two prefaces, are then divided into three sections. The first section, containing seventeen chapters, details Faustus’ turn to the devil and early endeavors. The second section, detailing Faustus’ adventures and disputations with the devil, consists of fifteen chapters. The third section, filled with Faustus’ necromantic pursuits and his horrible fate, comprises the final thirty-six chapters, or the bulk of the text. It is this third section that has received so little of the abundant scholarly attention devoted to the *Historia*. Twenty-eight of these chapters are comic anecdotes, while the final eight chapters depict the remainder of Faustus’ life and his horrible

demise.

The title page promises the story of a world-famous magician who gave himself to the devil. Both his strange adventures and well-deserved wages will take center stage. Reference to the religious-educational purpose of the text appears here as well: it is intended to be a horrifying example and a straightforward warning brought into print for the reader. The two prefaces then expound upon this didactic function and further clarify it. The tale starts at the very beginning with Doctor Faustus' lowly start to life and his falling astray despite every good intention and opportunity. With this brief introduction in place, the narrator turns to the less mundane and the remaining chapters of the first third of the text detail Faustus' dealings with the devil, his epicurean life following the signing over of his soul, and a series of questions that Faustus asks along with the responses he receives from Mephostophiles. The second part of the text is comprised of further question and answer sessions, three journeys, and the beginnings of Faustus' total transformation into the devil. The third, and final, section is devoted to a series of comic examples with Faustus as the instigator, and the details of his final days, intended to serve as a warning to the reader.

There has been little debate in scholarly dealings with the *Historia* with regard to the function of these comic anecdotes. They are simply dismissed for a variety of reasons. As Marguerite de Huszar Allen has noted, "there is a strong tendency within *Faustbuch* criticism to treat the adventure and anecdotal sections separately, as aesthetically different from and structurally alien to the rest of the work."³³⁵ She argues that these anecdotes do, in fact, "belong to the basic structure of the Faust formula. They celebrate Faustus."³³⁶ In her opinion, these anecdotes provide the reader

³³⁵ Marguerite de Huszar Allen, "The Aesthetics of the 1587 Spies *Historia von D. Johann Fausten*," in *The Faustian Century: German Literature and Culture in the Age of Luther and Faustus*, ed. J.M. van der Laan and Andrew Weeks (Rochester: Camden House, 2013) 149-176: 170.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, 170.

with familiar ground and are “the equivalent of the saint’s adventures and miracles.”³³⁷ Certainly not to be separated from the work as a whole, for Allen these anecdotes are very much aligned with early modern aesthetics. While this is very much the case, these anecdotes seem to be much more than a typical early modern element intended to glorify the villain. They appear inextricably linked to the trajectory of Faustus’ journey—his transformation into the devil. An outlier in scholarly treatment of this portion of the *Historia*, Allen is right to not completely ignore its value, as so many scholars do, but fails to see its relevance in the piece as a whole and its necessity to the plot.

“The character of Faust is still relatively unfocused,” writes Ian Watt. “The main difficulty stems from the scenes of low buffoonery: it is difficult to take anyone very seriously who amuses himself by selling five fat swine to a bumpkin and then turning them into bundles of straw. Faust’s drunken frolics, and his heroic deeds [...] qualify him as a folk hero of a traditional kind; such feats, however, surely belong to a popular jest-book rather than to the biography of a mighty and tragic magician.”³³⁸ Albrecht Classen gives the comic anecdotes more weight, describing it as a “dramatically illustrated” version of a typical late-medieval chronicle in which “a bricolage of information, both verifiable and subjective-fanciful” is created.³³⁹ Maria E. Müller, like so many of these scholars, sees a strong disconnect between the section of anecdotes and the rest of the text, noting a clear split between the man bound to the devil and the comic hero.³⁴⁰ This split disappears, however, if these anecdotes are read as Faustus appropriating the likeness of the devil, so fulfilling the very wishes for which he signed the pact.

³³⁷ Ibid., 165.

³³⁸ Ian Watt, *Myths of Modern Individualism: Faust, Don Quixote, Don Juan, Robinson Crusoe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 24-25.

³³⁹ Albrecht Classen, “New Knowledge, Disturbing and Attractive: The *Faustbuch* and the *Wagnerbuch* as Witnesses of the Early Modern Paradigm Shift,” *Daphnis* 35 (2006), 515-535: 522.

³⁴⁰ Maria E. Müller, “Der andere Faust. Melancholie und Individualität in der »Historia von D. Johann Fausten«,” *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 60 (1986), 572-608: 602.

One of the few scholars who gives the devil his due, Barbara Könniker, views the devil as “die eigentlich entscheidende und auch einzig active Gestalt der Dichtung”³⁴¹ (the real deciding and also only active figure of the literary work). She describes Faustus as an inactive character whose every move is controlled by the devil. She argues that, as a result of his fallen state, Faustus has the desire to become God and thus becomes obsessed with the devil. The problem with Könniker’s argument, however, is that it offers no explanation for the second and most of the third part of the *Faustbook*, described as “ohne Belang” (without importance) and skipped in her reading of the text.³⁴² Könniker dismisses the bulk of the text as irrelevant to the general theme of the *Faustbook*, and unworthy of further consideration. By dismissing approximately half of the text, Könniker, too, misses the point that there is no disconnect between the anecdotes and the rest of Faustus’ life.

Marina Münkler discusses the function of the comic section in her book, *Narrative Ambiguität: Die Faustbücher des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*, ultimately concluding that the term “Schwank” (humorous story) is not best used to describe the series of chapters in the third part of the *Historia*. After showing in detail the history and function of the *exemplum*, she briefly discusses their role in the text. She points to what she considers the problem in scholarship to this point—an issue of terminology. By referring to the third section as “Schwankteil” and not as “Zauberteil” (magic section) or “Exempelteil” (example section), scholars make it difficult to connect the third portion to the remainder of the *Historia*. Using the term “Schwankteil” also leads to the “Reduktion des Schwanks auf Unterhaltsamkeit”³⁴³ (reduction of the comic story to

³⁴¹ Barbara Könniker, “Faust-Konzeption und Teufelspakt im Volksbuch von 1587,” in *Festschrift Gottfried Weber zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Heinz Otto Burger and Klaus von See (Berlin: Verlag Gehlen, 1967), 159-213: 183.

³⁴² Ibid.

³⁴³ Marina Münkler, *Narrative Ambiguität: Die Faustbücher des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 114.

entertainment). Münkler proposes scholars abandon “Schwank” for “Exempel”³⁴⁴ (example). For Münkler, this is “sinnvoller” (more sensible), because “[a]lle hier versammelten Kapitel sind nicht nur den protestantischen Exempelsammlungen entnommen, sondern sie sind auch exemplarisch funktioniert”³⁴⁵ (all of the chapters here are not only taken from Protestant example collections, but they also function exemplarily). Key for Münkler is that the third section shows a Faustus who “nicht nur amüsiert, sondern auch verletzt” (not only amuses, but also injures), which allows both elements of “magischer Überlegenheit” (magical predominance) and of “teuflischer Bosheit” (devilish mischievousness) to come to the forefront in the stead of pure amusement.³⁴⁶ Münkler abruptly ends her discussion of the third section to discuss broader themes in the *Historia*, including magic, curiosity, individuality and melancholy, never really returning to this core issue in understanding the text.

These lengthy humorous sections, in which the protagonist plays the devil, are so often dismissed as mere entertainment and superfluous text that need not be considered with the “main” text or are simply described as a continuation of the trendy Protestant *exemplum* collections intended for instruction. Based on the religious-educational function that these texts originally served, I argue, however, that these are moments of transformation into the devil that are not only important, but cannot be ignored or reduced to mere preoccupation of the time. They explicitly show the warnings of the author; as the readers, too, take part in the devilish transformation, the author guides them in their dealings with the devil, incessantly reminding them of how they should act when faced with this situation and problems to watch out for lest they become ensnared themselves.

³⁴⁴ Ibid., 119.

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

³⁴⁶ Ibid.

The first hint of Faustus' true intentions comes in what he requests of Mephistophiles while negotiating the terms of the pact. As Faustus lays out his list of desires, he asks that the devil be subservient to him, that he would not hide anything from him, and that he would answer all of his questions truthfully.³⁴⁷ Because the power to grant Faustus' wishes lies not with him, but with Lucifer, the angel felled by pride, Mephistophiles must return the next day with a response to these demands. When Mephistophiles reappears with the answer, Faustus has changed his tune significantly and alters his requests in a way worthy of close consideration. Faustus' sole desire is encapsulated in his confiding in Mephistophiles that "er kein Mensch möchte seyn / sondern ein Leibhafftiger Teuffel"³⁴⁸ (he wants not to be human, but rather a veritable devil), and it is this desire that truly drives the *Historia von D. Johann Fausten*.

While the first list of demands hinted at a desire for knowledge of all that is related to the devil, the scope of the second set shows no regard for learning. Instead, Faustus wants nothing more than to be a devil or a part of the regiment. Faustus indeed becomes a devil and a part of the devil's regiment with his acceptance of Mephistophiles' terms:

Eben in dieser Stundt fellet dieser Gottloß Mann von seinem Gott vnd Schöpffer ab / der jhne erschaffen hatt / ja er wirdt ein Glied deß leydigen Teuffels / vnnd ist dieser Abfall nichts anders / dann sein stoltzer Hochmuht / Verzweifflung / Verwegung vnd Vermessenheit.³⁴⁹

Precisely in this moment this godless man was separated from his God and creator, who fashioned him. Indeed, he became a limb of the vexatious devil and none other than his prideful arrogance, despair, boldness, and presumptuousness caused this defection.

The narrator breaks in at this key moment of transformation, reminding the reader to heed the warning of Faustus' example: "Solches will ich zur Warnung vnd Exempel aller frommer Christen melden / damit sie dem Teuffel nicht statt geben / vnd sich an Leib vnd Seel mögen

³⁴⁷ *Historia*, 18.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 20.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 21.

verkürzten / wie dann D. Faustus [...]”³⁵⁰ (This I want to declare as a warning and example to all pious Christians so that they do not give the devil room and so short themselves of body and soul as did Dr. Faustus [...]). The educational function of the text is clear—it is not a treatise against knowledge, but against the devil himself and his ability to transform his followers into members of his army and do his work for him.

As life with the devil begins, Faustus forays into an Epicurean lifestyle and devilish matrimony before asking Mephostophiles a series of questions about all that relates to the devil and hell. Taking his new identity very seriously, Faustus sets out to learn all that he can about what his future of damnation holds. Mephostophiles serves as a disseminator of (false) information, and this is a role that Faustus very quickly takes on amongst his peers. After their discussions of hell, Faustus inquires of Mephostophiles about the creation of mankind. Mephostophiles answer takes the following form: “Die Welt / mein Fauste / ist vnerboren vnnd vnsterblich / So ist das Menschliche Geschlecht von Ewigkeit her gewest / vnd hat Anfangs kein Vrsprung gehabt / so hat sich die Erden selbst nahren müssen / vnnd das Meer hat sich von der Erden zertheilet.”³⁵¹ (The world, my Faustus, is unborn and undying. The human race has been here forever and had in the beginning no origin. The earth had to nourish itself and the waters separated themselves from the earth.) This statement is marked as false by both the narrator and Faustus himself, reminding the reader that God created mankind. Six chapters later, a crucial change occurs. Faustus no longer asks Mephostophiles questions, but Faustus answers the questions of his peers. This transition is unmarked and abrupt, occurring just after a series of journeys Faustus makes with the devil to hell, to the heavens, and around the world.

³⁵⁰ Ibid., 22.

³⁵¹ Ibid., 48.

The format is strikingly similar. A group of friends asks Faustus about a comet they saw. His answer echoes the manner in which Mephostophiles has explained matters of heaven, hell, and life to Faustus:

Es geschicht offft / daß sich der Mond am Himmel verwandelt / vnd die Sonne vnterhalb der Erden ist. Wann der Mond nahe hinzu kompt / ist die Sonne so kräftig vnd starcke / daß sie dem Mond seinen schein nimpt / daß er aller roht wirt / wann nu der Mond wiedervmb in die höhe steigt / verwandelt er sich in mancherley Farben / vnd springt ein Prodigium vom höchsten drauß / wirt alsdenn ein Comet.³⁵²

It often happens that the moon courses through the heavens and the sun is below the earth. When the moon nears the sun, the sun is so strong and powerful that it takes all of the light of the moon, so that it becomes red. When the moon returns above the earth, it transforms into various colors and a prodigious monster jumps out of it, becoming a comet.

From here on out, Mephostophiles no longer appears as a disseminator of information; this role falls to Faustus. Mephostophiles only returns at the beginning of the third section, the opening of the series of comic examples.

In the third portion of the *Historia*, Faustus spends his time bewitching, bedazzling, and blinding those he comes into contact with from the truth. Mephostophiles rears his head on the rare occasion, generally as Faustus' servant sent to do his bidding. The very first anecdote details Faustus' encounter with Emperor Charles V, whose deepest desire is to see Alexander the Great and his wife. Mephostophiles makes a brief appearance as Faustus discusses this wish with him, but disappears as Faustus conjures the pair before Charles V's eyes. The emperor wants to make sure he is not being duped by a spirit's metamorphosis and checks for a large wart that he heard could be found on the back of the wife's neck. With this final proof that the appearance of the pair was no illusion, "ward dem Keyser sein Begeren erfüllt"³⁵³ (the emperor's desires were

³⁵² Ibid., 73.

³⁵³ Ibid., 79.

fulfilled). This fulfillment was attributed not to Mephostophiles, but to Faustus and Mephostophiles' role is occasionally mentioned as that of "helper" and "servant."

While Mephostophiles sometimes takes part in the action of trickery, Faustus generally acts on his own. When knights who are both aware of and afraid of his trickster reputation attack him, he punishes them by giving them horns on their foreheads for a month.³⁵⁴ When a farmer does not give him the respect he is due, Faustus makes him think he ate his horse, wagon, and hay, terrifying him and making a fool of him. When the farmer tells the story to the mayor, he finds out that his horse, wagon, and hay are not in his stomach.³⁵⁵ Here Faustus is the sole perpetrator, bewitching those around him.

As word of his reputation as wish-fulfiller spreads, Faustus is summoned to three counts who want to attend a wedding in Munich for half an hour. Faustus "führte sie also in Lüfften dahin / daß sie zu rechter zeit gen München in deß Bärer Fürsten Hof kamen. Sie fuhren aber vnsichtbar / daß jrer niemandts warname"³⁵⁶ (led them into the air, so that they arrived on time in Munich at the Bavarian prince's court. They flew invisibly, so that no one noticed them). Chapters before, Faustus traveled the earth in a similar manner, as Mephostophiles "führet jhn in die Luft"³⁵⁷ (guided him into the heavens) on the way to hell, Faustus remaining "vnsichtbar"³⁵⁸ (invisible) until they arrive at the pope's residence during his journeys around the world. The language used to describe both Faustus and Mephostophiles in their roles as guides is incredibly similar, further highlighting Faustus' transformation into the devil himself.

³⁵⁴ Ibid., 80.

³⁵⁵ Ibid., 81.

³⁵⁶ Ibid., 83.

³⁵⁷ Ibid., 52.

³⁵⁸ Ibid., 62.

Faustus becomes so good at his job of providing amusement that he, too, is summoned at the whim of those he spends his time deceiving and distracting. Towards the end of the third section, a group of students summons Faustus to them during the carnival season. The scene is reminiscent of the entertainment Mephostophiles once provided Faustus:

Die letzten Bacchanalia waren am Donnerstag / daran ein grosser Schne war gefallen. D. Faustus war zu den studiosis beruffen / die jhme ein stattliche Malzeit hielten / da er sein Abentheur wider anfieng / vnd zauberte 13. Affen in die stuben / die gauckelten so wunderbarlich / daß dergleichen nie gesehen worden [...].³⁵⁹

The last bacchanalia were on Thursday, when there was a great snowfall. Dr. Faustus was called to the students, who were holding a stately repast for him. He began his adventures once more and conjured thirteen monkeys in the room. The monkeys performed such trickery, the likes of which had never been seen [...].

Faustus' illusions become so detailed and magnificent that the students have no idea what is real and what is not, as is the case when Faustus conjures the beautiful Helen of Troy for them a couple of days later. So "verwirrt"³⁶⁰ (confused) is his audience, that they can no longer tell the difference between fact and fiction, just as Faustus could not during Mephostophiles' illusions.

It is during the anecdote on Faustus' conjuring of Helen of Troy that the narrator breaks in for the first time in the section of comic examples. The didactic commentary so prevalent in the previous sections begins once again, this time pointing to Faustus as the devil. The commentator wants us to learn from Faustus' illusion "daß der Teuffel offft die Menschen in Lieb entzündt vnd verblendt / daß man ins Huren Leben geräth / vnd hernacher nit leichtlich widerumb herauß zubringen ist"³⁶¹ (that the devil often provokes man to love and so blinds him that he enters into a whorish life, out of which it is very difficult to escape). These narratorial interjections continue through the rest of Faustus' exploits, pointing to him as the devilish culprit

³⁵⁹ Ibid., 96.

³⁶⁰ Ibid., 97.

³⁶¹ Ibid., 98.

to guard against, just as the narrator warned against Mephostophiles' wiles earlier in the *Historia*. Even the familiar didactic biblical examples re-enter the scene. The narrator compares Faustus to Simon the Sorcerer in Acts Chapter 8, who "auch viel Volcks verführet hette / denn man hat jn sonderlich für ein Gott gehalten / vnd jn die Krafft Gottes / oder Simon Deus sanctus genennt"³⁶² (had also seduced many people, for they had thought him God, even naming him the "Power of God," or Simon Deus Sanctus). Simon's followers placed him in God's stead, just as Faustus did with Mephostophiles and Faustus' own followers do with him. The difference between the two figures being that given the chance to repent, Simon does and follows Christ. Faustus does not take this step when given the chance, choosing instead to remain part of the devil's regiment.

As Faustus rewrites his pact of loyalty to the devil, he gives his soul over to "dem mächtigen Gott Lucifero"³⁶³ (the powerful God Lucifer). By acknowledging the devil as God, he shows that he is truly in the devil's image, created just like him. The narrator breaks in and makes sure to point out that those who are truly in God's image and remain in him will be protected from this false God, that is, the devil. Faustus continues on in his playing the devil, leaving in his wake confused and bewitched followers, distracted from God by spectacle, trick, and pleasurable entertainment. Faustus has moments of regret over his "Teufflich Wesen"³⁶⁴ (devilish being), but never succeeds in turning from his devil-god back to the God of his childhood.

Friedrich Schotus Tolet's *Ander theil D. Johann Fausti Historien* detailing the exploits of Dr. Faustus' protégé, Christoph Wagner, was printed in 1593. Quickly translated into English a

³⁶² Ibid., 102.

³⁶³ Ibid., 104.

³⁶⁴ Ibid., 113.

year later, the sequel also made its way into Dutch in 1597. The rapidity of translation is a testament to the popularity of the *Historia*, but the *Wagnerbuch* did not enjoy the same reception into modern literature as its predecessor. The title page gives further information about the text, pointing more to its entertainment value than its didactic intent. The preface to the reader, however, returns to the familiar educational purpose of the *Historia*, presenting the *Wagnerbuch* in a similar fashion. The devil's presence is very real and imminent, as he "suche wenn er verschlingen möge"³⁶⁵ (seeks whomever he might capture). Little has been done in terms of scholarly research on this text, and what has been written focuses on Wagner's travels to the New World. Of the numerous anecdotes in the *Wagnerbuch* Albrecht Classen writes, "the numerous pranks and erotic adventures demonstrate the writers' primary interest in appealing to a broad audience,"³⁶⁶ but then says nothing more on the topic. In another essay Classen describes the structure of the text as "unorganisch"³⁶⁷ (inorganic), and leaving an "uneinheitlichen und eher schwachen Eindruck"³⁶⁸ (inconsistent and weak impression) on the reader, but this does not seem to be the case when the *Wagnerbuch* is read in the same way as *Mariken van Nieumeghen* and the *Historia*.

The *Wagnerbuch* consists of a preface and forty-two chapters and is not divided into sections like the *Historia*. The structure of the text is greatly altered because of this. The first ten chapters provide the history and backstory to the text, detailing Wagner's relationship to Faustus, his growing interest in the devil, and finally his summoning the devil after Faustus' death. It also contains Wagner's stipulations, a warning to the reader, and the final pact made between Wagner

³⁶⁵ *Wagnerbuch*, 1:1.

³⁶⁶ Classen, "New Knowledge," 534.

³⁶⁷ Albrecht Classen, "Die Entdeckung Amerikas in der deutschen Literatur des 16. Jahrhunderts: Der Fall *Wagnerbuch*," *German Life and Letters* 47 (January 1994), 1-13: 4.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

and his devil, Auerhan. The remaining thirty-two chapters, however, consist predominantly of the anecdotes. Twenty-six chapters describe episodes of Wagner playing the devil, performing deceptions and adding souls to his count. Four chapters are conversations with Auerhan about demonology and superstition, one a conversation with Auerhan about regretting the pact, and the final chapter covers Wagner's last days. Unlike the *Historia*, the anecdotes are peppered throughout, not confined to one section of the work. This makes it impossible for them to be ignored and points to their importance. Unable to be separated from the main text, these anecdotes are examples of Wagner's new life as the devil—an identity that cannot be forgotten.

Wagner's pact with his assigned devil, Auerhan, is remarkably different from Faustus' pact with Mephostophiles. He describes himself as a scholar who has exhausted earthly learning and wishes to learn secret and hidden magical arts. Beyond this, he asks for money, the option of transforming into a flying horse, virgins and women galore, hidden treasures, power over all earthly creatures, and invincibility. His final request is, perhaps, the most interesting of all:

Zum Zehenden / das er mich aherley seltzame vnnnd wunderbarliche Possen / so zur kurtzweil / lust / Schimpff vnnnd Ernst dienstlich sein können / lehren wolte / vnd das er mir 30. Jahr solche gelehrnete Kunst zu vben vnd zutreiben zusage vnd vergönne.³⁶⁹

Tenth, that he would teach me all sorts of strange and wonderful tricks for entertainment, desire, scorn, and seriousness, and that he would allow me 30 years to practice this learned art.

It seems that Wagner has asked to perform the work of the devil, requesting to learn the tricks of the trade of distraction found in the anecdotal section of the *Historia*. He even asks for thirty years to spend performing these feats and so gathering his own band of followers, just as Faustus did before him.

³⁶⁹ *Wagnerbuch*, 1:71.

Auerhan's response to Wagner's stipulations confirms his position as the devil-player: "so soltu vnser Mittel darzu sein / du bist vns ein außerwölter Küstzeug / durch den wir hoffen vnser Reich soll wol erweitert werden"³⁷⁰ (so you shall be our tool, you are a chosen vessel, through which we hope our kingdom shall be expanded). He offers him five years with the prospect of more, "so manche Seel du zu vns bringen wirst / vnnd deine Kunst lehren"³⁷¹ (according to the number of souls you bring to us and teach your art). Auerhan does not promise to fulfill any of his stipulations unless they will allow Wagner to increase the number of souls he brings to the devil, yet Wagner willingly (and happily) signs the official pact to lengthen his years of enjoyment with the devil based on those he manages to distract. Immediately after he signs this pact, his transformation into the devil is complete and he commits his first "wunderbare seltzame Abentheuer"³⁷² (wonderfully strange adventure), which causes many onlookers to be amazed.

Wagner's reputation precedes him, and wherever he goes he is quickly surrounded by people hoping to take part in his fun and games.³⁷³ At the end of one particularly eventful anecdote involving a magical house, exquisite food, beautiful virgins, twelve monkeys, and dancing bears, the narrator jumps in to comment: "Also hat Wagner dißmal mit dem Sauffer gehandelt / vnnd sie wol genug betrogen vnd geäffet"³⁷⁴ (This time Wagner dealt with the drunkards, and deceived them and made fun of them quite well). Auerhan played no role in this extensive undertaking; Wagner has learned well the art of amusement and distraction. Acting like the devil is no stretch for him at all, he often even spends time practicing alone, "damit er

³⁷⁰ Ibid., 1:93.

³⁷¹ Ibid., 1:94.

³⁷² Ibid., 1:97.

³⁷³ Ibid., 1:121.

³⁷⁴ Ibid., 1:126.

seine Schelmerey desto besser vnd füglich treiben vnd verrichten köntet”³⁷⁵ (so that he could perform and execute his devilment all the better and with great skill).

After a while, Wagner becomes proficient enough in his “necromancy” that he gains students wishing to learn the same from him. He is, in fact, so skilled at his game that the students do not even believe black magic is “Teuffels Betrug”³⁷⁶ (deception of the devil). Wagner convinces them that “es wären eytel gutte Dienstbare Geister / dem Menschlichen Geschlecht zum Dienst vnd Nutz erschaffen”³⁷⁷ (they were only good subservient spirits, created to be of use and service to the human race), and therefore perfectly acceptable in performing such arts. He teaches his students all that Auerhan has taught him, even taking his innermost circle of students on trips to Sicily to perform wonderfully and so pull even more souls into damnation.

In a moment of revelation to Wagner, Auerhan reveals what black magic is and how the devils trap their prey. It is a magic created by the devils intended solely to keep people from entering heaven.

Vnd weil jr Gesellen auß Fürwitz entweder wöllet reich werden vnd Schätze suchen / oder aber Kranckheiten vertreiben vnd Gold damit verdienen / oder aber lustige kurtzweylige Possen anrichten vnd vorbringen oder zu grossen ehren kommen [...] so haben wir allerley Künst erdacht.³⁷⁸

And because your friends out of recklessness wanted to become rich and search for treasure, or cast out sicknesses and earn money that way, or even perform humorous and entertaining tricks, or to come to great honor [...], we invented all sorts of art.

Whenever someone uses superstition to complete a task, they are using a tool created by the devil solely for the purpose of keeping them from God. All in all, anything not in agreement with

³⁷⁵ Ibid., 1:127.

³⁷⁶ Ibid., 1:180.

³⁷⁷ Ibid., 1:180.

³⁷⁸ Ibid., 1:188.

the Bible is of the devil and created by him as an illusion to keep those following him from the truth. Wagner uses these very tools to distract his followers, while simultaneously being distracted by them himself.

In Naples, Wagner constructs quite the illusion to make himself some cash. The narrator specifically points to Wagner as the devil, stating that this story will show how the devil tricks his followers: “Das der Teufel seine Schüler auch offtmals verire vvnd betriege sie mit Lugen berichte / sihet man inn dieser historien gar Augenscheinlich”³⁷⁹ (That the devil often leads his students astray and deceives them with lies, this you see very clearly in these tales). A rich merchant was killed at sea for his goods and his heirs want to know who the murderer was. They offer Wagner a great deal of money to show them the culprit. Wagner shows them the murder scene in a crystal, revealing another well-known merchant as the wrongdoer. He testifies in court that this man, too, was killed at sea and then goes on his way two hundred silver coins richer. One day, the accused merchant shows up and is badly beaten before the people realize the entire scene and testimony was a hoax. Wagner was able to fully convince his “students” that his lies were the truth, a true mark of the devil according to the narrator (and Luther).

Another group of student’s learns their lesson the hard way after asking Wagner to teach them black magic. After performing many an illusion of removing their body parts and then showing them how he had “healed” them, one of the students thinks himself an expert and sticks a needle in Wagner’s eye. As Wagner’s acts were pure illusion, he retaliates by slicing off the culprit’s head. The students laugh, thinking he will just put it back, but this act is no illusion—the bloody, lifeless head sits on the table and becomes cold. The story concludes with a lesson from the narrator:

³⁷⁹ Ibid., 1:214.

Also lehret der Teuffel seinen Gesellen / wenn sie jm lang gedienet haben / Diß ist das
Tranckgelt vnnd der Gewinn den sie dauon bringen. Sie haben nicht allein schaden an
dem Leib vnnd Leben / sondern sie müssen auch noch darzu in Ewigkeit die Seel
verlieren vnd dem Teuffel braten lassen.³⁸⁰

This the devil teaches his companions after that have long served him. This is the gratuity
and earnings that they bring from this service. They not only receive harm to their body
and life, but they must also lose their soul in eternity and allow it to be roasted by the
devil.

Wagner is once more explicitly referred to as the devil, teaching his followers the lesson he will
soon be taught by Auerhan—following the devil is a one-way ticket to hell.

Becoming the Devil: A Fascination with Transgression

Early modern historian Stuart Clark, in his work on witchcraft and demonology, persuasively
argues that the devil plays no minor role in the early modern period. In fact, the devil is absolutely
central to early modern thought, which was “pervaded by dual classification of things ‘positive’ and
things ‘negative,’ ” due to the “absolute primacy of the opposition between God and his
adversary.”³⁸¹ In this sense, a text intending to teach about the perfection of God and his saving
grace—like those discussed above—could not exist without showing the corruption of the devil and
his road to damnation. The devil permeated early modern life and all that was attributed to the devil
was not from lack of knowing from whence it came, but because it was truly believed to have come
from the devil.³⁸² Unlike Mariken and Faustus, the pact-makers in earlier literature such as
Theophilus spend little time, if any, playing the devil and the devil is paid little attention in the texts.
But as the devil gained a more central role in life, so did he too in literature. His purpose, as Clark
argues, was to define God; in the early modern “knowledge of evil was a necessary prerequisite of

³⁸⁰ Ibid., 1:225.

³⁸¹ Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 81.

³⁸² Ibid., 160-161.

knowledge of good, given that each term in a relationship of contrariety depended on its contrary for its own meaning and force.”³⁸³

We see this phenomenon in the shift from the late medieval *Mariken van Nieumeghen* to the early modern *Historia* and *Wagnerbuch* and it seems to explain why the devilish conversion enters into pact literature. A text in transition between the two periods, *Mariken van Nieumeghen* shows the beginnings of this use of evil to define good. Though the text remains focused on the power of ritualized penance as a solution to exiting the pact, the attention given to the devil is new. The world is still that of the seducer-devil, but *Mariken* connects that seduction to the deeper and more clearly defined dichotomy between the goodness of God and the depravity of the devil. In the two early modern texts, the *Historia* and *Wagnerbuch*, the devil is the clear focus; ritual is hardly referenced. Great lengths are taken to display the devil in all his facets and contrast this with the goodness of God that is just out of reach for Faustus and Wagner because they cannot see past the devil to the possibility of grace. The protagonists must transform into the devil to show just how much he is in opposition to the truth. He is presented as the father of lies and creator of all that which does not adhere to the measure of truth, the Bible. This allows the readers to vicariously experience this falsity, while constantly bringing them out of it with the reminder that they must defend themselves against the devil, and prepares them for the real life battle they are facing.

By reading these texts as including the transformation of the protagonist to the devil, it seems possible to attain a much more unified and historically-grounded understanding of them. No longer are there superfluous portions of text or haphazardly added stories for entertainment’s sake. Instead, the reader is presented with a cohesive tale of good and evil, and one that will prepare them to better recognize the devil when he rears his face. In each of these three texts, the devil utilizes transgression

³⁸³ Ibid., 46.

to seduce, but the *Historia* and the *Wagnerbuch* market him as the father of falsity (as compared to the father of truth), and the *Wagnerbuch* even goes so far as to name the devil as the creator of all that is not true. Later in the early modern period, the devil begins to be considered transgression itself, but here transgression is a tool of the devil that each of these devil-protagonists can utilize well.

The definition of transgression begins to shift as the early modern period closes out, and this shift is clearly visible in the later reworkings and adaptations of the Faust and Mariken material. From the early modern to the present, transgression is transformed from a violation of God's holy law to a violation of what society believes to be transgressive. Transgression gains the potential to change the limit, instead of marking the limit as a means of containment. The definition of transgression in the work of sociologists such as Émile Durkheim and Alois Hahn, philosophers like Michel Foucault, and anthropologists such as Mary Douglas, is very different from the early modern definition, which clearly links transgression to the devil. While the definitions of these scholars do not have much bearing on the early modern views of transgression because they center around laws of society, not God, they provide insight into later adaptations and the evolution that transgression underwent as time progressed. As transgression progresses from a force to be maintained to a more ambivalent or positive move towards change, models of transgression change along with it.

In his *The Rules of Sociological Method* (1895), Émile Durkheim insists on the fact that “crime is normal because it is completely impossible for any society entirely free of it to exist.”³⁸⁴ The definition of what is criminal, or transgressive, lies within the feelings of society and only when these feelings change can the underlying sense of what transgression is be altered.

³⁸⁴ Émile Durkheim, *The Rules of the Sociological Method*, ed. Steven Lukes and trans. W.D. Halls (New York: Free Press, 1982), 99.

Crime, as we have shown elsewhere, consists of an action which offends certain collective feelings which are especially strong and clear-cut. In any society, for actions regarded as criminal to cease, the feelings that they offend would need to be found in each individual consciousness without exception and in the degree of strength requisite to counteract the opposing feelings. Even supposing that this condition could effectively be fulfilled, crime would not thereby disappear; it would merely change in form, for the very cause which made the well-springs of criminality to dry up would immediately open up new ones.³⁸⁵

It is not enough for a certain act to be considered criminal by the majority of society; every member of society must be of the same mind for this particular transgression to cease. According to Durkheim, this is entirely impossible, and if it were, it would not lead to the elimination of transgression from society; it would just create a new form of limit breaking. Durkheim's pessimism lies in the observation that "since there cannot be a society in which individuals do not diverge to some extent from the collective type, it is also inevitable that among these deviations some assume a criminal character."³⁸⁶ Durkheim does note a progressive effect to crime: "Where crime exists, collective sentiments are not only in the state of plasticity necessary to assume a new form, but sometimes it even contributes to determining beforehand the shape they will take on."³⁸⁷ Crime is a necessary part of life that is "indispensable to the normal evolution of morality and law."³⁸⁸ Transgression can lead to a new way of thinking and new sets of morals since it allows for the reshaping of the collective understanding of what is criminal.

In his essay entitled "Transgression und Innovation," Alois Hahn discusses the inevitability of transgression, describing transgression as follows: "Die Transgression folgt der Norm wie ein Schatten. Ohne Normierung keine Übertretung, keine Gesellschaft ohne normative

³⁸⁵ Ibid.

³⁸⁶ Ibid., 101.

³⁸⁷ Ibid., 102.

³⁸⁸ Ibid., 101.

Ordnung, und – trotz aller Moralpredigten: Es gibt kein Sozialsystem ohne Normverstöße.”³⁸⁹ (Transgression follows a norm like a shadow. Without normalization, there is no violation, no society without normative order, and—in spite of all moral teachings: there is no social system without infringement of the norms.) Transgression and norms go hand in hand; without norms there would be no transgression and there is no society without a set of social norms. Most important of all, a social system cannot exist without the transgressing of norms. Working extensively with the work of Émile Durkheim, Hahn explains the importance of transgression for the upholding of any social system, noting that “Normen die Tendenz haben, in Vergessenheit zu geraten, sich abzuschleifen oder gleichsam ‘einzuschlafen.’ Erst die Transgression ruft die verletzte Norm wieder in Erinnerung”³⁹⁰ (norms have the tendency to be forgotten, to grind themselves down, or to almost fall asleep. First, transgression calls the violated norm back to mind). Transgression reminds society of the bound that is being overstepped; without it, the limit could easily be forgotten. Thus transgression has the role of leaving the norm it momentarily overturns “revitalisiert”³⁹¹ (revitalized) and more stabilized than ever through this overstepping.

Directly tackling the term, Michel Foucault defines transgression as “an action which involves the limit, that narrow zone of a line where it displays the flash of its passage, but perhaps also its entire trajectory, even its origin; it is likely that transgression has its entire space in the line it crosses.”³⁹² The limit is of utmost importance for Foucault; transgression can only

³⁸⁹ Alois Hahn, “Transgression und Innovation,” in *Poetologische Umbrüche: Romantische Studien zu Ehren von Ulrich Schulz-Buschhaus*, ed. Werner Helmich (Munich: Wilhelm Vink, 2002), 452.

³⁹⁰ Ibid., 454.

³⁹¹ Ibid.

³⁹² Michel Foucault, “A Preface to Transgression,” in *Language, counter-memory, practice: selected essays and interviews*, ed. and trans. by Donald F. Bourchard (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), 33-34. This piece was originally published as an introduction to a new collection of the work of Georges Bataille. For Bataille, transgression was very much an inner experience. Bataille believed that if limits did not exist, they would not be breached. Life is human striving toward the only limit: death. For more on Bataille’s understanding of transgression, see Georges Bataille, *Erotism: Death and Sensuality*, trans. Mary Dalwood (San Francisco: City Lights Books,

clearly be seen through the line that has been drawn and one cannot exist without the other. “[A] limit could not exist if it were absolutely uncrossable and, reciprocally, transgression would be pointless if it merely crossed a limit composed of illusions and shadows.”³⁹³ In Foucault’s opinion, a limit can always be transgressed; if this were not the case, there would be no reason for anyone to attempt to overstep the bounds revealed by the limit. “Transgression carries the limit right to the limit of its being; transgression forces the limit to face the fact of its imminent disappearance [...]”³⁹⁴ Foucault claims that transgression is not about the relationship of the “prohibited to the lawful,”³⁹⁵ and the term must be freed from connotations of the “scandalous or subversive.”³⁹⁶ Transgression is instead the constant affirmation of “limited being,”³⁹⁷ or the striving towards limitlessness. Foucault states that “this affirmation contains nothing positive: no content can bind it, since, by definition, no limit can possibly restrict it.”³⁹⁸ Transgression does not have the purpose of denying a set of values, but is rather a constant interrogating of the limit in its perpetual attempt to surpass each drawn bound.

While Mary Douglas words the terms *transgression* and *limit* differently, discussing them as pollution and taboo, her work still provides great insight into the concept of transgression. For Douglas, transgression often serves to create the limits, solidifying a society’s understanding of what is transgressive and what is not:

But wherever the lines are precarious we find pollution ideas come to their support. Physical crossing of the social barrier is treated as a dangerous pollution [...]. The

1986), particularly the chapter entitled “Transgression.” Chris Jenks also provides an excellent introduction to Bataille’s work on transgression.

³⁹³ Ibid., 34.

³⁹⁴ Ibid

³⁹⁵ Ibid., 35.

³⁹⁶ Ibid.

³⁹⁷ Ibid.

³⁹⁸ Ibid, 36.

polluter becomes a doubly wicked object of reprobation, first because he crossed the line and second because he endangered others.³⁹⁹

The source of transgression also plays a role in its function within society. If the transgressor is an outsider, he often rallies society against his transgression, securing the broken limit against subsequent infringement. If the transgression comes from within the society, the punishment of the transgressor serves as an affirmation of the limit. “When the community is attacked from the outside at least the external danger fosters solidity within. When it is attacked from within by wanton individuals, they can be punished and the structure publicly reaffirmed.”⁴⁰⁰ For Douglas, the idea that a society could exist without notions of transgression and limits is unfathomable, and the “blending of the Sacred and the Unclean is outright nonsense.”⁴⁰¹ Be that as it may, Douglas does see the opportunity for the transgressive to be positive, or the “dirt” to be “creative.”⁴⁰² Boundary transgression that defiles the transgressor is indeed dangerous, but this danger can be maintained through purifying ritual. Once more, transgression is allowed as long as it is recognized as such and no longer threatens “to destroy good order.”⁴⁰³

For these authors, there is no sense of transgression as an upholder of norms; transgression is always the subversion of norms that effects some sort of change, no matter how ephemeral this change. Later models of transgression are built on the rules of society rather than the rules of God, and this makes them radically different from the early modern models. Limits gain flexibility apart from the rigid religious law. Transgression also gains new purposes and abilities. It can maintain a limit that society has placed upon itself, but it can also question the

³⁹⁹ Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge, 1984), 139.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., 159.

⁴⁰² Ibid.

⁴⁰³ Ibid., 161.

limits, bend them, or move them. For Durkheim, the transgressive is defined by the feelings of society and this allows the common understanding of what is transgressive to shift if these feelings are altered. Hahn is more rigid in his definition of transgression, placing the purpose of transgression in highlighting the broken norm and righting it to maintain societal order. Foucault takes an entirely different approach, assigning the meaning of transgression not to the limit it surpasses, but to its constant striving towards limitlessness. For Mary Douglas, transgression serves to create limits for a society, solidifying those who share similar conceptions of what is to be considered transgressive. Many of the later adaptations of the Mariken and Faust material present this understanding of transgression, using the devil as a vehicle to right a social ill. Their protagonists often become the devil of the particular transgression they are targeting in an effort to show the reader the specific societal problem that needs to be remedied. The next two chapters concern themselves with the reworkings and adaptations of the two main strains of pact literature. They show just how the devil and his character is propagated in each text, and how this changes over time, offering a more complete picture of pact literature as these texts wrestle with the devil.

CHAPTER 4: MARIKEN AND HER HEIRS

Almost 500 years after the oldest known copy of *Mariken van Nieumeghen* was printed and approximately 400 years after her story was banned from personal and school use in Antwerp,⁴⁰⁴ Mariken's tale was adapted for children in 2006 and provides a fictional provenance of the creation of the original text. Inspired by the misadventures of a young orphan taken in by a troupe of traveling actors, the miracle play,⁴⁰⁵ *Mariken*, is born. Invented by no other than the devil-figure Joachim, the man who always plays the devil in their traveling theatrical endeavors, this new play describes the seven years Mariken lives "samen met de Duvel. Ze stelen van de rijken en ook van de armen, ze bedriegen prinsen en koningen, ze fluisteren de akeligste nachtmerries in de oren van slapende kinderen, ze vermomen zich als priesters en dwingen mensen zichzelf te geselen. Zeven jaren lang!"⁴⁰⁶ (together with the devil. They steal from the rich and also from the poor, they trick princes and kings, they whisper terrible nightmares in the ears of sleeping children, they dress up like priests and convince people to flog themselves. Seven years long!). One day Mariken looks into the eyes of the devil and sees her own mirrored there. Lamenting her wasted years, Mariken seeks forgiveness and becomes a pious nun. The

⁴⁰⁴ In 1621, *Mariken van Nieumeghen* was banned by the bishop of Antwerp due to foul language of Mariken's aunt and the hinting of sexual misconduct between Mariken and her uncle, a priest. The penance Mariken was assigned was also not approved of, but it is interesting nonetheless that her devilish intercourse was not the reason behind this banning. See J. Pop *Mariken van Nieumeghen* 1987 (p. 29)

⁴⁰⁵ Miracle plays are one of the earliest dramatic forms in medieval Europe. These plays generally display the miraculous intervention of a saint into everyday life and are different from the medieval mystery plays in which biblical accounts were performed. A miracle play would often have been performed from a wagon or movable stage by traveling actors.

⁴⁰⁶ Peter van Gestel, *Mariken* (Amsterdam: Querido, 2006), PDF e-book, Location 2883. Given the difficulty in accessing a physical copy of this book, I will be citing according to the location given by the Kindle reader. Page numbers were not included in the e-book version, leading to difficulty in citing the text otherwise.

“devil” finds stories necessary for life and spends his time performing them, for without stories, he would understand nothing of the world or of people.⁴⁰⁷ Transforming his own experience into a play for others to see allows the audience to understand more of its world. Life should not be spent harming others for entertainment, but with friends and family and literature.

Though Mariken fell silent in Dutch literature from about 1775 until her remarkable rediscovery in 1840, she was hard at work in other languages and her story is still very much alive today. The city of Nijmegen has erected statues of Mariken and Moenen in central locations as homage to the infamous pair,⁴⁰⁸ and continues to honor their story via theatrical productions, museum exhibits, and much more.⁴⁰⁹ But it is not just her original tale that resounds in literature today; her story resonates in modern literature as well, and not just of the Dutch variety. This chapter will trace the evolution of the Mariken character and her pact with the devil, showing just how important she remains. Mariken’s foray into marriage with the devil and her subsequent redemption are found in many texts and her story is used to many ends. These adaptations, re-workings, derivatives, and spin-offs show the hold she maintains; each adaptation is a testament to its time, grappling with the issues society was dealing with as well as the author’s thoughts on possible solutions.

That Mariken’s story has been preserved for so many years points to its continual relevance. Why does the story of a young girl’s pact and subsequent amorous relationship with the devil capture the minds of so many unique audiences in numerous time periods? Mariken’s

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid., Location 2892.

⁴⁰⁸ The statue of Mariken was created by Vera Hasselt in 1957 and is located at the Grote Markt in Nijmegen. The statue of Moenen is the work of Piet Killaars from 1968. Moenen is positioned with his back to the Sint Stevenskerk in Nijmegen.

⁴⁰⁹ See, for example, <http://www.allemaalvannimwegen.nl/>, the website for the project Allemaal van Nimwegen, a group whose mission is to connect the people of Nijmegen with the story of Mariken through various community service projects. Last accessed December 21, 2015.

character is flexible, putting on the fashions of her time in her quest for redemption. In each of these texts, the devil serves as a caricature of the transgression that the author either wishes to combat or strip of its transgressive connotations. By looking at the manner of redemption present in each text, the point the author is trying to make becomes clear: the pointed teaching in each of these texts is about breaking free of a mindset deemed sinful, whether it means maintaining transgression or overturning it. Though these texts are radically different, they exemplify a struggle to redeem their readers and bring them to a life free from the devil's influence, whatever he may embody.

Beginning with the earliest remakes of this late medieval tale, this chapter will work its way up to the twentieth century, looking at Mariken's story and what each author makes of it. Mariken was not confined to the Dutch language, and neither is this chapter. Before the first printing of the *Historia von D. Johann Fausten*, she was printed in Dutch and English. She also appears in German, Latin and Italian, and of late the Dutch have taken a great interest in the story that has taken its rightful place in their literary canon. The first Mariken, who placed the devil in God's stead, transgressed God's law. Despite the fact that those she has wronged deem her sins too great for God's forgiveness, Mariken's abandonment of God is righted and she attains salvation once her focus is corrected. She is not presented as a corrupted being, but rather as a desperate girl whose unfortunate circumstances bed her with the devil. Here, her sin must be tamed and maintained, a typical phenomenon throughout the entire early modern period. This tradition continues in the religious literature that splits off from the more secular forms at the end of the early modern, but goes no further. Transgression is radically altered from the overstepping of a religious law to the violation of that which society deems right or good. In this view

transgression does not necessarily require containment and redemption becomes a necessary step in righting society's misdeeds.

The Early Modern Mariken

The tale of a young girl in bed with the devil is found in a number of early modern versions. It exists in a 1515 Dutch printing, a 1518 English translation, and two later Dutch reworkings, dating to 1608 and 1615. At first glance, the three later versions seem quite similar to their 1515 predecessor, but for two of these texts, this is not the case. The 1615 version printed by Pauwels Stroobant is, for the most part, the same as the 1515 text, but the English translation and Herman van Borculo's 1608 version make significant changes that are testaments to their locations and times. Most interesting is how these two texts handle the pact and the Mariolatry found in the mystery play that brings Mariken to repentance. Similar to the move of the Faust material into the English tradition, the focus on trading sex for science is much stronger in the English translation. Both the English and Van Borculo's text remove the scene of Mary's intervention for sinners, but in very different ways. In addition to these texts, Mariken was also incorporated into the Jesuit tradition and used in collections of the miracles of Mary in various languages starting in the mid-1600s. These stories are succinct and highly didactic, serving as examples of Mary's goodness and showing that if one stays close to her, one will not be tempted to turn from her. The Jesuit teachings are very different from the earlier versions and seem to be more aligned with the teaching methods of the Protestant Faust tradition: stay close to Mary, and the devil will have no stronghold. In the next section, I will look more closely at these early modern iterations and the alterations made to show the effects of the Reformation on the Dutch text and the particular English interest in differentiating science properly channeled and science

misused, as well as the manner in which the Jesuits transformed Mariken's tale to fit their pedagogy.

Mariken's story quickly found its way into the English language via translation. *Mary of Nimmegen*, printed by Jan van Doesborch in Antwerp in 1518, is held in the Huntington Library in California and is the only extant copy. This version is fully in prose and contains the same woodcuts as the Dutch text, with one additional image that Van Doesborch had used in another text he printed.⁴¹⁰ Little is known of Jan van Doesborch's life other than what can be presumed based on the body of texts he printed. He was a Dutch illustrator who then went on to be a productive printer. The one expert on Jan van Doesborch's life and accomplishments, P. J. A. Franssen, estimates that 50% of the works he printed were in Dutch, 40% in English, and 10% in Latin. Van Doesborch did a good deal of translating texts into English, responsible for the printing of about 25% of the English texts produced in Antwerp in the early sixteenth century. Van Doesborch generally only printed English translations that were not already on the market, so it is presumable that his *Mary of Nimmegen* is not a reprint, but the first version to enter England.⁴¹¹

⁴¹⁰ There is much debate on the actual dating of both the Dutch *Mariken van Nieumeghen* and the English *Mary of Nimmegen*. This is due to a number of reasons. First, neither print has a date. Second, the woodcuts are a source of dissent. For this dissertation, I use the dates of 1515 for the Dutch Vorsterman print (though some scholars claim it to be 1518 as well) and 1518 for the English Doesborch print, which is the generally scholarly consensus. Scholars are split on whether the Dutch text was printed in 1515 or 1518 or somewhere inbetween, so I choose to use the earlier dating as the Dutch language version of Mariken clearly came first.

The debate on dating stems partially from the fact that the woodcuts in Jan van Doesborch's English translation are cleaner and clearer than the same woodcuts that Vorsterman used. Vorsterman also had a history of reprinting Doesborch's work. It is believed that Doesborch used the original woodcuts in his printing and Vorsterman copies. This is problematic when many scholars agree that Vorsterman's Dutch printing indeed came first. This question is generally answered with the thought that there must have been a no-longer-extant earlier prose edition of Mariken in the Dutch language, presumably printed by Doesborch himself. Vorsterman then made copies of the woodcuts, transformed the prose into a drama, and then reprinted. For more on this discussion, see P.J.A. Franssen, "Jan van Doesborch (?-1536), printer of English texts," *Quaerendo* XVI, 4 (1986): 259-280.

⁴¹¹ See P.J.A. Franssen, *Tussen Tekst en Publiek: Jan van Doesborch, drukker-uitgever en literator te Antwerpen en te Utrecht in de eerste helft van de zestiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1990). Peter Franssen has recently undertaken an online project that aims to update his dissertation work on Jan van Doesborch in the English language. The project is incomplete, but is updated regularly and can be found at: <http://janvandoesborch.com/>.

Mary of Nemmegen is divided into chapters in the same manner as the Dutch text, each chapter preceded by longer titles detailing the basic plot. Comprised of 550 lines,⁴¹² the text is relatively compact and remains for the most part true to the original Dutch. The story is that of a “mayde that was named Mary of Nemmegen yt was the dyuels paramoure by the space of .vij. yere longe.”⁴¹³ The text is a plea against sinful living, with the solution for this transgressing being living instead for God. Cast out by her aunt as a whore, Mary sits down by a hedge, “wepyng and gyyng hyr selfe vnto the dyuell,” for she “care nat whether ye dyuell or god come [...] and helpe.”⁴¹⁴ This Mary is not as perceptive as her Dutch counterpart, for it is not until the devil reveals his name to be Satan that she fully grasps he is the devil. The deal is the same and this Mary, too, is interested mainly in learning necromancy, something that the devil is sure to steer her away from: “Or that ye lye wt me, ye shall teche to me the forsayde scyances.”⁴¹⁵ Mary becomes Emmekyn and the pair travels on to Den Bosch, where they will “worke meruayles” and “drynke no other drynke but wyne,” the promises of learning quite quickly forgotten.⁴¹⁶

They travel on to Antwerp, described by the devil as a city of sin, and this is what is near and dear to Mary’s heart: “Good Satan, let vs goo thyder and see that pastyme, for that is the thyng that I reioyce moste in and loue beste to see.”⁴¹⁷ Their time is quite profitable for “thorowghe the dyell temptacyon there were many men slayne for Emmekyns sake, wherin the

⁴¹² The Dutch had 1145, but was also mostly written in verse.

⁴¹³ Raferty, *Mary of Nemmegen*, 25.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 30.

dyuell reioysed.”⁴¹⁸ The souls are ripe for the picking and Emmekyn is quite talented in sending souls to hell with her performances and allure. The devil’s long monologues that gave insight into his thoughts and motivations disappear in the English version, reduced to short statements such as “the dyuell was glad.”⁴¹⁹ In this way, the focus shifts somewhat from the devil to the general sinfulness of the world in which the devil rejoices. The devil does the tempting, but his motivation of having mankind worship him as a god fade from sight as he simply finds pleasure in murder and general mayhem with Mary at his side.

Upon seeing a play about sinful living, Emmekyn repents from choosing the devil as her lover instead of God. The play within the play is only present in this passing mention, “And the playe was of synfull lyuyng and there she saw hyr lyuyng played before her face.”⁴²⁰ It is still the power of performance that brings Mariken to repentance, but this performance is no longer placed before the reader. Instead, the reader only sees the effect of the play upon Mariken, knowing only that she saw her sinful life mirrored in it. Neither Christ nor Mary interceded before her eyes, but rather the embodiment of her sin caused her to turn from the devil and seek mercy from God. Satan, hoping to kill her before she gains eternity, takes her up in his claws and hurls her to the ground. A miracle occurs and Mary is unharmed, recounting the last seven years to her uncle: “I gaue my selfe vnto the dyuel and he cam vnto me and I went wt hym and dwelled with hym this .vij. yere longe. [...] And by this play I was conuerted.”⁴²¹ In her confession to the pope, Mary describes her seven years of sin:

O, Holy Fader, the great gyftes that he gaue vnto me bothe of syluer and of gold, and also the pleasure yt I had with hym dayly, bothe in daunsyng and playinge, and had all that I

⁴¹⁸ Ibid., 31.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., 33.

⁴²⁰ Ibid., 34.

⁴²¹ Ibid., 35.

desired. For that cause dyd I agree vnto hym. & also for my sake hathe there more than .CC. persones be murdered, which sore repenteth me.⁴²²

It seems that Mary enjoyed money and daily sex with the devil as a result of her matrimony, and the teaching of the sciences was not worth mentioning. After years of penance, Mary is forgiven and her final words to the reader are quite different from the Dutch. This time the focus is on penance and praying to the Virgin Mary, not on praising God for his willingness to forgive a sinful and broken people:

O all ye people, take a ensample of me and whyle that ye haue laysure & space, do pennaunce for your synnes and amend your wretched lyuyng whyle ye maye haue laysure. For nowe may ye see howe mercyfull that God is by me, & therefore do pennaunce and pray vnto Our Blessed Lady yt she may pray for you that ye may come vnto ye ioy that is without endynge, to whiche ioye brynge bothe you and me, amen.⁴²³

These words are a call to repentance and penance, rather than simply a showcasing of God's glory and mercy. It seems more directed towards repentant sinners than keeping others from following in her footsteps, as is the case in the Dutch.

Printed in 1608 in Utrecht by Herman van Borculo, *Een schone Historie ende zeer wonderlijke ende waerachtighe geschiedenis van Mariken van Nimmegen* (a nice story and very wonderful and true history of Mariken of Nijmegen) is “op een nieu ghecorrigeert ende met schooner Figueren verciert”⁴²⁴ (newly revised and decorated with beautiful illustrations).

Herman (II) van Borculo (1597-1645) was a Christian humanist printer. Willem Frijhoff describes Van Borculo as a printer who “remained true to his religious conviction on a personal level but, thanks to his humanistic vision (and good nose for business), preferred to associate

⁴²² Ibid., 37.

⁴²³ Ibid., 39.

⁴²⁴ Herman van Borculo, *Een schone Historie ende zeer wonderlijke ende waerachtighe geschiedenis van Mariken van Nimmegen* (Utrecht: 1608), A1^r.

with persons of other persuasions rather than be separated by creeds.”⁴²⁵ Described as a “bewerking voor de Protestantsche Noord-Nederlanders”⁴²⁶ (an adaptation for the northern Dutch Protestants) the focus of this version of Mariken’s story is on Christ’s solution for mankind’s sinful nature, rather than on Mary’s merciful protection of sinners. Written in a mix of verse and prose with chapter summaries just as the 1515 text, it follows the original text rather closely. The devil’s inner monologues remain and the pact is almost word for word with the 1515 *Mariken*. It is not until the play within the play that things become drastically different.

Instead of a court hearing during which Mary intercedes for sinners, this time Mary is absent and it is Christ interceding for sinners, mellowing his father’s wrath and anger against mankind. Christ asks for another chance for humans, while his father sees only the fact that they are giving no thought to the eternal weight of their lives lived and that they should thus suffer eternal damnation. It is at this moment that Mariken begins to think critically about her current way of life: “Emmeken dit spel hoorende / wert haer zondich leven overdencken / met bedruckter herten”⁴²⁷ (Emmeken, hearing this play, began to think about her sinful life with great regret). The arguments and lines of reasoning she hears begin to melt her hardened heart and she even notes that this play is “beter dan een sermoen”⁴²⁸ (better than a sermon) for her soul. Moenen’s control over Mariken is shattered with a few lines from Christ detailing his sacrifice for sin:

Denct dat ic voor de menschen gestreden
Denct om de passie die ic gheleden heb /
Denct om tbloet dat ic storte in geschille /

⁴²⁵ Willem Frijhoff, *Fulfilling God’s Mission: The Two Worlds of Dominie Everardus Bogardus, 1607-1647* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 269.

⁴²⁶ K. Verhaegh, “Marieken van Nijmegen,” in *De Nederlandsche spectator: weekblad van den ouden heer Smits*, vol. 8 (’s Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1905), 19.

⁴²⁷ Borculo, *Een schone Historie*, Ci^f.

⁴²⁸ Ibid.

Was dat niet om der menschen wille?
[...]
En noch segge ic / al hadde een mensche alle de zonden
Gedaen / diemen sonde mogen gronden /
Kendt hy my met berou / hy zal verkoren zijn /
Ende der halben niet verloren zijn:
O menschen hierom behoor dy te dincken.⁴²⁹

Remember that I fought for mankind
Remember the passion that I suffered
Think of the blood that I shed on the cross
Was that not for the sake of mankind?
[...]
And further I say, even if a man committed all the sins
That one could commit
If he turned to me in repentance, he will be my chosen one
And therefore not lost:
O mankind, reflect on this.

Instead of Mary pleading for mercy for her children, Christ pleads the power of his sacrifice and it is this power that Mariken clings to and uses to free herself from the grasp of the devil. The remainder of the text plays out as the original, with Mariken's penance and miraculous ring-removal that shows Christ's forgiveness of her great sins. But it is not the Virgin Mary who moves the sinner to repentance, but the great sacrifice of Christ's passion.

Printed circa 1775 by Barent Koene and written in beautifully rhymed verse that makes for a quick and enjoyable read, this last Dutch version before the text's miraculous rediscovery in the nineteenth century is worthy of a closer look. Given the late date, it may not seem quite fitting to include this as a part of the early modern Mariken grouping, but the general scholarly consensus is that this ballad actually dates much earlier than the late eighteenth century based on a number of linguistic peculiarities, and it is "certainly not impossible that the song is even older than all the known texts."⁴³⁰ Barent Koene (I) was a printer and member of the Dutch Reformed

⁴²⁹ Ibid.

⁴³⁰ J.J.Th.M Tersteeg, "The Series *Naar de Letter*, Nos. 1-5," in *Dutch Studies: An Annual Review of the Language, Literature, and Life of the Low Countries*, vol. 2 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1976), 91.

Church in Amsterdam.⁴³¹ It belongs to the genre of what Martijn Wijngaards describes as “ballad-like historic songs,” or “historieliedereren.”⁴³² Medieval narratives were transformed into historic songs, and Koene printed a number of these ballads, including the ballad of *Mayken van Nimmegen*. There is one slightly later copy of this text printed by Hendrik Rynders and held in Leiden, but the text is the same. In this ballad, learning is strikingly absent in entirety, a first for the Mariken saga, and, if this is truly a much older text, this has a number of implications for the function and intent behind Mariken’s transformations. Here, her story begins as a wild romance in which a knight and his princess perpetrate discord and disharmony on their path of destruction. This transgression is, however, no match for the forgiveness of Christ (Mary’s role here is non-existent), and the religious-didactic nature of the text is still very much present. The action in this text moves quickly as Mayken sets off for Nijmegen at the request of her uncle to buy candles, mustard, oil, and salt. The day passes quickly and she seeks refuge with her aunt to avoid the droves of thieves outside the city at night. Her aunt remains unmoved by her request, accusing her of spending the day lazily whoring, not shopping. Mayken attempts to defend herself to little avail as her aunt refuses her a place to stay. Her claim to be free of any sexual misconduct is rejected quickly, leaving Mayken dejected and with no option but to venture out after dark.

Distressed and in tears on the side of the road, Mayken remarks that if someone came along, even if he were the devil, she would go with him. The devil is lying in wait for her upon hearing this and the description of him is rather different from the original. Presenting himself as

⁴³¹ For this information I am indebted to Martijn Wijngaards and his research on Koene and his printings of ballads.

⁴³² See Martijn Wijngaards, “Vroegmoderne historieliedereren op basis van middeleeuwse verhaalstof,” accessed December 21, 2015, <http://www.martijnwijngaards.nl/Historieliedereren.htm>.

a young knight, he courts her with fine words, offering to make her a princess.⁴³³ Learning is not involved in his proposal; it is only the promise of a life befitting a woman of high stature. A later stanza does reveal his lacking eye and he names himself Moen. All dear Mayken has to do is forsake her name and she will become a woman of high stature. Lysbet, Lyntje, and Grietje do nothing for Mayken as choices for a new name and the loss of her name almost becomes a sticking point until Moen suggests Emmeken, allowing her to keep the letter M. The pair journeys on to Den Bosch, leaving trails of evildoing in their wake, and from here the story is generally the same with the exception that Mariken does not showcase her learning, but works with alcohol, gambling, and fighting as her tools to usher souls into hell.⁴³⁴ The evil in the pair leads them to continue on their murderous journey to Antwerp. The result of their time there is another heap of souls dead and on their way to hell.⁴³⁵ The seven years spent playing the devil's wife have left Emmeken longing for home and Moen reluctantly agrees to travel to Nijmegen temporarily and continue their mischief there. Emmeken manages to see a play that brings her to repentance and Moen swoops in, brings her high into the air, and casts her down in an attempt to maintain her soul for himself. Mariken miraculously survives and then journeys with her uncle to seek the possibility of penance, but not even the pope can absolve her of her great sins. In fact, one particular detail comes to light:

Daer syn drie honderd man vermoord,
End dat om mynent wille.⁴³⁶

There were three hundred men murdered

⁴³³ *Mayken van Nimmegen*, in *Middelnederlandsche dramatische poëzie*, ed. P. Leendertz (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff's Uitgeversmaatschappij, 1907), 476. This text can also be found online at http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/leen006midd01_01.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*, 479.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*, 480.

⁴³⁶ *Ibid.*, 485.

For my sake.

She numbers the souls she condemned to hell during her time of keeping house with the devil.

Yet, as the poem intends to show, anyone who repents and asks Christ for forgiveness will receive it. For seven years as the devil's playmate, Mariken performs fourteen years of penance, dressed in a sackcloth day and night, never sleeping in a bed, and leading a holier life than any other nun had before her, ultimately receiving forgiveness from Christ. The didacticism behind the text comes to the forefront at this moment, driving the message home:

Hoe groote Sondaer dat het sy,
Christus wil niemand versmaden,
Want hy roept self komt al tot my,
Die met Sonden syn beladen.

Soo wie syn Sonde hier beschreid,
En tot Christum keeren,
Gods genade en Barmhertigheid,
En is om te doorgronden.⁴³⁷

No matter how great a sinner he be,
Christ wants to forsake none,
For he himself calls, "Come to me,
All who are laden with sin."

So whoever repents of his sin,
And turns to Christ,
God's grace and mercy
Is to be fully understood.

Much more pointed in his approach and in a catchy ballad form as well, the author of this text makes it clear that no sin is too great for Christ's forgiveness, not even causing the murder of 300 men and sleeping with the devil.

Mariken's tale made quite a splash in world literature in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and was included in a number of Jesuit collections honoring the Virgin Mary in Latin,

⁴³⁷ Ibid., 486.

Italian, and German.⁴³⁸ The Jesuits were the driving force of what R. Po-Chia Hsia has called the early modern “Catholic renewal” in the aftermath of the Reformation. They were the most important order in early modern Catholicism, planting “seeds of new growth in the fertile soils of Spain and Italy.”⁴³⁹ The Jesuit order was founded, as Hsia puts it, “to imitate the work of the early apostles in preaching the faith.”⁴⁴⁰ This Jesuit adaptation describes Uncle Ghijsbrecht as a Dominican priest and the play that moves Mariken to repentance is a passion play. The first Jesuit adaptation occurs with Hadrianus Lyraeus’ incorporation of Mariken’s story in his 1648 *Trisagion Marianum*, which was translated by Johannes Rho into Italian in 1665 and titled *Sabati del Giesù di Roma overo Esempi della Madonna*.⁴⁴¹ From here, the Italian translation of the Latin text was then translated into German by Carlo Bovio in 1737. With the exception of a handful of scholars looking at these texts for purposes of tracing the history of *Mariken van Nieuweghen*, research on these texts is non-existent. The research done for the sake of Mariken

⁴³⁸ In 2008, yet another version of Mariken’s tale was found. In a manuscript dated to 1821 and in Arabic written in old Syrian handwriting, Mariken’s tale is told, including her link to Nijmegen. This is explained as a result of sixteenth-century Catholic renewal, when missionaries were sent to the Middle East and used Mariken’s story to teach. For more information, see Berthold van Maris, “Mariken van Nimwegen, en dan in het Syrisch-Arabisch,” *NRC Handelsblad*, November 13, 2008, <http://www.nrc.nl/next/2008/11/13/mariken-van-nimwegen-en-dan-in-het-syrisch-arabisch-11638332>.

Mariken scholar Dirk Coigneau even claims that the Syrian priest Abraham is the real-life inspiration for Mariken’s tale, as it was in circulation in Europe from the thirteenth century. It is the tale of a pious priest and his orphaned niece, Maria, whom he shuts up in a cell in an attempt to force her into a life of piety. The devil takes it upon himself to seduce her with sweet words and aids her escape. He uses a monk and leads her to sleep with the monk. Fearing the punishment of her uncle, Maria decides to flee to another country. Her uncle prays day and night for two years for her safe return, upon which he receives a message from Mary that tells him of Maria’s whereabouts. He puts on worldly clothes and sets out to find her. He finds her in a bordello and makes himself known to her in her bedroom with a kiss. She despairs the depths of her sins, but her uncle promises the forgiveness of God for her repentance and the two return home to his monastery. Maria is locked up in the innermost cell and spends her days in prayer, forgiven by God only when her prayers result in the healing of several sick. For more on this idea and a more detailed rendition of the story, see Dirk Coigneau, “Mariken van Nieuweghen: fasen en lagen,” in *De kracht van het woord: 100 jaar Germaanse filologie aan de RUG (1890-1990)*, ed. Marysa Demoor (Gent: Seminarie voor Duitse Taalkunde, 1991): 29-47.

⁴³⁹ R. Po-chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal: 1540-1770*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 27.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁴¹ For more information on the Latin and Italian traditions, see G.W. Wolthuis, “De Legende van Mariken van Nieuweghen in Deutschland en Italië,” *Neophilologus* 18.1 (1932): 28-36.

is, for the most part, a comparison of the Latin, Italian, and German traditions, with little to say about the content. It is important to note that Hadrianus Lyraeus was born in Antwerp in 1588 and joined the Jesuits in 1608.⁴⁴² It is at the end of his Latin text that his source is revealed: archival research from a cloister in Maastricht, in the form of an oral account and documents printed one-hundred years earlier, collected and sent to Lyraeus by a trustworthy man.⁴⁴³ These examples use Mariken's story to teach the reader how she should relate to Mary and why proper reverence is important. The devil is relegated to the sidelines in favor of the Virgin's solution to the problem of sin.

Mariken can be found twice in the *Marianischer Gnaden- und Wunderschatz*, occupying nine pages of a more-than-one-thousand paged collection of exempla glorifying the Virgin Mary. Thanks to the Jesuits, a Catholic renewal was sweeping through Europe in the wake of the Reformation. The missionary work and free education provided by the Jesuits caused a boom in Marian devotion that grew tremendously in the seventeenth century.⁴⁴⁴ It is in this atmosphere that these Marian collections flourished, first in Latin and then in the vernacular. Carlo Bovio's translation of a translation was published in 1737. The Italian version is rather loose in its translation of the Latin, but the German is relatively close to the Italian. Bovio's version contains a moralizing narrator and is clearly focused on showcasing the importance of Mary in the Christian life. These texts are very different from their sixteenth-century counterparts and have three purposes: first, they attempt to reveal the devil for who he is; second, they present transgression not as a very specific overstepping of bounds, but as the replacement of the holy

⁴⁴² G.W. Wolthuis, *Duivelskunsten en sprookjesgestalten: studiën over literatuur en folklore: Mariken van Nieumeghen* (Amsterdam: C. de Boer Jr, 1952), 34.

⁴⁴³ See Wolthuis, *Duivelskunsten*, 39 and a Dutch translation of the Latin version: Vincent Hunink, "De Latijnse Mariken," in *Numaga Jaarboek 2012*, ed. P. Begheyn (Nijmegen 2012): 15-21.

⁴⁴⁴ See Hsia, *Catholic Renewal*, 31 and 203.

with the unholy; and finally, they offer the Virgin Mary as the solution to the devil's advances and the evasion of punishment by God.

The first of the two examples that detail Mariken's life focuses on the power of letters and the importance of the maintained *m* and how it allowed Mary to remain involved in a sinner's life. This letter is extremely powerful, conveyed as an "Überbleibßle der verlohrenen Andacht, nachmahlens zu einem Saamen der widerum erneuerten Jugend" (remnant of lost devotion, refined to the seed of renewed youth), and this story is written so that the reader can have a "grosse und sehr nutzliche Lehr-Stuck" (large and very useful didactic work).⁴⁴⁵ Cast out from her aunt's house with cursing, Maria finds herself in a state of melancholy and sadness, summoning the devil unto herself. The devil offers her "ein weit lustigers, und vergnügteres Leben"⁴⁴⁶ (a much merrier and more cheerfull life) in return for turning her back on the Virgin Mary. Maria cannot give up her beloved name, becoming M, which saves her in the long run. Seeing a play about her namesake, M transforms back into Maria, so powerful is this small link to Mary. The lesson is that "[d]ie wahre Andacht gegen die seeligste Mutter Gottes"⁴⁴⁷ (true devotion to the holy Mother of God) is very valuable and not to be taken lightly. Mary's "völlige Süsse der Barmhertzigkeit"⁴⁴⁸ (absolute sweetness of mercy) is contrasted with the "scharff und streng"⁴⁴⁹ (harsh and strict) manner in which God deals with those who have dealt with the devil.

⁴⁴⁵ R.P. Carolo Bovio, "Ein gewisses Mägdlein / obwohlen sie sich vom Teuffel verführen hat lassen, so kunte sie doch nit beredt werden, daß sie den Namen Maria gäntzlich hätte aufgegeben, sonder nennte sich hinfüro M. [...]" in *Marianischer Gnaden- und Wunderschatz, das ist: Vilfältige, auch durch scheinbahre Wunder-Werck von der Seeligsten Jungfrau und Göttlichen Mutter Maria ihren Liebhabern, wie auch grossen Sündern ertheilte Gnaden und Gunst-Bezeugungen* (Augspurg: Strötter, Gastel, und Jlgers, 1737), 1: Erster Theil, Acht und zwanzigstes Exempel, 103-107: 103.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., 104.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid., 107.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid.

The second example is “Ein junges Mägdlein / so den Namen unser lieben Frauen hatte / und Maria sich nannte / wegen alleinig daraus behaltenem M. erhielt von Maria Hülff / von dem Teuffel ledig, und darauf seelig zu werden”⁴⁵⁰ (A young girl / who had the name of Our Dear Lady / and called herself Mary / due to only M. kept, received Mary’s help in separating herself from the devil and becoming holy). This example takes a different approach to the same lesson, but this time the focus is even more on Mary’s greatness. Not only is the story of this Maria extremely condensed, but it also is the story of the Virgin Mary’s grace and power. The action is pared down to only the necessary details and the text is not intended to be entertaining, but moralizing. Before the story has even begun, the problem and the solution are revealed: “Ein tödtliches Gifft für die Seel ist, wan man sich mit dem höllischen Dracken einlasset, und mit ihme anbindet, ein lebend machendes Heyl-Mittel wider selbiges ist, wan man sich mit Maria der Himmels Königin durch die Liebe gegen ihr verbindet”⁴⁵¹ (It is a deadly poison for the soul, when one allows the dragon of hell entrance and binds oneself to him, a life-saving remedy against the same is when one binds oneself to Mary, the Queen of Heaven, through love for her). The story is the same; Maria goes into town to purchase supplies for her uncle and is denied hospitality by her aunt, leaving her open to the devil’s advances. At every opportunity the example makes clear its stance towards the devil:

Ein betrübt-verwirrtes Gemüth ist ein gar gutes Meer, worauf der böse Feind glücklich seine Segel ausbreiten kan; wie er es auch gethan; massen er das Gemüth und Hertz Maria verfinsteret gehabt mit noch dunckleren und erschrecklicheren Phantaseyen.⁴⁵²

⁴⁵⁰ R.P. Carolo Bovio, “Ein junges Mägdlein / so den Namen unser lieben Frauen hatte / und Maria sich nannte / wegen alleinig daraus behaltenem M. erhielt von Maria Hülff / von dem Teuffel ledig, und darauf seelig zu werden,” in *Marianischer Gnaden- und Wunderschatz, das ist: Vilfältige, auch durch scheinbahre Wunder-Werck von der Seeligsten Jungfrau und Göttlichen Mutter Maria ihren Liebhabern, wie auch grossen Sündern ertheilte Gnaden und Gunst-Bezeugungen* (Augsburg: Strötter, Gastel, und Jlgers, 1737), 5: Erster Theil, Eylfftes Exempel, 43-46.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., 43.

⁴⁵² Ibid., 44.

A sad and confused mind is an excellent sea upon which the evil enemy can happily spread his sails; as he has also done; he gauged the mind and heart of Maria and clouded it over with even darker and more frightening fantasies.

Young Maria is, however, pious, and most important of all, linked to her holy namesake. Because God has allowed her to be tested, the devil approaches Maria with “gantz verstelltmitleydygen Angesicht, und Zucker-süssen, höflichen Worten”⁴⁵³ (entirely disguised and compassionate countenance, and sugar-sweet, graceful words). This Maria is naïve, and has no idea who she is really dealing with when the devil offers her the world. Momus offers no details of this promise, only that it is “weit mehrer, als ich dir sagen, oder du dir einbilden kuntest”⁴⁵⁴ (much more than I can tell you or you can ever imagine), a description with which the pious “Närrin” (fool) is fully satisfied. She unquestionably agrees not to make the sign of the cross, but cannot bear to give up her name, and Momus acquiesces and christens her M. M obviously has no idea what she is doing, as is clear from the manner in which the narrator presents her: “Mir gefallet diser Vortrag, sagte das närrische Mensch; nimme ihne auch an, pur dir zu gefallen; wan du hernach nur auch meinen Lust erfüllest, ich bin zu friden.”⁴⁵⁵ (This contract pleases me, said the foolish human. I accept, purely to please you. If you fulfill my desires hereafter, I will be satisfied.)

Thus Momus gains his newest lover, and of their seven years of sin together only this is said:

Endlich nach so langer Zeit gefiele es GOtt unserer verlohren-gegangen M, weiß nit was für einen höllischen Gestanck mercken zu lassen; wordurch sie anfangte einen Eckel und Abscheuchen zu füllen ab einem so vichischen Leben, wordurch sie so ungestaltet, abscheulich worden, daß sie fast einem Teuffel gleich gesehen.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵³ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid., 45.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid.

Finally after such a long time it pleased God to let our lost M recognize the hellish stink. Through this she began to feel disgust and revulsion toward her bestial life, in which which she became so transformed and abhorrent, that she almost looked like a devil.

The specific transgressions are not important, but rather the fact that M has become just like the hellish devil instead of her holy namesake. Just as in *Mariken van Nieumeghen*, the world is disordered, and the transgression is the inadvertent placing of the devil where he does not deserve to be. When M heads back to Nijmegen and happens to hear the name Maria in a play, she sees herself “voll der Sünden und Gottlosigkeiten”⁴⁵⁷ (full of sin and godlessness), immediately moved to seek forgiveness. After years of penance, God removes the iron rings from Maria, miraculously marking her deliverance.

The text does not end here, but concludes with one last didactic paragraph in a final attempt to bring its point across in case the reader missed it in the rest of the text.

Also laßt uns dem Teuffel nichts, ja gar nichts geben, damit wir gäntzlich Maria zugehören; laßt uns Maria alles, und alles geben; damit nur der Teuffel nichts in uns finde, wo er sich anhalten, und hafften möge, Amen.⁴⁵⁸

Therefore let us give the devil nothing, yes absolutely nothing, so that we entirely belong to Mary; let us give all and all to Mary, so that the devil finds nothing in us that he can grab hold of and so imprison us.

If the reader is careful and stays grounded in the Virgin Mary, the devil has no foothold with which to enter the picture. Written almost two hundred years after *Mariken van Nieumeghen*, this text is stripped of its entertainment value so that this does not take away from the lesson it teaches.

Mariken in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid., 46.

In 1840 Prudens van Duyse wrote about a discovery that would bring Mariken into the literary limelight. Describing a text printed in Antwerp in 1615 (the Stroobant version), Van Duyse details the coincidental discovery of Mariken's tale:⁴⁵⁹

Dit Mariken zal wel den meesten onzer lezeren onbekend zyn: ook toevallig vernamen wy iets van haer, en zy kwam ons belangryk, ten minsten zonderling genoeg voor, om haer niet in de vergetelheid begraven te laten: zy dient met het meer gekende Mariken van Limburg niet verward te worden. [...] Doctor *Faust* was ons uit de blauwboekjes en uit Goethe, in diens nieuw gewaad, reeds gekend; ook *Blommaert's* uitgave had ons *Theophilus* geschonken, maer wy kenden nog geen enkele vrouw (een zoo zwak schepsel!) dat stout genoeg ware geweest om een verbond met Leviathan aen te gaen [...].⁴⁶⁰

This Mariken will be unknown to most of our readers: we learned of her by chance, and she seemed very important to us, at least unique enough to not let her be forgotten: she deserves to not be confused with the better-known Mariken of Limburg. [...] Doctor Faust was already known to us from the blue books and from Goethe's new adaptation; Blommaert's edition gave us Theophilus, but we knew of no single woman (such a weak creature!) who was strong enough to make a pact with Leviathan [...].

At a time when authors and critics alike were expressing their disappointment in Dutch literature and the lack thereof, a heroine linked to the Dutch city of Nijmegen was rediscovered (although one must question if she was really missing given the last known-printing at the end of the eighteenth century in the form of a ballad). Conrad Busken Huet laments the state of Dutch literature in general, and particularly in the nineteenth century in his 1868 novel *Lidewyde*:

Een volk, dat nooit een eigen denkbeeld vertegenwoordigd heeft [...] nooit iets anders heeft gedaan als navolgen en achteraan komen, - zulk een volk, dat spreekt, heeft geene litteratuur die het de moeite waard zou zijn te boek te stellen; en men rigt dan ook bij u standbeelden op voor letterkundige grootheden wier werken zoo weinig gehalte bezitten, dat wie beproeven wil, ze in eene beschaafde taal over te brengen, het er stelselmatig op aflegt.⁴⁶¹

⁴⁵⁹ It is not until the end of the nineteenth century, almost fifty years later, that the single extant copy of the 1515 Vorsterman edition is discovered in Munich.

⁴⁶⁰ Prudens van Duyse, "Mariken van Nimwegen," in *Kunst- en Letter-blad* (Gent: Drukkery van L. Hebbelynck, 1840), <https://books.google.com/books?id=30FHAAAAcAAJ&pg=PP1#v=onepage&q&f=false>, 62.

⁴⁶¹ Conrad Busken Huet, *Lidewyde* (Arnhem: D.A. Thieme, 1868), 47.

A people that has never embodied an idea of its own, [...] has never done anything else but follow and come up behind, such a people, this says, has no literature worth putting in a book; and in your country they are putting up statues for literary greats whose works have so little substance that whoever takes it upon himself to translate them into a cultured language systematically gives up this task.

A few lines later, Huet continues, discussing the lack of proper Dutch heroines:

Kent gij een hollandschen roman, een hollandsch drama, een hollandsch dichtwerk, waarin eene heldin voorkomt, die gij, ik zeg niet voor uwe grootmoeder of voor uwe schoonmaakster, maar voor uwe vrouw zoudt willen hebben? Ik niet.⁴⁶²

Do you know a Dutch novel, a Dutch drama, a Dutch work of poetry, in which a heroine exists that you would like to have as your wife (not as your grandmother or cleaning lady)? I do not.

While Mariken may not have made a suitable wife, she had already become the subject of nineteenth century literature, perhaps in an attempt to foster this new Dutch literature that so many felt needed to be written.

In fact, in an oral tradition circulating in the Netherlands in the early nineteenth century, Mariken's wifely example is alluded to, but it is actually her uncle and his battle with the devil that takes centerstage. J.W. Wolf recorded the following episode from one E. van den Plassche.⁴⁶³

Vor langer, langer Zeit lebte in Antwerpen ein Dominikanerherr, der hatte eine schöne Nichte und die hatte sich dem Teufel ergeben, und fuhr mit ihm in Dörfern und Städten herum und lebte mit ihm, wie Frau und Mann. Auf eine Zeit kamen beide nach Antwerpen zurück und zwar zur Kirmeszeit, wo die Beinhauergilde auf dem groszen Markte eine Vorstellung vom Leiden Christi gab. Als das Mädchen diesem zuschaute, fing sie bitterlich an zu weinen, denn sie gedachte ihrer Sünden; aber dem Teufel gefiel das nicht, und er packte sie und flog fort mit ihr, um sie nach der Hölle zu führen.

Zur selben Zeit ging der Ohm, der Dominikaner, im Klostergarten spazieren. Als er über sich das Geräusch hörte, welches der Teufel im Fliegen machte, blickte er auf und erkannte seine Nichte, und beschwor den Teufel auf der Stelle, so dasz dieser das Mädchen fallen lassen muszte. Nun führte der Ohm sie zur Beichte und bekehrte sie wieder zu Gott, und sie starb bald darauf eines seligen Todes.

⁴⁶² Ibid., 48.

⁴⁶³ Johann Wilhelm Wolf, ed., *Niederländische Sagen* (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1843), 550.

A long, long time ago, there lived a Dominican priest in Antwerp. He had a beautiful niece who had given herself over to the devil and traveled with him to villages and cities, living with him as a wife with her husband. The pair traveled back to Antwerp and it was kermis⁴⁶⁴ time. The Beinhauer guild was performing the sufferings of Christ at the marketplace. As the girl watched the performance, she began to weep bitterly, because she thought of her sins. But the devil did not like this and he grabbed her and flew away, in order to lead her to hell.

At the same time her uncle went for a walk in the cloister garden. When he heard the sound above him, which the devil made as he flew, he looked up and recognized his niece. He immediately charmed the devil, so that he had to let the girl fall. Then the uncle took her to confession and converted her back to God, after which she soon died a blessed death.

Wolf also included a longer summary of the Mariken story cobbled together from the outline Prudens van Duyse gave and two seventeenth-century prints by Paul Stroobant found in Gent. One of these prints had the Catholic elements minimized, which explains the absence of these elements in Wolf's version. Interestingly, in the oral version here, the Catholic elements are maintained. Here it is the Dominican priest who is able to overcome the devil with enchanted words, not the powerful prayer that Wolf used in his summary. Mariken's life of sin is downplayed to only her role as the devil's wife, and it is a play on Christ's passion that leads to her repentance. Mariken may have disappeared from Dutch literature, but one cannot deny the fact that her tale must have still been circulating orally before the miraculous rediscovery of her written history in 1840 that led to renewed interest in this Dutch heroine.

Shortly thereafter, Mariken finds her way into Luise von Ploennies' 1853 rebranding of Mariken as a woman on par with Goethe's Faust, renewing her story for German speakers, and then on into the twentieth century with Martien Beverlsluis' 1928 religious expance and Connie Palmen's 1991 *De Wetten*, which reclaims the ability to think for oneself for women forced to regurgitate only the words of men. After this, Mariken becomes a movement in Nijmegen

⁴⁶⁴ Kermis denotes the celebration that often accompanied the anniversary of the foundation of a church.

seeking to universalize Mariken's message: being human is transgressing, forgiving the transgression, and righting it.

Born in 1803 to Philipp Leisler and Sophie von Wedekind, Luise von Ploennies spent fifteen years tending to her nine children before turning her focus to writing and the study of Dutch and Belgian literature. She translated a number of Dutch works before trying her hand at the Mariken material in 1853, bringing a new Mariken into the German language. She took great liberty with it, creating a leading female driven on the one hand by desire and on the other by a thirst for knowledge. The desire to experience the world in all its glory is outside the bounds of the traditional female role. Mariken is able to break out of her box, but this transgression is quickly righted as she must return from the transgression of gender roles and perform penance for doing so, once more forced to seek God rather than a life more suited for a man.

At the end of the piece, Ploennies takes care to note her sources, citing Stroobant's 1615 print as the source that she used. Bearing in mind that it was not until almost fifty years later that Leendertz discovered the 1515 Vorsterman print, it is of interest that Ploennies was aware of the 1518 English translation by Jan van Doesborch. It was not until 1840 that Mariken's story was reintroduced with the finding of Stroobant's print, so Ploennies is working with new material that is garnering a great deal of attention in the literary world. Goethe's *Faust* was being developed in the late 1700s, at the same time the ballad of Mariken was circulating in the Netherlands before her story seems to have gone off the Dutch literary radar. In any case, Stroobant's text was very similar to the 1515 Vorsterman print, and Ploennies recounts the basic plot at the end of her adaptation. It is good to note that Stroobant's version still included the Marian elements, including the Masscheroen episode, and these elements were transferred to Ploennies's reworking. Little research has been done on Luisa von Ploennies's *Mariken*, with the

exception of brief discussion by Sabine Doering.⁴⁶⁵ But coming just as Mariken was making her way back into literary circles, Ploennie's text is of extreme importance, and even more so as she brings in some exchange with the Faust tradition, namely with Goethe's version.

The foreword to the text provides insight into its creation, positioning Mariken as "eine ebenbürtige Schwester des großen Kämpfers" (an equal sister of the great struggler) or on par with Faust, "wie er aus dem innersten Leben der Nation geboren und mit der Herrlichkeit ihres größten Dichters bekleidet ist"⁴⁶⁶ (as he was born out of the innermost life of a nation and dressed with the splendor of the greatest poet). Mariken wants nothing more than to dance with knights and enjoy life, but her uncle forbids her this, calling dance the "Schlangenlist"⁴⁶⁷ (serpent's deception) that led to Eve's partaking of the forbidden fruit. He instead intends to send Mariken to a convent, a horrifying thought for the sixteen-year-old girl:

"Ins Kloster?—das wird nie geschehen!"
Erwiedert ihm die Jungfrau schnell,
"Das Leben liegt vor mir so hell!
Und in mir wallt und wogt es reich,
Dem Strom im Sonnenglanze gleich.
Es wallt und wogt mit starkem Drang –
Vor Fülle wird das Herz mir bang,
Dann zuckt ein Blitz durch meinen Sinn,
Fort möcht ich, weiß nur nicht wohin!
Ich kann der Wünsche Ziel nicht nennen,
Doch in mir drängen und entfalten
Voll Lebensglanz sich die Gestalten.
Noch ist die Welt mir unbekannt,
Leb' ich doch wie im Traum gebannt.
Was in mir wogt, kann ich nur stammeln,
Es fehlt mir an dem rechten Wort,
Könnt ich nur in den Büchern dort,
Wie Ihr, mir reiches Wissen sammeln!
Die alten Pergamente lesen,

⁴⁶⁵ Sabine Doering, *Die Schwestern des Doktor Faust: Eine Geschichte der weiblichen Faustgestalten* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2001).

⁴⁶⁶ Luise von Ploennies, *Mariken von Nymwegen* (Berlin: Alexander Duncker, 1853), v-vi.

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 4.

Daß klar mir wär mein eigen Wesen,
Der Kräfte innerliches Regen,
Die mich geheimnißvoll bewegen
Und mich ins Leben mächtig drängen”⁴⁶⁸

“Into a cloister?—that will never happen!”
Retorted the young girl quickly,
“Life is so bright before me!
And it churns and bubbles so richly,
Like the rays in sunshine.
It churns and bubbles with strong urges—
My heart is afraid of abundance,
A bolt quivers through my mind,
I must go forward, but I do not know whereto.
I cannot name the goal of the wishes,
But still in me surge and unfurl
The figures full of the light of life.
The world is still unknown to me,
Yet I live as if banished in a dream.
What surges in me I can only babble,
I lack the proper words,
If only I could gather the rich knowledge
Like you in books!
Read the old manuscripts,
That would be my own being,
Inner rain of powers
That would move me mysteriously
And push me powerfully into life.

Ploennies’ Mariken is not driven by circumstance to the devil, but by a desire to experience the world in its many facets, much like Goethe’s Faust, whom Ploennies names as the male counterpart to Mariken. Her uncle cannot understand how she can be drawn to the pursuit of these things instead of God and warns her against them. A large part of the issue he takes, however, is that by pursuing these things, Mariken would be overstepping the bounds set for women: “Allein die Grenzen sind gar eng, die Gott dem Weibe hat bestimmt.”⁴⁶⁹ (Only the bounds are very tight, that God has dictated for woman.) Mariken’s response expresses her

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid., 5-6.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid., 7.

disappointment in these established boundaries: “Warum so eng beschränktes Loos? Die Welt ist reich, die Welt ist groß.”⁴⁷⁰ (Why such a restricted lot? The world is so rich, the world is so large.)

It is Mariken’s aunt who further ignites Mariken’s ungodly desires with the help of a magic mirror that allows Mariken to see the fulfillment of her fantasies. After a falling out with her aunt, Mariken is approached by the devil, who reveals he was behind the fantasies in the mirror. He offers to quench her “Durst nach hoher Wissenschaft”⁴⁷¹ (thirst for higher science) in the real world, describing himself as “der große Zeitvertreiber”⁴⁷² (the greatest amuser). For Mone there are two ways to strive for satisfaction in life: 1) you can maintain roots and seek satisfaction within the limitations set for you; or 2) you can take the path less traveled,⁴⁷³ breaking out and finding the land “[w]o Weisheit wohnt bei dem Genuß, Und Lebensglück und Ueberfluß”⁴⁷⁴ (where wisdom lives with pleasure and joy with opulence). Mariken decides to strive in the second manner, and is dubbed Emeken by Mone. As a part of this lifestyle, poetry awakens within Emeken and she is able to produce works marked by devilish genius, which seduce those hear her words. Despite her gift, Emeken is left “nicht ganz befriedigt”⁴⁷⁵ (not quite satisfied), still in search of satisfaction and desiring experience after experience. Emeken believes knowledge of magic will fill this void, but Mone refuses and instead supplies her with countless experiences of luxury, lust, excess and distraction. To his many audiences Mone

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid., 8.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid., 43.

⁴⁷² Ibid., 44.

⁴⁷³ Ibid., 49.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., 74.

presents Emeken as a female wonder, evidence of a woman who has surpassed the boundaries of her fair sex and equal with a man.⁴⁷⁶

The remainder of the story adheres fairly closely to the original text. Emeken sees a play that spurs her to repentance. Her uncle saves her from the grasp of the devil and they travel on to Rome to seek forgiveness for her sins. Her sins are so great that only God can forgive them, so she has the three iron bands made to wear until they are miraculously removed by God. In this text, a transition in the way transgression is dealt with can clearly be seen. The text takes only a lightly moralizing tone, and is built around rather long entertaining episodes. Mariken's transgression is twofold: just as in the sixteenth-century text, she seeks after a series of worldly experiences in place of God, but in this case it is not this transgression that the text seems to be most concerned with and it is given only fleeting attention. More serious is Mariken's desire for learning that would allow her to go beyond the traditional role of a woman and enter into man's territory. A thirst for knowledge is a perfectly acceptable trait in the male character, but when a woman has this trait it is a horrible transgression. As a transgression, it must be punished and contained, returning Mariken to her proper female role through her repentance and subsequent penance. Much like Goethe's Faust, who endlessly strives for the ultimate experience, Mariken gets nowhere. This is, however, linked to her inability to transcend gender roles, not the futility of striving, and Mariken's redemption lies in her return to her rightful womanly role.

The son of a preacher, Martien Beversluis was raised protestant. His life, as he put it two years before his death, contained "alle ismen"⁴⁷⁷ (all –isms). His affiliations ran the gamut of religion and politics, from Protestantism to Catholicism and from pacifism to fascism to national

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid., 94-95.

⁴⁷⁷ *Biografisch Woordenboek van het Socialisme en de Arbeidersbeweging in Nederland*, s.v. "Beversluis, Martinus," accessed January 4, 2016, <http://bwsa.socialhistory.org/biografie/beversluis>.

socialism. In 1928, however, Beversluis was still Protestant and promoted pacifism and it was not until the 40s that he joined the national socialist party, just after he converted to Catholicism.⁴⁷⁸ Martien Beversluis took it upon himself to transform the Middle-Dutch miracle play into a form easily understood by a twentieth-century audience. He wished to craft the “schoonheid der middeleeuwsche poesie” (beauty of medieval poetry) into his “geestelijk eigendom”⁴⁷⁹ (spiritual property) and his spiritual property it became. At a point in history when, Jeffrey Burton Russell argues, the devil was at his “nadir,”⁴⁸⁰ Beversluis stages an epic battle between Mariken and the devil, which is his most significant deviation from the original text. For Beversluis, the battle between good and evil is real and tangible; it is the good his readers should be seeking. He holds the original text in high regards but does not find it suitable for his current audience:

Het is mijn overtuiging, dat het spel van Mariken van Nimwegen behoort tot het allerbeste wat de dramatiek der Middeleeuwen ons heeft overgeleverd. De taal en vorm echter waarin het oorspronkelijk spel is geschreven zal voor hen, die het Middelnederlandsch niet grondig bestudeerd hebben, veelal onverstaanbaar zijn.⁴⁸¹

I am convinced that the play of Mariken of Nijmegen belongs to the very best of what the drama of the Middle Ages has handed over to us. The language and form in the original play is, for those who have not studied Middle Dutch, mostly unintelligible.

Beversluis’ intent is, then, to create an expansion of the original in order to bring it to the attention of the public. He is very clear that he takes artistic liberties with the text: “Op verschillende plaatsen heb ik de tekst belangrijk gewijzigd en uitgewerkt”⁴⁸² (in different places I

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁹ Martien Beversluis, *Mariken van Nimwegen: Lyrische Bewerking naar het Middeleeuwsch Mirakelspel* (Amsterdam: N.V. Uitgevers-Maatschappij “Kosmos,” 1928), 10.

⁴⁸⁰ Jeffrey Burton Russel, “Devil,” in *The Westminster Dictionary of Christian Theology*, Alan Richardson and John Bowden, eds. (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1983), 156-157.

⁴⁸¹ Beversluis, *Mariken van Nimwegen*, 9.

⁴⁸² Ibid.

changed and expanded the text in important ways), his intent being to modernize the language and imagery. The text is divided into four parts and each part has multiple scenes. Some of the scenes include images that have the feel of modernized versions of the original woodcuts. Many of the lines are rhymed, albeit the rhyme scheme varies greatly, as part of Beversluis' "lyrische bewerking" (lyrical reworking). To my knowledge, there has been no scholarly work done on Beversluis' reworking apart from the mention of its existence when looking at the reception history of *Mariken van Nieumeghen*. Beversluis' text is a foray into his own spirituality and exemplifies a wrestling with religious beliefs.

As Mariken readies herself to go into the city to purchase supplies for her uncle, Ghijsbrecht warns her to stay the night at her aunt's house should it get too late. This is necessary, for, "Het booze staat aan elke sprong! Mariken is zoo mooi en jong!"⁴⁸³ (Evil stands at every corner! Mariken is so beautiful and young!). Ghijsbrecht, given here many asides and much more depth of character, has a bad feeling about the situation, fearing that the enemy will find Mariken and do her harm because of the great light found within her. At her request for a place to sleep and protection from "[d]e wereld [...] zoo boos gezind"⁴⁸⁴ (the world so evil-minded), her aunt scoffs and treats her instead to a slut-shaming, claiming Mariken was out whoring. Mariken departs crying and quickly becomes lost as darkness falls.

Distressed and in despair Mariken feels herself willing to go to whoever will help her in this moment, and will allow "elke liefde [haar] verblinden"⁴⁸⁵ (each love to blind her). Moenen maintains his inner dialogues and discusses his approach to trapping the girl he sees as easy prey.

⁴⁸³ Ibid., 14.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid., 17.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid., 22.

He offers to defend Mariken as a knight, serving her and her “schoon beeld”⁴⁸⁶ (beautiful image). If she goes with him, Moenen offers Mariken a complete learning experience, and Mariken shall become his reflection: “Zoo zult gij zijn mijn spiegelplas, mijn macht, die ik in U weerkaatste.”⁴⁸⁷ (So you shall be my reflection, my power, that I reflect into you.) Unlike the original Mariken, this one does not understand who Moenen truly is, and after already calling him her beloved, asks him if he is an enemy of Satan. Moenen skirts the issue, but Mariken is willing to even give herself to Lucifer to get out of her current situation. Now the bride of the devil, Mariken is ready to begin learning despite Moenen’s attempts to distract her with glory and gold.

Describing her relationship with the devil, Mariken is very clear that she is a tool in Moenen’s hands:

En om mij vallen vloek en moord,
door mij, door mij, en onbegrepen!
Ik ben de slag! Hij is de heffer!
Ik ben de daad! Hij, de beseffer!⁴⁸⁸

Around me fall curse and murder,
Through me, through me, and not understood!
I am the hit! He is the one who lifts his hand!
I am the deed! He, the one who realizes it!

Moenen may be the one raising her hand, but she is the one dealing the blows and very much an active participant in this perpetration of evil. Moenen views humans as helpless images of God, fighting to understand their mortality. It is this desire to grasp their frail nature that drives them to the devil and lands them in hell, for the draw to know their fate and purpose is so strong.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid., 24.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid., 29.

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid., 73.

Mariken's bout of homesickness leads the pair to Nijmegen where their entrance into the city is marked by the ringing of bells louder and louder, drawing Mariken to a miracle play being performed on the street. Moenen still believes he will win the battle for her soul, standing behind Mariken in the distance as she watches:

Maar ik zal triomfeeren!
Ach Emmeken! wat baat? wat baat?
De klokken roepen 't in de straat.
Te laat! te laat! te laat!
De slagen vallen zwaar en groot.
O mensch, dat is Uw hooge nood!
Het is de dood! de dood!
Dwaal veilig af, m'n kind! verstaat,
daar is geen redding meer noch baat.
Te laat...te laat...
Het vuur zal eenmaal, wild en rood,
door mij omarmen Uwen nood!
door mij, Uw doem, Uw dood.⁴⁸⁹

But I shall triumph!
Alas Emmeken! To what avail? To what avail?
The bells are calling in the street.
Too late! Too late! Too late!
The hits fall heavy and hard.
O mankind, that is your highest need!
It is death! Death!
Exit safely, my child! Understand,
There is no more salvation or advantage.
Too late...too late...
The fire shall through me once,
Wild and red, embrace your need!
Through me, your doom, your death.

In the play, Christ is expressing his wrath toward mankind in all its sinfulness, who, despite hearing God's call to repentance, has remained in sin and shame. The only place for these sinners is in hell with the devil. The Virgin Mary steps in, asking Christ to reconsider and not count their sins against them:

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid., 90.

Kind, o mijn Kind! wil Uw boosheid doen varen.
Wil hen om mijnentwil, trots allen waan,
in Uw ontfermende liefde bewaren,
reken zoo zwaar hunne zonden niet aan.
Zend tot de menschen Uw teekenen weder,
dat zij U vreezen en werpen zich neder.⁴⁹⁰

Child, oh my child! Will you let this evil go.
Will you protect them for my sake
In your merciful love despite all delusion,
And not count their sin against them.
Send your signs once more to mankind,
That they fear you and bow down.

Christ has no intention of giving any more chances, chastising his mother for her steadfast belief in the goodness of mankind. Hearing the wonderful words of Mary, Mariken's hardened heart begins to melt, and she turns from the devil and the play continues. Appealing to Christ with memories of him as a nursing babe, she asks him to give her just one more chance. Christ acquiesces, allowing the possibility of the truly repentant to turn from evil and rest in his grace. This seals the deal for Mariken, who sinks to her knees and repents.

Thunder booms as Moenen gathers his arsenal of demons to quickly bring Mariken into hell before forgiveness can occur. The wind howls and lightning flashes. Mariken, Moenen's "verwelkende roos"⁴⁹¹ (wilting rose), engages in a battle for life and soul. "Laat mij vrij uit Uw nijpende vingren. [...] Dat ik eenmaal U riep en Uw liefde verkoos wee wee!"⁴⁹² (Let me free from the grasp of your fingers. [...] That I ever summoned you and chose your love! Woe is me!) "Gij zijt Mijn!" (You are mine!) bellows Moenen, "Want ik spuwde in Uw oogen mijn blindend venijn!"⁴⁹³ (Because I spit into your eyes my blinding venom!) The winds grow

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid., 96.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid., 105.

⁴⁹² Ibid.

⁴⁹³ Ibid.

stronger and the lightning more rapid. Mariken screams in pain, “Wijk, wijk van mij, duister verrader”⁴⁹⁴ (Turn, turn from me, evil betrayer). Thunder claps. Mariken cries “O Maria...Maria!”⁴⁹⁵ (O Mary...Mary!). Moenen whisks her up and rain pours:

Maar niet eer, dan ge zinkt uit mijn klauw
die u zwiert in den vaart mijner wraak,
in een wervel van donderend grauw,
langs dit duistere hart! boven torens!, geklemd
in mijn razende vlerk!! Naar omhoog!
In het zwerk!⁴⁹⁶

But not anymore, then you will sink out of my claw
That swings you in the momentum of my revenge,
In a tornado of thundering gray,
Along this dark heart! Above the towers! Clutched
In my raging wing!! Upwards!
Into the heavens!

A tornado descends on the city of Nijmegen and the city’s inhabitants look up to notice a woman hurling through the clouds. Ghijsbrecht picks her up and Mariken explains everything to him. Her life was a journey into the depths of hell, but upon hearing Mary’s voice everything changed and she was drawn back to God with a pull that was impossible to resist.

Beverluis skips Mariken’s journey to Nijmegen and Cologne to ask the priests there for advice for penance, only dramatizing the trip to Rome. Mariken describes to the pope her time spent as the devil’s “speeltuig”⁴⁹⁷ (plaything), confessing she knew well who he was but that his “zoete drang”⁴⁹⁸ (sweet force) had blinded her. The devil’s song had permeated her thoughts and fully possessed her, along with his physical presence. The pope commands her to wear the three

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid., 106.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid., 109.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid., 123.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid., 124.

iron rings as penance, telling her that when they release her, forgiveness is at hand. One morning, Mariken wakes up and her rings are gone. She explains the lesson to be learned from her story to the reader:

O wonder van Maria, die niet wilt,
dat ik verloren ga in zonde's lusten,
daar is geen macht, geen sterker weer en schild
dan Liefde, Gij! en in Uw arm te rusten!

O! menschekind! versta aan dit groot wonder
wat mij geviel, die wanklend schreed in vreeze,
dat geen vergeefs vertrouwt en zoekt Gods wezen,
dat boven al wat ademt zij geprezen.⁴⁹⁹

Oh miracle of Mary, who did not wish
That I would be lost in sin's desires,
There is no power, no stronger defence and shield
Than Love, You! And to rest in your arms!

Oh! Child of man! Understand from this great miracle
That happened to me, the wavering stalk in fear,
That none in vain trust and seek God's being
That above all that breathes be praised.

Her life is meant to show that a life spent seeking God is one worth living. The closing lines given to the narrator are a direct response to the original text and have a very different effect.

The narrator notes that Mariken's grave is but a small hill where the cloister once was, lost in a vast landscape. Her gravestone and rings can no longer be found. "Maar eenzaam ligt, onder den hemelweide haar ongevonden lichaam, zonder name, maar van ons harte zij zij ongescheiden."⁵⁰⁰

(But only remains, under the meadow, her undiscovered body, without name, but from our heart she is not separated.) Mariken's story certainly has never departed from literature and remains, though constantly changing, with us today.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid., 129-130.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid., 130.

Connie Palmen's first novel, *De Wetten*, was published in 1991 and has since appeared in twenty-five countries in many languages. Suddenly needing space to fill and having just received a copy of a debut novel that was about to be presented, Reinjan Mulder, the literature editor of the *NRC Handelsblad* at the time, read Palmen's novel and it spoke to him. He filled in the missing article with a review of *De Wetten*, and within a couple days, there was not a copy to be found in all of the Dutch-speaking lands. This was an unheard of phenomenon for a first novel, and Connie Palmen remembers being overwhelmed at the attention her novel was given in one of the most-respected Dutch newspapers.⁵⁰¹ Palmen recalls the feelings she had about her first novel and its overnight success:

Ik wist wel dat ik een goed boek had geschreven, maar dit had ik totaal niet verwacht. Zoveel aandacht. Als je eens wist hoeveel schaamte ik had moeten overwinnen om überhaupt te kunnen schrijven over een jong meisje dat haar ziel aan zeven mannen verkocht. Veel mensen dachten later dat het allemaal autobiografisch was, wat ik schreef. Maar het enige autobiografische wat erin zat, was de fase waarin het meisje op zoek gaat naar duiding.⁵⁰²

I knew that I had written a very good book, but I totally did not expect this. So much attention. If you only knew how much shame I had to overcome to even be able to write about a young girl who sold her soul to seven men. Many people thought later that it was entirely autobiographical, what I wrote. But the only autobiographical thing in it was the phase in which the young girl went searching for meaning.

De Wetten chronicles seven years in the life of Marie Deniet. Each year is centered around a different man whose ideas occupy her during that particular year's search for knowledge, meaning, and love. These are the seven years she spends with seven different devils, and these years result not in her own redemption, but in her self-sacrifice to provide redemption to others. Marie is a philosophy student attempting to write her dissertation, but she cannot seem to develop her own outlook on life, instead ruled by the outlooks that six of these seven men force

⁵⁰¹ Reinjan Mulder, "Noodgreep werd sensatie: De lancering van Connie Palmen," *NRC Handelsblad*, October 5, 2010, <http://nrcboeken.vorige.nrc.nl/nieuws/noodgreep-werd-sensatie>.

⁵⁰² Ibid.

upon her. Her transgression is the blind acceptance of these opinions, and it is critical thinking and the creation of her own understanding of life that sets her free and serves as a saving example for other women. While some scholarly work has been done on the piece, very little considers the text in the context of the original *Mariken van Nieumeghen*, and if it does, only focuses on the most blatant references in the chapter that depicts her relationship with the priest.⁵⁰³ If the text is not considered as a whole, important ideas are missed and the fact that the entire novel plays with the Mariken-themes is overlooked.

The first man Marie spends time with is an astrologer. This somewhat eccentric man gives Marie a reading of her life according to the stars: “Jouw genot ligt verankerd in je koppetje, in het leren. Hartstocht is bij jou hartstocht van de geest. Dat is een filosofische hoerenengel. Je marchandeert met het meest kostbare van jezelf: je verkoopt je ziel voor een beetje kennis.”⁵⁰⁴ “Your pleasure lies embedded in your pretty little head, in learning. Passion is in your case the passion of the mind. That’s what a philosophical whore-angel is. You barter with the most precious part of yourself: you sell your soul for a little knowledge.”⁵⁰⁵ Learning is what motivates Marie and she is willing to sell her soul for a little bit of knowledge. Marie herself is searching for the laws of nature, without which she does not know what to do. Reading books has shown her that these laws differ immensely from person to person and she wishes to be like those who know the laws intrinsically: “Sommige mensen lijken de wetten van nature in zich te hebben. Ze hebben geen boeken gelezen en toch een mening, een overtuiging, een idee over hoe de wereld in elkaar hoort te zitten. Ze zijn overtuigd van hun gelijk en hoeven nergens op te

⁵⁰³ See, for example, István Bejczy, “Connie Palmen en *Mariken van Nieumeghen*,” *De nieuwe taalgids: Tijdschrift voor neerlandici* 84, no. 5 (1991): 402-408. Bejczy provides an in-depth reading of the links to *Mariken van Nieumeghen* in one chapter, but fails to consider the rest of the novel and the similarities it also holds with the Middle Dutch text.

⁵⁰⁴ Connie Palmen, *De Wetten* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 1993), 16.

⁵⁰⁵ Connie Palmen, *The Laws*, trans. Richard Huijting (New York: George Braziller, 1993), 9.

zoeken hoe ze over iets moeten denken.”⁵⁰⁶ “Some people seem to have the laws in them, innately. They haven’t read books and yet they have an opinion, a conviction, an idea as to how the world is meant to tick. They are convinced of their own right and they don’t need to look up the way they are to think about something, not anywhere.”⁵⁰⁷ Marie, on the other hand, needs the seven men she will spend the next years with to teach her how to think so that she can finally free herself from the worldviews of others, forming her own.

The second man is the epileptic philosophy student to whom she unwillingly lends a pen during a lecture on Hans Castorp and Clawdia Chauchat’s relationship in Thomas Mann’s *Der Zauberberg*.⁵⁰⁸ This student is obsessed with sickness and how it allows him to become a sort of artist. His life revolves around his own illness and how it allows him to see and deal with the world. Next comes a philosopher whose lectures Marie attends religiously. With him Marie learns that her deepest desire is to write books; the only problem is that she does not know what exactly writing is.⁵⁰⁹ He even manages to turn her interest from Sartre, the first philosopher she ever read, to Foucault, and he becomes one of the readers of her dissertation.

The fourth chapter, chronicling her time with a priest, is the most explicitly linked with the Middle Dutch story. He is both priest and author, something which Marie does not believe can be combined due to the devilish nature of writing.⁵¹⁰ Marie is sent to the priest by the philosopher, who thought that she needed a worthier advisor for her dissertation, and she makes her way to Groningen to discuss her research with him. The priest takes to calling her “Em”

⁵⁰⁶ Palmen, *De Wetten*, 25.

⁵⁰⁷ Palmen, *The Laws*, 19.

⁵⁰⁸ For an excellent discussion of this scene in Thomas Mann’s *Der Zauberberg*, see Eric Downing, *After Images: Photography, Archaeology and Psychoanalysis and the Tradition of Bildung* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2006), 53-58.

⁵⁰⁹ Palmen, *De Wetten*, 72.

⁵¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 95.

since he does not know her full name, sometimes even addressing her as “Emmeke.” As they discuss her dissertation, he convinces her to adhere to the beliefs of Derrida instead of Foucault, reshaping her worldview. He tells her a recurring fantasy he has of the fall of Adam and Eve, implicating himself as the devil. To this Marie replies using one of Mariken’s exact quotes: “God of de duivel, het is mij egaal.”⁵¹¹ “God or the devil, it’s all the same to me.”⁵¹² For her it does not matter where her teaching comes from, as long as it brings her closer to understanding what it truly means to write. Revealing that he stopped believing in God long ago, the priest takes Marie to the station and she allows herself to be led “als een blinde,”⁵¹³ “like one blind.”⁵¹⁴ A few days later, the priest comes to visit her in Amsterdam right before he leaves for America, confesses his love for prostitutes and still manages to sleep with Marie.

Marie meets the physicist through the death of a common acquaintance—the astrologer. Their relationship is quite different as it centers around the art of love, not philosophy. The physicist is married, but Marie asks him to teach her how to make love: “Ik wil je vragen, of je mij wilt inwijden in de liefde, of je mijn leermeester wilt zijn [...]. Kun je me leren te beminnen?”⁵¹⁵ “I want to ask you to initiate me in love, for you to be my instructor [...]. Can you teach me to make love?”⁵¹⁶ It is not the secret laws of nature she wishes to discover now, but the secrets of the body. After he teaches her, she discloses her deepest motivations and what is keeping her from writing: “[H]et is alsof ik eerst alles moet weten, alles moet leren kennen en

⁵¹¹ Ibid., 109.

⁵¹² Palmen, *The Laws*, 107.

⁵¹³ Palmen, *De Wetten*, 111.

⁵¹⁴ Palmen, *The Laws*, 110.

⁵¹⁵ Palmen, *De Wetten*, 138.

⁵¹⁶ Palmen, *The Laws*, 137-138.

vooral af moet leren, uitproberen, de mogelijkheden.”⁵¹⁷ “[I]t is as if I first must know everything, must get to know everything, and, in particular, must unlearn a lot of things, try out a lot of things, the possibilities.”⁵¹⁸ Marie’s desire to learn to the end of learning’s limits is her own prerequisite for writing; she feels her writing will be inadequate if she has not experienced all there is to experience.

The next man, an artist, marks a further transition in Marie’s approach to life. This time, instead of allowing her opinions to be shaped by others, she attempts to shape the artist’s opinion. Marie can no longer take the search for knowledge: “Ik wou van school af. Het werd tijd om naar buiten te gaan.”⁵¹⁹ “I wanted to be shot of school. It was getting time to go out into the open.”⁵²⁰ She must now stand on her own beliefs in order to be able to create her life’s work. In order to write or produce art, you have to be willing to share it with the world and let the world draw its own meaning. Human life is a striving to assign meaning to everything and Marie has been allowing others to ascribe meaning for her. The artist has quit producing art because he is tired of the incorrect meanings being given to his work, but Marie now understands that this has to be so in order for art to function.

The final chapter, and arguably the most important, is a series of letters Marie writes to the psychiatrist detailing her life story. These letters take on a pedagogical tone as Marie “confesses” her transgressions and rights her life. She also has a clear pedagogical goal in writing these letters. She tells of how each man taught her the way in which he understood and assigned meaning to the world. During the time she spent with them, she momentarily took on

⁵¹⁷ Palmen, *De Wetten*, 140.

⁵¹⁸ Palmen, *The Laws*, 140.

⁵¹⁹ Palmen, *De Wetten*, 150.

⁵²⁰ Palmen, *The Laws*, 151.

each of their systems of meaning, thinking on their terms, not hers. But as the seven years passed, she realized her transgression against herself:

Ik wil een persoon worden, iemand met een eigen leven en met ogen die zelf iets zien, op een eigen manier en niet op de manier van iemand anders. En ik zou ook woorden in mijzelf willen horen opkomen, helemaal van mijzelf. Overal zit de vuiligheid van anderen, als een korst om de taal, als een was voor mijn ogen, van bezoedeld glas lijken ze wel.⁵²¹

I want to become a person, someone with her own life and with eyes which themselves see things, in my own proper way, not in someone else's. And I should also wish to hear words well up in me, entirely my own. The filth of others is everywhere, like a crust encasing language, like a mist before my eyes, eyes that look like they've been made from soiled glass.⁵²²

Marie has allowed the opinions of others to take the place of her own and transgressed by doing so. She became a “platonische hoer,”⁵²³ a “platonic whore,”⁵²⁴ who allowed herself to be raped by the devil of philosophical thought that was not her own and in order to right this wrong she must be “genezen van de gedachten van anderen, van andermans leven,”⁵²⁵ she must “heal, recover from the thoughts of others,”⁵²⁶ and live according to her own beliefs.

Marie presents herself as the savior of mankind with her teachings that free the laws from the hands of men.

De mannen maken de wetten [...]. Ik heb naar hen geluisterd, naar hun verhalen over de wereld, over mijzelf vooral [...]. Achter de mannen stonden steeds weer andere mannen en dat waren de mannen waarvan zij de wetten hadden geleerd. Ik luisterde en ik at. Ze gaven me altijd te eten, de mannen.⁵²⁷

Men make the laws [...] . I have listened to them, to their stories about the world, about myself especially [...] . Behind the men stood other men and those were the men from

⁵²¹ Palmen, *De Wetten*, 175.

⁵²² Palmen, *The Laws*, 177-178.

⁵²³ Palmen, *De Wetten*, 176.

⁵²⁴ Palmen, *The Laws*, 178.

⁵²⁵ Palmen, *De Wetten*, 176.

⁵²⁶ Palmen, *The Laws*, 178.

⁵²⁷ Palmen, *De Wetten*, 184-185.

whom they had learned the laws. I listened and ate. They always gave me food, the men did.⁵²⁸

Men offered her their own philosophical worldviews as rich delicacies for her to learn and use to smother out her own. But if one sees through this scheme, one can remove the blinders these devils have placed over one's eyes and begin to see properly. Marie believes, however, that it is too late for her; she cannot save herself. She presents herself as the martyr, believing her message can bring others to recognize the laws they are force-fed and strike a balance between personal philosophy and the philosophy of others. Society cannot exist without the exchange of ideas, but this exchange is not to be without inclusion of all viewpoints.

Conclusion

A recent project in Nijmegen is attempting to point to the continuing relevance of Mariken in literature and life, a relevance that Martien Beversluis noted in the final words of his play. The project, "Allemaal van Nimwegen" (All from Nijmegen), sees Mariken and her struggles as the face of the city Nijmegen and as universal struggles. Mariken has been reborn in Nijmegen in the form of theater productions and writing workshops to bring the community together, making her story one for everybody. Marjolein Pieks wrote the following poem in March of 2015 as a part of these endeavors and it points to Mariken's story as one that never disappears but is constantly changing and relevant to everyone:

Allemaal van Nimwegen

Allemaal zijn we onschuldig, allemaal.

We lijden, we verleiden en we worden verleid
en allemaal zijn we wanhopig maar ook bevlogen
want allemaal herinneren we met name onszelf
allemaal komen we ergens en nergens vandaan

⁵²⁸ Palmén, *The Laws*, 187-188.

we voelen de wraak en de woede
en we delen allemaal het verlangen
naar het grote avontuur
allemaal zoeken we de bevrijding
van het nietige dat ons allemaal bindt
allemaal zijn we onschuldig. We gaan en gingen op reis
want we vergaven onszelf of zouden dat nog doen.

We kregen allemaal een andere naam
en iedereen bleef altijd allemaal Mariken
allemaal van Nimwegen⁵²⁹

All from Nijmegen

We are all innocent, everyone.

We suffer, we seduce, and we are seduced
and all of us are desperate, but also inspired
because we all remember ourselves by name
we all come from somewhere and nowhere
we feel revenge and rage
and we all share the longing
for great adventure
we all seek liberation
from the nothingness that binds us all
we are all innocent. We all go and went on trips
because we forgave ourselves or would do that still.

We all received another name
and everyone remained all Mariken
all from Nijmegen.

Mariken's story is still present, and, as Pieks tries to show, and as Beversluis attempts as well, a part of history that continues. Pieks views Mariken's story as the universal experience of humanity, filled with both pain and joy. For her, every human is on a journey to fill the void that binds us, sometimes to our detriment. Forgiveness is necessary to right this transgression against ourselves and the journey must continue as a constant process of being human, or, as Pieks puts it, being Mariken.

⁵²⁹ Marjolein Pieks, "Allemaal van Nimwegen" (2015), <http://www.allemaalvannimwegen.nl/>.

For five hundred years, the story of Mariken of Nijmegen has been used as an outlet to discuss particular paths to redemption out of the depths of transgression. Generally, what the devil offers to Mariken as his tool of seduction has been the marker of this transgression. While the tale remains the same for the most part—a young girl sells her soul to the devil and then repents, achieving some form of salvation—the path to redemption does not. Each Mariken faces a different devil and each devil has a different offer. These offers range from learning to sexual pleasure and from critical thinking to transcending limitations. At times, these transgressions are overturned and righted with redemption in a new way of life; at times, they are maintained as examples of how a particular author believes life should be lived and in these cases redemption comes through returning to the norm. The devils are seducers, offering their Mariken her heart's desire. Over time, Mariken's story moves from a religious context of violating eternal law to an interrogation of society's understanding of what is transgressive, sometimes in an attempt to effect change. Her story discusses religion and gender roles, both questioning and maintaining the two, but always finding salvation in the end.

CHAPTER 5: FAUSTUS AND HIS SCHOLARS

Vying with the intoxicating club scene for customers, the antiquated and run-down traveling Imaginarium of Doctor Parnassus with its simple props and medieval feel has little chance of attracting parties interested in what it has to offer. Doctor Parnassus cannot seem to connect with his intended audience and most passers-by could care less about the power of the imagination, instead drawn to baser pasttimes. What onlookers do not know about, however, is the series of wagers the Faustian Doctor Parnassus has made with Mr. Nick, the devil, which has transformed the Imaginarium into a battleground for souls. Doctor Parnassus believes in the power of the imagination to win over souls and that stories cannot be stopped; Mr. Nick is, however, more certain of the carnal nature of humans and bets that baser things will bring more souls to hell than the enlightenment that imagination and stories offer. Marked by the death of an actor mid-filming, *The Imaginarium of Doctor Parnassus* is much more than the last film of Heath Ledger; it is a plea for meeting the changing needs of audiences and shows the power and necessity of adaptation. And it is the Faustian bargain that is at the heart of this 2009 film, still relevant, yet updated for the time at hand. Faust's story cannot be stopped and it continues, this time with the Faust-figure caught in a series of wagers with the devil, pitting the power of stories against carnal desires. Faced with the loss of his daughter, Dr. Parnassus has two days to use the power of the imagination to win these souls and prove that humankind is, indeed, capable of a life seeking more than ephemeral pleasures.

It is by chance the troupe stumbles upon Tony, a disgraced charity worker they found hanging by a noose and rescued. Tony's suggestions for updating the show offer hope for Valentina's salvation.⁵³⁰

TONY: Well, I've been thinking, sir, umm...you know, it's quite obvious that people, well you know, not many people are attracted to the show.

DR. PARNASSUS: Oh, attracted to the show much?

TONY: Well, forgive me but I have a couple of solutions to your problems. One, I was thinking of, you know, changing the style of the show. And two, I would, umm, change the audience perhaps.

DR. PARNASSUS: Change?

TONY: Yeah, you know, but in my opinion I'd change both. You know, that's just me. And I--

PERCY Change the show!? Who the frigging hell do you think you are?

TONY: Don't be so afraid of change, mate. The fact of the matter is: this show, the stage, it's just not, yeah, I don't know what the word is, you know, it's not...

DR. PARNASSUS: Modern?

TONY: Modern. Yes. You see people want modern. They want, you know, like, like this, see this. This here, this is contemporary. This is what people want. I know this world, trust me, alright. Now with you and your mind control thingamajigamy, you know, we need to meet the public halfway. You know, the right public in the right part of town.

Tony's ideas revolutionize the Imaginarium, making it relevant and palatable to its new target audience. Instead of a seedy sideshow working the streets for its next partaker of enlightenment, Parnassus sets up shop on an exclusive shopping street in London teeming with rich, unfulfilled clientele. Marketed as "more exclusive than ever," the Imaginarium offers orgasmic rebirth from consumerism into a purified life of happiness. A few modifications make the show relevant for

⁵³⁰ Given that there are various versions of the script, I have chosen to transcribe the final film version as closely as possible to reflect the final version, and not one particular script revision. Terry Gilliam and Charles McKeown, *The Imaginarium of Doctor Parnassus*, directed by Terry Gilliam (Culver City: Sony Pictures Home Entertainment, 2010), DVD.

the modern viewer. Since its first printing in 1587, the Faust story has undergone a number of transformations, each time to make it a better fit for the time and audience at hand.

Since Johann Spies' *Historia von D. Johann Fausten* hit the market, the Faust character has remained an obsession to which the many reworkings and adaptations attest, continuing to be important for modern literature. The character of Faust has not, however, always remained the same. In fact, the Faust-figure evolves over time, each Faust a testament to the time period from which he emerges. As Tony points out, things ought to be done a little differently to meet the needs of the changing times and audiences. Just as the Doctor Parnassus points to a lost generation consumed by material goods and base desires instead of true enlightenment, so the other Fausts point to their own societal problems. From his beginnings as a prideful man seeking to become a devil to a Faust transformed by an alien race, the character of Faust takes on many forms and functions. His character is constantly altered, his motivations diversify, and his relationship with the devil and terms of the pact change. When discussing the story of Faust, however, two words appear almost inevitably: knowledge and the devil. These terms are used so often to describe Faust that they have become the focus of most scholarly research on the Faust figure. The ease with which Faust and his relationship to the devil are linked to knowledge is rarely questioned and is often the starting point for any discussion of a Faust figure.

This chapter will consider various adaptations, spin-offs and reworkings of Johann Spies' *Historia von D. Johann Fausten*, including the seventeenth century (but likely earlier) ballad, *The Just Judgment of God shew'd upon Dr. John Faustus*, *Das Faustbuch des Christlich Meynenden* (1725), Johann Wolfgang Goethe's *Faust: Der Tragödie Erster Teil* (1808), Frank Wedekind's *Franziska* (1912), and Michael Swanwick's *Jack Faust* (1997), examining the manner in which each text portrays the devil and transgression and to what end. While these

texts by no means exhaust the Faust material written over the past 400 years, they illustrate well the transformations that Faust has undergone over this time and contain a clear devil and an explicit pact. While knowledge plays a role to varying degrees in these texts, this chapter will argue that the key to these texts is the transgression embodied by the devil and consequently Faust.

The Just Judgment of God shew'd upon Dr. John Faustus gives voice only to Faustus himself, as he hopes to persuade others not to follow in his footsteps to the depressing chords of “Fortune my Foe.”⁵³¹ The *Faustbuch des Christlich Meynenden* is the last in the long line of early modern German Faust re-workings. It condenses the text down to a didactic core, concerned solely with transgression as a pursuit of the devil and subsequently worldly pleasures. Goethe’s *Faust* marks a break with the didactic Christian tradition, as knowledge finds its source in transcendence, not the devil, and the strivings for the ultimate knowledge and experience are deemed pointless in their inability to be fulfilled. In Wedekind’s *Franziska* it is the promise of self-knowledge that seals the pact, albeit this knowledge is never attained for the devil is a conman and Franziska is forced back into the gender role she so desperately wants to overcome. Swanwick’s *Jack Faust* is concerned with a number of transgressions, running the gamut from gender to technology, but ultimately paints society’s lack of critical thinking as the supreme transgression, and one that will lead to its downfall if not kept in check.

The Early Modern Faustus

Although most scholarly literature discusses Spies’ 1587 *Historia von D. Johann Fausten*, the early modern Faustbooks were prolific. Translations, reworkings, reprintings, and adaptations flourished well into the eighteenth century. As Marina Münkler argues in her monograph that extensively details these early modern texts:

⁵³¹ This was a popular tune used in English ballads that lamented someone’s fate.

Die überlieferten Prosaromane über Fausts Leben und Sterben, deren Reihe mit einem nicht überlieferten Faustbuch beginnt, auf das die Wolfenbütteler Handschrift und die *editio princeps* von 1587 zurückgehen, und mit dem *Faustbuch des Christlich Meynenden* von 1725 endet, tradierten nicht einfach den selben Stoff. Vielmehr haben Ihre Autoren sich implizit wie explizit an ihren Vorgängern abgearbeitet, haben ausgelassen und hinzugefügt, erweitert und gekürzt, substituirt und korrigiert, modifiziert und kommentiert. Kurzum: Sie haben Texte transformiert, nicht einen Stoff tradiert.⁵³²

The surviving prose novels about Faust's life and death, that began with a no-longer-extant Faust Book, which is the source for the Wolfenbüttel manuscript and the first printed edition of 1587, and ended with the 1725 *Faustbuch des Christlich Meynenden*, did not simply pass down the same material. Rather, their authors worked both implicitly and explicitly with their predecessors; they left out and added, expanded and shortened, substituted and corrected, modified and commented. In short, they transformed texts; they did not pass down material.

Each of these texts transformed Faust matter in different ways and for different purposes, his story ever evolving. Yet to be discussed here are the ballad of Faustus, *The Just Judgment of God shew'd upon Dr. John Faustus*, the extant prints of which date to the late 1600s, and the final early modern Faust text, the *Faustbuch des Christlich Meynenden*.⁵³³ The English ballad would have been distributed widely as cheap broadside prints, much in the way of the Mariken ballad. It offers a simple didactic message to the listener: do not forsake your faith. The *Faustbuch des Christlich Meynenden* too shows the persistence of the Faust material in its religious-didactic form, similar to Mariken's continuance in the Jesuit tradition and printed just twelve years before Bovio's *Marianischer Gnaden- und Wunderschatz*. Both texts provide ample material for considering the transforming Faust material and the manner in which the devil and transgression were viewed at the time of their creation, in both cases with the devil as the usurper of God's rightful place in man's heart, but with transgression in Marlowe defined as the seeking of knowledge outside of man's bounds and in the *Faustbuch des Christlich Meynenden* as the pursuit of fleeting fleshly pleasures.

⁵³² Münkler, *Narrative Ambiguität*, 14.

⁵³³ For a thorough description of the early modern Faust tradition, see Münkler, *Narrative Ambiguität*.

Printed in the late 1600s and addressed to Christian men, this ballad is Faustus' personal warning to anyone tempted to pursue magic and thus forsake Christ. Faustus recounts his life and the circumstances of his pact with the devil, after which he was damned to hell. The ballad is accompanied by a woodcut showing Faustus summoning the devil, reminding readers to steer clear of this path.

Figure 10: English Faust Ballad



Bodleian Libraries, Ballad - Roud Number: V28729⁵³⁴

Faustus states that he sold the devil his body and soul “[t]o live in Pleasure, and do what things I would,”⁵³⁵ a far cry from a search for knowledge. He passed his time “with much Delight” and “wrought such Wonders by [his] Magick Skill, [t]hat all the world may talk of *Faustus* still.”⁵³⁶

⁵³⁴ The original scan of the broadside ballad can be found online at <http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/search/subject/Faust,%20d.%201540>.

⁵³⁵ *The Just Judgment of God shew'd upon Dr. John Faustus*, <http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/view/edition/24132>.

⁵³⁶ *Ibid.*

As his hours dwindle to an end, Faustus finds that he cannot repent: “Faith was gone.”⁵³⁷ Faustus had gone too far to turn back and all that was left were his “Brains cast against the Wall; both Arms and Legs in Pieces [...], Bowels gone.”⁵³⁸ His final words drive his point home:

You Conjurors and damned Witches all,
Example take by my unhappy Fall:
Give not your Souls and Bodies unto Hell,
See that the smallest Hair you do not sell.

But hope in Christ his Kingdom you may gain,
Where you shall never fear such mortal Pain;
Forsake the Devil and all his crafty Ways,
Embrace true Faith that never more decays.⁵³⁹

In almost emblematic form, this ballad provides a multimedial experience for its audience, combining image, text, and music to promote its religious didacticism, making it accessible to both the literate and illiterate. Here the title points to the just punishment Faustus received for his ungodly actions, summarized by the sole image on the sheet. Letting the devil in was his mistake, and he paid dearly for it. The somber tune highlights the seriousness of Faustus’ sins and the text offers a simple solution: follow Christ, forsake the devil, and so escape hell for heaven.

Printed in 1725 in Frankfurt and Leipzig by an anonymous Christian believer, the *Faustbuch des Christlich Meynenden* condenses the Faust story to a mere forty-six pages. This pales in comparison to the almost 700 pages that both Georg Widmann and Nikolaus Pfitzer each devoted to Faust’s cause. This leaves little room for the devil’s details, but the author does not neglect his starring role. The title page promises a newly redone, shortened version of Faust’s life story that is a friendly warning to the sinner. The preface states that it will either confirm the

⁵³⁷ Ibid.

⁵³⁸ Ibid.

⁵³⁹ Ibid.

story of Faust with unobjectionable proof, or, if this is not possible, show the falsity of the same more clearly to the world (the narrator remarks that the latter is his true aim).⁵⁴⁰ This Faust is able to attend school thanks to his rich uncle, and if it were not for the devilish practice of the papal darkness before the Lutheran reformation, Faust would never have been interested in learning of the devil.⁵⁴¹ He changes from pursuing theology to a doctoral degree in medicine and manages to hide his “gottlose Absicht”⁵⁴² (godless intent) until the death of his uncle. He inherits his uncle’s riches and gives himself over to all “Wollüsten”⁵⁴³ (lusts), and enters a pact with the devil to attain happiness in this world.⁵⁴⁴ In return for forsaking God and all that is God’s, the devil promises him “die gantze Zeit seines Lebens alle nur ersinnliche Lust verschaffen und zu dem erfahrensten und berühmtesten Mann machen”⁵⁴⁵ (to supply him with every thinkable desire for his entire life and to make him into the most experienced and famous man).

After Faust writes out the contract in his blood, the narrator remarks that he does not know if Faust saw the warning “o homo fuge” (O man, flee) appear on his left hand three times, but God surely would have done everything possible to stop him from joining ranks with the devil, if only Faust had not already withstood God.⁵⁴⁶ The devil barely gives Faust a moment to think about what he is doing before he takes the “kaum trocken gewordene Obligation”⁵⁴⁷ (hardly dried bond). The narrator describes Faust as having a “verstockte und nunmehr an

⁵⁴⁰ *Des durch die ganze Welt berufenen Erz-Schwarz-Künstlers und Zauberers Dr. Johann Fausts, Mit dem Teufel aufgerichtetes Bündniß, abentheuerlichen Lebens-Wandel, und mit Schrecken genommenes Ende / von einem Christlich Meynenden* (Frankfurt am Main, 1725), 3.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid, 4.

⁵⁴² Ibid., 5.

⁵⁴³ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid., 8.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid., 9.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid.

Gottes Gnade zweifelnde Hertz”⁵⁴⁸ (obdurate heart that doubted God’s grace), unable to recognize God’s “unbeschreibliche Barmherzigkeit”⁵⁴⁹ (indescribable mercy) despite the many “Reitzungen und Lockungen des Heiligen Geistes”⁵⁵⁰ (stimulations and enticements of the Holy Ghost). Faust fulfills his desires with riches and lavishness, and his dwelling space is described as a “bezauberte Lust-Revier”⁵⁵¹ (enchanted lust district) that only his closest acquaintances were able to view. This paradise that knew no winter is where Faust spends his days, clearly the result of “übernatürlicher Wirckung”⁵⁵² (supernatural forces).

Quickly changing the subject, the narrator notes that he wants to present the reader with a few comic episodes from Faust’s life before moving on to his horrible end: “Nun wollen wir, ehe wir zu dem erschrecklichen Ende seines Lebens eilen, etliche lächerliche Possen von ihm anführen.”⁵⁵³ (Now we want to present a number of humorous tricks from him before we hurry on to his terrible end.) What follow are a number of episodes in which Faustus tricks and blinds his audience, becoming famous in the land through his magic.⁵⁵⁴ With this notoriety came warnings to repent from some audience members, but, as the narrator states, he was not repentant or “so würde er dem H. Geist besser gefolget, und den neuen Versuchungen des Teufels stärckern Widerstand gethan haben”⁵⁵⁵ (he would have better followed the Holy Spirit and had a stronger resistance to the temptations of the devil). This is an interesting change from the 1587 *Historia*, where it is the Holy Bible that Faust chose to ignore, not the Holy Spirit, likely due to

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid., 11.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁵¹ Ibid., 12.

⁵⁵² Ibid.

⁵⁵³ Ibid., 13.

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid., 17.

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid.

the rising influence of the Pietist focus on the power of the Holy Spirit in the eighteenth century.⁵⁵⁶

His life filled with worldly pleasures continues as Faust performs his magic. Unfortunately, he falls in love with a young girl, for, according to the narrator, “Bey einem so grossen epicurischen Leben konte es freylich nicht anders seyn; Faust musste wieder sein Versprechen einen Appetit nach Weiber-Fleische bekommen.”⁵⁵⁷ (With such an epicurean life it could not have gone any other way; despite his promises, Faust had to gain an appetite for womanly flesh.) Lucifer takes pity on him that he cannot enjoy the fruits of marriage and sends Faust the beautiful Helen of Troy as a bedmate with whom he conceives a son. This Helen is revealed to be a succubus and the birth of his son a “blosse Verblendung”⁵⁵⁸ (mere illusion) but Faust knew this already and still loved the devil “fast mehr als väterlich”⁵⁵⁹ (almost more than a father).

One month before the twenty-four-year mark, Faust begins to truly regret what he has done, “wie er um so wenige Zeit, ja um einen einigen Augenblick gegen die Ewigkeit zu rechnen, die himmlische Freude verschertzet”⁵⁶⁰ (how he for so little time, yes, for just a moment, set himself against eternity, ridiculing heavenly joy). As his final day nears and he knows he must die, Faust gathers some of his students and close acquaintances and reveals to them how it is that he is about to enter into eternal damnation:

⁵⁵⁶ See Roger E. Olson and Christian T. Collins Winn, *Reclaiming Pietism: Retrieving an Evangelical Tradition* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2015), 90. See also F. Ernest Stoeffler, *German Pietism during the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1973).

⁵⁵⁷ *Christlich Meynenden*, 22.

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 24.

Daß er zwar von Jugend auff mit einem herrlichen Ingenio begabt, aber damit nicht zu frieden gewesen, sondern viel höher steigen und andere übertreffen wollen, weswegen er sich auff die schwartze Kunst gelegt, in welcher er mit der Zeit so hoch gekommen, daß er einen unter den allergelehrtesten Geistern erlanget. Jedoch solche Vermessenheit sey ihm zu lauter Unglück ausgeschlagen, und zu einen solchen Fall, daß er wie Lucifer aus dem Himmel verstossen worden.⁵⁶¹

That he was gifted with a magnificent mind from youth on, but was never satisfied with it, but wanted to climb higher and surpass others. This is why he set his eyes on black magic, with which he went so high, that he became one of the most learned spirits. However such overconfidence became his downfall, and such a fall that he was tossed out of heaven like Lucifer.

Faust presents his downfall rather differently than the narrator, attributing it to a desire to be as learned as the spirits, not in order to enjoy a life of worldly pleasure.

The *Faustbuch des Christlich Meynenden* does not rely on the title page or the preface to provide the reader with directions for how the text is to be read and interpreted. The narrator is, very vocal and adamant about what he considers Faust's transgression to be and how the reader can avoid this transgression. Faust trades an eternity with God for moments of earthly pleasure with the devil, and these moments of pleasure are little more than illusion. The narrator displays Faust's hardened heart and unrepentant stance during the comic episodes, showing not a man becoming like the devil, but one fully separated from the grace of God. Transgression is not so much taught as the pursuit of the devil, but a permanent turn from God out of which a pursuit of the devil and the earthly flows.

Faust in the Nineteenth Century

The earliest forms of Goethe's venture into the Faust material were developed in the mid-1770s, while the ballad form of Mariken was still being circulated, and approximately 50 years after the last strictly religious early modern Faust was printed. Goethe's *Faust: Der Tragödie*

⁵⁶¹ Ibid., 29.

Erster Teil,⁵⁶² first published in 1808, is primarily concerned with two questions—the limits of human knowledge and the limits of human experience. After opening with the “Vorspiel auf dem Theater” (Prelude in the Theater) in which two different approaches to performance are discussed, the scene switches to the “Prolog im Himmel” (Prologue in Heaven), showing the wager between God and Mephistopheles for Faust’s soul. The subsequent action is episodic, detailing Faust’s boredom and disappointment with his studies, his pact with Mephistopheles, his love of Margarete after imbibing a magical love potion and the havoc he wreaks on her and her family by this love, the events of Walpurgisnacht, his attempts to rescue Gretchen from execution, her salvation, and his being whisked away by Mephistopheles in the last moments of the play. Faust spends his time in pursuit of something meaningful, be it knowledge or experience, only to find nothing. He is constantly striving towards knowledge or experience, but the striving brings him no closer to his goal.

The wager between God and Mephistopheles is of importance for understanding how knowledge functions in this text and its relation to the devil. Mephistopheles explains to God that his servant Faust serves him “auf besondere Weise. Nicht irdisch ist des Toren Trank noch Speise”⁵⁶³ (in a curious fashion. Not of this earth the madman’s drink or ration).⁵⁶⁴ Faust has given himself over to magic in search of the limits of knowledge, not concerned with the fact that he may be reaching beyond his bounds. The wager is simple: Mephistopheles believes he can turn Faust from his pursuits by showing him what the devil has to offer, so bringing Faust over to

⁵⁶² For the purposes of this dissertation and this chapter, I am only concerned with the events surrounding a pact with the devil and the portrayal of the devil himself. These elements are only in the first part of Goethe’s *Faust* and this is why the second part will not be discussed.

⁵⁶³ Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Faust: Der Tragödie Erster Teil* (Stuttgart: Reclam 2000) 11.

⁵⁶⁴ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Faust*, trans. Walter Arndt, ed. Cyrus Hamlin (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2001), 10.

his side. God, however, knows better, for “Es irrt der Mensch so lang er strebt”⁵⁶⁵ (Man ever errs the while he strives).⁵⁶⁶ It is human nature to strive, but striving is always pointless, a mistake. Mephistopheles is fully convinced that he will force Faust to enjoy one of his moments of senseless strivings, and thus win the wager: “Staub soll er fressen, und mit Lust”⁵⁶⁷ (Dust he shall swallow, aye, and love it).⁵⁶⁸ The scene switches to Faust, alone and lamenting his fruitless studies. He has mastered learning and has great knowledge, yet he is no smarter than before, learning nothing more than “dass wir nichts wissen können”⁵⁶⁹ (there is nothing we can know).⁵⁷⁰ It is because of this that he has turned to magic, Faust states, “dass ich erkenne was die Welt im Innersten zusammenhält”⁵⁷¹ (so I perceive the inmost force that bonds the very universe). Faust is seeking a revelation of the secrets of nature that he cannot find in books or human learning and that he hopes he can achieve with the help of the devil.

When Mephistopheles first appears, Faust still has not given up his epistemological quest, which requires some effort on the part of the devil. He provides Faust with pleasant distraction, a dream filled with illusion. In their next conversation, Faust has a very different outlook. He has given up on knowledge and now seeks from Mephistopheles a moment of pleasure so great that he wishes to linger in the experience: “Kannst du mich mit Genuss betriegen; Das sei für mich der letzte Tag”⁵⁷² (when with indulgence you can gull me, let that day be the last for me).⁵⁷³ He

⁵⁶⁵ Goethe, *Faust*, 11.

⁵⁶⁶ Arndt, Goethe's *Faust*, 10.

⁵⁶⁷ Goethe, *Faust*, 12.

⁵⁶⁸ Arndt, Goethe's *Faust*, 11.

⁵⁶⁹ Goethe, *Faust*, 13.

⁵⁷⁰ Arndt, Goethe's *Faust*, 12.

⁵⁷¹ Goethe, *Faust*, 13.

⁵⁷² Goethe, *Faust*, 48.

⁵⁷³ Arndt, Goethe's *Faust*, 45.

promises Mephistopheles “Das Streben [s]einer ganzen Kraft”⁵⁷⁴ (my utmost striving’s fullest use)⁵⁷⁵ for he abhors the knowledge he so fervently sought before. He views these strivings as in vain, now giving himself over to the realm of experience. After Faust departs, Mephistopheles mocks him, because now that Faust has turned from the pursuit of knowledge, he is in the devil’s grasp:

Verachte nur Vernunft und Wissenschaft,
Des Menschen allerhöchste Kraft,
Lass nur in Blend- und Zauberwerken
Dich von dem Lügengeist bestärken,
So hab ich dich schon unbedingt –
Ihm hat das Schicksal einen Geist gegeben,
Der ungebändigt immer vorwärts dringt,
Und dessen übereiltes Streben
Der Erde Freuden überspringt.
Den schlepp ich durch das wilde Leben,
Durch flache Unbedeutenheit,
Er soll mir zappeln, starren, kleben,
Und seiner Unersättlichkeit
Soll Speis und Trank vor gier’gen Lippen schweben;
Er wird Erquickung sich umsonst erflehn,
Und hätt er sich auch nicht dem Teufel übergeben,
Er müßte doch zugrunde gehn!⁵⁷⁶

Go, spurn intelligence and science,
Man’s lodestar and supreme reliance,
Be furthered by the liar-in-chief
In works of fraud and make-believe,
And I shall have you dead to rights.
Fate has endowed him with a forward-driving
Impetuousness that reaches past all sights,
And which, precipitately striving,
Would overleap the earth’s delights.
Through dissipation I will drag him,
Through shallow insignificance,
I’ll have him sticking, writhing, flagging,
And for his parched incontinence
Have food and drink suspended at lip level;

⁵⁷⁴ Goethe, *Faust*, 49-50.

⁵⁷⁵ Arndt, Goethe’s *Faust*, 46.

⁵⁷⁶ Goethe, *Faust*, 52.

In vain will he be yearning for relief,
And had he not surrendered to the devil,
He still must needs have come to grief!⁵⁷⁷

Mephistopheles believes he can get Faust to abandon his striving with trivial experiences of momentary bliss. Yet Faust is never satisfied with the experiences he is offered, becoming just as bored of them as he became of knowledge. Goethe's *Faust* is fixated on both the epistemological and the experiential, but knowledge is not linked to the devil, instead it is linked to transcendence, to becoming like God. Striving to surpass both the limits of knowledge and experience is presented as fruitless, a striving that will never be fulfilled or satisfied.

First published in the *Bredasche Courant* in 1839, *Faust op Waardenburg* was written by Ottho Gerhard Heldring, a Dutch preacher and author. Heldring was also the spiritual adviser for the *Geldersche Volksalmanak*, which he regularly contributed to under the pseudonym Meister Maorten Baordman. His writing, often in the Liemers dialect,⁵⁷⁸ was simple and for the people. He spent a great deal of time caring for the poor and creating safe homes for prostitutes and women. Although raised a Pietist, Heldring was concerned about the focus on good works as a part of Christianity, preaching instead justification by faith. Heldring was also an early leader of the Dutch temperance movement. In 1842, Heldring reworked his original version into verse form and published it in the *Geldersche Volksalmanak*. Describing the reach of the Dutch almanac, Frijhoff and Spies believe the estimate of one in four households owning the yearly almanac in the late-seventeenth century is on the low-end:

No other form of printed material would therefore have contributed so much to the general baggage of moral and religious insights, medical information, historical

⁵⁷⁷ Arndt, Goethe's *Faust*, 49.

⁵⁷⁸ Liemers is a dialect spoken in the Dutch province of Gelderland. The dialect has been influenced greatly by West Low German.

knowledge, and fictional and non-fiction stories and anecdotes which evolved into something resembling a common Dutch culture.⁵⁷⁹

By the mid-nineteenth century, the almanac would be an integral part of many more households, and that Faust was appropriated and transformed into a Dutch phenomenon in the 1840s is interesting to say the least. Faust is made Dutch just as Mariken is returning to literary fame, and it is no wonder his story is rather short-lived as a Dutch tale. This is not to say that Faust did not enjoy a rich literary reception in the Netherlands, for he certainly did, as Robbie Dell’Aira and Feico Hoekstra have shown in their monograph *Faustius: een geschiedenis van Faust in Nederland*. In fact, three Dutch cities claim Faust as one of their historical attractions, but it is Waardenburg that has a published tale to accompany the legend and castle where Faust’s blood splatters can still be seen in the tower from which the devil dragged him down to his death.

From his entrance into Dutch literature in 1592 with the translation of the second printing of Spies’ *Historia*, Faust was there to stay. Most interesting is, however, his run as a Dutch legend. *Faust op Waardenburg* comes at a time when literature in the Netherlands was

mobilized as the pre-eminent medium for airing and propagating patriotic feeling, but [...] was also expected to serve as the cornerstone of cultural identity, to express what was considered to be the unique Dutch national character. Fearful lest native literature be infected by alien elements, people were suspicious of foreign influences and preferred encapsulation within their native literary tradition to inspiration from the outside. The emphasis on and protection of the specifically indigenous continued to pervade thinking about literature.⁵⁸⁰

And so Faust became Dutch in origin for a short period of time and widely read in Gelderland, which shares a border with Germany.

The Dutch Faust’s story begins, much like Mariken’s, with a journey, but this time it is the journey of the author. The author is being taken in a wagon to Bommel and passes the

⁵⁷⁹ Willem Frijhoff and Marijke Spies, *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective: 1650, hard-won unity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 262.

⁵⁸⁰ Theo Hermans, ed., *A Literary History of the Low Countries* (Rochester: Camden House, 2009), 372.

Waardenburg castle on the way. The driver informs him of the history of the castle, for it is where “doctor FAUST zijne grootheid beleefde, en ginds het venster, waar JOOST hem bij de haren doorsleepte”⁵⁸¹ (Doctor Faust experienced his greatness, and over there the window out of which Joost dragged him by the hair). Joost is the replacement for Mephostophiles and is a Dutch name often used to refer to the devil, although the reason for this is unknown and debated. The journeyer asks to hear more, and Jasper, the driver, sings him a song about Faust. This Faust is Waardenburg born and bred, and his fame has spread throughout Europe. He spends his time steeped in books, searching for the philosopher’s stone. Exhausted from his long and fruitless search, Faust calls on the devil. The devil appears and the song takes a moment to warn against him:

Legt ‘t nooit dus met den duivel aan,
Want, hoe ‘t ook eerst moog’ vloten,
Hoe ‘t alles naar uw’ wensch moog’ gaan,
Hij sal u steeds bedotten.⁵⁸²

Don’t get involved with the devil,
Because, however it first might go smoothly,
However it might go according to your wishes,
He will still fool you.

The window in the tower is a constant reminder of the “harde les”⁵⁸³ (hard lesson) that Faust learned. The stipulations of the contract are different here as well. Faust is to take Joost as his servant for seven years, and Joost will do all that he desires. After this time is up, Faust becomes the property of Joost. The pact is signed in blood and Joost’s servitude begins as he brings to Faust’s castle in Waardenburg “al wat er mooi was, kostbaar”⁵⁸⁴ (everything that was pretty and

⁵⁸¹ Ottho Gerhard Heldring, “Faustus up Waardenburg,” in *Geldersche Volks-Almanak voor het jaar 1842* (Arnhem: G. van Eldik Thieme, 1842), 165.

⁵⁸² *Ibid.*, 167.

⁵⁸³ *Ibid.*, 168.

⁵⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 169.

expensive). Faust always has good food that he never cooks and whatever he wishes appears just as soon as he thinks it. He throws parties with French and German wine, food from London or Paris. If he served “vaderlandsche spijs,” (national foods) it was called “zeldzaam”⁵⁸⁵ (strange). He travels the world in a covered wagon drawn by four white horses.

The reader is addressed once more in the song, reminded that these foreign luxuries are but fleeting pleasures:

“O! denkt gij, wat gelukkig mensch
Was FAUST toch in die dagen!”
“Och! ging ‘t mij ook eens zoo naar wensch!
Had ik slechts ‘t al voor vragen!”
Maar, vrienden, ‘t gaat onwrikbaar vast
Dat eenmal ‘t einde draagt den last.⁵⁸⁶

“Oh! You think, what a lucky man
was Faust in those days!”
“Alas! If only it went my way once in a while!
If I only had to ask!”
But friends, it is irrefutable
That he will bear the burden in the end.

After this Faust spends his time messing with the devil, with whatever impossible tasks he thought up. He might take a spoonful of barley and throw it among the thorns for Joost to collect. Other times Faust would throw a sack of flour in water for Joost to bring back dry and clean, “zoo toch bepeinst hij dag aan dag, hoe hij den duivel plagen mag”⁵⁸⁷ (so he contemplated day after day how he might plague the devil). These exploits are even illustrated in the almanac:

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid., 170.

⁵⁸⁶ Ibid., 171.

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid., 172.

Figure 11: Faustus throwing flour into the water for Joost to collect.



Geldersche Volks-almanak (1842), between pages 172 and 173.

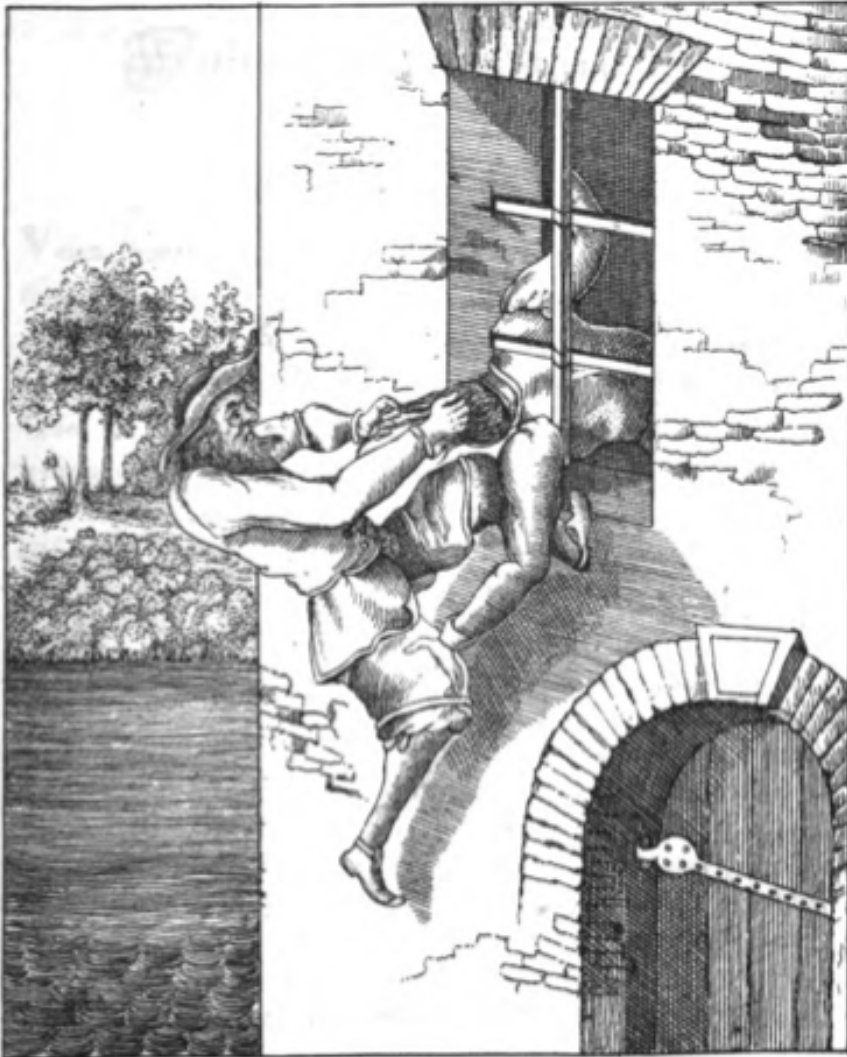
Four years long Faust plagued the devil and Joost had had enough. He confronts Faust, telling him he is sick of this nonsense and offers to void his contract if Faust relieves him of his duties. Faust, however, has no intention of letting Joost go. “’t accord moet gij naar eisch volbrengen. Ik houd u stiptlijk bij uw woord, ik wil geensins gehengen, dat van de zeven jaren wordt, een enkel uurtje zelfs gekort.”⁵⁸⁸ (You must complete the agreement as required. I will hold you to your word. I will by no means allow that from the seven years a single hour is cut short.) The driver

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid., 173.

even comments, reporting that some say Joost became so thin from Faust's antics that you could see straight through him.

So Joost served Faust those last three years, and the second his time was up he grabbed Faust by the hair and dragged him out the window, thus ending his career in ridiculous tasks:

Figure 12: Joost pulling Faustus through the window



Geldersche Volks-almanak (1842), between pages 174 and 175.

The last lines of the ballad describe Faust's fate, and it is not a pretty one:

Hij sleept FAUST naar de hellepoel.
Daar ligt hij nu te braden, [...]
't Loon van zijne euvel daden,
Want eens, 't zij voor of over 't graf,

Volgt zeker op de misdaad straf.⁵⁸⁹

He dragged Faust to the pits of hell,
There he lies now to roast, [...]
The wages for his evil deeds,
Because, be it before or after the grave,
Punishment surely follows misdeeds.

The trip has ended, made short by the recounting of Faust's tale, one in which both foreign luxuries and travel, as well as general mischief seem to be the punished sins. Although not particularly religious in nature despite being written by a preacher, the text is certainly moralizing, not wanting readers to covet or take the easy way out, for it generally ends poorly.

The Twentieth-Century Faust

The twentieth century boasts numerous adaptations of the Faust story. Too prolific in number, this section will focus on a handful of texts that are explicit in their link to Faust and his pact with the devil.⁵⁹⁰ Each text is clearly using the Faustian bargain to convey a message to the audience it intends to reach. By looking at these texts, it will become clear that the devil is a vehicle for discussing transgression and the state of the society at hand. These two texts address a myriad of transgressions, ranging from gender roles to technological advancement. They show well the manner in which Faust material is adapted for a modern audience, and the way in which these reworkings function, both as a testament to their times, as well as a guide for revising the definition of transgressive.

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid., 174.

⁵⁹⁰ Originally this dissertation included a discussion of Thomas Mann's *Doktor Faustus*, a modern reworking which draws heavily upon the 1587 *Historia*. I have, however, decided to exclude this piece from the current discussion for various reasons. Mann's devil is not physically present, nor is the pact explicit. In fact, the protagonist unwittingly enters into this pact and only realizes it later. While it is most certainly an important Faust adaptation, it would be better fitted in a chapter on the relationship between the devil and art, discussed with other works of a similar vein, such as Klaus Mann's *Mephisto* and Lode Baekelman's *Marieken van Nijmegen*.

Long interested in the Faust saga and pacts with the devil, it seems only fitting that Frank Wedekind would channel his fascination into his writing.⁵⁹¹ Wedekind's reworking of the Faust material was almost seventeen years in the making⁵⁹² and found itself in his 1911 *Franziska: Ein modernes Mysterium in fünf Akten*, which chronicles Franziska's search for herself outside the confinement of societally defined gender roles. It does not deal explicitly with knowledge in the sense that the previous texts do, but rather with a wish to form her identity apart from the societal role she is expected to play and so transgress the social norm. Franziska does not want to allow herself to be defined by social constructs and will go to any lengths to achieve this freedom. Wedekind conceived this drama as the story of a female Faust from the start and gathered much material on the Faust myth during the writing process.⁵⁹³ Franziska is driven by a desire for self-knowledge, seeking freedom and the enjoyment of life, two things she feels women cannot obtain.⁵⁹⁴ The insurance salesman Veit Kunz appears out of nowhere, offering her these two very things. What Veit Kunz offers Franziska is a con, for he merely dresses her as a man and marries her off to an unsuspecting woman who does not understand Franz's lack of physical affection and who kills herself when Franz's true nature is revealed. The drama ends with Franziska and her son Veitralf living free of the world of men and outside the institution of marriage that Franziska despises so greatly. Wedekind's play functions as a critique of socially constructed gender roles and uses the Faust material to bring these problems to light.

⁵⁹¹ See Doering, *Schwestern des Doktor Faust*, 250-258, for the history of his working with the Faust material.

⁵⁹² For more on this, see Artur Kutscher, *Frank Wedekind: sein Leben und seine Werke*, vol. 3 (New York: AMS Press, 1970), 114.

⁵⁹³ Doering, *Schwestern des Doktor Faust*, 250; Elke Auster Mühl, "Frank Wedekinds *Franziska* – ein weiblicher Faust?," in *Dazwischen zum transitorischen Denken in Literatur- und Kulturwissenschaft*, ed. Andreas Härter (Göttingen 2003) 79.

⁵⁹⁴ Frank Wedekind, *Franziska: Ein modernes Mysterium in fünf Akten*, in *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 6 (Munich: Georg Müller Verlag, 1920): 101-217, 119.

Franziska is concerned with learning who she is and even turns down a proposal of marriage at the age of eighteen, stating “ich möchte doch gerne erfahren, wer ich denn eigentlich bin. Wenn wir uns heute heiraten, dann erfahre ich in den nächsten zehn Jahren nur, wer du bist.”⁵⁹⁵ (I want to find out who I am. If we get married today, I’ll only spend the next ten years finding out who you are.)⁵⁹⁶ Marriage would inhibit Franziska’s ability to discover who she truly is, instead forcing her to discover who her husband is. Despite the fact she has lost her virginity to this man, who is now completely under her charm, Franziska reiterates the problem she sees in marriage: she would remain “ewig fremd”⁵⁹⁷ (a stranger)⁵⁹⁸ to herself. With a knock at her window, Franziska’s problems are solved. The “Sternenlenker”⁵⁹⁹ (manager to the stars)⁶⁰⁰ Veit Kunz offers to make her a singing star and give her anything she wants. Franziska requests “Freiheit—Lebensgenuß”⁶⁰¹ (freedom [...] the enjoyment of life).⁶⁰² But this is something that a woman can never experience; in reality, Franziska is asking to be a man, to achieve “Genußfähigkeit, Bewegungsfreiheit”⁶⁰³ (more pleasure than a woman can experience),⁶⁰⁴ which she believes will allow her to discover who she really is. While Kunz trains her to sing, she will be his lover and then he will allow her to live two years as a man with all the freedom and

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid., 114.

⁵⁹⁶ Frank Wedekind. *Franziska*. Adapted by Eleanor Brown from a translation by Philip Ward. Oberon Books: London, 1998. P 22

⁵⁹⁷ Wedekind, *Franziska*, 114.

⁵⁹⁸ Brown, *Franziska*, 22.

⁵⁹⁹ Wedekind, *Franziska*, 118.

⁶⁰⁰ Brown, *Franziska*, 26.

⁶⁰¹ Wedekind, *Franziska*, 119.

⁶⁰² Brown, *Franziska*, 26.

⁶⁰³ Wedekind, *Franziska*, 119.

⁶⁰⁴ Brown, *Franziska*, 26.

enjoyment that entails. After the two years are up, Franziska will return to him to be his “Weib” (wife), “Leibeigene” (chattel), and “Sklavin (slave)” for the rest of her life.⁶⁰⁵

In the next scene, “Franz” is living life as a man, performing art with whores and living the epicurean life. His package is complete with a wife to whom he never shows physical affection. When trying to explain his tendencies to seek elsewhere for sexual fulfillment, Franz argues with the same gender roles he earlier had fought to overcome:

Liebe Sophie, zwischen Ehebruch und Ehebruch sieht
Die Moral einen riesigen Unterschied.
Wir Männer treiben unsere Natur
Nicht zu Markte. Wir sind die Käufer nur.
Uns muß die Natur als Genuß genügen.
Das Bezahlen allein macht uns schon Vergnügen.
Bei euch Mädchen ist die Natur das Geschäft,
Bei dem ihr euere Lebensbestimmungen trifft.
Was für euch die Natur, ist für uns die Welt,
Die uns unter eiserner Zuchtrute hält.
Bei uns Männern ist Ehebruch ein Luxuszug,
Bei euch Weibern ist er Verrat und Betrug!⁶⁰⁶

Sophie, my darling, moral thinking finds
a world of difference between two kinds
of cheating. For us men, it's not a case
of driving nature to the market-place:
we are the buyers there. Our nature's just
a source of entertainment, and we must
work for the higher pleasures. But for you,
nature is business; it is what you do;
it shapes your destinies, as daughters, wives,
mothers. It is the World that rules *our* lives,
with iron discipline. Adultery, for us, is just a little luxury;
for you, it is the ultimate betrayal!⁶⁰⁷

Franziska cannot escape the reality of her female body, and no matter how good she is at playing the “male” role, she cannot stop herself from becoming pregnant. Even living as a man does not

⁶⁰⁵ Wedekind, *Franziska*, 121. Brown, *Franziska*, 27.

⁶⁰⁶ Wedekind, *Franziska*, 136.

⁶⁰⁷ Brown, *Franziska*, 36.

allow her to overcome socially constructed gender roles. Veit Kunz cannot solve her problems; in fact he makes them worse as he forces Franziska to play two roles—the male singer Franz and Kunz’s lover. She begins an affair with one of her fellow actors, Ralf Breitenbach, in hopes of freeing herself from Kunz. In a moment of pure artistic expression, Franziska dances in a wild frenzy, finally managing to leave the men in her life behind.⁶⁰⁸

The audience next sees Franziska four years later, living as a single mother with her son Veitralf, named after the two men who might have fathered him. Kunz and Breitenbach are still obsessed with her and both pay her visits with offers she refuses. The final scene is between Franziska and Karl Almer, an artist who paints an image of Franziska as the Madonna with young Veitralf in her arms. He wants nothing more than to spend his life “mit einem Weib, das ich bewundern und verehren darf”⁶⁰⁹ (with a woman I respect and admire),⁶¹⁰ and considers those do not know “die Grenzen ihrer Begabung”⁶¹¹ (their own limitations)⁶¹² or “die Grenzen der Welt”⁶¹³ (the limits of the world)⁶¹⁴ to be the unhappy people in the world. Almer, for one, knows his limitations and takes on the “male” role of protector, provider, and father. Although it remains unclear, it is implied that Franziska is swept back into a world of limitations, forced to play her role in the budding nuclear family. Karl takes Veitralf in his arms and tells him: “In dir

⁶⁰⁸ Wedekind, *Franziska*, 200.

⁶⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 216.

⁶¹⁰ Brown, *Franziska*, 84.

⁶¹¹ Wedekind, *Franziska*, 217.

⁶¹² Brown, *Franziska*, 85.

⁶¹³ Wedekind, *Franziska*, 217.

⁶¹⁴ Brown, *Franziska*, 85.

mag ein Befreier wiederkehren. Gedeihen wirst du, denn du bist geliebt!”⁶¹⁵ (May a deliverer come back in you. Blessed are you, for you are loved.)⁶¹⁶

Franziska’s attempt to transgress beyond the gender role society has created for her is thwarted as she is put back in her place. Wedekind presents a world in which the male and female have very specific roles they are expected to play and a world in which transgression of these roles fails. The “devil” is no more than a conman who takes advantage of the situation, never fully allowing Franziska to discover who she is and free herself from convention by forcing her to be his lover even while she lives as a man. Franziska is briefly able to free herself and live apart from the world of men, but it does not take long for a threat to her freedom to appear. It is not knowledge of the world that Wedekind’s Faust-figure seeks, but an understanding of self outside social constructs, knowledge that neither the devil nor Wedekind are able to provide, as Franziska is forced to conform to societal standards.

Michael Swanwick’s *Jack Faust*, published in 1997, is described on the book jacket as a “breathtaking and masterful new spin on Goethe’s story of a scholar who sells his soul to the Devil for the gift of unlimited knowledge.”⁶¹⁷ Swanwick does indeed offer a “new spin” on Goethe’s work, and details a very bleak outlook for the human race. In an interview with Nick Gevers, Swanwick describes his book as his “argument with Goethe.” He set out to accomplish two things: “to give Margarete her own voice and her own tragedy; and to revoke Faust’s salvation.” Swanwick sees his novel as a warning to society about rapidly advancing technology and describes his approach as follows:

Yes, and I have to say that compressing five hundred years of technological history into a single life-span was enormous fun. Doing so makes manifest a lot of trends of the past

⁶¹⁵ Wedekind, *Franziska*, 217.

⁶¹⁶ This is a personal translation because the religious undertones were completely removed in Brown’s adaptation.

⁶¹⁷ See front flap of book jacket of Michael Swanwick, *Jack Faust* (New York: Avon Books, 1997).

half-millennium, particularly the fact that a lot of our difficulties with this flood of new technologies arose from the fact that they came up too fast for people to react to them wisely. That's really a lot of what the novel is about—wisdom and its lack.

I'd argue, though, that because it's simply not possible to condense so much industrial development into a single lifetime (and I was deliberately vague about exactly how many years Faust spends in England, for exactly this reason), Jack Faust is not really an alternate history, but a fable. I meant it, in part, to be a cautionary tale for scientists. [...] I wanted to write about intellectual arrogance and the willful blindness to consequences in such a way as to be useful to those who might find themselves in analogous situations.⁶¹⁸

Of his alterations of the Faust material, Swanwick is equally revealing, describing what he felt he accomplished:

What I did was to move the legend into a materialistic universe. Mephistopheles is of course an artificial construct, a fictive device of an alien race living in a radically different universe from ours. That was done first of all to remove God from the equation—and you'll note that once Faust is converted to atheism, the word "God" disappears entirely from the book, to reappear only on the final page—because in a Christian universe there can be, properly speaking, no tragedies. Secondly, I wanted to write the story that Christopher Marlowe began but didn't follow through on. I wanted a story about a man who sells his soul for knowledge, and then is by that knowledge damned. So I made the alien race intangible on our plane, able to influence events only through the medium of information. And of course, I played out the story on the stage of the cumulative history between Faust's time and our own.

On a literal level, I took enormous freedoms. I wanted the novel to open in Wittenberg, so Faust could nail the Periodic Table of the Elements to the cathedral door, but the very first thing I discovered in my researches was that Wittenberg was far too small for my purposes. So I multiplied its population by four. You can't do that in non-fabulist fiction. In genre, however, nothing is forbidden.

The alterations were simple. The adherences, however, were complex. There is an enormous amount of Faust-legendry, and I mined it freely for my own purposes. The quite grotesque scene near the end, where Faust torments a young Jewish couple, is only different from similar scenes in early collections of Faust tales in that it's not meant to be funny. The rhyme scheme in Goethe's Faust was borrowed from Hans Sachs, the author of "The Wittenberg Nightingale," propagandizer for Martin Luther, and the man who ended a rhymed history of Nuremberg with the couplet, "A pleasant thought to end this ditty/There's not a Jew left in the city." So I took Sachs' "limping meter" and used it to write the booklet *Margarete is given*, describing a prostaglandin abortion. Which rhyme

⁶¹⁸ Nick Gevers, "The Literary Alchemist: An Interview with Michael Swanwick," accessed December 23, 2015, <http://www.infinityplus.co.uk/nonfiction/intms.htm>.

is signed 'A.S.' because in the nineteenth century the poet Anna Swanwick translated Goethe into English. All of which is pointless fun, perhaps, but fun nonetheless.⁶¹⁹

Michael Swanwick put a great deal of time, research and thought into his “complete repudiation of Goethe,”⁶²⁰ and his novel is most certainly worth further consideration.

The story opens in sixteenth-century Wittenberg with Faust burning his entire collection of books. Faust had spent his life “devoted to these detestable objects,”⁶²¹ only to discover them empty of truth; he now saw his “ambitions for the folly they were.”⁶²² It is in total disillusion that Faust destroys the books he once held so dear:

Without bravado, Faust held himself to be as learned as any man alive. Yet all he knew with any assurance was that he knew nothing. Therefore it was pointless to look for help from native minds; he must seek elsewhere, in realms greater or lesser than human. He must assume, too, that the knowledge he sought existed somewhere, else all his strivings were fore naught. [...] Faust had no delusions of Heavenly aid. [...] He must deal with realms or domains or powers that might be devils or spirits or creatures that were neither but something beyond his merely mortal comprehension.⁶²³

With any sort of higher being removed from the picture, Faust seeks some sort of knowledge unknown to the human mind, and that knowledge comes from an alien race. Faust stands, ready to do anything for a taste of this knowledge. He would “[e]at filth, murder children—whatever they required, that he would do.”⁶²⁴ Waiting for this knowledge to come, “[h]e stood reduced to his essence, an uncarved block of marble awaiting the carver’s hand, a palimpsest scraped clean

⁶¹⁹ Ibid.

⁶²⁰ Jim Freund, “Michael Swanwick on His Novel *Jack Faust*,” accessed December 23, 2015, <http://www.astralgalia.com/webportfolio/omnimoment/archives/chats/ov091197.html>.

⁶²¹ Swanwick, *Jack Faust*, 4.

⁶²² Ibid., 5.

⁶²³ Ibid., 15.

⁶²⁴ Ibid., 17.

of old ink and ready for the quill, as eager for knowledge as tinder for the flame.”⁶²⁵ And “[f]rom the heart of nothingness, a voice spoke: *Faust*.”⁶²⁶

Faust hears whispering in his mind and a creature forms, introducing itself as Mephistopheles. He shows Faust visions of the universe and his home planet in dizzying beauty. Mephistopheles then moves on to the details, offering Faust a deal. “Though we can give you nothing more than knowledge [...] our knowledge is absolute. We have mastered all sciences, perfected all technologies. [...] With our aid you can remake the world, bend the strongest men, the most beautiful women to you will. You can obliterate enemies, reward friends, rule nations in secret or open as you wish. Whatever you ask to see, we can show it. No knowledge shall be hidden from you.”⁶²⁷ The only requirement is that Faust always listen to Mephistopheles’ voice. The alien race wishes that the human race would die. To accomplish this task, they will give Faust the knowledge he desires, that his “race will choke upon it.”⁶²⁸ “We will give them the tools to commit every crime and outrage their fecund imaginations can devise. Through you, we will give them power without limit and they will inevitably use it to destroy themselves in a symphony of horrors.”⁶²⁹

Faust asks one question before agreeing to the pact: “Must I obey?” To which Mephistopheles responds: “Do what you will. Only listen.” Faust believes in humanity and its ability to adapt to knowledge: “I believe that Mankind can endure any truth and, more, that with the perfection of knowledge we will and must ascend toward perfection of spirit. We are not animals! But if I am wrong...If the common run of people cannot rise to the challenge of

⁶²⁵ Ibid.

⁶²⁶ Ibid., 18.

⁶²⁷ Ibid., 28.

⁶²⁸ Ibid., 31.

⁶²⁹ Ibid.

knowledge, if the only check on their passions is ignorance, then they deserve whatever they bring down upon themselves. I wash my hands of them.”⁶³⁰ Faust is determined to better the human race with knowledge and advancing technology, not believing Mephistopheles’ intended consequences can come to fruition. And so the technological revolution begins—with letters Faust writes to key historical figures detailing technological advances that will be of interest to them.

Faust has little success in the start; no one wants anything to do with funding unheard-of inventions such as flying machines. Screams of “I offer you *enlightenment!* [...] I offer you truth!”⁶³¹ are of little avail. He sinks his fortune into the creation of a hot air balloon, hoping a successful flight will interest the masses. To an extent, it does and Faust exclaims “All of Europe will lie at my feet. I see nothing but fame and riches before me,”⁶³² while those who have loaned him money and have not been repaid file complaints against him. His endeavors to better the world continue and Mephistopheles instructs Faust in other ways, offering him tidbits on how to coerce women into bed and conduct lurid affairs, effectively, as Faust himself notes, serving as his pimp. “Information is information, Faust. Knowledge is knowledge. I make no distinction between the high and the low.”⁶³³ Faust learns that “[a]ll human beings have their price, and quite often it is surprisingly small. The trick consists of knowing exactly *what* that price is, when they themselves do not.”⁶³⁴ Mephistopheles tells him the price of all the women they pass, but none catch Faust’s eye—until he sees Margarete Reinhardt, whom Mephistopheles declares to have too high a price. Faust will have no one else despite Mephistopheles’ attempts to distract

⁶³⁰ Ibid., 33.

⁶³¹ Ibid., 61.

⁶³² Ibid., 71.

⁶³³ Ibid., 80.

⁶³⁴ Ibid., 83.

with illusion and “whimsy,”⁶³⁵ and offers her father his inventive services, creating quite an industrial empire for him. Faust teaches Reinhardt the concepts of mass production, which he, in turn, uses to mass produce weaponry.

The story then switches to Margarete, who is well aware of Faust’s feelings for her. At the moment, she has her slutty alter-ego, Gretchen, reigned in and will not act on sexual impulses, instead playing the chaste, pure daughter of a now-rich merchant. Faust warns her of an impending plague and the family leaves the city while he gives it rebirth from the ashes with his new medical knowledge. After the plague and Faust’s valiant efforts, “there was not a person in Bavaria who doubted that Faust was the greatest man in all of Europe.”⁶³⁶ Using this newfound public admiration, Faust sets up a sermon to be broadcast simultaneously in all churches with his new radio invention. In this sermon he declares himself God and establishes a new law and world order:

Know your will and follow its dictates, and you will always go right. You will never be lost again. For this is the Emperor’s message, written into the matrix of being before human ever set foot on this Earth: Nothing is forbidden. *Do What Thou Wilt* shall be the whole of the law.⁶³⁷

Raising his fist towards his congregation, he holds it momentarily and then slowly lowers his arm before descending the pulpit and exiting, leaving the church in chaos.

Margarete knew the message was meant for her, but also for the younger generation, who, she remarks, “being given a new and revolutionary truth, should embrace it too eagerly, should defend it too loudly, should proclaim it in the extremest terms without regard for the sensibilities of others.”⁶³⁸ Faust’s speech gives Margarete the push to allow Gretchen through,

⁶³⁵ Ibid., 94-95.

⁶³⁶ Ibid., 155.

⁶³⁷ Ibid., 164.

⁶³⁸ Ibid., 166.

and the two share a lover's embrace one year in the making. Had Margarete "known what it would be like, she would have fallen years ago. She wouldn't have waited for Faust at all."⁶³⁹ At this particularly carnal moment, as Margarete evolves into Gretchen, Johann Faust becomes Jack.

Faust's inventions keep coming at an extremely rapid pace, ranging from microscopes and antibiotics, to rapid-fire rifles and lightning rods. Gretchen and Jack spend all of their spare moments together, finding their torrid affair much easier to hide than they would have thought. Due to her father's illness, Gretchen has taken over the family business and relies entirely upon Faust's whispers in her ear to keep her head above water. She has very quickly become Faust's puppet, listening to his every word (and his every word happens to come directly from the mouth of Mephistopheles). Due to a growing distrust in technology, Faust is forced to flee Germany for England, but Gretchen must remain to run her father's business. Faust manages Gretchen from afar, instructing her in technology, business, and sexual encounters to leverage her business and satiate her rabid, youthful lust in his absence. During his time in England, Mephistopheles makes blatantly clear his importance to Jack: "All your enterprises float upon great bubbles of speculation, reinvestment, and greed. It takes an unending flow of successes to keep them from collapsing altogether."⁶⁴⁰ And if Mephistopheles were not whispering in Faust's ear, his newly built empire would most assuredly collapse.

Trying to take his mind off Margarete, Mephistopheles directs Faust to the carnival to see how his introduction of great technological advances is faring. The scene is grim and depressing as Faust sees the reality of how his technology is being used:

⁶³⁹ Swanwick, *Jack Faust*, 169.

⁶⁴⁰ Swanwick, *Jack Faust*, 193.

They continued down the midway, past movie tents showing one-reelers—*The Kiss, The Fight, The Train Wreck, Our Glorious Sovereign in Procession, The Fuck*—and photogravure booths where washer-women lined up to have their hideous features preserved for posterity. Bitterly, he reflected on the high expectations he had had for films; how they would educate the illiterate, teach trades, and promote public hygiene. Everywhere he looked, he saw his inventions perverted and turned to unintended uses. So too his dealings with the government. Everything must be made a weapon. If he drew up plans for an omnibus, Parliament wanted to know how many troops it would carry; if an improved boiler, how many men it would kill if exploded. There was nothing he could make that this ingenious and pernicious race would not turn to armament.⁶⁴¹

Disillusioned with his attempts to better mankind that have resulted in base attractions and weaponry and distressed by the fact that he cannot be with Margarete, Faust enters into a state of apathetic depression. Mephistopheles' offers of sensual pleasures and drug experiences are of no interest to him.

The solution to Faust's problem, whispers Mephistopheles, is to direct Margerete into meaningless sexual encounters so that she stays faithful in her love to him. He argues:

To Gretchen the pleasures of the flesh are but the outward expressions of love. She is young, and must obey her body. If she does so at the urgings of a pleasant stranger, her love will focus itself on him; if by your direction, she will feel a proud subservience to your will. That is your choice. You have no other.⁶⁴²

At first Faust wants to do no such thing for it would be the "defilement of a love that was pure and true."⁶⁴³ Finally worn down by the whisperings and realizing he could never let Gretchen go despite the harm these affairs would do to her soul, Faust takes Mephistopheles' advice to heart and leads Gretchen into affair after affair with men and women alike, instructing her to use these pleasures to further her position and build her father's empire.

⁶⁴¹ Ibid. 200.

⁶⁴² Ibid., 210-211.

⁶⁴³ Ibid., 212.

The scene changes to Gretchen championing birth control and the morning-after pills as abortion prevention in a world in which child-murder is a “capital crime.”⁶⁴⁴ Against the advice of priests and legal counsel, Gretchen moves the pills to production and secret distribution to save the “repute and modesty”⁶⁴⁵ of her sex. Little does Gretchen know that these pills will cause her downfall and she continues in her wanton ways at the behest of Faust. Gretchen had

learned to trust his advice implicitly. His understanding of her was perfect. She had no secrets from him. So universal was his comprehension, so attuned was he to the life force—what he called the *Geist*—that he knew things no other man *could* know. [...] Now she obeyed these directives without hesitation, recognizing no lord or power above her but Faust and obeying no will but his alone. Occasionally, she wondered about the rightness of some of the things he required of her—but she always put these doubts aside.⁶⁴⁶

Gretchen has become an unquestioning puppet in Faust’s hand, allowing him total control of her actions and never questioning his will beyond the occasional doubt pushed to the back of her mind.

Meanwhile Mephistopheles is schooling Faust in winning the love of the common people working in his factories, thus gaining their allegiance and putting the world at his feet. Talking to some of the workers, Faust learns of their true feelings for him; they worship him as a god.⁶⁴⁷ The factory workers are, however, displeased with their situation and a revolt is in the works. Faust positions himself as the leader of this revolt, promising the “Collectivist dream” and hope for “a perfect world” for their offspring,⁶⁴⁸ becoming the most popular man in London, the thought of which revolts him.

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid., 217.

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid., 222-223.

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid., 232.

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid., 236.

Gretchen finds herself pregnant despite her birth control pills (which she found quite difficult to remember to take). Caught in a terrible situation as an unwed woman starting to show her sin, Gretchen seeks out an illegal abortion. Even with the abortion, her sin seeks her out, landing her in prison, for:

The problem was, the world had grown small. Distances were not as great as they once were. A month-long wagon-trip could no longer hide one's past. Five hundred miles meant nothing to a determined prosecutor. Soon, the technocrats would connect and reconcile the hundreds of competing telegraph and telephone systems into one buzzing web of lines and information, intruding every town and hamlet, rendering every part of the continent no more that a second away. There would be no more secrets then. It would pretty much put an end to privacy and personal liberty altogether. She wasn't sure she wanted to live in such a world.⁶⁴⁹

It is with Gretchen's imprisonment that Faust begins to fall apart. A revealing conversation with his servant, Wagner, shows how he perceives his world. Everything boils down to one thing—the pursuit of sexual pleasure. He goes on to elucidate, arguing that this is at the heart of every labor and that mankind will suffer anything for it: “It is our all, our only, our ideal. It has created us and made us great. Such is life, such is ambition, such is science, learning, love, fame, glory, and aspiration.”⁶⁵⁰ That which drives mankind and controls his actions Faust describes as dirty and disgusting, because of the level to which one will stoop in order to attain it. Lashing out at Mephistopheles for the debasement the devil has brought upon him, Faust attempts to distance himself from the whispers:

Fiend! I renounce you and all your works! From this day onward, rise or fall, succeed or fail, suffer or triumph, I will have no more dealings with you. I will not listen to your advices. I will not do your bidding or serve your purposes, however innocent they seem, however subtly you lay your traps for me.⁶⁵¹

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid., 267.

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid., 276.

⁶⁵¹ Ibid.

A frenzied Faust prepares to make his way to Gretchen, leaving London collapsing in the wake of his absence.

In her prison cell, Margarete learns of Faust's impending visit and his wish to free her and take her to England with him. The possibility of a perfect life with her lover is tempting, but the cost at which it comes is too high for Margarete. In order to free her, an innocent young girl will likely die in her place and the mother of this girl will also have to pay dearly despite the riches she will receive in return. Faust is willing to pay off every official to get Margarete free and the thought of this astounds her:

[She] was appalled. She was no innocent, but it was a shocking thing to have the entire city revealed as corrupt from the judges through the jailers and so down to the city guard. [...] She did not think she could go along with it. To do so would be to become as corrupt and dishonest as her oppressors. Surely one could not do so knowingly and willingly. It would have to be done by small and incremental steps, eyes shut and unaware. It was not possible for her to rejoin the unthinking world, becoming as she had been before, sleepily and smugly ignorant of the consequences. [...] She could never be Gretchen again. Gretchen was an evil game she had once played. No more.⁶⁵²

Tested once more with the thought of a happy ending with Faust, Margarete remains resolved in her decision to take the consequences for her action, knowing that her repentance is "genuine"⁶⁵³ in the face of the possibility of an easy way out and is hopeful that she can now exit this "Hell."⁶⁵⁴ Her final moments are filled with accepting her guilt.

She did not blame Jack, though the decisions had been his, but herself for letting him make such decisions for her. [...] [W]hen she spoke his words had come out of her mouth. I do not know what is right anymore, she admitted to herself, only that my hands are not clean.⁶⁵⁵

⁶⁵² Ibid., 304.

⁶⁵³ Ibid., 309.

⁶⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁵ Ibid., 313.

Sleeping with a man who had the devil in his ear made her one flesh with the devil. Even though she was simply following his orders, Margarete accepted the responsibility for her unthinking actions. No longer could she live in a world without consequences. To insure an innocent girl does not pay the price for her indiscretions, Margarete commits suicide with the help of barbituates she had smuggled in with the help of the likely father of the child she had aborted.

Margaret's death turned Faust's world upside down. She was the one thing in his life worth living for, the one pleasurable thing to strive for, his reason to live. Without her there was no point in continuing. Mephistopheles makes an attempt to comfort him, calling his "tricks and deceits" "things of the past."⁶⁵⁶ "Think of them as a teacher's little guiles, ways of coaxing a willful child who does not wish to learn his lessons. I swear by my very being I shall never employ them again."⁶⁵⁷ Faust realizes the true state of the world: "There is no purpose, no direction, no guidance to events. Nothing means anything. The world is a howling desert of meaninglessness, and reason is useless before it." Seeing clearly, Faust's spirit is crushed and he blames Gretchen for choosing death over him and all he could offer her. Guided by an internal voice, Faust is pushed into politics, taking over as the Emperor of Germany. As a car brings him into the city, people flock and fall at his feet. Faust asks his new Minister of Propaganda what to say. "Tell them anything. They'll believe you." Faust "stretched forth his hands and the multitudes roared." "*Faust! Faust! Faust!*" the crowds chanted, thrusting clenched fists upward in a salute. They waved a forest of flags and all of them the same: a red field with a white circle and within that circle a stylized black fist."⁶⁵⁸ Faust sees his life's work before him as hordes of vehicles pass by filled with weapons and ammunition: "death and negation made gloriously,

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid., 318.

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid., 333.

radiantly beautiful.” Faust’s aged body transforms into one of youthful vigor as he watches death and destruction with gusto. He no longer hears the whispers of Mephistopheles in his ears; he is one with Mephistopheles. “Faust could hear him humming at the core of his being, a constant knot of discontent, an implicit twinge of ambition [...]. But he could no longer hear the demon’s voice.” Faust, demon and dictator, sets out to take earth; nothing can get in his way. Laughing, he cries “God help them! God help them all!,” knowing full well that “Heaven itself would be helpless to stop him.”⁶⁵⁹

This twentieth-century Faustian tale sets itself up as a warning against rapidly developing technology and the possibility for death and destruction from what is intended for the good and betterment of the human race. For Faust, strivings are pointless in a world void of God and meaning. They prostitute the striver to evil if consequences are not considered. Introducing five-hundred years of technological advancement does nothing for humans but bring about the destruction of human life. Only Margarete saves herself from this pit of despair by accepting the consequences for the actions she committed by following Faust. Faust cannot save himself, instead dooming many others to a hellish life as he leads them and gives them the tools of destruction they need. His situation is hopeless for he cannot escape the pull of the devil. The world was not ready for the advancements and so collapsed into itself. Consequences must be carefully considered alongside the potential for evil in anything good. Faust disregards the consequences and so causes the downfall of much of the human race, never bettering it, but rather giving it the tools needed to destroy itself. Critical thinking is often absent in Faust’s world, replaced by a striving for whatever pleasure deemed worth the striving.

Conclusion

⁶⁵⁹ Ibid., 336-337.

That Faust is relevant today is undeniable. His character finds outlet in countless literary works and is being adapted constantly for new audiences. In fact, this pact has made it into the perhaps up-and-coming genre of twitterature, defined as “humorous reworkings of literary classics for the twenty-first century intellect, in digestible portions of 20 tweets or fewer.”⁶⁶⁰ Two nineteen-year-old college students transformed Christopher Marlowe’s *Doctor Faustus* into 17 tweets of 140 characters or less. Their version is surprisingly revealing. Filled with popular culture references, the early modern is made modern and palatable to the rapid consumer of information. The first tweet begins: “Science has begun to bore me. Why study it anymore? It’s all facts and figures, nothing that really stirs the soul, you dig?”⁶⁶¹ Five subsequent tweets detail the pact and how it is made. This Faust is studying evil and the result of his pact is that he now “get[s] to kick it with this demon.”⁶⁶² The pair gets right to their life of debauchery: “@JustCallMeMrM: Alright, let’s go do some damage. You have the costumes, I’ll bring the vodka.”⁶⁶³ Life with the devil is all about booze and causing women’s underwear to disappear. Time is up and Faust goes to hell. The final tweet reads: “What an allegory! If only part of the deal was that I’d learned how to rock and roll real good on the guitar.”⁶⁶⁴ Perhaps warning against a life of partying instead of learning on the college campus, this humorous reworking changes an older, seemingly irrelevant text into something more modern.

Over the centuries, the story of Faust has been used in a myriad of ways and has taken on numerous forms. Each reworking takes Faust and alters him to better suit its intentions and

⁶⁶⁰ See front cover of Alexander Aciman and Emmett Rensin, *Twitterature: The World’s Greatest Books in Twenty Tweets or Less* (New York: Penguin Books, 2009).

⁶⁶¹ Aciman and Rensin, *Twitterature*, 47.

⁶⁶² *Ibid.*.

⁶⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 48.

needs. By taking each of these texts on its own and in the context of its time, the neverending story of Faust becomes a vehicle for discussing matters relevant to the society at hand and reflecting on topics of particular interest to a particular generation. Looking at exactly who the devil is and what transgression he has to offer reveals much more than simply projecting Faust's past, present, and future where they do not belong. Faust and his story will continue to be appropriated as long as there is a need, the new stories using this familiar material to address new concerns and problems.

CONCLUSION

The tale of a pact with devil has maintained a stronghold in literature for hundreds of years, most prevalently in the strains that retell the stories of Mariken and Faustus. These two strains, however, are much more complicated than a quest for knowledge. Goethe's Faust is merely the tip of the Faustian iceberg, redeploing well-known characters developed long before in the Faustus, Marikens, and Theophiluses of early modern and medieval authors. Read together in historical context, these texts aim at a far broader set of desires, for the devil, redemption, self-knowledge, damnation, gender equality, occult learning, love, social betterment, technological advancement, absolute power, financial success, and even job security. This durability of the Faustian mechanism is also undeniable; this dissertation focuses on only a subset of this literature and still discusses a range of texts from 1330 to 2015, covering multiple languages, and numerous genres.

Figure 13: Pact Literature Discussed in this Dissertation, 1330-2015

Year	Title	Author/Printer
1330	Spieghel Historael (Theophilus)	Jacob van Maerlant
1450	Theophilus	Anonymous
1480	Ein schön Spiel von Fraw Jutten	Dietrich Schernberg
1515	Mariken van Nieumeghen	Willem Vorsterman
1518	Mary of Nimmegen	Jan van Doesborch
1572	Theophilus	William Forrest
1580	Wolfenbüttel Faust Book	Anonymous
1587	Historia von D. Johann Fausten	Johann Spies
1592	English Faust Book	P.F. Gent
1593	Wagnerbuch	Friedrich Schotus Tolet
1599	Warhafftigen Historien	Georg Rudolf Widmann
1604	Doctor Faustus	Christopher Marlowe
1608	Mariken van Nimmegen	Herman van Borculo
1660	The Just Judgment of God shew'd upon Dr. John Faustus	Anonymous
1725	Faustbuch des Christlich Meynenden	Anonymous
1737	Marianischer Gnaden- und Wunderschatz	Carlo Bovio
1775	Mayken van Nimmegen	Barent Koene (I)
1808	Faust	Johann Wolfgang von Goethe
1842	Faust op Waardenburg	Otto Gerhard Heldring
1843	Niederländische Sagen	J.W. Wolf
1853	Mariken von Nymwegen	Luise von Ploennies
1866	A Long Fatal Love Chase	Louisa May Alcott
1877	A Modern Mephistopheles	Louisa May Alcott
1912	Franziska	Frank Wedekind
1928	Mariken van Nimwegen	Martien Beversluis
1991	De Wetten	Connie Palmén
1997	Jack Faust	Michael Swanwick
2006	Mariken	Peter van Gestel
2009	Doctor Faustus (Twitterature)	Alexander Aciman and Emmett Rensin
2015	Allemaal van Nimwegen	Marjolein Pieks

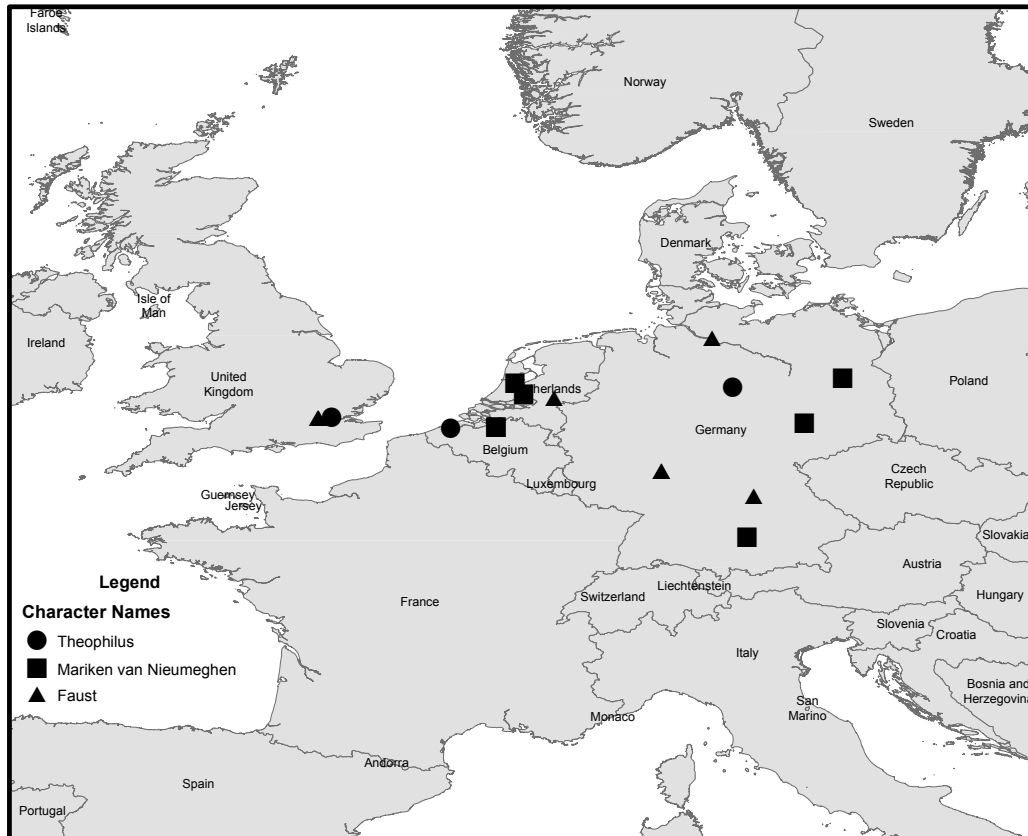
In the late medieval and early modern Mariken, we saw a devil contained by magical rites and words. Her story was one of redemption, a triumph over the devil and his transgression, aided at first by the Virgin Mary, later by Christ, and then again by Mary. Religious in nature and didactic in purpose, *Mariken van Nieumeghen*, *Mary of Nimmegen*, *Mariken van Nimmegen*, and the examples in *Marianischer Gnaden- und Wunderschatz*, are very much concerned with the transgression of God's law. The devil's hold over Mariken is fleeting and with the help of choice words by Uncle Ghijsbrecht, penance, and the Virgin Mary, Mariken's tale ends in her redemption. As her story exits the early modern, her redemption is maintained, but the religiosity of the tradition begins to wane. *Mariken von Nymwegen* shows her transgression as that of an attempt to surpass the bounds set for women. Her redemption comes only in undoing her sins and returning to her proper place as a woman. *Mariken van Nimwegen* explores a religious expanse and maintains a sense of transgression as overstepping God's law, but it also seeks to express a universality in Mariken's struggle: her tale is one that is a part of every human and will therefore never disappear. *De Wetten* concerns itself once more with the question of gender, offering transgression in the form of Mariken allowing her thoughts and actions to be shaped only by other men. She does not necessarily achieve redemption, but her example functions as a means to redeem other women, showing them that they can think for themselves and understand the world on their own terms, freeing them from the "devil," or the male perspective. Finally, *Mariken* is fashioned into a children's story and transgression is seen as wasting time away from the people you love.

The Faust strain follows a similar trajectory, moving from a primarily religious text to one concerned more with social issues. The early modern German Faust commits a clear transgression: he spends his time transforming into the devil. There is no hope for him due to the

devil's great ability to deceive, but through steadfast prayer and good spiritual education, the reader can contain the devil. The early modern English tradition showed a little less interest in the devil, instead using him as a way to separate proper learning from the heterodox.

Transgression was still defined after seeking after the devil, and Faustus was not able to escape the consequences of his pursuits. The Pietists use the devil as a religious-didactic tool. Here his story becomes short and succinct, focused mainly on the fact that Faustus trades an eternity with God for fleeting earthly pleasures. Goethe's Faust is ever-striving, seeking an experiential moment that will force him to stop. Transgression is linked to transcendence, where striving leads to becoming like God. This striving, however, is presented as vain, as it will never be complete. Faustus' story entered the Dutch almanac in an attempt to craft him as a Dutch character. This entertaining tale moralizes too, marking transgression as seeking after the foreign, coveting, and perpetrating general mischief. *Franziska* casts a female Faust whose transgression is the desire to be a man to attain his social status. This Faust-figure is, however, redeemed through childbirth and her return to her proper societal role. *Jack Faust* takes on an enormous list of social issues in an attempt to force readers to decide what is truly transgressive, including technological advancement, science, abortion, and gender roles.

Figure 14: European Pact Literature, 1330-1853



This dissertation redeems the early modern Faustus from the projections of Goethean interpretation that have masked important aspects of the text. In the late medieval and early modern periods, religion is the crucial question, not knowledge. The late medieval Catholic pact tradition (Theophilus, Mariken, Jutta) teaches the reader to stay close to Mary and steer clear of the devil, but if that does not work, redemption is possible by the Virgin’s intercession. The devil can be forced into submission with religious magic in the form of exorcism and choice holy words, something that is not an option in the *Historia*.

The early modern German Faustus is a Lutheran response to the Catholic tradition, as it eliminates any possibility of magically removing the devil from the picture. Given the disenchantment of Catholic rites to keep the devil at bay, Protestants used the Faust tradition to educate the populace in the only true way to defeat the devil: stand fast in prayer and learn to see through his intricate illusions. Faustus' tale is a cautionary one. Once captured by the devil, Faustus becomes the devil, unable to escape eternal damnation. Understanding the German tradition in this way allows for a more comprehensive reading of the *Historia*. Faustus' transformation into the devil leads him to perform illusions and disseminate knowledge in Mephistopheles' place. Through this the reader sees just how skilled the devil is and the tools he has in his possession. In very recent scholarship, Micheal Ott proposes a slightly different reading, arguing that while Faustus is acting in Mephistopheles' stead, his tricks are harmless and simply show that a pact with the devil is not worth the trouble:

Gehäuft finden sich diese Elemente in einer Reihe von Episoden, in denen sich Faust die Macht Mephostos (der hier abwesend ist) mit kleineren Zaubereien und Illusionen zu Eigen macht. [...] Die magisch-illusionäre Tätigkeit Fausts erweist sich letztlich als harmlos, was einerseits zeigt, dass sich ein Vertrag mit dem Teufel nicht lohnt, was aber auch deutlich macht, dass von Faust keine ernstzunehmende Gefahr ausgeht.⁶⁶⁵

These elements are found in great number in a series of episodes in which Faust makes the power of Mephosto (who is absent here) his own with small tricks and illusions. Faustus' magical-illusory feats prove to be harmless, which on the one hand shows that a pact with the devil is not profitable, and on the other hand makes clear that no danger exudes from Faustus that needs to be taken seriously.

While many of Faustus' tricks may be physically harmless to those involved, they are in no way spiritually innocuous. The illusions Mephistopheles used to seduce Faustus and draw him into hell did him no bodily harm, but they did proffer him eternal damnation. This is precisely the point of the *Historia*. If one cannot learn to recognize the earthly deceptions of the devil, perfect

⁶⁶⁵ Michael Ott, Fünfhundertundsiebendachtzig: Literatur, Geschichte und die *Historia von D. Johann Fausten* (Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main: Frankfurt am Main, 2014), 79-80, <http://publikationen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/frontdoor/index/index/docId/33162>.

though they be, one has no chance of withstanding the devil spiritually. As time passes, the role of religion in the pact tradition begins to diminish, as other concerns take precedence. In both the Mariken and Faust traditions, the devil becomes an outlet to discuss the transgression of his current time, preaching social change, not religious conversion and pedagogy. And the “simmering” continues on.

The literary tradition of the devil’s pact is rich and dynamic. Goethe’s *Faust*, for example, has not hindered the continued existence of other pact-makers. In fact, though not discussed at length here, the Theophilus tradition continues well into the twentieth century, particularly in English and French literature. Both female and male pact-makers live on, as their vitae are used to explore the concerns of their very particular moments in time. Reading the Faust tradition in light of Goethe and reading Mariken’s story merely as a female Faust does a great injustice to this rich, two-pronged tradition that has yet to peter out in literature today. These two traditions, separate, yet inextricably intertwined, enrich each other. Their two trajectories, similar, yet winding down different paths, show the devil in a variety of landscapes, garb, tongues, and times. Yet it is often the devil that is the most telling.

The devil’s story has been “simmering” for much longer than Goethe’s *Faust*, as have the tales of those who dare to bind themselves to him. I have sought to right the many wrongs done to the histories of these two literary figures and so offer a complex and intricate picture of the devil and his pact-makers. In doing so, I have tabled a number of important questions for further

study, focusing on 1) the role of magic in Faustian texts; 2) the role of gender; 3) the relationship between the devil and art; and 4) a data-driven analysis of texts over time and geography.

The first intriguing question is the status and types of magic in pact literature. In the 1515 *Mariken van Nieumeghen*, black magic is presented as a tool to control the devil. In the 1587 *Historia*, however, this same magic is condemned and warned against. The early modern Faust material explicitly states that magical invocations, spells, and conjurations have been removed, yet the *Wagnerbuch* still contains many of these items, despite a similar statement. The devil's "magic" in *Franziska* is limited to simply dressing Franziska in a man's outfit, whereas the devil's illusions are almost unidentifiable as such in the early modern Faust texts. Defining magic, looking at the delineation between heterodox and orthodox magic, and considering how the devil's (and the pact-maker's) magic changes over time might give insight into the evolving status of magic. There has been some scholarly work in this area, but none comparative, and much is to be gained by looking at the broader picture.

The relationship between the devil and art is a chapter I partially wrote but set aside for the time being. Fred Parker's monograph, *The Devil as Muse: Blake, Byron, and the Adversary*, considers the question of the relationship between the devil and creativity, looking at Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Mann's *Doktor Faustus*, and Goethe's *Faust*. This is, however, only part of the picture. Lode Baekelman's *Marieken van Nijmegen*, Wedekind's *Franziska*, Louisa May Alcott's *A Modern Mephistophiles*, and Klaus Mann's *Mephisto* are essential to this discussion, as they all deal with the question of artistic creativity and its link to the devil.

Another pressing question and one that I have not comprehensively addressed is that of gender. This dissertation began primarily as an investigation of late medieval and early modern pact literature before evolving into tracing the evolution of the Mariken and Faust strains. For the

earlier material, gender is not particularly important. Mariken's redemption does not hinge on the fact that she is a woman, for Theophilus was also redeemed. The key to these texts is religion. However, as these stories evolve, gender most certainly becomes a crucial part of the body of literature. Gender begins to become important with Luise von Ploennies and is integral to Alcott's work, as well as that of Frank Wedekind and Connie Palmen. Elfriede Jelinek's *FaustIn and out* would be another text to consider here, as well as other adaptations of both literary strains wrestling with gender issues.

A final possible project for the future is a more data-driven analysis of the medieval and early modern texts, which are unique in nature and complex to analyze. Such a project would require extensive time for tagging and collecting data, along with a system of storing the data once it has been collected. This analysis would allow a better understanding of how the texts were transformed, in terms of borrowed language and material, and to trace how that borrowing occurred over time and geography. Geo-coding, both of the texts themselves and all of the locations discussed in the texts, would reveal more about the scope of the world that the early modern and medieval authors display to the audiences, as well as the changing preoccupations with travel and the new world.

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