



**T.C.
YEDITEPE UNIVERSITY**

GRADUATE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LITERATURE

THE IMAGE OF SATAN IN BRITISH LITERATURE

by

ILGIN BERİVAN YILDIZ

**Submitted to the Graduate Institute of Social Sciences
In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
MA in English Literature**

Istanbul, 2007



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Supervisor

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7 Mart 2007

TUTANAK

İlgin Berivan Yıldız, 7 Mart 2007 tarihinde *'The Image of Japan in British Literature'* başlıklı tezini savunmuş ve başarılı olduğu, ~~olmadığı~~ oybirliğiyle kabul edilmiştir.

Tez Danışmanı :Prof. Dr. Nedret Kuran BURÇOĞLU *N. Kuran*

Üye :Prof. Dr. Cevat ÇAPAN *Cevat Çapan*

Üye :Prof. Dr. Nazan AKSOY *Nazan Aksoy*

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AJ *Answer To Job*

EB *Encyclopaedia Britannica*

MHH *Marriage of Heaven and Hell*

MP *Mephistopheles/The Devil in the Modern World*

PL *Paradise Lost*

PR *Paradise Regained*

ST *Satan/The Early Christian Tradition*

TD *The Devil/Perceptions of Evil From Antiquity to Primitive Christianity*

ABSTRACT

The Image of Satan in British Literature

Ilgın Berivan Yıldız

The subject matter of the thesis **The Image of Satan in British Literature**, takes its standpoint from the idea of exploring probably the most crucial dilemma of manhood: Good and evil. Before putting forward examples from British literature specifically, the study initially aims to inform the reader about the ancient perceptions of good and evil, God and Satan. While suggesting that many ancient cultures had developed to be a great influence on the more contemporary beliefs, the work also explores the crucial differences between these ancient myths, metaphors and their relation to biblical figures.

The study, then, focuses on the perceptions of the powerful figure of Satan throughout the different periods of British literature. It aims to discuss the image of Satan in terms of historical, sociological and psychological points of view, as well as within a literary framework. These standpoints allow the subject matter to gain an in-depth analysis upon the evolution of the Satan image, as different periods and flows of British literature are presented. The work includes arguments on four British authors: Christopher Marlowe, William Shakespeare, John Milton and William Blake. While analyzing the perceptions of these authors about Satan and evil in the framework of their literature, the common points of these perceptions, as well as the distinct ones, are explored in order to develop a comparative study. The conclusion of the thesis relies on the brief analysis of the image of Satan in other British authors; mostly within the Romantic Period.

ÖZET

İngiliz Edebiyatı'nda Şeytan İmgesi

Ilgın Berivan Yıldız

İngiliz Edebiyatı'nda Şeytan İmgesi başlıklı tezin çıkış noktası, insanlığın geçmişten günümüze kadar uzanan, belki de en büyük ikilemidir: İyi ve kötü. Çalışma, İngiliz edebiyatından incelediği örneklere geçmeden önce, okuyucuyu iyi ve kötü, Tanrı ve Şeytan kavramlarının en eski inanç geleneklerinde nasıl algılandığı konusunda bilgilendirmeyi hedefliyor. Birçok eski kültürün nispeten daha yeni inançlar üzerindeki etkilerini tartışırken, aynı zamanda bu eski mitler, metaforlar ve bunların İncil'e ait figürler ile ilişkilerini araştırıyor.

Çalışma, daha sonraki bölümlerde, İngiliz edebiyatının değişik dönemlerinde Şeytan figürü algılamaları üzerine odaklanıyor. Amaçlanan nokta, Şeytan imgesini tarihi, sosyolojik, psikolojik bakış açılarıyla olduğu kadar edebi bir çerçevede de ele almak. Bu çeşitli yaklaşımların, merkez konuyu farklı algılamalara açmak ve tartışmayı, İngiliz edebiyatından değişik dönem ve akımlar sunulurken, daha kapsamlı bir noktaya yönlendirmeye yol açması hedefleniyor. Tez, dört İngiliz yazarın eserlerine odaklanıyor: Christopher Marlowe, William Shakespeare, John Milton ve William Blake. Bu yazarların seçilmiş kimi eserlerinde bulunan Şeytan imgesi ve kötülük algılamaları analiz edilirken, hem aralarındaki farklılıklar hem de benzerlikler sunuluyor. Çalışmanın kapanış bölümü, özellikle Romantik dönemden çeşitli İngiliz yazarların bazı eserlerindeki Şeytan imgesi hakkında yapılmış kısa analiz ve açıklamalardan oluşuyor.

...ho kosmos holos en to ponero keitai...
[...the whole world lies in the Evil One...]

John 5:19

The concept and personification of evil has been a challenging object of discussion throughout the history of mankind. There have been explanations put forward in terms of religious, political, cultural framework by scholars and thinkers all over the world. The problem of evil has attracted so much attention that many thinkers have developed tendencies to look in the very depths of this concept. They have tried to reach the essence of the term and what do we tend to understand from it. Actually, the terms 'good' and 'evil' do not stand alone merely as concepts or states of mind; but take place in the actual world where there is murder, rape, genocide, war, and hatred. We know good by evil, and evil by good. If there



Larry Young *Good and Evil*

were nothing 'good' in this world, we would not be able to grasp the meaning of 'evil'. On the other hand, to think in more simpler terms, good and evil lies in the minds of ours and others, in the way we live and way we act; in the deep and dark cellar of our unconscious. Especially in the overwhelming, tiring conditions of the modern era where the individual stands by her/himself trying to figure out which way to go, which crucial question to answer considering values and beliefs; it has become a common tendency to search the ways in order to find an answer to the question of our existence. Questioning is perhaps the most existential act of mankind. And when we question, the more questions arise in our heads; the more we find it hard to specify the answers. Every period and era of mankind is crucial, influential in terms of developing answers and hard to deal with, in its own terms. However, today, as we try to keep up with our daily concerns and rutins, the tools of the information age build up a different background for our own question of existential crisis. The more we have the means to access information, the harder terms and concepts develop to find explanation. Everything leads to another and we suddenly catch ourselves in a chaos of beliefs, values, fears and needs. The theme of this argument could be simply a concept for a fashion show or a theme for an upcoming beer brand commercial. What should be explained is that every major concept or term –like good and evil- that is fundamental for us to question our

existence, can find its reflection elsewhere; it is around the streets and in our homes, on television or in lyrics of a song. It is important to keep oneself open to the outside voices; and when questioning, to be able to evaluate them.

Likewise, the concept of evil, the crucial question of the act of evil, is all around. It was always all around; but perhaps as we witness in the world what we call 'evil', it becomes always necessary to consider, or make observations about the conflict of good and evil.

While surfing on the internet, one comes across actually over hundreds of articles, essays,



pictures, and caricatures about Bush –portrayed as Satan-. There is even a serious web-site associating Bush with the Oldest Evil¹.

Indeed, there have always been a tendency to associate some politicians with evil. Hitler, Mussolini, Saddam, Stalin, and many other leaders have been one way or another, associated with the term 'evil'. It is remarkable how a question of evil eventually becomes a question of politics; and politics have always been a major tool to lead masses according to one's own intentions. However, we can not

really say that 'evil' –even if a very political term- has always been a term to use referring to politics or politicians. It is everywhere; especially in our day of major changes: economically, culturally, and socially. Jean Baudrillard truthfully searched the nature of evil in his *The Transparency of Evil* and came out with the fact that there is really no firm basis for us to argue politics or aesthetics anymore; that everything has become 'trans', that is, linked with each other and overlapping with each other.² Thus, losing the sense of 'reality'. This really sets the case we intend to argue; there have been so much going on in this world –some things we tend to blame on 'evil', Satan, to be specific. When we watch the evening news, we are far from giving an explanation to what has been going on in Palestine, Lebanon, or Iraq. What could be possibly said to explain the situation of North Korea doing nuclear weapon test on October 9, 2006 and became the ninth country to join the club? We are literally living under the psychology of a possible world war; and some people seem to be ambitious enough to stand as blind to the fact that a possible nuclear war would stop life on planet earth. Defenders of nuclear weapons could choose a way to join the ones who are constantly protesting this type of 'advancement' in technology. However, they choose to stand quiet. Now we ask, is being silent really does the world 'good'? Or is it just feeding the threat of death day by day?

¹ This website can be reached from www.bushisantichrist.com

² Baudrillard, Jean. *The Transparency of Evil*. New York: Verso, 1993.

As we see, there are always sides, there is always 'good' and 'evil'; especially when it comes to the fact that half a million children died in Iraq since the whole chaos started. When it comes to the killing of innocent children, men, and women, all stand still, quiet. It is because we really do not have any explanation why it should be like this. The fact that the Bush government starts confessing sins does not change anything; it does not change the fact that there has been and always will be evil in this world. It is the 'intention' that is important, and if power is in evil hands, it may lead the world to its own end. This is why we should discuss what 'evil' is; and the most powerful historical personification of evil has been Satan.

I.

The Concept of Evil

In order for us to utter the question "What is the concept of evil?", first we have to make clear what really is a 'concept', and how is the image of evil personified.

A concept is different from an idea in the sense that "it is socially and culturally more broadly based", and "it includes psychological levels deeper than the rational. It is *not* a metaphysical, objective, substantial, Platonic idea" (TD, 1987 p.42). We can say that the relation of the image itself and the concept we impose on it, is like the connection between *phenomena* and *noumena*. *Noumena* can be referred as the things in themselves -the image-, and *phenomena* is our conception of noumena. The phenomena, or a phenomenon is collective and something that we share -in linguistic terms, we can mention Ferdinand de Saussure's analogy of the 'signifier' and 'signified'; for it similarly makes a clear distinction between the concept and the image, linguistically-. So, as we think in terms of the history of concepts, Satan exists *because* there is a concept of it. However, we should be aware of the fact that we can not really explain Satan; because we can know, not the Satan himself, but only human perceptions of it. On the other hand, "this does not dilute the horror: the Fiend in his own shape is less hideous than when he rages in the heart of man" (TD, 1987 p.47).

We can say that Satan exists because it is a valid concept. As Jung points out, "Evil is terribly real for each and every individual. If you regard the principle of evil as a reality, you can just as well call it the Devil" (Jung, 2002 p.465). The concept of evil, or -as a

manifestation of evil- Satan, is valid because it possesses the following characteristics as a concept: “(1) continuity through time; (2) trueness to type; (3) correspondence to living perceptions; (4) coherence” (ST, 1981 p.220).

Especially considering the characteristic of continuity, we have to specify the tradition of this concept: (1) It remains true to type. The tradition of the Devil remains faithful to the basic perceptions of evil as the suffering of individuals. (2) The tradition develops in time. It stays as true to the type, yet grows to be richer. (3) At first the tradition will expand its borders, embracing a wide variety of ideas. (4) Later, its borders will constrict, and a focus will begin to emerge. “In the period before the New Testament, the concept of the Devil enjoyed a wealth of mythological, theological, and iconographical expressions; later the hammer and chisel of rational theology pared and planned the tradition” (TD, 1987 p.49). The concept is still alive and may be approaching a point to focus on. (5) Eventually the focus is reached in one of two ways: “(a) the tradition ceases altogether to respond to living perceptions; it ceases to develop. Or, (b) the tradition may reach a living focus of integration, a consensus” (TD, 1987 p.60)



C. Lévi-Strauss

Considering the personification of the concept of evil, we should mention the works of Carl Gustav Jung and Lévi-Strauss. What Jung referred to as *archetype*, is the inherited mental structure or pattern which builds up the collective unconscious. It is observable only through its manifestations in behaviour. Lévi-Strauss, similarly, believed that there is a certain homology of structure between myth and mind.

“The particular expressions of the unconscious –individual dreams or myths- may vary, but if we understand the myths or dreams, we can penetrate to their inner meaning (Jung) or structure (Lévi-Strauss). Once understanding this, one can have an *Erlebnis* (lived

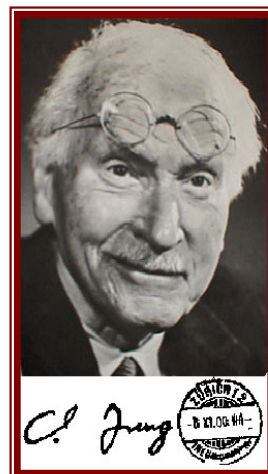
experience) of a past civilization, of past concepts. (...) Myths are products of the unconscious refined and modified by the conscious. Since the conscious is seldom if ever aware of all that the unconscious is expressing, the mythopoetic is a larger part of human experience than the rational” (TD, 1987 p.52).

So, if we approach the concept (or myth) of Satan with this standpoint, it is possible to say that it relates to a deeper level of our unconscious. In this sense, suffice it to say that the personification of evil as Satan, arises from our inherited mental pattern of collective unconscious. It is crucial to underline Jung’s term of *the shadow* for it is essential to the development of this argument. Shadow is “that hidden, repressed, for the most part inferior

and guilt-laden personality whose ultimate ramifications reach back into the realm of our animal ancestors and so comprise the whole historical aspect of the unconscious” (Colman, 2001 p.673). So, the feelings one represses throughout time do not disappear but are hidden in the unconscious.

Jungian psychology has a lot to offer considering the concept of evil. Jung’s expression of the psychic process is one of individuation. He offers that as an infant, a person has a chaotic view of himself.

“As he develops, his good and evil sides are gradually differentiated one from the other. Ordinarily he represses the evil side, causing the growth of a shadow in his unconscious. If the repression mechanisms are too strong, his shadow will become monstrous and may eventually burst out and



overwhelm him. In healthy people there is a third stage, the stage of integration, in which the good and evil sides are both recognized and then reintegrated on a conscious level” (TD, 1987 p.31).

The human perception of God develops in a similar way; at first, it is undifferentiated (chaotic), then it is differentiated as the good One, the evil is repressed. Later, the integration process comes. The integration of the good and the evil.

Here, the word *integration* has a great importance for our argument generally. Jeffrey Burton Russell points out that the need to integrate evil is not often understood like it should be. He gives the example of Virgin Mary figure. The figure of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the last few centuries, has been sentimentalized in a way that,

“the Vrgin is portrayed as innocent to the point of vapidty. Such a woman could not have borne Christ, raised him, and suffered through his Passion. The immaculate conception of the Virgin would have made her, not meek and mild, but rather deep, strong, wise, and powerful. Only thus able to confront and transform evil could she bear God and God’s death. An integrated idea of God is not an idea of a morally mixed God, but one whose wisdom has integrated the evil of the cosmos in such a way that the evil is transformed” (ST, 1981 p.224-225).

This idea, the integrated idea of God, has a place in the early-medieval Christian rhetoricians, and as a literary study in this argument, in the works of the British writer William Blake, whom we will be exploring.

Back to the argument of the concept of evil, or as a personification of the concept, the Satan; we should say that the historical framework of the argument is clear: The Devil is created,

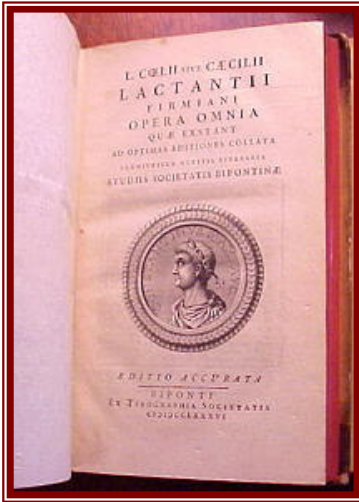
fallen through his own free choice, the chief of evil forces in the cosmos, mortally wounded by Christ, and doomed to ruin at the end of the world. The fathers (apologetic and apocalyptic fathers) develop arguments only for the details. Some believe in a different chronology considering the downfall of Satan. However, we can say that in general, “Christian theodicy posed the question of evil and of the Devil more sharply than ever before”, and “the figure of Satan in the New Testament is comprehensible only when it is seen as the counterpart, or counterprinciple, of Christ” (TD, 1987 p.222). It is also important to underline that the Christian belief posits God as wholly good; this standpoint is considered to arise in part from the Hellenistic thought and Judaism, both of which draw a certain borderline between good and evil; attributing the virtue to God and the evil to Satan.

Before presenting the early perceptions of and beliefs about evil and the Satan, we should make it clear that the concept is alive and strong. Like mentioned before, a concept should possess a continuity through time in order for us to name it an alive one. It should evolve and respond to men’s experience. In our age, we are more open -or shall we say more oriented with the effect of outside cultural, political, economical forces- to explore our humanity and differentiate between good and evil sides.

“We have direct perception of evil, of deliberate malice and desire to hurt, constantly manifesting itself in governments, in mobs, in criminals, and in our own petty vices. Many people seem to have the additional experience that behind all this evil, and directing it, is a powerful, transhuman, or at least transconscious, personality. This is the Devil” (ST, 1981 p.222).

II.

The Evolution of the Concept of Evil and the Satan Figure



*Si malum nullum sit, nullum periculum ... tollitur omnis
materia sapientiae*

*If no evil existed, no danger would exist, and there would be no
basis for wisdom.*

Lactantius

Lucius Caecilius Firmianus Lactantius (c. 245-325) was born and raised in Africa as a pagan and was trained as a rhetorician. He taught Latin in Nicomedia and was a talented classical stylist. Lactantius was thought to be an anthropological dualist and converted to Christianity in about 300 which gave a start to his questioning of the conflict between good and evil. Like many of his predecessors, he was oriented to the goal of understanding or at least conceptualizing the way these two terms revealed themselves, and perhaps linked or overlapped at certain points.

Where did evil come from? Why did the true God permit the act of evil? Why did God create evil in the first place?

Lactantius came up with rather original answers; compared to some of other early Christian thinkers. He claimed that evil was logically necessary; saying, "Good cannot be understood without evil, nor evil without good" (ST, 1981 p.151). He pointed out that it was a logical inevitability that good was to be defined by distinguishing it from evil; and evil from good. He claimed that God wishes evil's existence because of the fact that we could not understand the meaning of virtue unless we understood the meaning of evil. So, we come to the conclusion that the good exists because the evil exists. God wanted virtue to exist so he also created the evil; in order for us to be able to come to terms with the true meaning of virtue and being good. He thought that if God had created a world without the existence of evil, he would have created a world without the freedom to choose evil. He said,

"We could not perceive virtue unless the opposite vice existed also, nor could we accomplish virtue unless we were tempted to its opposite; God willed this distinction and distance between good and evil

so that we might be able to grasp the nature of good by contrasting it with the nature of evil” (ST, 1981 p.152).

For him, to exclude evil is to eliminate virtue. So, the concepts of good and evil cannot be studied or evaluated separately; and as Lactantius underlines, God willed this bond between them so that we can grasp his glorious power.

This argument develops to be a major standpoint considering the connection between these two terms; and form a powerful and widely-followed theodicy. The idea that good and evil cannot be separated, is one that owes its roots to earlier times. Before Lactantius, there is the culture and beliefs of ancient eastern tradition and classical myths of early Greek culture.

The dualistic and monistic approaches to evil

“Abraxas speaketh that hollowed and accursed word which is life and death at the same time. Abraxas begetteth truth and lying, good and evil, light and darkness in the same word and in the same act. Wherefore is Abraxas terrible” C. G. Jung, Septem Sermones and Mortuos

First of all, the explanation of monism and dualism on the basis of religious systems and beliefs should be made clear. The differentiation between monism and dualism is not that clear in most of the religious traditions. Monist religions are generally polytheist and allow for manifestations of both good and evil in their gods. This ambiguity is sometimes expressed in

“the struggle between good and evil gods, both of which proceed from the one divine principle; sometimes it is expressed in the two natures of one deity, such as the Hindu Kali, who is both destroyer and creator. At the opposite end of the spectrum, even an extreme dualist religion such as Mazdaism has some monist elements; the Mazdaists always assumed a predetermined victory of the good spirit over the evil one, and they frequently postulated behind the two principles of good and evil a single ambivalent principle that generated both. Few if any religions are purely monist or purely dualist” (ST, 1981 p.160).

Christianity, on the other hand, can not be simply considered as a monist religion eventhough it posits a strict unity and omnipotence to God. The reason for this is that Christianity poses a great deal of power to Satan, likewise. It is also important to make a differentiation between

anthropological dualism and cosmic dualism. “Anthropological dualism is largely Greek in origin and was most sharply expressed in the Orphic belief in a tension between body and soul. Christianity drew upon this belief” (ST, 1981 p.161).

We can say that people just feel and believe that God is good and they don't want to relate any bad powers to this image. Instead, they tend to assume that God has controversial powers, which is a situation of conflict. As a result of these controversial powers, a dualistic side of God appears. This dualism either is referred to be in God himself, revealing in certain situations, or evolves to be more and more strong and eventually forms a Devil figure. The opposition is one that is strict and clear, thinking of God and Devil in certain religions. In some other religions, God unifies this opposition in his own image. However, as mentioned before, monist religions have dualistic features in them. It is of great importance that we should point out that ontologically, God is prior to Satan. Hence, according to the early beliefs, “God, not the Devil, was primarily believed to be the author of evil” (Graves, 1999 p.25). It took hundreds, or even thousands of years that a source other than God himself was thought of; to be the author of all evil. Within time, the Western religions posited God and Devil in a strong opposition. “The God and the Devil exist and work together from all eternity; or they are brothers; or the God creates the Devil; or, in an even closer relationship, the God begets him or produces him from his own essence” (TD, 1987 p.59). The idea of God and Satan being brothers, or twin brothers to be exact, is a common one in the early beliefs. Satan was at first, considered a God, and was worshiped in many different nations.

The idea of the closeness of the images of God and Satan is presented by Lactantius, who was not an absolute dualist. He says that before anything else, God made two sources of things, each source opposed to and struggling against one another. The two sources -the corrupt spirit and the just spirit- are described as being the right and left hand of God. Lactantius sometimes regards to Christ and Satan as brothers; not literally, but metaphorically. “Of the two principles God loved one like a good son; the other he loathed like an evil son” (ST, 1981 p.153). This very much resembles the myth of Cain and Abel.³ This idea of a close connection between good and evil has constituted a powerful yet complex theodicy. Complex because there always remains the question of for what reason God unites these opposite sides in him -or creates a Satan figure-. The first answer to this question, as explained earlier, is thought to be the one that underlines the will of capturing the value of

³ In the Hebrew Bible and the Qur'an, Cain (a farmer) and Abel (a shepherd) are the sons of Adam and Eve. They were born after the Fall of Man. The Hebrew Bible and Qur'an tell their story alike: Cain is the first person to commit murder; he kills his brother after God rejects his sacrifice but accepts Abel's.

goodness and virtue; the one that claims without the existence of evil, we can not be able to grasp the knowledge of a higher and holy goodness; who is God himself. When we do a general reading of different approaches to the schools of belief, theodicies of different fathers of early and medieval Christian thought, we get the idea of an *unfinished plan* of God. According to these schools of thought, God allows evil for certain reasons but the most important reason, if we think with a wider perspective, is that God allows evil in order to reach to a higher goodness in the evolution of earth. This theodicy says that even if we are not able to understand the reason why innocent people die or suffer, we should still believe that God has a plan for the future to be much more true and real *-real*, because according to the Christian and Islamic belief, Satan aims to destroy reality.⁴ This theodicy allows people to think that mankind might feel helpless and miserable, suffering from the evil power in the world and in their lives; but there should be the belief that every little thing is related to one another, and at the end to the master plan. The utterance, “Lord works in mysterious ways” tells that we are not able to give meaning to evil things we witness, but still know that God has variety of ways to lead us to a better world. This idea, also, has a place in Jewish and Islamic belief.⁵ Considering early Jewish belief, Yahweh is sometimes portrayed as being so angry and cruel that he punishes his own people.

“And to the Israelites themselves Yahweh was scarcely more kind (...) Since the God of Israel was the only God, the supreme power in the cosmos, the orderer of all things, no deed could be done unless he willed it. Consequently, when anyone transgressed morality, it had to be Yahweh himself who caused the transgression.” (TD, 1987 p.178)



We will explain these conflicting sides; the main idea here is to grasp an understanding of the answer to why evil exists and the explanation of dualistic and monistic approaches to belief. Now, we will explain the dualist character of God through giving brief historical examples of ancient and modern belief systems. It is crucial to examine and evaluate the matter in historical terms for this process shall reveal an important basis for the discussion.

Like Lactantius, according to Kogi Indians of the Andes, “the good exists only because the evil is active; if the evil would disappear, the good would equally cease to be. The Kogi seek to bring all into Yuluka, a transcendent state of agreement” (TD, 1987 p.58). The sign of ying and yang has its roots in this belief. The gods of India such as Shiva, Durga and

⁴ John 8:44.

⁵“Allah’ın işine akıl sır ermez.”

Kali represent both a destructive and a creative side. When we take a look at the Egyptian religious culture, which has influenced the Judeo-Christian belief like Mesopotamia and Canaan traditions, we see that their Gods are all manifestations of the One God: “God could not be the author of all things without being the author of evil” (Graves, 1999 p.42). The God, and the Gods are ambivalent: evil and good, hurt and help all emanate from the one divine principle. “In no way is Egyptian religion dualistic: there is no one principle of evil. The Egyptian cosmos is a coincidence of opposites, stable, a manifestation of divine order and harmony. The God wills the universe and creates it; but the universe is not merely the creation, but the manifestation of the God” (TD, 1987 p.76). God is believed to have created all men equal and does not command that they do evil. Early Egyptians believed that it is the mankind violating God’s wish. “The sun-god Re creates the world properly, but humanity plots evil, and Re is obliged to chastise them” (TD, 1987 p.76). The opposing sides are clearly observed in many gods of Egyptians. Even merciful Osiris can be the enemy of Re in an early myth, and cruel Seth can be portrayed as good in some myths.



Horus-Seth are a doublet. Seth is the one facing left.

The dual Horus-Seth god is a good example of the dualistic side of God. There is a conflict between Seth and Horus.⁶ One interpretation of this conflict is developed within a psychological point of view. It is the separation of a unity whose parts desire to reunite. The important thing is that early Egyptians worshipped both Seth and Horus as one. Horus, the sky god, and Osiris represented goodness. Seth was in conflict with Horus, which makes him ‘evil’.



Sekmeth, the destructive side of Hathor

There are many myths of the conflict between Horus and Seth.

To give one example; Seth makes Osiris get into a large wooden box, locks it up, and sinks it in the Nile. Osiris’ wife/sister Isis discovers and gives life to the body. Osiris had to die so that he might live; his resurrection might give hope to mankind. “Seth’s killing of Osiris is thus a necessary act, but one which, as Judas Iscariot later, is not imputed to him as a virtue” (TD, 1987 p.80)

⁶ hor: ‘face’ or ‘sky’.

Then, there is the goddess of Hathor. She is, also, ambivalent: she is the goddess of joy, wife of Re, mother of Horus. She also takes the form of a divine cow, provider of milk and image of protection. However, she can also take the form of Sekmeth, ‘the powerful’. Sekmeth is lion-headed (when we look at Hathor, we see her horns which symbolize power), and is,



The kind Hathor

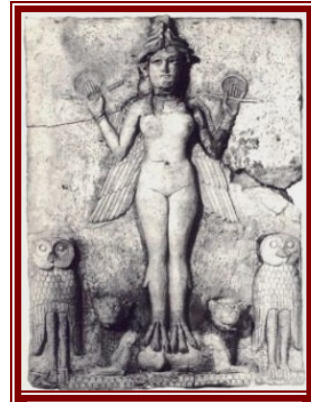
the scorching eye of Re, the avenger of the gods on the wickedness of man. Re created mankind happy, good, and in harmony with its creator. But mankind has rebelled, plotted against him, and then fled in fear. And the majesty of Re said: ‘Behold, they are fled into the desert, their hearts being afraid because of what they have said’. And Re’s courtiers said to him, ‘Send forth thine eye, that it may slay them for thee. Let it go down as Hathor.’ Then went this goddess and slew mankind in the desert” (TD, 1987 p.84).

Sekmeth is God’s side which takes revenge and can be so evil that she destroys nearly the whole human race; exaggerating the duty which God gave her. When we come to the civilizations of Mesopotamia and Syria, we see that they both have influenced the Western conception of evil and Satan much more than Egypt. Mesopotamian religious thought differs from Egypt for the reason that it is much more fearful. We can say that this fearful religious tradition has its roots in never-



Pazuzu

ending migrations, invasions, wars and slavery. Ashurnasiphal usually entered his people in wars and burned the city to the ground. “In Mesopotamia, neither nature nor



Lilitu, surrounded by jackals and owls

society was part of the divine cosmos, the universal order of things. The world was fundamentally alienated from the divine plan, and the inscrutable gods might help, abandon, or simply ignore a nation, a city, or an individual” (ST, 1981 p.87).

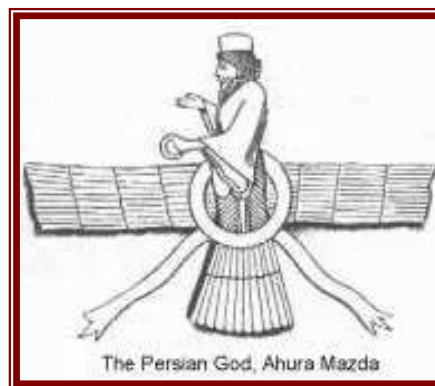
The deities of Babylonian underworld represent dubious qualities. Ereshkigal is the queen of darkness, Pazuzu is the lord of North wind and the destructive side of God. Lilitu (the prototype of the Hebrew Lilith) seduced sleeping men at night and slayed children (Like Sekmeth and Lilitu -and we will see more female evil later in Greek mythology-); there were many cruel goddesses in ancient Mexican tradition. Indeed,

the most cruel gods were female. To name a few: Tlacolteutl, Ciciacoatl, Kali, Coatlicue. In the Canaan (now the whole coast of Syria, Lebanon and Israel) religious tradition, which has a great influence on Hebrews, Anath and Baal are twins; a doublet. At the same time, they are brother and sister; and each fight with Mot.⁷ In a myth, Baal and Mot get in a fight and Mot kills Baal (he is gone from the face of the earth for seven years). Virgin Anath finds her dead brother's body and buries it properly. Then for revenge, she finds Mot and says "Death, thou shalt die." Mot, the evil, dies. The death of 'death', revives Baal. However later, Mot also revives and the two gods get in a fight again. It is believed that the fight between Baal and Mot is the fight between life and death. Mot is like Seth; the closest one to evil, in Canaan. Considering Anath, eventhough she was helpful to mankind with her courage to fight against Mot, her wrath turned into a killing frenzy. Anath's rage represents the destructive power of the deity.

In Hittite religion (a mixture of Anatolian, Canaanite, Mesopotamian and Indo-European elements), there are not too many myths we can relate to the principle of evil. Teshub is the storm god and is thought to be the most important deity in Hittite mythology. As opposed to Teshub (the good god), there is Ullikummiss who is a giant sized god, so tall that he can reach to high heaven. Ullikummiss threatens Teshub and does evil to mankind; but is defeated.

Perhaps Iran has the most rich tradition considering the rise of a dualist tradition and the evolution of the concept of evil. Before 600 B.C the teachings of the prophet Zarathushtra revealed the belief that evil is not a manifestation of the divine; rather proceeds from a wholly separate principle.

While moving from monism to dualism, Zarathushtra also moved from polytheism in the direction of monotheism. But although Zarathushtra was certainly monolatrous, insisting that worship could be offered only to Mazda, his monotheism seems to have been shaky. "Monotheism is not incompatible with a modified form of dualism that posits a spiritual ruler of



evil who is inferior to the spirit of good –such as the Christian tradition. Yet Zarathushtra's spirit of evil, however inferior, has many characteristics of a god" (TD, 1987 p.98). Zarathushtra was a dualist and dualism assumes two principles. They are not necessarily both divine or equal but they have to be separate in origin and entirely independent. Not all the

⁷ In Hebrew, *mot* means death.

things come from God; some things derive from another principle. Dualism insists upon the existence of an absolute evil. Although this dualism forms a basis for the later religious traditions of Christians and Muslims, there are two opinions as to whether dualism was or is preferable to monism.

If the unity of God is damaged, it is hard to come to terms with oneself and the world. Russell claims that by insisting upon a war between good and evil sides, dualism “abets repression, rather than healthy acceptance and conscious suppression of violence. This encourages a psychic shadow, the projection of hostilities, and the increase of destructive behavior. Dualism may arise from, or at least reinforce, a paranoid schizophrenic experience of the world as divided into good guys (or spirits) and bad guys (or spirits)” (ST, 1981 p.100). The positive ideas that dualism offers include the reconciliation of God’s goodness with his omnipotence. The absolute goodness of God is preserved by sacrificing his omnipotence. The orthodox Zoroasterians believed that the good will inevitably defeat evil. The dualistic thought of a radical evil creates, for the first time, a figure recognizable as diabolical. Druj (‘the lie’ –could be compared to the Christian belief of Satan as the liar and the ‘destroyer of truth/reality’) and Asha or



Zurvan



Ahriman

Asharita (‘the truth’) were opposing forces; they were always in a conflict.

According to Zoroastrians, the essence of evil was the lie. Zarathushtra perceived Angra Mainyu, the lord of evil, as the personification of lie, and posited Ahura Mazda as the one God. Here, we perceive a distinction and conflict between Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu. These two are opposite to one another but at the same time, they are twins and reflect the

unification of opposites. According to the Mazdaist position (which made its way to dualism), there were two spirits in the beginning: Ohrmazd (the good, light and eternal) and Ahriman. “Only by defeating Ahriman can Ohrmazd free himself from his limitation in space and become infinite as well as eternal. Yet the good Ohrmazd initiates no struggle with Ahriman” (TD, 1987 p.108). Ahriman, on the other hand, is dark and evil. “He is the Destroyer, the accursed destructive Spirit who is all wickedness and full of death, a liar and a deceiver” (Zaehner, p.24), and thus, at the center of the definition of evil. In the myth;

“The son of Zurvan’s desire is Ohrmazd, warm and moist, the god of goodness, light, and life. The son of his doubt is Ahriman, cold and dry, lord of darkness and evil. To Ahriman Zurvan had planned to give nothing, for his intent was to bestow the rule of the world upon the son he loved. But Ahriman thrusts himself first out of the womb and claims the rule, to the horror of his father, who exclaims, ‘My son is light and fragrant, but thou art dark and stinking.’ And so for a time Ahriman obtains lordship in this world, through the moment of his destruction and the triumph of Ohrmazd is set” (TD, 1987 p.110).

With this dualism, the Devil became something that lies outside us. Something to destroy rather than suppress. This theodicy has great influence on the late Christianity, Judaism, and Islam -in addition to this, the myth of Adam and Eve has its roots in this early Zoroastrian/Zervanite belief. Adam and Eve resemble Mashye and his wife Mashyane; who have free will but choose to love and serve Ohrmazd. Ahriman tempts them with a lie which the couple believe and repeat. And they fall from grace...-

The Iranian dualism influenced Greek religious tradition as well; going back to 6th century B.C the Greeks were the first society to pose the question of evil in philosophical terms. The gods of Greeks were -like those of Egypt and Mesopotamia- ambivalent and reflected two opposing sides, and sometimes, genders.

“Both good and evil are seen to proceed from the one God, of whom the individual gods are manifestations. Thus the gods as a class, and each god or goddess independently, possess both good and evil qualities (...) Almost every god shows signs of both an ouranic (heavenly) and a chthonic (underworld) character, the chthonic being more often assimilated to the concept of evil” (ST, 1981 p.122).

The king of the gods is Zeus; as the sky father, he could also bring lightning and hail. His wife, Hera was the queen of the gods. She brought both warm weather and storms. The ambivalence of the king and queen of the gods is reflected in their genders: in a way, Hera is the female Zeus, Persephone is of Plouton and Artemis is of Apollo. Considering evil nature, Hephaistos -god of volcanic explosions-, Ares -god of storms, cruelty and a mad killer- are remarkable. Aphrodite, the goddess of love, could be both gentle and harsh. Athene represented the power of art and wisdom but she could also bring clouds and lightning; and was portrayed as the goddess of war in earlier times.

The most important figure for us, in terms of the iconography of Satan, is Pan –the son of Hermes. The horns, legs of goat, pointy ears, hairy feet can be seen in the medieval Christian iconography of Satan. Satan was thought to have taken forms of different animals, especially the goat. The resemblance partly derives from this idea. Another idea is that Pan was a phallic figure; just like his father Hermes. “Sexual passion, which suspends reason easily leads to excess, was alien both to the rationalism of the Greeks and to the asceticism of the Christians; a



Pan

god of sexuality could easily be assimilated to the principle of evil” (TD, 1987 p.126). For these reasons, Pan’s appearance was an inspiration for the early physical image of Satan.

The early Hebrew perceptions has also influenced the modern conception of evil. As mentioned before, Yahweh maintained opposing sides in him: “I form the light; I create the darkness. I make peace, and I create evil. I, the Lord, do all these things” (Isaiah 45:7). The Old Testament writers identified Yahweh, the god of Israel, with the one God of the cosmos. For the fact that he was the one God, he had to be an “antinomy of inner opposites” (AJ, 2002 p.368). He was both good and evil; both light and dark. Both the defender of his people and the mad killer. In a story, Yahweh orders the conquest of Canaan and causes the people of Canaan to resist; after that, he allows his people to kill them.

And to the Israelites themselves Yahweh was scarcely more kind. “When one among them had kept some of the soil from a captured city for himself rather than giving it to Yahweh (in care of his priests), Yahweh punished the children of Israel, causing them to be defeated at the hands of the Canaanites” (TD, 1987 p.179).

Yahweh, the god of conflicts, is “both a persecuter and helper in one, and the one aspect is as real as the other. Yahweh is not split but is an antinomy –a totality of inner opposites- and this is the indispensable condition for his tremendous dynamism, his omniscience and omnipotence” (AJ, 2002 p.7). The savage nature of Yahweh can be interpreted as a reflection of the early conquering Israelites; as the Hebrews became more settled, they felt the need to moderate their morality. Mercy and care, responsibility and solidarity became much more valuable. Considering the Hebrew Devil, there are four interpretations of the origins of evil that influence modern perspectives. The first is that the Satan was a demon among demons who rose to the position of their chief. The second one claims that Satan is a personification of the evil within man. Third one is that once Satan was

one of God's functionaries; and the last one is that Satan is the personification of the dark side of the God -that element in Yahweh-. The Hebrews wanted to know why God would permit humanity to sin and eventually came up with the answer that there was a different spiritual power, the Devil; the destructive side of Yahweh. This idea led to a twinning. However, Hebrews continued to insist on monotheism; so the destructive side of Yahweh evolved to be interpreted as Satan in the later theodicies. On the other hand, early Jews thought of their gods as everything; both virtues and vices.

The historical information on the dualistic and monistic religious approaches to evil provide a strong basis for the argument. The image of Satan has evolved through different periods of mankind, and it is important to evaluate these periods in order to grasp an efficient understanding of evil's nature in human world. The historical analysis of evil and personifications of evil presented in this part, will allow us to gain a stronger and firmer standpoint while evaluating the image of Satan in British literature.

III.

A Pact With the Devil

On Faustus, Mephistopheles, and Perils of Desiring the Absolute

No wonder the literary heroes of the age were Faust, standing alone at the midnight crossroads with Mephistopheles, and Macbeth alone on the blasted heart with the three witches. Isolation provoked terror, terror an exaggerated view of the Devil's power.

Jeffrey Burton Russell



Christopher Marlowe (baptised 26 February 1564 - 30 May 1593), is one of the greatest British authors. He was an acclaimed poet and a dramatist of Elizabethan period and considered to be the most successful establisher of dramatic blank verse, after Shakespeare.

Eventhough the records about his birth and baptism are vague, it is considered that he was born between 15th January and 25th January. He was born into his family as a second child; his father was a shoemaker and freeman of Canterbury, John Marlowe. He was educated in King's School, Canterbury and Corpus Christi Colledge, Cambridge, on a scholarship. Marlowe received his bachelor of arts degree in 1584.

It's been a common fact that in 1587, the university hesitated to honour him his master's degree because of a rumour that he had converted to Catholicism and gone to English College at Reims, to prepare to become a priest. Marlowe's frequent absences made this doubt stronger. However, this doubt was adressed when the Privy Council sent a letter declaring that "he had been employed on matters touching the benefits of his country" (EB, 2006). In the letter the Privy Council sent, the nature of Marlowe's *service* was not specified; of course. It seems that Marlowe was engaged in Queen Elizabeth's secret service, thus he was not able to

attend classes. Unfortunately, we do not have any direct evidence to support this particular theory. The important thing is that the request from the Privy Council worked and Marlowe started his master's degree that July.

After 1587, Marlowe was in London, writing for the theatres and occasionally getting into trouble with the authorities because of his violent and disreputable behavior. Peter Farey points out that Philip Henslowe built his theatre 'The Rose' on the South bank of the Thames in 1588, the main two London theatres –The 'Theatre' and 'The Curtain' were posited very near Norton Folgate, where Marlowe had been lately resident in 1589, "and his earlier plays would almost certainly have had their first public performances at one of them, more probably the former" (Farey, p.4). According to the sources, Marlowe seems to have had a fairly wide circle of friends and acquaintances. These people included his friend and patron Thomas Walsingham, and a circle of intellectuals centered around the Earl of Northumberland and Sir Walter Raleigh, including in particular the mathematicians Thomas Hariot and Walter Warner, the poet Matthew Royden, also other university wits; like Thomas Nashe, Robert Grene, and George Peele. Philip Henslowe staged his plays and Edward Alleyn played and lead in most of them.

Marlowe is often said to be a homosexual. In the Elizabethan era, the term "gay" is not used as what it is today. However, actions considered as sodomy were crime in the period where there was no word for homosexual identity; a concept that did not emerge until the 19th century. Baines claims that Marlowe said "all they that love not tobacco and boys were fools"; and that "St. John the Evangelist was bedfellow to Christ and leaned always in his bossom, that he used him as the sinners of Sodom" (Farey, 2006 p.6).

Marlowe had a reputation for atheism. He was arrested on a charge of atheism in 1593. He was confirmed not only as an atheist himself, but one who encouraged atheism in others. We understand that Marlowe had a history of trouble with the law, long before the fight that resulted with his death. We realize this occasion which resulted with his death is the one and only situation where there is evidence of Marlowe assaulting a person. On the evening of 5th May 1593, an anti-immigrant poem, now known as the "Dutch Church Libel", was posted on the wall of a London church. It was in blank verse, similar to Marlowe's style. The poem was signed by someone calling himself "Tamburlaine", who is one of Marlowe's most famous characters. The poem also included references to Marlowe's two other plays. The Privy Council insisted that the author should be found and punished. A few days later, Thomas Kyd –playwright and once Marlowe's roommate- was arrested. Although innocent of the original charge, Kyd was tortured and later, tried to distance himself from Marlowe as much as

possible, accusing him of atheism. On 18th May, Marlowe was sent to appear before the Privy Council; and released on bail. Only ten days after his first appearance before the Privy Council, however, Christopher Marlowe was gone. According to the report of the inquest on his death, he and three other men met on the morning of 30th May 1593 at the Deptford home of a widow called Eleanor Bull. They had lunch together, and spent a quiet afternoon in the house and walking in the garden. An argument broke out between Marlowe and one of the men, Frizer concerning the payment of the bill. Marlowe wounded Frizer. "A struggle ensued in which Frizer thrust the dagger into Marlowe's head, just above the right eye, killing him instantly. Frizer was found to have acted in self-defense, and was freed. Marlowe was buried in the church yard of St. Nicholas, Deptford on the evening of 1st June" (Farey, 2006 p.7).

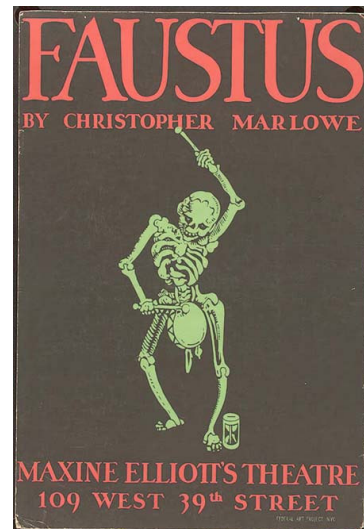
The mysterious death of Christopher Marlowe, raised suspicions through years following the Deptford case. It's important to point out that the three men who were in the room with Marlowe when he died, all had certain connections to the Intelligence Service as well as the London underworld. One of these men, Robert Poley was carrying confidential despatches to the Queen, who was staying at Greenwich nearby, that time. Poley, instead of delivering them, spent the day with Marlowe and the other two. Also, it seems too much of a coincidence that Marlowe's death occurred only a few days after his arrest for heresy. Marlowe's patron, Thomas Walsingham was Sir Francis' second cousin and was actively involved in intelligence work. Unfortunately, we are unlikely to know for certain the full circumstances of Marlowe's death. There are many different theories, but no solid evidence. Among these theories, the idea that Marlowe faked his own death is a popular one.

We should cover here, the *Marlovian Theory*; for it attracted many scholars and critics around the world. The Marlovian theory of Shakespearean authorship holds that the plays conventionally ascribed to William Shakespeare were in fact written by the playwright Christopher Marlowe. Marlowe is recorded to have died in 1593, but Marlovians believe that he faked his own death and continued to write plays using Shakespeare's name as coverage. Many theorists tried to raise evidence and put forward what they have found that could be relevant to their theory; like similarity in styles of language of these two great poets. However, the Marlovian theory received many criticisms from some other scholars, who believed the theory can not be supported with direct evidence. We should add that a case for Marlowe was made in 1895, considering these authorship discussions. Theories were put forward throughout the 20th century, by Archie Webster. However, the creator of the most detailed theory of Marlowe's authorship, was Calvin Hoffman.

As to Marlowe's works, his first extant dramatic work, *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, was written in 1583. His masterpiece *Tamburlaine* (1587) is his first known play to be performed on the London stage, and tells the tale of the conqueror Timur. This play is considered to be the first English play to make effective dramatic use of the blank verse. *Tamburlaine* marks the beginning of the mature phase of Elizabethan theatre. While speaking of Marlowe's talent, Ben Jonson used the phrase 'Marlowe's mighty line', which then became a widely-used phrase to refer to Marlowe's extraordinary skill. Marlowe's style is often described as "strongly rhythmic, regular unrhymed line in iambic pentameter which is usually end-stopped" (Barker, 1995 p6). This style later came out to be Shakespearean blank verse; though it is vital to point out that Shakespeare's style was much more flexible than Marlowe's. *The Jew of Malta* (1589) depicted a Maltese Jew's barbarous revenge against the city authorities. *Edward II* (1592) was an English history play about the dethronement of Edward II by barons and his French queen. *The Massacre at Paris* (1593) was a short, sketch play portraying the events surrounding the St Bartholome's Day massacre in 1572. Among other works there are, *Hero and the Leander* (1593), *The Passionate Shepherd to His Love* (1593).

Doctor Faustus (1589, revised 1592) is Marlowe's masterpiece, often said to be his greatest tragedy. Marlowe clearly used many of the conventions of the medieval Morality Plays.⁸ This popular form, a "variety of allegory, narrated the gradual education of its hero into an understanding of the difference between right and wrong"; thus the hero "invariably came to the conclusion of the play as a maturer, wiser and better man" (Barker, 1995 p.8). It is remarkable that even if Marlowe was influenced by this form to some degree, he still chose to mark the end of the play tragically. Instead of being saved, Faustus meets his eternal damnation.

When *Doctor Faustus* was performed by Edward Alleyn's company of players in the 1590s, rumours were raised about a scene where Faustus conjures the devils. The audience and some of the actors saw that there appeared an unidentified actor on the stage, among the devils. It is interesting that theatre and real life was able to create such a powerful and vivid connection; that the suspension of disbelief was highly grasped by both the players and the



⁸ An allegorical drama popular in Europe during the 15th and 16th centuries, in which the characters personify moral qualities and in which moral lessons are taught.

audience. It is often said that from then on “Edward Alleyn himself took to wearing an ostentatiously large cross when playing the title role” (Barker, 1995 p6).

Before beginning with the analysis of the play and the idea of evil in the play, it is of great necessity to put forward some facts about the famous Faust character. The Faust figure is widely known and written all around Europe in the 16th century –to the present- and is “–after Christ, Mary, and the Devil- the single most popular character in the history of Western Christian culture” (MP, 1986 p.58). Faust is known as a philosophy and theology student who later prefers to study hermetic magic and then becomes occupied with casting horoscopes and predicting the future for money. Unfortunately, the historical identity of this person is not certain.⁹ There is a theory that Luther and his followers were responsible for turning Faustus into a legend.¹⁰ The first mention of Faustus’ pact with the devil dates about 1580. Faust, also called Faustus or Dr. Faustus, “is the hero of one of the most durable legends in Western Folklore and literature. It is the story of a German necromancer or astrologer who sells his soul to the devil in exchange for knowledge and power” (MP, 1986 p.59). The historical figure of Faust was told to refer to the devil as his ‘Schwager’, or crony. He travelled a lot. When he died about 1540, he left with rumours, about him practicing sorcery, alchemy, astrology, necromancy, theological and diabolical studies. He had a reputation of ‘evil practices’ and sodomy. However, Faustus was taken very seriously in an age which raised many occultists and seers as Paracelsus, Nostradamus, and Agrippa von Nettesheim.¹¹

The first book on Faust was written by Johann Spiess in 1587 under the title of *Historia von Dr. Johann Faustus*. This specific version became known as the *Faustbuch* (*Faustbook*) and translated all over Europe. It was probably first translated into English in 1587 or 1588. The main character Faustus wishes to reach to absolute knowledge by his own efforts rather than to receive it by grace. The theme resembles the one in Milton’s *Paradise Lost*, for Faustus’ sin is very much alike to the original sin of humanity, which caused Adam

⁹ It is said that he may have been born around 1478 or 1480. There is a theory which identifies him with a student named Georg Helmstetter. It’s not for sure that Faustus was even called Faustus. However, the name Faustus was common among the Renaissance humanists. ‘Faustus’ means “fortunate” in Latin.

¹⁰ Luther thought that hermetic magic was a vain attempt to reach to divine knowledge and linked all magic with witchcraft. He figured if a person practices magic, he can do this only with the help of the devil.

¹¹ Paracelsus, a Swiss alchemist, astrologer and physician, lived between 1493-1541. Paracelsus, among other studies, invented an alphabet called the *Alphabet of the Magi* for engraving angelic names upon talismans. He pioneered the use of chemicals and minerals in medicine. Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486-1535) is a German occultist whose works combined magic, astrology, Qabbalah, theurgy, medicine, and the occult properties of plants, rocks, and metals. His works include *Three Books of Occult Philosophy, Of Occult Philosophy and Magic, On Calling Spirits, Opera II, Of Geomancy*. It is of value to add that Faustus mentions Agrippa in the first act of Marlowe’s play, talking to Valdes and Cornelius: “(...) Swarm to my problems as the infernal spirits/On Sweet Musaeus when he came to hell,/Will be as cunning as Agrippa was,/Whose shadows made all Europe honour him”.

and Eve to fall from grace. On the other hand, Faustus' sin also resembles Satan's. Satan failed because of his pride and Faustus' individual attempt to ignore God to grasp knowledge involves one of the seven deadly sins: Pride. The original Faustbuch involves vivid descriptions of Hell and the portrayal of Mephistopheles is very realistic. In the book, Faustus determines to call up the Devil. He goes to a crossroads at night and invokes a spirit (*geist*) by the name of Beelzebub. The spirit appears, taking the form of a dragon, a fiery globe, a fiery man, and finally a greyfriar. These appearances are closely linked with the physical images of the traditional personification of evil. The spirit tells Faustus about his prince Lucifer.¹² The spirit is, of course, Mephistopheles -and the first mention of this name takes place, but here spelled as *Mephostophiles*.¹³ This name reveals modern Devil as we know it; and is a pure invention. When Mephistopheles obtains permission from Lucifer, Faustus makes a written pact in blood, denies Christ and promises to be an enemy of the Christian people.¹⁴ Then, Mephistopheles takes Faustus to a tour in hell. Eventually Faustus' desire for knowledge turns into lust and domination. He travels to Rome to feast at the Pope's palace; later to Constantinople, where he pretends to be Prophet Muhammad. He meets Helen of Troy and makes love with her; however she turns out to be a succubus. Faustus, in the finale, summons his colleagues and students; warns them against sin and temptation. He hopes that this would earn him the mercy of Lucifer. Faustus yields to despair and at midnight, the students feel a great wind, and vaguely hear Faustus screaming for help. The next morning, they find Faustus' strangely mutilated body thrown upon the dungheap -one version has his head turned front to back-.

In the early versions of Faust's story, Faust's eternal damnation was never in doubt. The books included instructions on how to avoid a pact with the devil, or, if needed be, how to break it. The classic of these was written by J.W. von Goethe. Goethe is the outstanding

¹² *Lucifer* means "light-bearer" (from *lux*, "light", and *ferre*, "to bear, bring") in Latin. It is also a Roman astrological term for the "morning star", Venus. The word *Lucifer* was the direct translation of the 'eosphorus' in Greek; which means "dawn-bearer"; also in Greek 'phosphorus'; meaning 'light-bearer'. It mythologically has the same meaning as Prometheus who brought light to the man.

¹³ *Mephistophilis* derives from a variety of elements in different languages like the Greek 'me' ('not', in English); 'phos', 'photos', ('light' in English); and 'philos', meaning 'lover'—resulting in the phrase "he who is not a lover of light", note the parody of Lucifer's name. In Latin, 'mephitis' means pungent, sulfurous, stinking. The Hebrew word 'tophel' means "liar". Again, a common element both in Eastern (and Western) theologies; resembling the Persian word 'druj' ('liar') used to refer to Satan.

¹⁴ A pact signed with blood is a widely used image; both in classical and popular works. As an example from popular culture, the 1999 American TV series "Angel", by Joss Whedon makes use of a pact signed with blood. The main character Angel, signs an agreement with the evil law firm "Wolfram and Heart"; which is one of the most determining and plausible scenes of the specific episode, for it suggests once making a deal with evil, everything would change for Angel who always does good deeds for the helpless.

chronicler of the Faust legend. His verse drama (part 1, 1808; part 2, 1832) turns the traditional Faust story into an ironic commentary about modern western man's intellectual heritage. Goethe's play relies upon theology, mythology, philosophy, political economy, science, aesthetics, music and literature. In the end, Goethe saves Faust by bringing about his purification and redemption. However, this is not how it goes in Marlowe's work. Faustus in Marlowe, is far away from redemption. With a tone far from optimistic, he deepens the tension with spiritual powers. J.R. Green suggests, "Faustus was the first dramatic attempt to touch the great problem of the relations of man to the unseen world, to paint the power of doubt in a temper leavened with superstition" (Green, 1995 p.863-4).

The character, Mephistopheles in the work, owes his roots to the first *Faustbuch* (1587). "In Marlowe's Faust, Mephisto achieves tragic grandeur as a fallen angel, torn between satanic pride and dark despair. In Goethe's Faust, he is cold-hearted, cynical and witty- perhaps a more subtle but certainly a slighter creation" (ST, 1981 p.3). As mentioned before, Goethe chooses to save Faustus. In Marlowe's Faustus, the conflict between the tradition and the new Renaissance individualism is more emphasized. He is the modern man who has to choose between tradition and himself. The conflict represents the one for Faustus' soul. It is vital to underline that considering the ongoing arguments of religion and individualism of the era which Faustus was written, influenced Marlowe a great deal; he both considered on elements of religion and how these could be tied with emerging humanist individualistic approaches. Marlowe questioned man and faith, God and Satan. Marlowe was inspired by an English prose translation of the German story of 1592, and titled his work *The Tragicall History of D. Faustus* (1604).

In Faust, the conflict is between Devil and man. God is more like an indistinct figure; rather than one that keeps showing himself continuously, pressuring, dominating image. Roma Gill points out that "Marlowe's God is more long-suffering than the God of the Elizabethan church and continues to extend mercy and forgiveness to Faustus long after the traditional God would have turned away" (Gill, 1985 p.xxii). Faustus has much time to turn to God again; but simply, he does not choose it. The tension between Devil and man grows to be detailed and complicated in the work. The idea of individualism, the Protestant emphasis about the 'one-on-one' war between man and evil is crucial in the work. Faustus seeks no company to help or advise him; for he knows, no one can neither fully understand or help. The story is too pessimistic that Marlowe does not save Faustus nor he suggests ways of salvation. Salvation of the sinner was a popular theme back in the medieval times. After accepting his wrong deeds, the sinner opened up, confessed, learned the right, regretted the

wrong. What we see here in Marlowe's work is that Faustus hardens his heart, even if he comes and goes between right and wrong, he turns away from God.

Marlowe's work has been acknowledged as showing the real power of evil while ignoring the power of good. Faustus' original sin is the prideful desire to obtain knowledge for its own sake and for the sake of power it gives. Protestant teachings defended that a soul without the help of grace, could not come into terms with any true knowledge. Without grace, the soul would eventually become a tool of its own ambitions; thus, turn into a slave of evil impulses. This very notion marks a crucial example of conflict between religion on one side and science on the other. As Russell puts forward, "the modern view, of course, is that knowledge is primarily important for its use in promoting human comfort, secondarily for its own sake, and certainly not for the glory of God. The division between these two points of view has deformed Western thought for centuries" (MP, 1986 p.64).

Considering the years that Marlowe's Faustus was written, it is crucial to analyze the text within the Calvinist/Anti-Calvinist approaches; for it has been a greatly widespread opinion that Marlowe was very much influenced by the ongoing arguments about religion around him.¹⁵ First of all, Marlowe was at the university of Cambridge in 1580. The university was a popular environment for both Calvinist and anti-Calvinist thinkers to debate. Calvinists argued ritual and government; later in the 1590s, they started considering on doctrinal, philosophical matters on religion. "Disagreements in matters of religion were, of course, nothing new to the English of the 1580s, for the populace was still feeling the effects of the reformation –divided not only into Catholics and Protestants but also into varieties of Catholicism and Protestantism" (ST, 1981 p.7). Among Catholics, there were two sides: One side was closer to Pope and the other side believed Pope should not be indispensable for religion.

The varieties of religious beliefs and practices as well as the intensity with which they were held defined the spectrum of English Protestantism in which the members of the Church of England could be more or less Calvinists. Quite naturally, many felt bewildered, alienated from their God" (MP, 1986 p.7).

¹⁵ Calvinists, briefly, believed that mankind was not naturally born with faith of God because of the original sin; this is called the "total inability". God, chooses ones whom he will take by an "unconditional election"; not dependent upon who is faithful, full of virtue or not. The original sin, the fall of mankind can be forgive for the ones God chooses; because of the death of Christ. The elected ones are saved; this is called the "limited atonement". The ones who fight with their innate feelings to regret scriptures or gospels are elected; this is called the irresistible grace. A person who is saved from his inner motives of regret, should stay that way; he can not be condemned; this is the "perseverance of saints".

With the government tension about a possible religious radicalism, these years were definitely marked by the political, social, and religious discomfort. On the other hand, witchcraft was taken very seriously; conjuring magic and witchcraft were seen as ambitions to be as powerful as God. People who turned to witchcraft were “not satisfied with the measure of inward gifts received, as of knowledge, wit, understanding, memory and such like,...to search out such things as God would have kept secret.” (Perkins, 1996 p.43.)

Just like Faustus, who believes that promises made by Mephistopheles are irresistible. According to the anti-Calvinist teaching, we can say he is damned because he is not able to break the pact with Lucifer. According to the Calvinist teaching, he is already born damned; this is the reason why he performs magic and is not able to break the agreement with evil.

Faust's first sin is pride -just like Satan-. He is not really satisfied with his achievements as a scholar. In the first scene, where he is seen in his soliloquy, Faustus wishes to gain necromantic skill.

These metaphysics of magicians

And necromantic books are heavenly,

Lines, circles, signs, letters, and characters

Ay, these are thou that Faustus most desires.

O, what a world of profit and delight,

Of power, of honour, of omnipotence

Is promised to the studious artisan! (1.1.53-57)

The Good Angel represents tradition, grace, and the orthodox view. He senses what Faustus might be seeking for and warns him about damnation.

O Faustus, lay that damned book aside

And gaze not on it, lest it tempt thy soul

And heap God's heavy wrath upon thy head!

Read, read the Scriptures. That is blasphemy. (1.1.72-75)

However, Faustus appears to be firm about his wishes to grasp absolute knowledge. He does not want to work on his usual studies anymore.

Philosophy is odious and obscure;

Both law and physic are for petty wits;

Divinity is basest of the three,

Unpleasent, harsh, contemptible, and vile.

'Tis magic, magic that hath ravished me. (1.1.108-112)

So Faustus decides he should awaken the great spirit, Mephistopheles and find his way to absolute knowledge through him. His conjuring magic is worth to take a look. We give the English version of the original Latin magic words.

Be propitious to me, gods of Acheron! Let the threefold spirit of Jehovah be strong! Hail to thee, spirits of fire, air, water, and earth! Lucifer, thou prince of the East, Beelzebub, thou monarch of fiery hell, and Demogorgon, we beseech you that Mephistopheles may appear and rise. Why do you delay? By Jehovah, Gehenna, and the holy water I now sprinkle, and by the sign of the cross I now make, and by our prayers, may Mephistopheles himself arise at our command! (1.3.15-22)

Here, we see that Faustus already is prepared for the outcomes of his act; he freely chooses this. The idea of free-will has been emphasized also in Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Without the free-will, there would be no difference of right and wrong. Marlowe, influenced by the idea of individualism of his time, aimed to underline a person's liberty to choose a side. Faustus is not forced to do anything, he conjures magic freely. Here, Faustus cries out to the gods of Acheron, Jehovah, Lucifer, Beelzebub. *Acheron* refers to a river in Hades and means 'river of woe'. It was a branch of the underworld river *Styx* -where Charon ferried dead people's souls to Hades-. *Acheron* is found near the ruins of *Necromanteion*, which means 'the oracle of the dead'. People used to come here to talk with their ancestors. *Demogorgon* is used by the Christian scholars to refer to a pagan god or a demon. *Gehenna* refers to the Jewish hell. These names, along with Lucifer, Beelzebub, and Jehovah were conceived as taboo in the age

this play was written. They invoked thoughts of terror and fear through the audience. This particular magic Faustus performs, shows how terribly he desires to become a dominion of knowledge; therefore, to become powerful. The idea of achieving power through evil deeds is a popular theme among writers who consider on good and evil. There is a certain consideration of hierarchy among Faustian type protagonists. *Richard III* by Shakespeare, for instance. So, the idea of gaining power, absolute power comes with pride and other sins follow. Faustus sins as being prideful, as wishing access to greater knowledge by consulting dark powers. He eventually denounces Christ and people who believe in him; signing a pact with his own blood. He tells Mephistopheles that there is no chief but Beelzebub for him now. When Faustus starts asking questions to Mephistopheles about Lucifer and hell, an interesting conversation takes place.

Faustus: Tell me what is that Lucifer thy lord?

Mephistopheles: Arch-regent and commander of all spirits.

Faustus: Was not that Lucifer an angel once?

Mephistopheles: Yes, Faustus, and most dearly loved of God.

Faustus: How comes it then that he is prince of devils?

Mephistopheles: O, by aspiring pride and insolence,

For which God threw him from the face of heaven.

Faustus: And what are you that live with Lucifer?

Mephistopheles: Un happy spirits that fell with Lucifer,

Conspired against our God with Lucifer,

And are for ever damned with Lucifer.

Faustus: Where are you damned?

Mephistopheles: In hell.

Faustus: How comes it then that thou art out of hell?

Mephistopheles: Why, this is hell, nor am i out of it.

(...)

Faustus: (...)

Had I as many souls as there be stars,

I'd give them all for Mephistopheles.

By him I'll be great emperor of the world.

(1.3.55-105)

Mephistopheles tells Faustus how Lucifer fell and how he is one of the damned spirits who conspired against 'their' God with Lucifer. Faustus first thinks he might be able to manipulate Mephistopheles to fulfill his own ambitions. On the other hand, he is not really aware of what he is dealing with. Mephistopheles, resembling both Milton's serpent and Shakespeare's Richard, soon begins using lies, flattery, and promises; which eventually ties Faustus to him and his lord Lucifer with an unbreakable bond.

Faustus, sometimes falters between right and wrong. However, he tries never to doubt about his choice and stick to it.

Faustus: Now, Faustus, must thou needs be damned,

And canst thou not be saved.

What boots it then to think of God or heaven?

Away with such vain fancies and despair!

Despair in God and trust in Beelzebub.

(...)O, something soundeth in mine ear:

'Abjure this magic, turn to God again!'

Ay, and Faustus will turn to God again.

To God? He loves thee not.

The god thou servest is thine own appetite,

Wherein is fixed the love of Beelzebub.

To him I'll build an altar and a church,

And offer lukewarm blood of new-born babes. (2.1.1-14)

We see that there is some sort of an 'abandoned son of God' conflict here. Faustus believes God does not love him. He despairs in God. It is like as if God has let him down, frustrated him. He announces that the only God he serves is his own appetite; appetite for knowledge. He discards belief, faith, the elements which people tend to think of as composing one's soul. Faustus goes as far as suggesting Beelzebub an altar, a church, and blood of babies. Even if his thoughts come and go between God and Devil, he succeeds in fixating the idea that Lucifer is the only way to get him the power he desires. He believes that God can not harm him if he goes the way of Mephistopheles. He thinks he found the power figure he needs; thus leaves his doubts aside (Or should we say that he found the figure through whom he can reach power from).

Faustus: When Mephistopheles shall stand by me,

What god can hurt thee, Faustus? Thou art safe;

Cast no more doubts. (2.1.24-25)

When Mephistopheles comes again, he tells Faustus that Lucifer, his lord, has told him to wait on Faustus as long as he lives.

Faustus: Stay, Mephistopheles, and tell me, what good will my soul do thy lord?

Mephistopheles: Enlarge his kingdom.

Faustus: Is that the reason he tempts us thus?

Mephistopheles: Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris.

(2.1.39-42)

The image of Mephistopheles suggests a remarkable change considering Devil's character. "He is at least a little sympathetic with his victim, and he shows some small signs of introspection, including a hint of regret for his own rebellion. The internalization and humanization of Satan's character became a main theme in the post-Faustian literature of the late 16th and 17th centuries" (MP, 1986 p.60). Marlowe's image of Satan is thought to be the messenger of the upcoming Romantic Satan –whom will be discussed later in our study of William Blake-. Marlowe's Satan has a depth, like Milton's. He is not fully evil, the reader is driven to a point where he is able to understand and accept Mephistopheles' yearnings of felicity. He is very clever and witty; a master of mind games. He accepts God had created the world, and that is one stable point he holds on; besides God's reality, lies and illusion take over. Mephistopheles does not make plans to tempt Faustus; rather, Faustus freely chooses to awaken his soul. That is, what we witness in Marlowe, is an independent image of Satan who doesn't prefer to make any effort to tempt humankind, but wait for them to come to him. When Mephistopheles takes over the dominion, he simply collects what he was promised in the pact. It is a fair deal. This marks the difference between Milton's Satan and Marlowe's Mephistopheles. Russell suggests, "Mephistopheles is the most important literary Devil since Milton's, but a Devil resurrected in a non-Christian form in which he has lost his horns and tail, and covers his deformed foot with his shoe" (MP, 1986 p.65). Mephistopheles is really, not so pleasant to the human eye that when Faustus first sees him he is disgusted by the sight of him.

I charge thee to return and change thy shape,

Thou art too ugly to attend on me;

Go and return an old Franciscan Friar (3.1.24-26).

Mephistopheles listens Faustus and comes back as a Franciscan Friar. This scene is humorous because a Franciscan Friar is a very committed Christian. We can suggest that it is very likely that Marlowe as an unorthodox, is mocking the Catholic Church.

It is crucial to see how Mephistopheles gives witty answers to Faustus' ongoing questions about Lucifer and hell. He tells Faustus the reason Lucifer wants his soul is to enlarge his kingdom; which is an answer involving a little humour in it. Mephistopheles does not take Faustus seriously. Every now and then, he tells Faustus something to hold on to; even though Faustus seems to be ignoring, or is not able to fully understand. Just like when

Faustus asks whether or not enlarging his kingdom is why Lucifer tempts them. Mephistopheles says “solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris”; meaning, “it is a comfort to the wretched to have had companions in misery”. These words remind us of Milton’s Satan, trying to get together all of the other fallen angels in hell, to construct an army against God and his angels. Later on, Faustus signs his pact with Lucifer, with his own blood, for Lucifer feels safer this way. The pact is as follows;

I, John Faustus of Wittenberg, Doctor, by these presents do give both body and soul to Lucifer, Prince of the East, and his minister Mephistopheles; and furthermore grant unto them that, four-and-twenty years being expired, the articles above written inviolate, full power to fetch or carry the said John Faustus, body and soul, flesh, blood, or goods, into their habitation wheresoever. (2.1.105-110)

As seen above, Faustus has no idea where Lucifer and Mephistopheles, with all the other fallen spirits, live. He has no firm knowledge as to where hell is, or what really Lucifer wants to do with his body and soul. He is actually in an ironic situation; where all he desires is knowledge, without knowing really nothing about his place in this pact. This ironic situation is often acknowledged by the reader from the beginning until the end of the play. For another instance, Faustus reasons that there is no life after death; he tells Mephistopheles these are mere old-wives tales and he has no belief in afterlife at all: --Faustus: Think’st thou that Faustus is so fond/To imagine that after this life there is any pain?/Tush, these are trifles and mere old wive’s tales/Mephistopheles: But, Faustus, I am an instance to prove the contrary/For I am damned and am now in hell (2.1.133-137)-- The paradox is that he forgets he makes a deal with the Devil. The devil, coming from an alternate life, an afterlife. The author intends to show us how Faustus becomes so blind to see these facts; how he is blind-folded by his pseudo ‘rational’ desires. Mephistopheles gives hints to Faustus that Lucifer is not as powerful as God. The following words clearly tell how terrible hell is; and show how Mephistopheles hides his pain inside for he is a fallen angel.

Why this is hell, nor am I out of it.

Think'st thou that I, who saw the face of God,

And tasted the eternal joys of heaven,

Am not tormented with ten thousand hells

In being deprived of everlasting bliss! (3.1.76-80)

The humour emerges again when Faustus asks Mephistopheles for a wife. It is rather a funny scene; for the one of the first things Faustus can think of is a woman when he is able to desire actually anything from Mephistopheles. The author's aim here is not, of course, only to enter humorous elements. This scene resembles Adam's creation and how he asked for a female. Faustus is like newly-created after he signs the pact with Mephistopheles, and the thing he demands is a wife, is not a coincidence at all.

Faustus starts casting doubts on his situation again, however understands it is too late for him to go back. Yet, it is impossible for him to give up all the advantages he gains after the pact. So he just deals with his doubts and regrets, turning to evil again. He tries getting answers from Mephistopheles. However, Mephistopheles often tells him nothing he does not know; in his witty, clever words, he hides truths and fresh knowledge from Faustus. As Dorothy Sayers remarks, Mephistopheles is "a spiritua lunatic, but like many lunatics, he is extremely plausible and cunning" (Sayers, 1945 p.7). For instance, Faustus asks him questions about astrology and cosmology.

Faustus: Well, resolve me in this question: why have we not conjunctions, oppositions, aspects, eclipses all at one time, but in some years we have more, in some less?

Mephistopheles: Per inaequalem motum respectu totius.

(2.3.58-60)

Faustus wishes to know why the movements in the sky, their being opposite to one another, their eclipsing one another do not occur on an annual basis. Mephistopheles tells him, 'Per inaequalem motum respectu totius'; meaning 'because of their unequal motion with respect to the whole'. Faustus can not get a proper answer to the challenging question he asks. Faustus goes on asking about God; where the reader acknowledges Faustus' doubts about his place.

Faustus: Well, I am answered. Tell me who made the world.

Mephistopheles: I will not.

Faustus: Sweet Mephistopheles, tell me.

Mephistopheles: Move me not, for I will not tell thee.

Faustus: Villain, have I not bound thee to tell me anything?

Mephistopheles: Ay, that is not against our kingdom, but this is.

Think thou on hell, Faustus, for thou art damned.

Faustus: Think, Faustus, upon God, that made the world.

(...)

Ay, go, accursed spirit, to ugly hell!

'Tis thou hast damned distressed Faustus' soul.

Is't not too late?

(2.3.61-76)

He asks himself whether it is too late or not after Mephistopheles avoids answering who made the world. Faustus really falls in conflict this time. It is a crucial scene which marks the first appearance of Lucifer. When Faustus cries out Christ's name "Ah, Christ, my saviour, seek to save distressed Faustus' soul!" (2.3.88), Lucifer, Beelzebub and Mephistopheles enter.

Lucifer: We come to tell thee thou dost injure us.

Thou talk'st of Christ, contrary to thy promise. Thou shouldst not think of God. Think of the devil,

And of his dame, too.

Faustus: Nor will I henceforth. Pardon me in this,

And Faustus vows never to look to heaven,

Never to name God or to pray to him,

To burn his Scriptures, slay his ministers,

And make my spirits pull his churches down.

(2.3.89-97)

Faustus suddenly realizes what he is doing; with fear inside, he apologizes to Lucifer. He kills the tiniest bit of doubt inside himself. Then Lucifer shows Faustus the seven deadly sins: Pride, covetousness, wrath, envy, gluttony, sloth, lechery. One of the most interesting scenes of the play takes place when Faustus and Mephistopheles travel around the world. When they go to Rome, Faustus meets the Pope. The Pope crosses himself.

Faustus: What, are you crossing of yourself?

Well, use that trick no more, I would advise you.

--the Pope crosses himself again--

Well, there's a second time. Aware of the third,

I give you fair warning.

(The Pope crosses himself again, and Faustus hits him a box of the ear, and they all -except Faustus and Mephistopheles- run away)

(3.1.77-80)

His travels give the chance to Faustus to meet kings and to be a guest at their royal courts. His knowledge and skill mesmerizes them all and his fame spreads through the countries. Faustus seems to be satisfied with the attention he gets. People talk about his great knowledge and talent. He even uses phrases resembling Satan's ("Silence is golden" is often addressed to Satan). Faustus tells the kings, "Be silent then, for danger is in words" (5.1.24). Unfortunately, the fame he earns is not enough for Faustus to fully adopt evil ways without judging himself. At the end of the play, Faustus gets together with some scholars who admire him. He starts telling them everything; shares his destiny. He is aware that his sins will never be excused. Faust begins to understand the seriousness of his situation when Mephistopheles shows him hell, and he commits his last and fatal sin, despair. He refuses to believe that Christ can save him, because he knows that repentance entails renouncing the power he has gained: "I do repent; and yet I do despair" (5.1.184).

Faustus: But Faustus' offence can ne'er be pardoned. The serpent that tempted Eve may be saved, but not Faustus.

(5.2.14-15)

Here, Faustus acknowledges his sins, and thinks that even Satan himself may be excused and forgiven; but not him. When a friend tells him to beg for forgiveness, Faustus rejects.

Third Scholar: Yet, Faustus, call on God.

Faustus: On God, whom Faustus hath abjured? On God, whom Faustus hath blasphemed? Ah, my God, I would weep, but the devil draws in my tears. Gush forth blood instead of tears, yea, life and soul. O, he stays my tongue! I would lift up my hands, but see, they hold them, they hold them.

(5.2.25-30)

In the end, the Devil drags him, torn apart, and his students find his mutilated body the following morning. Thus, Marlowe tells us how desire for worldly power only leads to destruction.

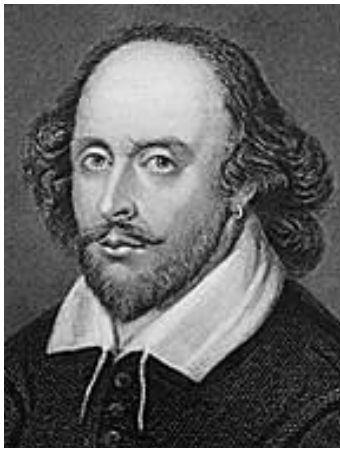
The British Renaissance drama, thus witnesses a deep consideration upon the most argued concepts of its time: Individualism, spirituality, intellect, doubt, desire, religion, and of course, *good* and *evil*. "And Marlowe thereby explores both the genesis of doubt and the relation of doubt to belief, two cynosures of epistemological investigation in early modern Europe, and authentic preoccupations of intellectual life in Marlowe and Shakespeare's Britain" (ST, 1981 p.10). Faustus' ever-lasting hunger for knowledge, his ongoing conversations with Mephistopheles earned him a name in the first *Faustbook* of the German origin: 'The Speculator'. He represents the outcomes of dealing with evil. He shows without virtue and grace, the power of absolute knowledge is dangerous. The Satanic image Mephistopheles marks the beginning of a different evil figure, who will take many other forms after his period ends. The Mephistopheles image is alone as important as the way he is manipulated in the play. He is sympathetic, yet ugly and bitter; witty yet hidden in the depths of the psychological conflict about his very being. The personification of evil in Marlowe's work is too powerful and vivid that it is often referred as the most important satanic play in the history of British literature.

IV.

William Shakespeare's Richard III



Satan as a Tyrant



William Shakespeare lived between 1564 and 1616. He was born in Stratford-on-Avon. We know that his father, John Shakespeare was a glovemaker, leather merchant, money lender, and dealer in agricultural commodities; and was elected to important posts in local government. Mary Arden, William Shakespeare's mother, was a landed heiress. Church records from Holy Trinity Church show that Shakespeare was baptized there on April 26, 1564. He was the third of eight children – three of whom died in childhood. We are almost sure that Shakespeare attended a grammar school -and learned a great deal of Latin and Classical Greek- in Stratford, but did not go to Oxford or Cambridge. This fact has been leading critics and biographers into debates concerning the authorship of his works. Shakespeare's biographers are not certain about how long Shakespeare attended the grammar school, as there are no exact records about this; but the literary quality of his works represent a good education. Other documented record we have about Shakespeare's life is the one of his marriage to Anne Hathaway on November 28, 1582. 26-year-old Anne Hathaway and 18-year-old William Shakespeare first had a girl and then twins. One of the twins, Hamnet, died at the age of 11. "We possess no information about his activities for the next seven years, but by 1592 he was in London as an actor and apparently already well known as a playwright" (Abrams, 2000 p.1026). Shakespeare, apparently, built a strong connection with Lord Chamberlain's Men -called the King's Men after the ascension of James I in 1603-. He wrote, played, and took over the management in the project, as well. Lord Chamberlain's Men became very popular in London circles; the theatre-loving population of the city liked them. Theatre was a hard occupation; considering the civic officials' and religious moralists'

referring to it as sinfull. Government officials exercised censorship over the contents of the plays. When the plague forced theatre closings in the mid 1590s, Shakespeare and his company made plans for the Globe Theatre in the Bankside district.

Theatres within London were often closed because of the spread of infection; and heavily fined if they remained open. In 1599, Shakespeare and his company began to perform at the open-air theatre Globe. Shakespeare's company was the most successful in London in his day. The Globe, built in Southwark in 1599, was not a remarkable design in Tudor theatre construction. Most of the theatres in the Southwark looked very much like this one. The design of the "wooden O" was favoured because it let in the most light. The audience would have been seated directly in front of the stage, but, also, due to the shape of the theatre, to stage left and stage right. The ceiling of Shakespeare's stages were called "The Heavens". The motto of the Globe Theatre was "*Totus Mundus Agit Histrionem*" (*All the World is a Stage*).

The age of Shakespeare was a great time in English history. The reign of Elizabeth (1558-1603) marked England as the leading naval and commercial power of the Western world. Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh sent colonists eastward in search of profit. In trade and art, England marked some really important advancements. At this time, London was the heart of England, reflecting all the qualities of the Elizabethan Age. Renaissance humanism and reformation marked this period; involving a rebirth in letters and art, creation of new aesthetic forms, openness to new social, political and economical ideas. In the early 16th century, England was Catholic. Catholic teachings and discipline was valued among public. It is appropriate to mark here that Martin Luther opposed this belief system in a radical way; blaming the Pope and his hierarchy of being the servants of Satan. He insisted on the idea that only the Scriptures should have an authority in matters of religion; thus underlined the issue of individualist approach. Ideas alike have spread mostly in Northern Europe. However, "in England, the Reformation began less with popular discontent and theological disputation than with dynastic politics and royal greed" (Abrams, 2000 p.475). Henry VIII wrote a book against Luther and thus gained the title of *Defender of Faith* from Pope Leo X. Here goes a long politics-wise argument considering religious conflicts in England. Henry VIII, longing for a son to take over the throne (because queen Catherine had only one daughter) searched ways to get the permission of Pope for a divorce. Long time of negotiations did not turn out to be positive for Henry VIII and by these means, England "lurched away from the Church of Rome" and "Henry remained an equal-opportunity

persecutor, pitiless to Catholics loyal to Rome” (Abrams, 2000 p.475). We should add that a big part of society was Catholic but English authorities under Elizabeth moved steadily,

(...) toward ensuring at least an outward conformity to the official Protestant settlement (...)

In the space of a single lifetime, England had gone officialy from Roman Catholicism, to catholicism under the supreme headship of the English king, to a guarded Protestantism, to a more radical Protestantism, to a renewed and aggressive Roman Catholicism, and finally to Protestantism again (Abrams p.477).

Although many scholars are skeptical on the question of Shakespeare’s religion, it is noted that he was a Roman Catholic when he died.

Considering the life of cultural and economic facilities, Elizabethan England was very active. It was in this atmosphere that London became a leading center of culture as well as commerce. Many artisans and merchants as well as travellers and artists from different countries of Europe preferred London; thus made up a large and growing population. London’s dramatists and poets were among the leading literary artists of the day. London in the 16th century lived a strong transformation. It’s population grew; its middle class rose, the economy was booming. Shakespeare wrote plays for performance; these scripts existed in his own handwritten manuscripts or in scribal copies, in playhouse prompt books, and probably in pirated texts. Unfortunately, none of these manuscript versions has survived. Eighteen of his plays were published during his lifetime in the small-format, inexpensive books called quartos; to these were added eighteen other plays, never printed before, in the large, expensive folio volume of *Mr. Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies* (1623), was published seven years after his death. It is often noted that never before had a playwright enjoyed sufficient acclaim to see his works published and sold as popular literature in the midst of his career. His career represents a first for that matter. Never before, had a playwright been so liked within his own time that his plays were sold like novels.

In the early 16th century, writings of Marlowe, Grene, Lyly, Kyd, and Peele defined the London theatre. Though grounded in medieval/Jacobean roots, these men produced new dramas and comedies using the blank verse. Shakespeare combined the best traits of Elizabethan drama with classical sources. He created the most vivid characters of the Elizabethan stage. His themes were very universal, they invited everyone in. The earliest Shakespeare also owes to Christopher Marlowe.

About the ongoing debate about the authorship of Shakespeare’s works, we should say that for the reason that we have limited resources about Shakespeare’s life and works, some

scholars and historians tend to suggest different names as the true author of these works. These arguments are not really taken seriously by most of the Shakespeare critics and scholars; but it is only fair to mention the names that are considered as candidates for the authorship of these works. Among these names there are; Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, Francis Bacon, Christopher Marlowe, Ben Johnson, William Stanley, Earl of Derby, Thomas Middleton, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Queen Elizabeth I herself. It's crucial to know that there has been what-so-ever no exact proof to stand on, regarding these names.

The sixteenth century begins with Martin Luther and ends with William Shakespeare. This period in history marks a remarkable change considering the issue of evil and Satan; though the strongest shift in the history of diabolology came with the Enlightenment of the 18th century. Both the Catholic and Protestant reformation ideals are considered to be parallel with that of the middle ages. Luther and Calvin -the second leader of the Protestant reformation- were Aristotelian, Augustinian and scholastic. Ideas of nominalism, ockhamism, fideism, anticlericalism, hussitism, mysticism, hermetic magic, and empirical&material science -many belonging to medieval thought- were challenging the traditional Christian system of belief.¹⁶ We can say that Luther's theology and the rise of the belief in witches encouraged the belief in the Devil in 16th century. Of course, a radical change was announced considering deep social changes; the growth of population and towns, rise of the middle-class literacy, the slow but ongoing motivation of material interests of the secular world. Now, the literate Christian was able to represent an individual idea concerning God and Satan. It is now, you versus the Devil. In addition to all that there was the "rise of the secular-nation state with its concerns for state power and international influence" (MP, 1986 p27). The witch craze, owing its roots in the medieval ages, continued to gather attention in the 16th and 17th centuries. Witches were those people who made a pact with the devil and gave themselves to devil; in return of

¹⁶ Nominalism is "the doctrine holding that abstract concepts, general terms, or *universals* have no independent existence but exist only as names." Nominalism has also been defined as a philosophical position that various objects labeled by the same term have nothing in common but their name. In this view, it is only actual physical particulars that can be said to be real and universals exist only *post res*, that is, subsequent to particular things" (from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nominalism>). Ockhamism is derived from the late 14th century philosopher William of Ockham. What Ockham introduced was the idea that the freedom of God is incompatible with the existence of divine ideas as positive models of creation. He says, God does not have any preconceived ideas when he creates, just fashions the universe as he wishes. Thus, creatures do not have an essence. Nominalism encouraged both the free- will and predestinarian side of the debate about human responsibility and the mysticism thought. Ockhamism emphasized "the utter freedom of both God and man" (Mephistopheles, p.26). Fideism was shaped with an emphasis on faith over reason. Empirical&material science was encouraged by the nominalist division between faith and intellect; getting its roots from humanism which spread from Italy, bringing the ideas of skepticism and secularism. The idea of hermetic magic was depended on the thought that no part of the cosmos is isolated from any other part; and that cosmos is a unity in which every part is influenced by another.

magical and supernatural powers. For psychological illnesses, demonic possession, even for natural disasters, they were the ones to blame eventually. A madness of witch hunting was going on. Several people were tortured or suspected; thousands of them were killed. This continued until the end of the 17th century. The two tendencies, “sola fides; sola scriptura” (‘faith alone’ and ‘scripture alone’), became very important in the reformation period. The Protestants, emphasized on “sola scriptura”; meaning the Bible as the only source of authority. We should add that the Protestant concern about the devil was stronger than Catholic. “Luther’s theology, Lutheran *Devil books (Teufelsbücher)*, and Protestant plays and poems all made the Devil’s powers greater and wider than at any time since the first few centuries of Christianity. Part of the reason may have been the removal by the Protestants of such structures as exorcism and private confession” (MP, 1986 p.30). Now, there was a new emphasis on the individual. We see that in the medieval Christianity, the Saint is commonly portrayed as going into battles against the Devil. However, who we are talking about here is not a Saint; it is the solitary Christian.

The Catholic Reformation was a tendency towards a return to medieval realism. Names such as Robert Bellarmine and Ignatius Loyola were associated with systematic realism. Thus,



A Portrait of Richard III

nominalist and Augustinianist ideas were discarded. Thomism (teachings of Thomas Aquinas) were revived. Protestantism, “lost many insights by rejecting tradition too vigorously; it was open to new currents of thought but sometimes embraced novelties swiftly and uncritically” (ST, 1981 p.50). Catholics kept going with scholasticism until the late 20th century while more open and new ideas about diabolism emerged in Protestantism.

The solitary Christian image now alone with the Bible, led many writers of the day to build up individual characters in battle with evil. Shakespeare was the greatest name of all who could present this battle in the mind and acts of the individual. His Satan is never seen in a form attributed to it in the traditional diabolical texts. His image of Satan tends to be far far away, but closer as in the mind of the individual. In Shakespeare’s texts, we see spirits rather than Satan himself. It is remarkable that not all of these spirits have evil purposes. In *Macbeth*, the witches are evil. In *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, the faeries are figures of humour. In *Hamlet*, Hamlet’s father represents an ambiguous image. “But the burden of evil and terror in Shakespeare lies far less in demonic spirits than in demonic humans who have an appetite for evil for its own sake: Aaron in *Titus Andronicus*, Richard III, Iago in *Othello*, Macbeth and Lady Macbeth, and Goneril, Edmund,

and Regan in *King Lear*” (MP, 1986 p.66). So, even if Shakespeare’s heroes show traces of demonic traits; and that the great writer felt that evil was more convincing in human than in spirit form. In this context, Shakespeare believed in the Devil; as a strong opposing trait to goodness and virtue in human beings.

The discussion of Shakespeare’s great play *Richard III* on the idea of a personification of evil, and the study of this conception as an image of Satan, should be held in terms of both Shakespeare’s text and the historical side of the work. After King Henry VI died in 1471, the reign of the House of Lancaster came to a finale and the House of York reclaimed power under King Edward IV. During the *War of the Roses*, which began in 1455, Edward had been king from 1461 to 1470 but lost the throne for a year to Henry VI. When Edward regained the throne, his own brother Richard –Duke of Gloucester- began making plans against him. *The Battle of Bosworth Field* was the battle that ended the War of the Roses between the House of Lancaster and the House of York. It took place on August 22, 1485. The battle ended with the Lancaster army of Henry Tudor defeating the York army of Richard III. Shakespeare did not cover the first nineteen years of Richard’s life for the reason that they are not crucial for a dramatic text. Shakespeare chose to focus on Richard’s years of power. There are also certain events that historically should not have been mentioned in the drama; like Queen Margaret’s appearance. Shakespeare manipulates the timeline to arrange the plot properly; thus Queen Margaret is used as a main character to oppose Richard.

Shakespeare’s portrayal of Richard III (1452-1485) as one of the most evil rulers in history, is opposed by certain historians. They suggest that Richard may not have been as ruthless as portrayed. To secure his position as the King, Richard prisoned both of the late king’s boys to the Tower of London, where they were later killed. Shakespeare portrays this event vividly and strongly. However, there is no proof that Richard ordered them killed; but we should add it is noted that after the boys died, public opinion turned against Richard. At the Battle of Bosworth Field, Richard fought bravely even if he was defeated and killed eventually. The Earl of Richmond succeeded to the throne as Henry VII and ended the Wars of the Roses. Marchette Chute points out that in Shakespeare’s time, there was nothing to do but trust the standard history books. Historians did not really mark an advancement in those days. People were not able to get a proper and exact information about a king and his reign. “Instead, the general idea was that any nation which opposed England was wrong, and that any Englishman who opposed the winning side in the civil war was wrong also. Since Shakespeare had no other sources, the slant that appears in the history books appears also in his plays...” (Chutte, 1961 p.257). As the true historical image of the character presented in

the play is not relevant considering our study, suffice it to say that Richard III in Shakespeare, is presented as a multi-faced villain; revealing similarities even with Milton's Satan.

The play is written probably between 1591 and 1593; and was printed in 1597 as first quarto. The First Folio text appeared in 1623. The play is a historical tragedy and is the last of the four Shakespeare plays to deal with the Wars of the Roses. The others were *Henry VI – Part I*, *Henry VI – Part II*, and *Henry VI – Part III*.

Richard III is portrayed as a ruthless, ambitious, multi-faced hypocrite in the play. His looks represent and reinforce the evil traits in him. Like Aaron in *Titus Andronicus*, Richard's physical features tell us of a strong motivation to do evil. However, Shakespeare does not use Richard's physical features merely as a cause or reason for his evil doings. He uses them as a basis for the dramatic characterization of the person. Elizabethan England cared much for beauty and grace. Richard's looks was defined, -some suggest- even exaggerated to create a certain tension among the audience. It is a common idea that Shakespeare wished to show that Richard was not forced by nature to be evil, but he himself decides to be evil. To take revenge from nature is an excuse. However, we should add that a modern psychological view suggests that Richard's physical deformity should be accounted as an influence on his psyche; but when it comes to the fact that he is not schizophrenic -though some suggest he holds schizophrenic symptoms- and he is well aware of the results of his actions, we should notice that he freely chooses his actions and their outcomes. He plans them specifically; his lies, his murders through every step he takes. What makes Richard so evil is that he has no limit, no restriction as to means of reaching his evil deeds. He is a good player, he is the master of persuasion, a very effective user of words; and eventually a remarkably talented liar. These evil traits are common with Milton's Satan. Milton's Satan is a very talented liar and persuasor; and regarding the issue of physical look, Milton's Satan changed from a beautiful and sublime angel into a dark and ugly one during his fall from grace. It is remarkable how these two writers collaborate physical deformity with the evil inside. Richard is a hypocrite like Milton's Satan. It is crucial to underline that as a personification of evil, Richard is recognized as playing eight different roles, within one person. Richard's desire for power is not healthy at all. He uses everyone and everything to accomplish his ambitions. As he reaches his aims one by one and becomes the King, it is impossible to capture his sly and witty persona. Richard chooses to be evil; just like Satan himself.

Richard III, is based on the villainy of revenge. Revenge, as Francis Bacon says, is a kind of wild justice. So it is not considered as a Christian attribute. When we take a look at the

typical Elizabethan villain, we see that he is entirely self-conscious and a complete embodiment of evil. In contrast with the Christian teaching which emphasizes on forgiveness. Revenge violates the virtue and standards of morality. Jealousy and envy reinforce the act of revenge. And envy is one of two sins Satan committed. At the very beginning of *Richard III*, we witness an anger towards his own physical deformity, it's obvious he hates the circumstances he is in and is aiming to take some revenge:

And therefore, since i cannot prove a lover,
To entertain these fair well-spoken days,
I am determined to prove a villain
And hate the idle pleasures of these days.
Plots have I laid, inductions dangerous.
(I.1.30-32)

In this scene, Richard announces that he has plans, evil plans indeed, to overthrow his brother King Edward IV. He gets a certain satisfaction even in the structuring process of these plans. It is as if there “appears to be a measure of revenge against nature, against the world and its people in his motives” (ST, 1981 p.231). Richard confesses and is unhappy about his misshapen form; he defines himself as a lame hunchback, “deformed, unfinished ... scarce half made up” (I.1.20-21). He convinces King Edward with a lie that the Duke of Clarence wants the crown and imprisons Clarence in the Tower of London. Edward becomes very ill and Richard is about to reach his goal; but not until Edward disposes of Clarence.

Clarence stil breathes; Edward still lives and reigns
When they are gone,
Then I must count my gains.
(I.1.161-162)

However, in order for Richard to claim the throne, he has to have a queen. He slyly manipulates Lady Anne, the daughter-in-law of the late King Henry. The scene is amazing; Lady Anne, in mourning is subjected to Richard's wooings as the coffin of the dead king passes. Anne has such a hatred towards Richard for the fact that he murdered King Henry; and also Henry's son (who was Anne's husband). She is well aware of the fact that Richard has no limits when it comes to what his desires. She tells him,

Avaunt, thou dreadful minister of hell!
Thou hadst but power over his (the king's) mortal body,
His soul thou canst not have; therefore be gone.

(...)

Foul Devil, for God's sake, hence,
and trouble us not;
For thou hast made the happy earth thy hell
Fill'd it with cursing cries and deep exclaims.

(I.2.46-51)

The references to evil, like the usage of words like evil, hell, devil, demon; are quite common among the people who address Richard. Richard's dialogues with Lady Anne are especially interesting as Lady Anne constantly makes remarks about Richard's evilness, as if she is not like any other person trapped by him. Reader at first, gets the idea that she is one of the rare people who knows that Richard's aims are evil and that he will do anything to accomplish them.

Richard blames Edward for the death of Lady Anne's husband. However, Lady Anne reminds that there was a witness to this murder: Queen Margaret. When Lady Anne asks Richard about the murder of the King, Richard admits his crime and says he did the King a favor by sending him to heaven, "for he was fitter for that place than earth" (I.2.111). Richard's usage of words reflects a certain ironic and sarcastic tone, which eventually makes the reading process very tasteful and allows the reader to structure a vivid portrait of the main character. Lady Anne tells Richard that he is fit for only one place; that is hell. Richard answers her that he is fit for another place than hell: Lady Anne's bed-chamber. It is quite amazing for the reader to witness how rude Richard talks to Anne, yet eventually convinces her to marry him. Richard's ways of convincing her depends on his talent of speech. He uses words to serve his evil wishes.

If thy revengeful heart cannot forgive,
Lo here I lend thee this sharp-pointed sword,
Which if thou please to hide in this true breast.

(II.2.177-179)

Eventually, Richard convinces Anne and tells her that he has murdered Anne's husband and her father-in-law only to get her love. He also plays this role when he talks to Elizabeth, trying to convince her that he is the only right husband for her daughter.

The King that calls your beauteous daughter wife,
Familiarly shall call thy Dorset brother;
Again shall you be mother to a king,
And all the ruins of distressful times
Repair'd with double riches of content.
(IV.4.315-319)

At the court, Richard acts as if he is thoughtful and sensible; a man wishes the best for his country and King. Later, he accuses the King's wife, Queen Elizabeth for Clarence's fate. Richard quickly orders henchmen to kill Clarence; they stab him. When King Edward dies of his illness, one of two boys (who are imprisoned by Richard in the tower of London) is to succeed him. Queen Elizabeth is now accused of Clarence's murder; and the execution of her relatives is arranged by nobody but Richard himself. Then, Richard starts making friends with some noblemen, including the Duke of Buckingham, who speaks on Richard's behalf to the citizens of London. Richard gains more and more power. A delegation of citizens, including the Lord Mayor of London, comes to offer Richard the crown at Baynard Castle. After Buckingham greets them, they see Richard going to prayer with two bishops. In his hand is a prayer book. Buckingham praises Richard as a devout man. The citizens show support to Richard on the way to accepting the crown. Richard's first reply to them is,

I am unfit for state and majesty;
I do beseech you, take it not amiss;
I cannot nor I will not yield to you
(III.7.207-209)

However, when citizens go further pressing, he 'gives up'. He says that he is not made of stone.

Richard, as a perfect embodiment of evil, confesses the very essence of his nature from time to time; but with an ambiguous touch of self-approval. About the murder of his own brother Clarence, he says;

I do the wrong, and first begin to brawl.
 The secret mischiefs that I set abroad
 I lay unto the grievous charge of others.
 Clarence, -whom I, indeed, have cast in darkness,-
 I do bewep to many simple gulls;
 (...)

But then I sigh; and, with a piece of Scripture,
 Tell them that God bids us do good for evil:
 And thus I clothe my naked villany
 With odd old ends stol'n forth of holy writ;
 And seem a Saint when most I play the devil.-
 (III.1.372-387)

This is what Richard does: He clothes his naked villany with words people count on. He knows what to say and when to say. His evilness is mostly covered with lies and words people trust. He is referred as “hell-hound” and “hell’s black intelligencer” by Queen Margaret (IV.4.51,79). In act III, Richard tells King Edward; “I say, without characters, fame lives / Thus, like the formal vice, Iniquity, / I moralize two meanings in one word” (1.83-85). It’s remarkable how Richard portrays himself as representing the *Vice*; and brags on about how talented he is about using only one word while meaning two different meanings.¹⁷

In June of 1483, Richard is crowned King of England and his wife Anne, the queen. Richard hires an assassin named Tyrrel and two other men to assist him. Richard’s aim is brutal: To murder the king’s boys. There is a remarkable turning point here; regarding Tyrrel, the evil murderer’s persona. Tyrrel could be seen as a ‘petit vice’. He seems to be so brutal and a true professional when it comes to killing people. However, we see that he reaches to a state where he regrets what he does and is defeated by his conscience. Here, Shakespeare aims to heighten the tension concerning Richard’s persona. He uses Tyrrel to build up a comparison point with Richard; and thus, underlines Richard’s evilness dramatically. He also makes the reader come into terms with the freedom of choice; thus underlining that the Richard character chooses freely to do evil. Freedom of choice is a common theme (as in Marlowe, Milton, and some other writers) because Christian teachings rely on it in many ways. Tyrrel, at one point, realizes his ruthless sin, shows a clear regret towards what he has done.

¹⁷ *Vice*, is a character who represented evil in miracle/mystery plays in the middle ages of England. It seems that *Vice* was also talented about the use of language.

The tyrannous and bloody deed is done.
The most arch of piteous massacre
That ever yet this land was guilty of.
Dighton and Forrest, whom I did suborn
To do this ruthless piece of butchery,
Although they were flesh'd villains, bloody dogs,
Melting with tenderness and kind compassion
Wept like two children in their deaths' sad stories.

(IV.3.1-8)

Most would just give up at some point but for Richard, the next step emerges as the murder of Lady Anne. Richard has to have Lady Anne killed so that he can marry the sister of two boys.

In *Richard III*, Shakespeare pictured the dominating sins as gluttony, envy and murder. He portrayed and analyzed the Elizabethan villain's ambitious passion of power. The villain is a threat for both individuals and society. It is the Elizabethan concept of order which the villain threatens. "Great Chain of Being", a world view of Elizabethans, show how much the people of this period care about order and hierarchy. For instance, the sun was the greatest among stars, the king was the greatest among men, and gold was the greatest among metals. God had made three kinds of creatures: the angelical, the brutal or bestial, and the human. Man could move gradually upward to angelic level, but this had become much more difficult since the fall in the Garden of Eden. The chain extended from God at the top, down to the lowest of elements, and all of creation had some position on the chain. When the natural order is upset, the bottom moves toward the top. As a result, chaos emerges. And chaos is something that should be avoided in every way. So Elizabethan villain is portrayed as an enemy of social order, morality, and virtue. "With delighted candour Richard III takes the audience into his confidence, gleefully explaining his plan with which he, like Milton's Satan, intend to walk with us 'hand in hand to hell'" (Gill, 1985 p.30). Richard's aim, as an Elizabethan villain, parallels that of Milton's Satan. Richard is in fact, alone in a great solitude; and estranged from both belief and people. Shakespeare successfully unreveals a fear among public that results from Richard's threat to the throne. It was crucial for the Elizabethans that a certain stability should be protected when it came to matters of kingdom and hierarchy. Elizabethan government was very powerful and stable; but there was no heir to Elizabeth's throne. There was a certain fear among public as to whom the throne would be addressed to. This fear eventually exhibits itself in *Richard III*, as Richard rises in power and

ambitiously reaches his goals one by one. John Palmer talks about this fear in *The Political Characters of Shakespeare*:

All that the Englishman held most dear had found a satisfying symbol in the Tudor monarch, ruling by divine right, holding a sacred Office, to question whose authority was treason, to trouble whose peace was an impiety. But the Tudor monarch was about to die childless. Was England to fall back into the old disorder, horror, fear and mutiny which had followed the usurpation of Bolingbroke?

(Palmer, 1961 p.119)

Shakespeare had contact with some members of the great 15th century families at Elizabeth's court; as he was a member of an acting company that frequently performed at court. He had the chance to get to a better understanding of the relations among these family descendants; and thus of the 'inside' of the court. In *Richard III*, just after Clarence has been killed by agents of Richard, it has been revealed that King Edward has died, and the throne is now closer to Richard like it has never been. Three citizens reveal their fears in a little chat on the street.

Second Citizen: Hear you the news abroad?

First Citizen: Yes, that the king is dead.

Second Citizen: Ill news, by'r lady; seldom comes the better.

I fear, I fear 'twill prove a giddy world.

Third Citizen: Neighbours, God speed!

First Citizen: Give you good morrow, sir.

Third Citizen: Doth the news hold of good King Edward's death?

Second Citizen: Ay, sir, it is too true; God help the while!

Third Citizen: Then, masters, look to see a troublous world.

(*Richard III*, 2.3.2-9)

The disturbance of the social order is portrayed by Shakespeare with dramatical uses of unnatural occurrences such as 'untimely storms' (2.3.35), an eclipse, 'sudden floods' (4.4.510), and hooting owls. The fear that the 'evil one' will get the dominance or will be unpunished for his evil-doings is parallel with the fear that the world might be subject to disorder and chaos for eternity. It is crucial to underline this, considering how Shakespeare captured the fear of Elizabethan audience.

As mentioned above, Richard is a multi-faced character; this is one of the most important features of him considering his Satanic qualities. In the first scene of the play, he pretends to be a devoted brother as he speaks with the Duke of Clarence about his imprisonment.

“Upon what cause?”

“Alack my lord, that fault is none of yours:

He should for that commit your godfather.

O, belike his Majesty hath some intent

That you should be new-christened in the Tower.”

(...)

“Well, your imprisonment shall not be long:

I will deliver you, or else lie for you.”

(I.1.114-115)

The tension of the play rises as the reader gets to know Richard’s evil plans. When Richard performs a role, pretends to be someone good, the person in front of him eventually believes in him for the fact that Richard is successful actor. When King Edward IV wants the reconciliation within the family, Richard, again, acts as a devoted brother.

“Good morrow to my sovereign King and Queen;

And princely peers, a happy time of day.”

(...)

“A blessed labour, my most sovereign lord.

Among this princely heap –if any here

By false intelligence or wrong surmise

Hold me a foe”

(II.1.47-56)

He also acts as a loving and devoted uncle towards the young prince (III.1.1-15). Richard exposes himself as the only concerned uncle and just wants the best for his prince. His portrayal as a sensitive, caring friend reminds us Milton’s Satan, speaking tenderly with Eve and pretending to be on her side.

On the other hand, Richard shows a very unusual face when he feels like a cornered, sweating rat at the end of the drama. This is the first time Richard thinks about the victims of his deeds. He exposes a sign of humanity he cannot control and which is not shown on

purpose, because this part involves his soliloquy. Richard's soliloquy reminds us one of Satan's in *Paradise Lost*. A strong realization and enlightenment that hits the character, but somehow, does not keep him from doing harm. These two characters eventually find out that the consequences of their motives are more than they can handle. However, there is no turning back for both of them. To do evil for evil's sake is the main goal, and even if they feel pity towards both themselves and the people they have murdered, they still hold on to their ambitions.

Richard really starts paying off for his sins starting with this section of the play. Now subconsciously aware of his deeds, he faces Earl of Richmond. Henry Tudor claims the throne and he has a big support from both public and royalties. In August of 1485, Richard and Henry get into the battle at the Bosworth Field. While Richard and Henry sleep in their tents before the battle, the ghosts of the people Richard murdered appear to both of them – predicting Richard's defeat.

When Richard wakes up, he finds himself in deep fear and guilt. He confesses his sins to himself;

Give me another horse! Bind up my wounds!
Have mercy, Jesus! Soft! I did but dream.
O coward conscience, how dost thou afflict me!
(...)
Cold fearful drops stand on my trembling flesh.
What, do I fear myself? There's none else by:
Richard loves Richard;
That is, I am I. Is there a murderer here? No.
Yes; I am. Then fly. What, from myself?
(...)
Lest I revenge. What, myself upon myself!
Alack, I love myself. (...)
O, no! Alas, I rather hate myself
For hateful deeds committed by myself!
I am a villain: yet I lie, I am not.
(...)
My conscience hath a thousand several tongues,
And every tongue brings in a several tale,
And every tale condemns me for a villain.

Perjury, perjury, in the high'st degree;
Murder, stern murder, in the dir'st degree;
Al several sins, all us'd in each degree,
Throng to the bar, crying all, Guilty! Guilty!
I shall despair. There is no creature loves me;
And if I die no soul shall pity me.

(...)

(V.3.135-167)

These lines seem to be belonging to someone who regrets every deed he's done in his past. It's too bad Richard realizes the truth about himself, just before he dies.

When two armies meet on August, 22, Richard fights boldly. As a brave soldier, he again shows similarities with Milton's Satan (regarding the 'War in Heaven' scene, later Raphael tells Adam about). Richard, as a soldier and defender of his beliefs, is portrayed as fearless and successful. Even Catesby says,

The king enacts more wonders than a man,
Daring an opposite to every danger:
His horse is slain, and all on foot he fights,
Seeking for Richmond in the throat of death

(V.4.2-5)

As Richard realizes that he is loosing the battle, he cries out perhaps the most famous lines of the play, "A horse! A horse! My kingdom for a horse!" (V.4.7). However, Richard's fearless soul is no near to reclaim a superiority over Henry. Henry slays Richard and thus, the War of the Roses ends. Henry, Earl of Richmond becomes the king of England.

While shaping Richard, Shakespeare took the worst and most evil traits, so that he would be able to build up a completely evil character who chooses to be like this freely. Richard is perhaps one of the meanest, most ruthless characters Shakespeare portrayed in history. It is obvious Shakespeare did not limit himself to certain restrictions regarding Richard's real character. That was not his intention. Instead, he intentionally created a magnificent and amazing Satan image which made people stop thinking about Richard's real personality, and ask questions about evil. Shakespeare is a master; he intended people to question themselves while watching or reading his most ruthless characters. He aimed to show that human soul was not that simple; rather, it was constituted of many layers. Good, evil, pride, gluttony,

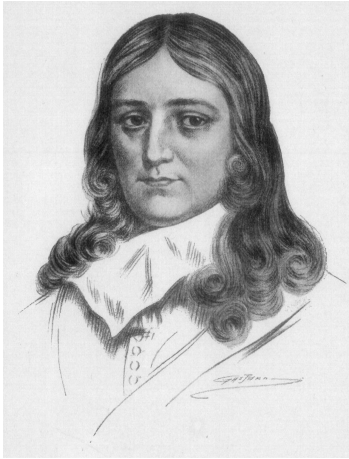
grace, virtue, all of these traits are common in everyone. We all have good, bright sides and dark, secret traits. Shakespeare's success is about bringing these issues forward, making them reach their climax with works like *Richard III*, *Othello*, and *Macbeth*. He has a unique way of approaching evil. He does not put it far away from human soul, rather he aims us to see that evil is just like goodness; it is inside everyone of us. Thus, his evil characters --don't really matter if we really can make up an empathical connection with them--, appear to be so vivid and alive. *Richard III*, offers a slightly biblical, but greatly diabolical atmosphere regarding Richard's deeds.

The last scene offers a sublime feeling when we witness Richard's defeat: The good one wins, the evil one eventually loses forever. However, one might still feel a little disappointed with Richard; after all he has done to achieve the throne, claim power, he is the one who loses. Here, we should add that real genius and essence of Shakespeare is revealed at the end of the drama, where he leaves us with questions about human nature. All along the play, we do not feel any kind of mercy or faith towards Richard. However, when he is haunted in his tent, with the ghosts of the people he murdered, we clearly see him regretting everything he has done. We slightly feel sorry for him. Now, that the image of Richard as a Satanic villain has undergone some reconstruction under the light of his confession, we certainly have a little sympathy for him. This is the exact feeling we get regarding the confession of Milton's Satan. The mastership of these writers enable us to question good & bad, evil & virtue in a way we never do. Their works represent a rather complicated human and mythical nature. Not everything is what it seems. Considering good & evil, there is a foggy state of understanding these writers aim to take us to. Though it shows certain contradictions, we get used to this state, trying to figure out what we should get from it. This unrevealed state is infact, based on a very simple statement: Good and evil are incarnated. They can not be separted, or questioned alone, isolated from one another.

*John Milton's Fallen Archangel
in Paradise Lost & Paradise Regained*

How long, Lord? wilt thou hide thyself for ever? Shall thy wrath burn like fire? Remember how short my time is: wherefore hast thou made all men in vain? Lord, where are thy former lovingkindnesses, which by thy faithfulness thou didst swear to David?

David--Psalm 89:46,47,49



Often said to be the second greatest poet in British literature, John Milton lived between 1608-1674. He is considered to be the author of the definitive English epic, the last towering figure of the European Renaissance, and a partisan on the Puritan and Republican side in the English Civil War, fought in the seventeenth century over issues of church and government. Milton was born in London, to a middle-class family which was a great source of influence for him to pursue his interests of art and literature. Especially his father, who had risen to prosperity as a law-writer, had shown a remarkable support to his son. John Milton's first teachers were his father and and writer Thomas Young, a graduate of St. Andrews University. Milton studied in respectable schools like St. Paul's and Christ's College, Cambridge. During his university period, he was mocked by other students for the reason that he didn't use any alcohol or wasn't seen with girls. People were calling him 'The Lady'. After starting a fist fight with his tutor, he got expelled for a term. Leaving Cambridge made things much easier for him for he hadn't been able to adjust to university life. He gave up his original plan of becoming a priest and lived in his father's home for six years; reading, writing and pursuing his love for music. During this time, he wrote *L'allegro*, and *Il penseroso* (1632) –both are thought to be representing his moods of happiness and sadness-, *Comus* (1634), and *Lycidas* (1637). His love for reading was so strong; he read till break of dawn in candle light; perhaps one of the reasons of his blindness later. In 1635, when the Miltons moved to Buckinghamshire, John Milton pursued his studies in Greek, Latin and

Italian. In his thirties, he travelled to Italy where he met Galileo and spent perhaps the greatest days of his life. After Italy, he was thinking of going to Greece but when he heard that his country had become politically a mess, he returned to England, for he was a true patriarch.

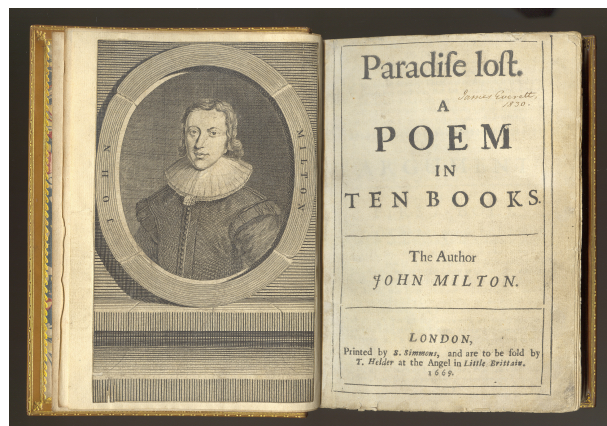
The war divided England between Oliver Cromwell and Charles I. Queen Elizabeth, in her long years of reign, was very successful. When she died, the first Stuart king of England, James I succeeded her. At first, “the change from an aged queen without progeny to thirty-six-year-old king, with an attractive queen, Anne of Denmark, and children who could assure the succession, was cause for celebration” (Abrams, 2000 p.1209). James I, was not so much of a people’s king. He did not like to show himself in crowded public places; unlike Elizabeth. The Stuart kings, James I and his son Charles I engaged in constant confrontations with the parliament; and they did not run the country as successfully as Queen Elizabeth did. They tried to oppress the *dissenters* -the ones that didn’t accept the thoughts of the Anglican church; and to control the parliament. Their aim was absolute monarchy (or royal absolutism). James’ court was one of disorder and extravagance. As a result of these monarchic efforts, the Puritan thought began to take over dominance. Puritans suggested that the Anglican Church should eliminate the Catholic elements in its structure and the Parliament to be dominant on the country. Charles I had run the country free of a parliament after 1630; depending on the church’s support. However, after 1641, the Parliament got stronger. In 1642, the civil war began between the king & king’s supporters and the supporters of the parliament. The king was defeated. In 1649, the head of Charles I was cut off and Oliver Cromwell built the Commonwealth; naming himself the ‘Lord Protector’.

John Milton, was a supporter of the Commonwealth. He was more than a silent supporter; he defended Cromwell’s regime in his writings. He even accepted a job position in order to show his respect to the regime. His duty was to organize the diplomatic correspondances with other countries, and to give answers to the writings of those who defended monarchy in Europe, with his pen. These writings were mostly in Latin for it was the most popular language around educated people. Perhaps because of this, Milton’s duty was referred as ‘Latin Secretary’. The Civil War silenced Milton’s poetry for almost twenty years. He devoted himself to country affairs so much that for a long time, he wrote a series of pamphlets against episcopacy (1642), on divorce (1643), in defense of the liberty of press (1644), and in support of the regicides (1649). After the death of Charles I, Milton published *The Tenure Of Kings and Magistrates* (1649), supporting the view that the people had the right to depose and punish tyrants. He became blind in 1651.

When the son of Charles I, Charles II came back from France (where he was exiled) to succeed his father (1660), the Restoration period began. Milton's enemies were ruling the country now. Milton didn't get a death penalty but he had to hide for some time, he got into prison as a defender of the Commonwealth, and his books were abolished and he paid a massive fine for his opposition. During the Restoration period, John Milton quietly worked on his writings. He wrote *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* in his fifties. Milton dictated these poems to his assistants, daughters and friends. The idea of writing a long, biblical epic poem like *Paradise Lost* was something he had been thinking for a really long time. He was a relatively poor man because of the fine he had to pay to the government; he sold the manuscript of *Paradise Lost* for 5 pounds to Samuel Simmons and was promised another 5 pounds if the first edition of 1,300 copies sold out. This was done in 18 months. John Milton was married three times. His first marriage started unhappily and this experience prompted Milton to write his famous essay, *On Divorce* in which he defended divorce depending on the bible. At those times, defending the abolishment of something that was considered to be holy by the church was an opposition to all the rules of religion and ethics; and impossible in terms of law. What is interesting in Milton's views about divorce is that he takes a position which tends to be almost opposed to womenhood. Milton died on November 8, 1674 in Buckinghamshire. Many people believe that his grave was desecrated when the church was undergoing repairs. All the teeth and a large quantity of hair were taken as souvenirs by grave robbers.

Paradise Lost

Paradise Lost was published in 1667 after ten years of study. It's composed of twelve parts; a very long poem which Milton considered to write in the 1640s. His ambition was to compose an epic poem to rival the works of ancient writers such as Homer and Virgil. When



he returned from Italy, he made a list, and considered on nearly a hundred themes taken from Holy Bible or the history of Great Britain. *Paradise Lost* was issued in ten books in 1667, eventhough it was introduced as twelve books in 1667. Milton wrote with a dense, rich verse that had become a powerful influence on succeeding English poets. *Paradise Lost* is as much

an expression of Milton's own political, religious, and philosophical views as it is a timeless universal epic. The poem is not easy to read with its odd syntax, difficult vocabulary and complex style. Milton used iambic pentameter (or 'blank verse'), like Shakespeare. He took the example of epic poems of old Greek and Latin literature, especially Vergilius' *Aeneid*. Milton could not get rid of the influence of Latin language on his English; so his sentences can be both very complex and long. The first sentence of *Paradise Lost* is composed of sixteen verses. *Paradise Lost*'s cosmic vision is not actually based on the Copernican system, but more in the traditional Christian cosmology of its day, where the earth is the center, not the sun (like in Dante).

The theme of *Paradise Lost* is the biblical story of Adam and Eve, who are thrown out of Heaven. We can say that Satan is maybe the most vivid, strong character in the poem. Milton's image of Satan has been one of the most inspirational figures in both British (especially Romantics) and European literature. John Milton uses human characteristics such as the ability to manipulate, the capability of deception, and the power of persuasion to make Satan the most remarkable character in *Paradise Lost*. His character bears similarities with Shakespeare's hero-villians Iago and Macbeth. This strong characterization of Satan in *Paradise Lost*, leads to different interpretations about the book and John Milton, especially by romantic authors like William Blake and Percy Bysshe Shelley. William Blake, in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, wrote; "The reason Milton wrote in fetters when he wrote of Angels and God, and at liberty when of Devils and Hell, is because he was a true Poet and of Devil's party without knowing it" (MHH, 1975 p.xvii). The understanding of Satan as the true protagonist of *Paradise Lost*, is a well-rated idea among romantics. Even a term 'romantic satanist' has occurred when referring to these writers. On the other hand, why John Milton characterized Satan with such liberty, may be aroused from the idea that if evil is portrayed more realistically and vividly, the conception of its defeat would be much more real; thus presenting the reader a genuine taste. However, some critics argue whether Satan's heroism is put in its place or runs off with the poem. Helen Gardner writes of Milton's "creating the last great tragic figure in our literature and destroying the unity of his poem in doing so" (Gardner, 1965 p.120). On the other hand, acclaimed critic William Empson states that, "the reason why the poem is so good is that it makes God so bad" (Empson, 1979 p.13). The conflict of interpreting John Milton's tendency towards both evil and good, is hard to solve. Some parts in the book where Satan is portrayed in such a strong tragedy, makes the reader feel sorry for him. Milton's words soften the reader's conception of evil. Evil becomes something more than pure hatred and denial. It becomes something more human, easier to connect to. We can

say that the dramatic hero of the poem is Satan; but the theological heroes of the poem are Christ and Adam. On the other hand, the images of Christ and Adam are comparably so remote in the poem. We cannot really focus on their actions. Some critics believe that the dramatic hero is Milton; some others believe it is the Reader. Jeffrey Burton Russell points out that Milton, “found the existence of the Devil clear in scripture; he also believed in Satan poetically. Shakespeare had brought the diabolical into the human psyche, and Milton returned the now humanized diabolical traits to the Devil” (MP, 1986 p.152). Throughout the poem, there is a certain balance between Satan’s heroic image and the abolishment of this image. This leads to the dilemma of whether Milton’s image of Satan arises from a tendency towards him or a negation of him. The image of Satan created by Milton in *Paradise Lost* is one of both power and sympathy. Throughout *Paradise Lost*, the reader witnesses the dramatizing power possessed by Satan, and how he takes advantage of this power in order to satisfy his own causes. One of Satan’s fantastic powers is his ability to manipulate individuals into a false belief of who he really is. The first three books of *Paradise Lost* reflect the triumph of the godly over the worldly. Milton meant, in his own words, “to justify the ways of God to man” (PL, p.47).

In the first book, the disobedience of humankind and the consequence of the loss of Paradise; and the prime cause of the fall, Satan is given. Satan, who is in revolt from God, is surrounded by some other angels fallen into the deep (this place is chaos; an utter darkness) with him.

Satan was formally Lucifer; a beautiful angel. He rebelled and fell because of his pride. Milton preferred the name Satan in the poem and used Lucifer only three times. Satan’s rebellion eventually causes his fall:

... For those rebellious, here their prison set
As far remov’d from God and light of Heav’n
As from the Center thrice to th’utmost Pole.
O how unlike the place from whence they fell! (PL, 1.49)

After a big war, now he is thrown out of heaven with his other angels who take his side. Satan’s first sin is pride; he did not want to respect Christ, the Son of God. He and his fellow angels fall a long and painful fall from God’s Heaven, which lasts nine days and nine nights. In the first book, Satan, surrounded by other angels who are in pain like him, throws a long

speech. He comforts them with hope of regaining heaven. He has heard that their enemy, God, had created a new world and two humans. He decides to tempt these beings, after a union of the council of all angels accompanying him. The evil angels build a big palace called *Pandemonium* in hell; and Satan and the angels discuss their situation in this place. It is important to note that Satan hates good, merely because it is good. He adopts an aim to corrupt and pervert the good; as in the famous lines of his speech;

Farewell happy Fields
Where Joy for ever dwells: Hail horrors, hail
Infernal world, and thou profoundest Hell
Receive thy new Possessor; One who brings
A mind not to be chang'd by Place or Time.
The mind is its own place, and in itself
Can make a Heav'n of Hell, a Hell of Heav'n. ...
Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heav'n. (PL 1.249-263)

In the second book, the consultation begins. Satan gets other angels' opinions about whether to start another war to regain heaven or not; different views are discussed. However, what is more important now is that the rumour about God's creation of two other human beings, who stay in the Garden of Eden. The 'council' decides that one of them should be sent to search this. Of course, Satan takes over this responsibility. Here we see another distinguished feature of Satan; his power of persuasion. He tries to use logical explanations to earn the trust and faith of his legions of angels in order to help him fight to regain Heaven. Satan persuades them to go to war in his speech where he argues that he has "established in a safe unenvied throne" (PL, 2.23). According to him, it seems the misery of the rebels is complete, therefore no one would actually envy the throne of Satan. Every improvement in Heaven's state must aim to weaken Hell's authority, and since every misery is its' basis, then to exhaust the power of Satan's union is the basis required for Heaven's hope of victory. Satan says,

With this advantage...we now return
To claim our just inheritance of old
Surer to prosper than prosperity
Could have assured us; and by what best way
Whether of open War or covert guile (PL 2.35).

Satan aims to create a positive mood and to cheer spirits as he makes Hell seem almost a Heaven. Satan's false spontaneous reasoning is meant to serve as one of his methods to influence the minds of his fellow followers. Satan acts like a politician; a commander of a big army, he even refers to God as a tyrant. So, when his leaving is decided, Satan goes to Hell Gates where he finds them shut; he guards them. Later, he meets Sin (his wife and daughter) and Death (their son). He passes the Gates and gets out of hell. He passes the dark and deep chaos (the unstructured earth) and finally sees the new world.

In the third book, God with his son Christ, watches Satan. God surely knows that Satan will be successful in tempting the mankind. The mankind has freewill. Adam and Eve are informed about what would happen if they commit the first sin. Christ, seeing that Adam and Eve will commit this sin, decides to offer himself in order to save the generations from going to hell. Satan is the first image of sin in the poem. He can never be saved; eventhough God does not destroy him completely to make him see that evil can bring no good;

The first sort by their own suggestion fell,
Self-tempted, self-deprav'd: Man falls deceiv'd
By the other first: Man therefore shall find grace,
The other none. (PL 3.129-132)

The concept of freewill, actually, applies to both man and Satan. When God speaks of man's original sin, he says;

So will fall
Hee and his faithless Progeny: whose fault?
Whose but his own? Ingrate, he had of mee
All he could have; I made him just and right,
Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall
Such I created all th'Ethereal Powers
And Spirits, both them who stood and them who fail'd;
Freely they stood who stood, and fell who fell. (PL 3.95-102)

Satan enters the Garden of Eden in the fourth book. While watching Adam and Eve's happiness, he remembers his loneliness, and desperation. He falls into painful doubts with himself, and into feelings of fear, envy, and despair; but at last remembers his true nature

which is evil. Here, as he speaks of his soliloquy, we follow that his feelings move from “self-realization to self-hatred, from self-hatred to despair, and then back to hatred of God.”(MP, 1986 p.117) It is crucial that we are aware of Satan’s thoughts and mind still bear an ‘angelic intelligence’. Perhaps because of this trace belonging to his old days as a beautiful and wise angel, the reader tends to have feelings of mercy and empathy for him. However, Milton eventually makes us remember that Satan’s will is to do evil and harm. Satan hears Adam and Eve talking and learns that the tree of knowledge is forbidden to them; and any violation of this rule will end up with death penalty. Thus, he finds out what to tempt them with. Later, when Adam and Eve are asleep, he changes himself into a toad and silently comes nearer to Eve and with his whispers, tries to tempt her in her dream. In this book, also Uriel warns Gabriel that an evil spirit has escaped the deep and came to this sphere in the shape of a good angel. Gabriel promises to find him. What is remarkably interesting in the fourth book is that Satan confesses his motives underlying his rebellion. Pride and envy are Satan’s traditional motives:

O Sun, to tell thee how I hate thy beams
That bring to my remembrance from what state
I fell, how glorious once above thy Sphere;
Till Pride and worse Ambition threw me down (PL 4.37-40)

The fifth book begins with Eve, telling her weird dreams to Adam in the morning. Adam comforts her, yet he becomes a little tense himself. God sends Raphael to warn Adam and Eve again, about Satan. With a flashback, Raphael tells Adam and Eve about how Satan and his friends rebelled to God and were thrown out of heaven and did not accept Christ’s dominion because of his pride. So, as we see, the fifth book is chronologically the beginning of the poem. We follow that Satan, as a bright and powerful angel, is taken over by feelings of anger and envy before the Son of God:

Fraught
With envy against the Son of God, that day
Honour’d by his great Father, and proclaim’d
Messiah King anointed, could not bear
Through pride that sight.
(...)
He resolv’d

With all his Legions to dislodge, and leave
Unworshipt, unobey'd the Thorne supreme. (PL 5.661-670)

Satan's image, as he revolts from God, develops ironically as a defender of rights and justice. He can not accept the fact that he should bend knee before the Son of God. Satan did not envy Christ's dominion or redemption; because according to Milton's chronology, the universe and humanity was not created when Satan refused to bend knee before Christ. Milton did not really focus on why exactly Satan envied Christ; it could be perhaps because of Christ's lordship over Heaven.

Back to Satan's ironic role as a defender of justice and rights, Satan thought that God's wish of him bending knee before the Son was merely an insult to him and his fellow angels. Satan speaks on and on about equality, about democracy. Milton's poem, according to this point, can be argued in terms of the political process of 17th century England. The image of Satan in *Paradise Lost*, has been a common theme of argument in terms of politics. Especially romantics had the idea that Satan was the just fighter of democracy, the leader of minority, the rebel of an oppressive dominion. As we mentioned before while discussing the second book, in the council, there seems to be a democratic discussion platform. Every mind tells his own about what to do, how to act. Satan, in the fifth book, goes far enough to suggest that the reason why they can not remember the time when they (himself and other angels) were created is because they were not created at all:

We know no time when we were not as now;
Know none before us, self-begot, self-rais'd
By our own quick'ning power, when fatal course
Had circl'd his full Orb, the birth mature
Of this our native Heav'n, Ethereal Sons.
Our puissance is our own, our own right hand
Shall teach us highest deeds, by proof to try
Who is our equal. (PL 5.859-867)

The sixth book continues with Raphael's flashback, telling about the war occurred in the sky. Adam and Eve listen about on the third day of war, how Christ participates in this war, and how Satan and his friends fall into deep in Chaos, to the lake of fire in hell. Considering the war between good and evil, it is important to state that God does not destroy Satan and his army:

Yet half his strength he put not forth, but check'd
His Thunder in mid Volley, for he meant
Not to destroy, but root them out of Heav'n. (PL 6.853-855)

The reason for that is that God wishes to teach Satan that every effort to do evil is turned to good. As we mentioned in the first part about the early beliefs, this is typical traditional Christian approach. God shows the graceful, the goodness and virtue. He lets Satan do evil; knowing that he will eventually conceive that his evilness brings him nothing but harm; and he will not find grace at all. In the sixth book, Satan is referred as *the author of evil* (PL 6.262). He must write evil, so that there can be a concept of evil in the material world; and so people have a conception between right and wrong.

The war and fall of Satan and his fellow angels are told in detail through the flashback of Raphael. Satan and his friends fall for nine days through the air; they pass through chaos and fall into hell. Nine is a very important number; as it is the traditional number of the heavenly spheres, and the traditional number of the angelic ranks is nine. It also has its place in mythology; Titans fell for nine days, also. Considering the position of Hell, we should note that according to Milton, Hell is the farthest point from God's Heaven. This idea arises from the Ptolemaic cosmos; also Dante puts Hell at the center of the earth. However, a crucial question should be answered: "If Milton pictures universe hanging from Heaven -universe hangs pendant on a golden chain-, and both are separated by Chaos from Hell, where is Hell? (...) It is nowhere. This is the beauty of Milton's conception. (...) a perfect metaphor for the absolute nonbeing of evil" (MP, 1986 p.109).

During Satan's fall, it's remarkable how he changes his form; from a beautiful angel into a dark, ugly one. Satan takes many forms -besides during his fall- throughout the poem. He becomes a lion, a vulture, a tiger, and at last, an ugly serpent. These forms and shapes Satan takes, are popular in traditional biblical stories and works. Raphael, in the seventh and eighth book, keeps on telling the story of how Christ created the new world in five days and Adam and Eve on the sixth day.

In the ninth book, Satan changes himself into a beautiful serpent and tempts Eve, who wants to work in a different part of the garden that day -a decision which Adam opposes, but later accepts-. Satan watches Eve's beauty and feels her innocence. However, he remembers his aim:

But the hot Hell that always in him burns,
Though in mid Heav'n, soon ended his delight. ...

Fierce hate he recollects, and all his thoughts
Of mischief, gratulating, thus excites. (PL 9.467-472)

It is of great importance to briefly analyze the chosen iconographical representation considering the image of Satan. The serpent figure owes its roots to early Egyptian and Jewish beliefs. It is used to represent both good and evil: It was a popular figure to refer to God, among the early Jews. Egyptians used the figure in their religious worship; and so did the Persians. However, the serpent was also the emblem of eternity and immortality: “and hence tempted the woman (in paradise) to bring forth immortal offspring” (Graves, p.54). It is also very interesting that in early sources, both God and Jesus were told to be ‘hissing’ with a small voice. Isaiah declares that: “The Lord will hiss unto them from the ends of the earth, and he will hiss for the fly of Egypt” (Graves, 1999 p.56). How the serpent figure developed to be an image of evil and Satan, is hidden in the ambiguity of early sources.

Milton’s talent to project human traits to Satan is very easy to get especially in the ninth book. Satan feels miserable, he pities himself. He feels the most human feelings while watching Eve, but yet remains true to his original aim. It’s important that we point out that he also has “the human tendency to launch self-righteous attacks upon others even at the risk of terrible consequences to the self. (...) he pities himself, musing how unfair it is that he should work so hard to accomplish these ends yet receive no thanks for his efforts” (MP, 1986 p.121). This is a kind of feeling that could only be human.

Satan recognizes that both Adam and Eve were not of equal superiority, and learning that Eve was born of Adam’s rib, quickly concluded that she was the weakest of the two. Eve was born from the body of Adam; she praises Adam as her own god, whereas Adam praises God as his. Satan successfully meets Eve alone.

That space the Evil One abstracted stood
From his own evil, and for the time remained
Stupidly good, of enmity disarmed,
Of guile, of hate, of envy, of revenge (PL, 9.246).

Eventhough her beauty confuses him, his dedication to his original plan stays the same. He simply uses his ability to flatter Eve in order to gain her attention and trust. Satan, as now a serpent, finds Eve alone, he talks to her, flatters her. Eve, surprised that this serpent is capable of talking, wonders how can a miracle like this can happen. Satan tells her that he ate a fruit

from the forbidden tree and thus became this wise. Eve sees the tree Satan shows her and at first, rejects the idea of eating from the tree, like their *Great Forbidder* told them. Then Satan persuades her by saying that she can be as wise as God himself if she eats the fruit. And thus, Eve eats the apple. At first, she doesn't want to tell Adam that she committed the sin. However, later she decides to tell him and Adam chooses to commit the same sin in order to be with Eve. They both fall into a lust like they never experienced before; they make love in this lust. In the morning when they wake up, they feel ashamed for the very first time for their nakedness. Adam and Eve feel the heaviness of the sin they committed and accuse one another in tears and pain.

We see that Satan lies in order to tempt Eve. Lying is one of the most common ways of Satan. If we go back in the first part of this study, in the old Persian belief, Satan is *Druj*; that is, *lie*. We also see that the image of Satan in the Holy Book is structured as *the one who lies*. The distinction between 'truth' and 'lie' is the basic opposition considering the character of Satan. This is one of Satan's most prominent characteristics; the ability to deceive. In *Paradise Lost*, nearly every statement he makes can be seen as a lie or delusion. Milton first describes him as,

Who first seduced them to that foul revolt?
Th' infernal serpent; he it was, whose guile
Stirred up with envy and revenge, deceived
The mother of mankind (PL 1.33).

These lines point out Satan's successful attempt of playing the serpent who tempts Eve and, through her, Adam, into committing the Original Sin. As a result of their curiosity and temptation, Adam and Eve cause the fall of man. This, in a way, is the 'death' of the perfect man. As mentioned before, mankind has the capacity of freewill and choice. This is perhaps the most important trait God gave to humankind. Despite Eve's knowledge that eating the fruit is wrong under the eyes of God, she sees her own reason as her law. Eve wants to become a God, or at least 'be Godly' and hold the power over Adam, the angels, and the other creatures of Paradise. In the temptation of Eve, we see that she comes closer and closer to Satan, the evil. The reason why Eve is portrayed to be tempted this easily is hidden in Milton's way of approaching this biblical story. Even Adam –after eating the apple and judged by Christ- yells at Eve; implicating her likeness to Satan: "out of my sight thou serpent!" (PL, 10.35). He clearly states that Eve is a serpent, just like Satan himself. The evilness of female, the evil female icon is a common feature in ancient myths. We even have a

universal expression like 'Woman is the right hand of Satan'. A right hand is generally the active hand; a person does many things with it; writes with it; operates with it. Perhaps, this expression states that Satan operates with women. He uses them to act or operate in a certain way. The sub-text of the expression may lead all the way to the story of Adam and Eve. Also, it is crucial to point out that 'Eve' derives from 'Heiva', 'Heva', or 'Eva'; which means 'serpent'.

In the tenth book, the punishment of Adam and Eve begins. Christ judges Adam and Eve with the command of God, telling them that mankind will suffer for their sin. Adam and Eve will be driven out of Paradise. Satan, for his sin, will be cursed as an eternal enemy. Meanwhile, Sin and Death, at the gates of hell, decide to build a bridge over chaos between hell and earth. Satan is welcomed by his fellow angels, with a strong hiss; for they all changed themselves into serpents like him. Both Adam and Eve regret what they did. Eve says to her husband:

Both have sinned: but thou
Against God only; I against God and thee (PL, 10.96).

In the eleventh book, Christ tells God how Adam and Eve regret their sin, and begs him to forgive them. However, God is determined to throw Adam and Eve out of his heaven. He sends Michael to them. Michael takes Adam to a high hill and tells him how the Son of God will sacrifice himself for their sins, in the future. Michael continues telling Adam about Christ's incarnation, death, resurrection, ascension, and the state of Church till his second coming; in the twelfth book. Adam feels relieved about the future of mankind; though he is in so much pain because of the sin's weight. He awakens Eve. Then Michael leads them out of paradise with a fiery sword. The couple walks out of paradise, hand in hand, in tears.

On the whole, Satan has been portrayed as a deceiver and manipulator. Since he commits himself to evil, he is in a continual state of revenge, remorse and envy. The author tends to focus on the characterization of Satan rather than God in order to justify some of the natural states of mankind. Milton also shows Satan's ways of deceit, jealousy, and destruction as he is presented as a magnificent rebel. With his followers, considering his approach towards them and humankind, Satan can be seen as a successful military leader and an accomplished politician. His complex character represents one of a commander whose voice gives hope and renewed life to his followers and a clever manipulator of parliamentary action

during the Consultation. Perhaps the greatest accomplishment of Milton's portrayal of Satan is that he is viewed and identified as a person. With the powerful character representation by Milton, Satan's image consists of the ability to manipulate, the capability of deception, and the power of persuasion. However, sometimes we can connect to the suffering and pain Satan goes through. Especially when he confesses; "pride and worse ambition threw me down" (PL 4.40).

Paradise Regained

Milton wrote *Paradise Regained* in 1671 in blank verse. The poem is composed of four chapters; much more shorter than *Paradise Lost*. In *Paradise Lost*, the first disobedience of manhood and eventually, the loss of paradise was told. In *Paradise Regained*, Milton tells us about how Jesus refused the temptation of Satan, and thus regained paradise. Thus, we can not say that *Paradise Regained* is a conclusion to *Paradise Lost*; but more like a part of it, the poems complete each other. Critics tend to think that *Paradise Regained* is a weaker poem for it presents us pure evil and pure good (two opposites). There is not much conflict; Satan is merely the evil, lacking all his vividness as portrayed in *Paradise Lost*. As to the Son, he represents a more distant personality; on the contrary to *Paradise Lost* where he is so alive and full of affection. Suffice to say that the important point to get here in *Paradise Regained* is that Milton preferred to present the story of temptation of Christ with a tendency to categorize and distinguish between two opposites. So, as to the image or representation of Satan in the story, we can say that he lacks his original power, liveliness in this poem. Milton perhaps preferred to skip the dramatization, and talk in basics this time.

Satan tries to tempt Christ three times in *Paradise Regained*. First, he dresses up as an old country man, and approaches Christ as he prays in the desert. Satan tells him to turn the stones in the desert into bread if he is really the Son of God. We should add that Satan and his followers do not get what it means of Christ's appearance as the Son. Satan wants to learn whether this 'second Adam' is really the Son of God. So he challenges him with certain wishes to make him really use his powers. Christ does not response to Satan's wish; for he knows that he is evil. Satan goes back to Hell; and discusses this with his followers. Belial suggests to tempt Christ with women; but is rejected by Satan. Satan decides to tempt him

with “manlier objects like honor, glory, and popular praise” (PR, 2.153-171). On the second day, he takes Christ to the top of a high mountain; showing him all the sublime kingdoms of this world. His aim is to provoke his feelings of ambition and dominion. However, this does not work. Jesus tells him that only God can give power and dominion. On the third day, Satan challenges Jesus to jump down from a high place; thus proving his divinity. This attempt finalizes with Satan himself falling down; and Jesus is surrounded by angels who protect him and make him safely get on his feet.

In terms of the characterization of Satan, *Paradise Regained* offers a logical development from *Paradise Lost*. The character of Satan is different, but it is a difference that can be explained by the time that has passed, and by changing circumstances as he must deal with the issues of battle over the souls of human beings; rather than with the war in Heaven pictured in *Paradise Lost*. The Satan of *Paradise Lost* is a military leader, a commander of a legion of doomed angels rebelling after having been thrown out of Heaven. In the first poem, Satan is much more direct, challenging the authority of God and leading his army into battle. In *Paradise Regained*, he has taken the role of a more uncomplicated, direct but yet remote seducer who searches the weaknesses in the Son. We can say that the Satan of the last books of *Paradise Lost* is a good preparation for the Satan of *Paradise Regained*.

The Satan of the first book is a character of great power and one with many admirable qualities. Waldock states: "The impression carefully built up in Book I and confirmed in Book II, is that the rebellion (in the eyes, of course, of the rebels) was a thoroughly rational undertaking, with a fair fighting chance of success" (Waldock, 1947 p.66). Satan is, as might expected, a liar and often makes statements that look suspicious. Waldock says that Milton does not expect us to remind ourselves again and again that Satan is a liar and thus a less admirable character than he seems: "We feel the element of bravado in the language; we know that in such circumstances we cannot look for strict accuracy; we do not take the word of these defeated ones for a perfectly literal report of fact. But the drift of their talk cannot but affect us, and it is meant to affect us" (Waldock, 1947 p.67). As a narrative poet, then, Milton aims to build up a certain sense of character that makes us forget Satan's reality as an evil, as well as giving this character a power he cannot possibly possess against an antagonist who is Omnipotent: ". . . until such time, at least, as he has his poem properly moving and Satan securely established in our imaginations as a worthy antagonist of heaven" (Waldock, 1947 p.67).

In *Paradise Regained*, however, these strictures do not apply. Satan in the second epic can be presented more in his ‘normal’ guise, after his delusion of challenging God with

military might has been shown to be just that - a delusion. His present aim is not dedicated to undermining God's power, but operating on a level where his power can be effective; he does not use force or raw power. He is more open to use mind-games and psychologic manipulations. While this differs from the Satan who commanded the rebellious troops, it is a clear continuation of the Satan who tempted Eve and Adam in the last books of *Paradise Lost*. Miller states: "Despite the announcement that the poem's theme is man's disobedience, Milton does not begin with man; for all cosmogonies push at least one step beyond the known in an effort to make the existence of evil and suffering comprehensible, and an extra human agent is usually at fault" (Miller, p.83). For Milton, the serpent of Genesis is possessed by Satan, and Satan's motivation is analyzed and detailed in the course of this poem.

Miller also notes that the poet does not begin with the revolt of Lucifer, for if he did, "our initial interest would have focused upon the origin of evil in an angel presumably created perfect; but since Milton wishes to teach of mankind's disobedience, he does not set out to justify God's ways with demons" (Miller, 1980 p.84). The Satan of *Paradise Lost* is an individual who never admits defeat; gets into wars and does not ever give up. In *Paradise Regained*, he is weaker; yet more cunning. Tillyard says that Satan of *Paradise Lost* "would never have resorted to such a variety of allurements as did the Satan of *Paradise Regained*; he would have staked everything on the utmost he could devise and have accepted his defeat with restraint" (Tillyard, 1968 p.263). Tillyard sees the 'second' Satan as weaker as well as more human and very clever. Tillyard says he is in fact too clever and "cannot stay content with a clear single issue, but must ever be advancing secondary reasons to persuade Christ to act in a certain way" (Tillyard, 1968 p.264).

The 'human-ness' of Satan in *Paradise Regained* matches the human nature of Christ. So we see these two figures who both have power which is not human; yet both have human qualities. The action of *Paradise Regained* centers on Satan's attempts to understand the nature of Christ and to corrupt Christ if possible. This is a logical continuation of his behavior in the first poem. It is also the next step in the chronology of the fall and redemption of mankind; and it is necessary for Satan to tempt Christ and for Christ to resist that temptation for mankind to be saved. This emphasizes once more the essential importance of Satan in the scheme of things - for there to be good and for human beings to choose good, evil must exist. *Paradise Regained* offers an image of Satan which is not a leading commander but is instead acting one-on-one with human beings as he tries to seduce them to his way and away from God.

VI.

William Blake

&

the Vagueness of the Evil One

“Man is born a Spectre or Satan, and is altogether Evil, and requires a New Selfhood continually.”

(William Blake, *Jerusalem*)



William Blake (November 28, 1757-August 12, 1827) marked a great period in British literature and art in his day; still managing to have a great impact on many artists and authors in the modern world. He was a poet, painter, printmaker, and an engraver. Unfortunately, he was not really understood in his day; probably because of his unusual way of interpreting the world around –and above/under- him, and of the rumors of him being ‘mad’. However, in today’s world, he is kind of popular; people tend to try and realize how marvelous Blake’s imagery is, giving him credit for his rich visionaries and use of metaphors. William Blake was born in London to a middle-class family and was one of five children. He lost an older brother who died as an infant; this very event has been told to be one of the greatest happenings which led Blake lose his stability of mind. Blake never went to school; he was educated at home by his mother. Thus, he was to understand and control his life through thoughts, feelings, and impulses rather than intellectual education. This, we will see, gives away a hint to why he would suggest that “the tigers of wrath are wiser than the horses of instruction” (MHH, 1975 p.3).

When his father became aware of his son's talent, he decided to make a painter of him; however, Blake refused this, saying it would be unfair to his brothers and sisters to pay for his premium for apprenticeship. He wanted to learn engraving instead of painting. So he was taken to James Basire, a wonderful engraver of his time. Later on, he studied at the studio of Rylands. A very interesting matter occurred at Rylands': Blake told his father, "Father, I do not like the man's look; he looks as if he would live to be hanged" (Yeats, 2002 p.xxi). This 'prophecy' was actually confirmed when Rylands was hanged for forgery twelve years later. It is very common of Blake; his visionaries, prophecies build up a great deal of his life. As early as a 4-year-old, Blake saw an image of God who put his forehead to the window; Blake screamed. It has been widely told that while he was eight or ten, at Peckham Rye in London, he saw a tree full of angels, all bright and shiny. We know that he shared this vision with his father. Also, "there is record, too, of his finding Ezekiel sitting one summer day in the open fields, and of his beaten by his mother for bringing home so unlikely a story" (Yeats, 2002 p.xx). In 1779, Blake attended the Royal Academy, where he was not asked for any payment. During his six years at the academy, he grew a tendency towards classical painting. His early influences were Michelangelo and Raphael.

In 1789, he met his wife Catherine, who was to be a great support for both his life and works. Their acquaintance has an interesting story. Blake met his future wife after a sad and platonic love affair with a girl named Clara. He became ill for the sake of this love and was sent for change of air to the house of a market gardener at Richmond. When market gardener's daughter Catherine saw young Blake, she knew she was to marry him. Blake told her his sad love story. Catherine cried, "I pity you from my heart". Blake answered, "Do you pity me? Then I love you for that" (Yeats, 2002 p.xxv). Catherine was illiterate and signed the marriage contract with an 'X'. William Blake taught her how to read and write; later, trained her as an engraver. William and Catherine's was a life-long, devoted marriage. Catherine worked with Blake on several pieces. She was the one who printed his *Illuminated Works* and copied his manuscripts. A year after the marriage, Blake's first work, *Poetical Sketches* was published. William Blake and his brother Robert opened a print shop in 1784 after their father's death and began working with publisher Joseph Johnson. Johnson's house was the place where Blake met some of the leading intellectuals of his time; like Mary Wollstonecraft, Joseph Priestly, Richard Price, Thomas Paine, William Wordsworth, and William Godwin. Blake had great hopes for the American and French Revolution and wore a red liberty cap in

solidarity with the French revolutionaries. However, he became unattached to these ideals, partly because of the great terror in French Revolution.

William Blake illustrated Dante's great poem *Inferno* and Milton's *Paradise Lost*. It has been reported that on the day of his death, Blake was still working on his Dante series. Eventually, he stopped working and turned to his wife, who was in tears by his bedside. Blake is said to have cried, "Stay Kate! Keep just as you are – I will draw your portrait – for you have ever been an angel to me." Having completed this portrait (unfortunately now lost), Blake laid down his tools and began to sing hymns and verses (Ackroyd, 1996 p.389) At six that evening, after promising his wife that he would be with her always, Blake passed away. After his death, Catherine claimed he was continually visiting her. On the day of her own death, on October 1831, she called out to him "as if he were only in the next room, to say she was coming to him, and it would not be long now" (Yeats, 2002 p. 410).

Among William Blake's works: *Illuminated Books* covers *All Religions are One* (1788), *Songs of Innocence* (1789), *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (1790-1793), *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* (1793), *The First Book of Urizen*, *Songs of Experience* (1794), *The Book of Los* (1795), *Jerusalem* (1804-1820).

Before getting into the image of Satan in Blake's works, it is vital to develop an understanding of his time and inspirations. William Blake's age is the age of revolution. The Romantic Period (1798-1832) developed to bring a more individualistic, rebellious, optimistic and imaginative tone to both life and art. The ideas and ideals surrounding the Age of Reason, commenced to differ, and were eventually reorganized and sometimes abolished by the Romantic artists. We might say that the Romantic Period brought in some light; different perspectives to society and values. The individual meant a great deal for the Romantics. The heart and soul rather than mind and reason became more prior. The French Revolution of 1789 has outgrew ideas of 'liberty, equality, fraternity'. Most Romantics honored these ideals and dreamt of a more free and democratic world. They did not believe evil to be a part of human nature –as scholars of the Age of Reason do- but that everyone was equally good in nature. However, the consequences of the Reign of Terror and Industrial Revolution in England (1750-1850) shaped a different environment; in which new institutions, religious

approaches, political and cultural values formed.¹⁸ William Blake was born to an England of transformation. Within the industrial revolution, England slowly transformed from an agricultural society into an industrial one. Factories were established. People from towns and villages started moving to cities where they could find job in the factories. Low wages and hard living conditions were waiting for them, and eventually sickness took over because of the absence of medical care. Social injustice, thus, marked this period. The Romantics, “by dramatizing the real conflict of good and evil within the human spirit and by shaking Christian thought violently out of its complacency about the problem of evil, it laid the foundation for a twentieth-century revival of serious theological concern with the problem of evil” (MP, 1986 p.176). We should add that the idea of merging of Prometheus -who stole fire from gods and gave it to mortals- and Satan was a popular theme among Romantics. It could be said that the good qualities associated with Satan in the Romantic era might be influenced from its association with Prometheus.

The image of Satan was also going under a series of changes within the Romantic era; as ideals of revolutions shaped basis for different perspectives on evil’s nature.¹⁹ The sublime and humanized Satan of Milton’s greatest epic had gained a heroic status and developed marginally. For some artists and authors of the age, Satan started representing certain values which they shared; thus a fascination with the idea and personification of evil emerged. Milton’s political devil was, as mentioned above, was the object of desire; and was turned both into a different ideological instrument to hold on to and a figure of the appetite for desire and power. The need to refer to the political ‘other’ is always a dominating feeling; romantics both used Satan to justify their suffering and evil, and to differentiate the ‘political other’ by naming it the ‘evil one’. Thus, the term ‘Romantic Satanists’ was shaped. Romantic Satanists are usually defined to be using this rich metaphorical and mythical figure of Satan to explain different states of social, individual, political and cultural understandings of the ‘world order’. William Blake is often posited into this flow thought; however, it is nearly impossible to

¹⁸ *The Reign of Terror* (5 September 1793 – 28 July 1794) or *The Terror* was a period in the French Revolution characterized by brutal repression. The stated aim of the Terror was to defend the Revolution by destroying internal enemies and conspirators and chasing external enemies from French territory. During The Terror, the political regime suspended most civil liberties, and extended the Revolution’s influence into many social and economic areas (such as the *loi du maximum général*, which limited grain prices) (retrieved from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reign_of_terror).

¹⁹ We should add that by the end of the 18th century, belief in the existence of Devil nearly came to an end. Though this ‘finale’ of the belief in Devil opened much more different gates to a world where the idea of evil found itself grounds for growing as a modern myth.

speak of him as belonging to a certain group. On the other hand, he also ‘demonized’ the political other, just like the political other (that is the British conservatives of the era) ‘demonized’ him. He held Milton’s Satan as the prior icon for drawing explanations of this world. “In key works of Blake and Shelley, Milton’s Satan is constructed as an idealized antagonist of an Omnipotence embodying the dominant political and religious values of the era” (Schock, 2003 p.5).

Milton’s Satan represented a certain breakthrough from the dominion of God and authority. Romantics developed this myth as an idealization of revolution and free thought. We shall say this kind of Satanism supported romantics to interpret the big changes of their weird era. “It provided them with a mythic medium for articulating the hopes and fears their age aroused, for prophesying and inducing change. Romantic Satanism, then, is not merely ‘individualism’ or authorial subjectivity mythologized, ‘the mind is its own place’ invoked in a social vacuum; it exhibits the response of writers to their milieu” (Schock, 2003 p.6). In addition to this, Blake’s Satanism represents only his relation with the radical culture of his day. Blake’s myth of Satan embodies and then critiques the rationalistic and revolutionary milieu from which it arose, assimilating it to the larger body of Satan that subtends all forms of worldly tyranny. The primary function of the Romantic Satanists was imagining the elements of a vast social change. Blake thought that everyone should believe in something, and that everything that has a potential for belief, deserved to be believed in. He once wrote, “Man must and will have some religion: if he has not the Religion of Jesus, he will have the Religion of Satan” (Jerusalem, pt.52). We should mark that the Romantic Age also involved comic treatments of evil. Satan was often pictured as a clumsy, funny figure who took roles in farces. This influenced the perceptions of evil; a certain demythologizing of evil and hell emerged. Thus, the horrifying Satan figure started changing into something people could mock; be entertained with. With time, a certain abandonment of classic theological preachings were questioned. In the later 17th century, the meaning and essence of evil was challenged by Muggletonians, Ranters, Behmenists, Quakers, and Diggers.²⁰

Even if it is nearly impossible to speak of the Romantic Age as a whole, suffice to say that the idea of humanitarianism, a search for new perspectives to observe the world, a reunite

²⁰ Lodowick Muggleton stated that devils had no bodily existence, but were manifest only as evil thoughts. Ranters denied the personal existence of the Devil. They rather interpreted him in a symbolic way. Evil was the embodiment of suppressed desires. Quakers believed that the "Inner Light" or that God was within each of us.

with the nature were popular ideas among the artists and thinkers of the period. The deeper aspects of human soul, nature as an inspirational source, a simple life and simple man – opposite of the classicist values of aristocratic ‘city man’- were some of the themes Romantics dealt with and got inspired from. William Blake, eventhough he shares some of the approaches of his contemporaries, stands as a distinct and different figure. It is hard to posit him into a certain flow of thought. Many scholars and academicians tend to evaluate William Blake both within his period and outside of it. Perhaps the most definitive term to express his being is that he was a visionary; he lived his all life with his visions. Thus, it is quite challenging to put limits to him; he belonged to his own time and didn’t; at the same time. He belonged to this world and many others; we might say. His conversations with Archangel Gabriel, visions of Virgin Mary, Moses, Dante, Milton, Voltaire, and many others, were just tiny parts of his imaginative world (or we might say, worlds). He believed in a certain ‘inner-light’, which gave him his aspirations. Blake did not produce only prose but also drawings; and this is probably one of the most important aspects that make him privileged. His texts involved strange paintings; presenting a tendency towards both classical painters and his very own perceptions. Blake believed man’s being is essentially made up of the imagination, which is eternal. He was then, in peace talking about death as a ‘removal from one room to another’. No wonder why he sang hymns and songs while dying.

Blake was not an orthodox; but religious. ‘Divine’ was one; God was not a separate being but within man. The fall of man was something he believed in; however he thought that it was not caused by eating of an apple but when reason revolted against God -who is the ultimate imagination-. He thought, after the Fall, mankind commenced a limited world: Limited in time and space; limited by our own five senses. So, the reality lies in the world of imagination. Blake rejected the materialistic science of reason. He dreamed of a reality beyond this world and his rich metaphorical and mythical language was inspired from this divine and eternal imaginary world. Thus, we come to an understanding of his prophetic books and poet-prophet image.

Around 1640’s, “the language of the battle against Antichrist spread out into every area of political and social as well as spiritual life” (Thompson, 1993 p.35) Blake developed his artistic style and ideas in an era of much conflict. Classical heritage of many infamous artists, he liked. However, eventhough his very early inspirations arised from classical painters and authors, he did not try and stop the change of tone, witnessing revolutions and

big changes happening around all Europe. As mentioned before, with the political and cultural changes, Blake could not resist a new way to look at things. He was a follower of Swedenborg.²¹ He even was a member of the Swedenborgian Church. However, his bond with the church came to a point of break; with the effect of Swedenborg's remarks about Holy Trinity. London –and Europe in general- in 1780's was a suitable place for developing 'anti-rationalist' approaches to life and being. Mysticism, illuminism, astrology, alchemy, rituals were at their peak status. There were many alternative 'counter-enlightenment' groups which had effect on both William Blake and other artists of the era. E.P. Thompson points out that the imagery of groups like Diggers, Ranters, Behemists, hermeticists, and heresiarchs became important for Blake's intellectual heritage. Some of these groups were occupied with the study of apocalyptic visions. As Thompson remarks, "notoriously, the apocalyptic vision bursts forth in each period of social disturbance" (Thompson, 1993 p.25). Blake, as a defender of impulses and imagery world, says, "I tell you, no virtue can exist without breaking these ten commandments... Jesus was all virtue, and acted from impulse, not from rules" (Plate 23, MHH). It is true, as Milton says through Michael in *Paradise Lost*, "Law can discover sin, but not remove..." (*Paradise Lost*, Book XII). Thus, the concepts of good & evil, sin & virtue found themselves a firm basis to be discussed and manipulated. William Blake thought that hence 'evil' involves a negation in itself (a negation of 'good'), all evil consists in self-restraint or restraint of others. He believed that there could be no such thing as an evil deed; all acts were good until the act is perverted into "the frustration of activity, in oneself or others" (Frye, p. 61). Blake states that all act is virtue; that murder and theft are hindering others while backbiting, undermining or whatever negative, is vice. Blake's conception of

²¹ Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772) was a Swedish scientist, philosopher, Christian mystic, and theologian. Swedenborg had a career as an inventor and scientist. At the age of fifty six he entered into a spiritual phase, in which he experienced dreams and visions. The foundation of Swedenborg's theology was laid down in *Arcana Caelestia*, or *Heavenly Secrets*, published in eight volumes from 1749 to 1756. In a significant portion of that work, he interprets Biblical passages. Most of all, he was convinced of how the Bible described a human's transformation from a materialistic to a spiritual being. He begins his work by outlining how the creation myth was not an account of the creation of Earth, but an account of man's rebirth in six steps. Everything related to mankind could also be related to Jesus Christ, and how Christ freed himself from materialistic boundaries. Swedenborg examined this idea by an exposition on Genesis and Exodus. Swedenborg was sharply opposed to the Christian doctrine of the Trinity as three Persons, the concept of One God being three separate Persons: the Person of the Father, the Person of the Son, and the Person of the Holy Spirit. Instead he claimed that the three were different aspects of the one God, one Person, in whom is the Divine Trinity, and that divinity is impossible if divided into three Persons (retrieved and paraphrased from www.wikipedia.com/swedenborg).

negative evil produced a new meaning for the word 'jealousy'. Jealousy is the word he uses to refer to negative evil. He speaks about when turned away from the world to be perceived, one develops an imaginative idleness that spreads an illness; and that all evil comes from this state. In Blake, we see that he thinks of cruelty as curiosity with injuring an other. Fear represents another source for evil; fear of the unknown, the mysterious leads to an attraction to it, in one way or another. Frye says, "A man may specialize in self-restraint or in restraint of others. The former produces the vices which spring from fear; the latter those which spring from cruelty. But the thwarting of imagination is the basis of both: all the cruel are frightened, and all the fearful are cruel" (Frye, 1991 p.63).

Thinking of classical portrayal of Satan, his envy and his evil deeds; one grasps the idea of the old doctrine in which he is limited to his own fate; that is to be eliminated. His fear of his own fate, his restriction causes fear and fear leads to cruelty. Just like Ahriman, who was limited to his own fate to be eliminated by good, Ohrmazd. Tyranny result from this; "the tyrant in Blake is always isolated, inscrutable brooder and because he is that, he is truly representative of his victims" (Frye, 1991 p.63).

Poetic Genius, for Blake, is the source of all creation; in *All Religions are One* (1788) he says, "The Religions of all Nations are derived from each Nations reception of the Poetic Genius ... the Jewish & Christian Testaments are An original derivation from the Poetic Genius" (Frye, 1991 p.110). Different religious myths give birth to certain figures with superhuman qualities. These, Blake calls, are the 'Angel', 'Spirit', and 'Demon' and projections of the trans-individual creative power of the Poetic Genius. What is remarkable is that Blake puts reason and energy as opposite sides. Dominion, even if it is exercised under the cover of revolution and democracy, was something Blake did not approve. Dominion under the cover of reason is the thing Blake hates. For him, energy "is the only life, and is from the body; and reason is the bound or outward circumference of energy" (Yeats, 2002 p.164). He considers energy to be the 'eternal delight'; and those who try to limit desire do this because theirs 'is weak enough to be restrained; and the restrainer or reason usurps its place and governs the unwilling. And being restrained, it by degrees becomes passive, till it is only the shadow of desire" (Yeats, 2002 p.164). The use of energy is something that can be linked powerfully with the image of Satan. Blake argues energy can not and should not be controlled; it dwells freely in every person and is the creative source of the Divine; that is the Poetic Genius. Here, we see again the terms 'satanic', 'divine', 'energy' overlap to a certain

degree, and that Satan is perceived a superhuman image triggering energy, desire, creativity, and rebellion towards dominionship and hierarchical ways of God; who is the governor (the Reason).

Blake did not believe in the idea of God as a separate being; he considered the Divine Power to be within man. “Some will say, ‘Is not God alone the prolific?’ I answer, ‘God only acts and is in existing beings or men’” (Yeats, 2002 p.172). In most of his texts, the idea of God represents imagination. The original sin -fall of mankind-, was something he believed. However, he considered the reason of the fall was not disobedience to God but rather, the revolt against God who is the Imagination. This revolt caused the fall and the world we live in; a world of illusion. The world of Imagination is the real world; the world we live in offers us very little; limited by our five senses, we can only sense what we can. Blake makes himself clear while talking about the Imagery:

To see a World in a Grain of Sand

And a Heaven in a Wild Flower,

Hold Infinity in the palm of your hand

And Eternity in an hour

(Frye, p.38)

The way Blake understands Jesus Christ represents different views. He believes Jesus Christ did not want to unite people with different beliefs; he wanted to separate them. The earliest Christian drawing of Christ separating sheep and goats represented this idea for Blake. In the Prophetic Books, he quotes from Jesus Christ: “I came not to send peace, but a sword.” (Yeats, 2002 p.172) He does not draw God; he draws Jesus Christ. He cherishes trinity – Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit-; but at the same time he complains, “the Father is Destiny, the Son a Ratio²² of five senses, &the Holy-ghost Vacuum” (Frye, 1991 p.58). He suggests that Holy Spirit speaks to prophets and it prophesized the Messiah. The Holy Spirit saw God as man, and understood that “God becomes as we are, that we may be as he is” (Frye, 1991 p.59). Blake thinks that in Milton, this Messiah is the ratio of the five senses. Jesus, according to him, is a compelling word who creates an unconscious universe into a beautiful and

²² According to Blake, the term ‘ratio’ represents the sum of experiences common to normal minds.

intelligent one; and thus, suggests that the Son and the Holy Spirit are the same. Frye points out that in Blake, the three persons of the Trinity are to be “connected by *ors* rather than *ands*, and the real God is fourfold, power, love, and wisdom contained within the unity of civilized human imagination. This God is a God-Man” (Frye, 1991 p.59). Frye goes on saying that the final revelation of Christianity is, therefore, not that Jesus is God, but that God is Jesus. Eventhough God is the perfection of man, man can not be wholly God. Blake does not believe that men can actually perceive God. Thus, the figure of Jesus fills the emptiness in this equation. Jesus represents the qualities of both God and man. As once Blake’s favourite Swedenborg points out, “Man can have no idea of any thing greater than Man, as a cup cannot contain more than its capaciousness. But God is a man, not because he is so perceiv’d by man, but because he is the creator of man” (Frye, 1991 p.39). We cannot conceive a superhuman imagination; when we try and imagine above human nature, we find ourselves imagining below it.

Blake was known for his rejection of materialistic science, and this really had an effect on his ideas of evil. As mentioned before, he was an artist of the imagery, not the reason.²³ The material, reason-dominated scientists and scholars like Locke had always been far away from his perceptions world. Locke, without knowing it, is considered to be responsible for deism.²⁴ The imagination is nowhere near deistic approaches. The principles of causality and reason have no room for the world of myths, metaphors, and imagery. Thus, William Blake’s imagery world of myths and metaphors does not actually go parallel with materialistic thoughts. Blake attacked Locke consistently with his words. His term ‘guinea-sun’ has risen from this attitude towards scientists like Locke. William Blake says,

“ ‘What,’ it will be Question’d, ‘When the Sun rises, do you not see a round disk of fire somewhat like a Guinea?’ O no, no, I see an Innumerable company of the Heavenly host crying, ‘Holy, holy, Holy is the Lord God Almighty.’” (Frye, 1991 p.28)

²³‘Reason’ appears to be a term Blake dislikes. He uses the term in an unfavourable context. ‘Reason’ represents the reflection on the ‘ratio’. William Blake points out that “reason, or the ratio of all we have already known, is not the same that it shall be when we know more” (MHH, p.38).

²⁴ Deism refers to a religious philosophy and movement that appeared in European countries like England, France, and the United States in the 17th and 18th centuries. Deists reject supernatural events and divine revelation seen in organized religion, along with holy books and revealed religions that assert the existence of such things. Instead, deists believe that religious beliefs should be founded on human reason and observed features of the natural world, and that these sources reveal the existence of one God or supreme being (paraphrased from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Deism>).

This 'guinea-sun', therefore, represents something more than just a disk of fire. It has an imagery world of metaphors and myths by itself that can not be passed unseen. There are two kinds of people, in this sense. Blake saw the guinea-sun; he saw "all he wanted to see of all he can see" while the other group of people saw "all that they could see of all they wanted to see" (Frye, 1991 p. 29).

The ideas of Berkeley—who was the first to attack Locke's philosophy- appear to be important for handling Blake's imagery universe.²⁵ Regarding the mental nature of reality, Berkeley states, "esse est percipi": "to be is to be perceived". According to Berkeley, like Blake, the terms 'form' and 'image' rather than 'reason' or 'matter' are more proper to use in terms of dealing with mental existence. Images exist in perception; so seeing and being seen are prior to human existence. Things become 'real' to the extent that they are perceived. If we move forward with this idea, how we perceive things depends on our mental attitude. Thus, Blake's rich myths and metaphors emerge. Blake actually invented characters and worlds. 'Ulro' represents the world where the individual is isolated, reflects on his memories of perception, and evolves abstract ideas. In Ulro, the distinction between subject and object is eliminated – this is hell for Blake. Above Ulro, lies the world we live in and Blake calls it 'Generation'. Above Generation, is the imaginative world which Blake divides into two parts as lower and upper. The highest state where creator and creature, energy and form unite, is called 'Eden' in Blake. Eden is the city of Sun; where 'Beulah' refers to the garden of Genesis.²⁶ Beulah is the lower paradise where gods walk around. While Ulro is a single, Generation a double; Beulah is a triple world. "the world of lover, beloved, and mutual creation; the father, the mother, and the child" (Frye, 1991 p.56).

Blake suggests that because we are born in a 'fallen' world, and restrained with natural death, the only possible cure for the original sin of selfhood is vision. False religion, in Blake's view, is very parallel to state religion; thus cruelty and evil. The God of official Christianity, Jewish tradition, and Islam, appear to be cruel: God is good and we are evil; we can not in any way deny his omnipotence, whatever comes, we take. Genocides, child deaths along with

²⁵ George Berkeley (12 March 1685 – 14 January 1753), was an Irish philosopher who is associated with subjective idealism. His theory basically suggests that human beings are only able to know sensations and ideas of objects rather than abstractions such as "matter" or "reason". Some of his major works are, "*Treatise Concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge*" (1710) and "*Three Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous*" (1713), "*The Analyst*" (1734).

²⁶ 'Beulah' is a term which comes from Isaiah, and means 'married'. Beulah is used to define the relation of a land to its people. Isaiah was the son of Amoz, and the author of the *Book of Isaiah*. The Book of Isaiah is one of the books of the Hebrew Bible and the Christian Old Testament.

epidemics, floods, miseries are to be his will. This absolute figure expects full dependence, obedience and no questioning at all. He observes, evaluates, and puts people in hell to be tormented endlessly. People who go to heaven are the ones who obey everything he wants; and develop nothing creative or question nothing. This image of God, reinforced with traditional teachings of religions became a fruitful source for state religion. Blake talks about 'fairies' and contrasts them with 'heathen gods' who were selfish and cruel. The common qualities of 'heathen gods' with the official Christian God appear to be ego-centric, arrogant, and cruel. Thinking about religious based wars, this God figure played the most important role; in him, every evil deed and tyranny was justified. Frye suggests, "If God moves in a mysterious way, a mysterious God may be capable of anything. And as all mysteries are nightmares, this one increases in horror the longer we continue to think of what he may do to us" (Frye, 1991 p.68). This image of God, who causes holy wars and desires human sacrifices, is called 'Old Nobodaddy' in Blake.

Then Old Nobodaddy aloft
Farted & belch'd & cough'd,
And said, "I love hanging & drawing & quartering
Every bit as well as war & slaughtering.
Damn praying & singing,
Unless they will bring in
The blood of ten thousands by fighting or swinging."

(Blake, *Let the Brothels of Paris be Opened*)

'Nobodaddy' is a manipulated word deriving from 'no one's daddy'. It is quite interesting how this 'nobodaddy' can actually turn into something very opposite of 'good'. Nobodaddy desires perfect obedience without questioning; thus his believers become just like robots, their acts turn into automatic reactions. "The believers in him tell us that the whole universe obeys God in this way; except us, and that we do not because we are evil and have fallen (...) but the fatal mistake in orthodox thought comes at the next step. All good comes

from God, and as, the orthodox say, God is not man, man must be simple & yet capable of evil” (Frye, 1991 p.69). Therefore, we look upside, rather than inside for absolute goodness. We except that we are not wholly good; that we have evil inside. So how can human beings really develop an understanding of ‘absolute goodness’? From this point of view, we really are not able to comprehend the concept of being wholly good. Than we try and imagine something that can be wholly good; but what we imagine can not come out to be unique. We only dream with our own conceptions of being human; what we imagine is a result of our *own* understanding of what could God look like or be. Whatever we imagine, we imagine beyond the absolute. Blake suggests, in this sense, that the figure of Jesus Christ fills an emptiness between God and man. He is a man, yet with superpowers. Blake also says that no man has ever seen and shall not be able to see God. Thus, we look up in the sky –not to our world- and imagine God is there; below us, all good and powerful. The interesting thing is, we are not able to grasp a meaning of why God should be there and why he should be good. There is really nothing beyond the human world, but only nature; however the orthodox teaching relies on the idea that God is somewhere else. In the skies, in the heavens; but not in our dirty, evil world and selves. Our lives are considered ‘good’ as long as we are passive, as long as we do as we are told. Hence, everything free, independent, questioning, energetic becomes evil and Satanic.

“We know good by evil in this world: when we try to think of ‘good by itself and evil not at all’, in spite of ourselves we think of the protected child’s world (...) when we try to visualize this world, does not Paradise become a mere kindergarten in which we may run and play as we like, with knives and boiling water carefully put out of our reach? Without risk would not the highest kind of pleasure apt to pall?” (Frye, 1991 p.77).

The point we should underline is that Nobodaddy really does not care what goodness is really. He himself is parallel with the traditional image of Satan; causing pain and trouble in the human world. Blake uses Nobodaddy to criticize the understanding of good and evil in orthodox approach. Their God is really no one’s dad; he just desires what he likes, that is, blood, sacrifice, and obedience. He is actually evil. Blake really attacked all this shallowness; he once said that prudence was “a rich, ugly, old maid courted by incapacity” (Yeats, 2002 p.118). He thought of the four classical virtues as the four pillars of Satan’s throne. Thus, we are able to grasp what Blake really means by Satan and evil. He actually changes and manipulates the roles of good and bad; God and Satan. His use of myths and metaphors make one able to question really everything linked with our conceptions of good and evil. If we

move forward with the classical teaching of God being perfect, and that we are guilty and have sinned, it comes to a point where we can not separate goodness from badness; all activity becomes evil and the passive becomes good. Frye suggests, “A negatively perfect God, a God who is pure goodness, can do nothing. A negatively perfect man is in the same dilemma” (Frye, 1991 p.70). Morality, then, is a term that is so slippery. Which one is morally good? A man who questions, tries to bring out the power within, tries and imagines a higher power other than Nobodaddy; or a man passively accepts everything, does not act and wait for the other world to be evaluated by his God, who is no one other than Nobodaddy. Blake asks, “If man is consider’d as only evil & god only good, how then is regeneration effected which turns the evil to good?” (Yeats, 2002 p.489). Thus, there must be some kind of internal power within human beings. We should add that Blake’s Nobodaddy, as a figure which also embodies the author’s harsh criticism towards orthodox teachings, has a strong connection with the idea of *post mortem* punishment. The *post mortem* punishment doctrine, which found itself a strong support from the Christian world,

“invests the Diety with a character absolutely dishonorable and disgraceful, if not blasphemous, by representing him as morally capable of inflicting the most excruciating punishment upon the major portion of his children, whereas he would be a cruel and hateful monster if he should thus punish one of his subjects for a single day” (Graves, 1999 p.20).

Blake’s ‘negatively evil’ Satan is then, is not really a sinner but a priggish self-righteous. Satan is *diabolos* which means ‘accuser’ in the Bible. Satan is a figure who constantly causes us despair and blames us for being so incapacitated and insufficient. Blake explains: “We do not find anywhere that Satan is accused of sin; he is accused of unbelief & thereby drawing man into sin that he may accuse him” (Frye, 1991 p.72). In the Tanakh, Satan is the enemy in war and peace, and *again* an accuser before the judgment seat.²⁷ Interestingly, we see that Old Nobodaddy turns out to be a blood-thirsty accuser himself. Frye says, “Old Nobodaddy soon vanishes into a mere perpetual-motion machine of causation. And as Deism is an isolation of what is abstract and generalized in Christianity, Satan in Blake’s day has become a Deist” (Frye, 1991 p.71). We can say that in Blake, the main problem of social & political liberty, giving a meaning to good & evil, is the release of imagination. Thinking with Blake’s terms, if we separate the sides in this world as visionaries and tyrants, we begin to grasp the basis to think of God and Satan.

²⁷ Also ‘Tenach’ or ‘Tenak’, an acronym of the Hebrew Bible. The acronym ‘Tanakh’ is from the first Hebrew letters of the parts of text.

Blake's mythic art of the 1790's treats the Devil as a displaced image of one of these powers, and thus the figure represented in Christian culture as the antagonist of God is reconceived, converted into the emblem of liberating values, the embodiment of energy and desire. Blake's Satanic mythmaking thus displays his attempt to reconstruct the identity and role of a Satan freed of the distortions inherent in scriptural derivations from the Poetic Genius, the 'forms of worship' chosen from 'poetic tales' (Schock, 2003 p.44).

Blake calls the guardians of society and moral virtue as 'Angels'. Those who question the structure of society and this world, he calls, 'Devils'. He thinks that both Angels and Devils are necessary parts of society and equally needed. He sees errors and isolations as parts of God's design. The accusation of sins poisons the imagination, for Blake. Forgiveness of sins, is the prior principle. If we separate our sins from our selfhood ('selfhood' is a term which Blake likes to use constantly), we are able to free our imagination and embrace our inert goodness.

Blake thinks that neither God nor Satan can subdue themselves or one another. We should really separate the pleasure of creation from the pleasure of mastery and oppression. For Blake, the real thing is the pleasure of creation. It is the one thing, it is the energy, and life. Energy and action are cherished by Blake. He constantly says and proves that active evil is better than passive good. When we think of what he says, we are able to come up with many examples from contemporary politics, societies, and culture. Really, what is the use of passive goodness? What is the use of imagining a passive God?

In Blake, what he calls by 'visions', might not be all together pure and good. He says that there are three places where the visions are formed. In the first place, the visions are associated to the person's unique selfhood; they can be seldom. In the second place, they tend to be haphazard. In the third place, they are evil and monstrous, corresponding to the selfhood's fears of what may exist outside perception. And hell is the selfhood 'jealousy', as Blake says, "being shut up in the possession of corporeal desires which shortly weary the man" (Frye, 1991 p.86). Heaven in Blake, is the awakened imagination.

In *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, Blake develops the voice of the Devil, the 'son of fire', and the other infernal figures of this work into personae embodying the desire and energy that trigger apocalypse. This approach continues with the myth of Orc found in the

Lambeth Prophecies. However, in *The Book of Urizen* (1794), Blake reverses direction considering the image of Satan and re-establishing its traditional role.

“*The First Book of Urizen* again shows the interchangeability of the terms of ‘God’ and ‘Devil’. Urizen is the old creator God, the Ancient of days, the blind tyrant; he represents Jehovah, the Old Testament God of laws, the principle of reason. His act of creation is evil because it sets rules and limits in the cosmos, which otherwise would be free to express its creativity.” (ST, 1981 p.182)

The figure of Orc in Blake, on the other hand, is an image of revolutionist desires; he defends liberty rather than oppression. However, Orc himself can turn out to be violent, evil, and Satanic. Russell points out “All of Blake’s mythical supernatural beings, the Zoas, have Satanic qualities of one kind or another –nature itself is an ambivalence of good and evil- but in all this confused struggle there is a groping toward brotherhood and love” (MP, 1986 p.182). Considering Blake’s *The Four Zoas* (1797-1805), *Milton: A Poem* (1804), and *Jerusalem* (1820), we witness an image of Satan who merges materialistic views and the war impulse. In these works, Satan occupies roles as the tyrant, tempter, destroyer, and an enemy of humanity. “Though it no longer celebrates a liberating energy, Blakean Satanism retains its defamiliarizing function. In the titanic Satan of the major prophecies, Blake unmasks and renames the psychological and world-historical forces that inhibit apocalypse” (Schock, 2003 p.7). In his poem *Milton*, “Satan’s self-righteousness makes him evil, yet his rebellion against the divine tyrant makes him good. And for Blake, Milton’s God is at least as evil as Milton’s Satan.” (MP, 1986 p.180) Blake did not believe in the strict sides as good & evil; he thought the human mind was not divided into two elements, one being wholly good and the other evil. In *America*, *Europe*, and *The Song of Los*, Blake “replaces the Devil and the son of fire with the infernal figure of Orc as the mythological vehicle of desire and energy, embodying a moral and political rebelliousness identified with Apocalypse” (Schock, 2003 p.42). Blake constantly reveals and underlines the interchangeability of ‘God’ and ‘Satan’; as we see in the changing image of Orc. In *The Book of Urizen*, *The Four Zoas*, and *Jerusalem*, Blake develops the image of Satan into the personification of tyranny. In these works, Satan’s image represents the role of the adversary. However, he manages to hinder human redemption. Blake really exhausts the image of Satan, constantly manipulating it.

“While the Age of Reason undertakes simply to destroy the powers of this mythology by declaring, for example, that Satan’s authorship of evil is fabulous, Blake reshapes the myth, suggesting along

Gnostic lines that the Devil's potential identity has been suppressed or distorted by Christian tradition, or that a new identity may be fashioned for him.”(Schock, 2003 p.44).

Satan, thus emerges as the embodiment of opposition to the power used by monarchy. The Miltonic image of Satan was transformed into being more powerful ideologically. William Blake's *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (1790-93) consists of parts like 'The Voice of the Devil', 'A Memorable Fancy', 'Proverbs of Hell', 'A Song of Liberty'; and is generally focused on an idealizing, celebrating of the myth of Satan.

“In the *Marriage*, the infernal world has been re-envisioned: from the infernally partisan narrator to the oracular 'voice of the Devil' and the 'son of fire', at each level the entire fiction is constructed in such a way as to present Blake's leading ideas as if they come from a hell imagined in startlingly unconventional terms.” (Schock, 2003 p.42).

William Blake is very much connected to the political and cultural happenings of his time. The idea that Apocalypse was manifested in the French -and American- revolution, was something his contemporaries and himself believed in. Blake constantly uses terms like 'contraries', desire and energy in order to define life, good and evil.

“Without Contraries is no progression. Attraction and Repulsion, Reason and Energy, Love and Hate, are necessary to Human existence. From these contraries spring what the religious call Good & Evil. Good is the passive that obeys Reason. Evil is the active springing from Energy. Good is Heaven. Evil is Hell.” (MHH, 'The Argument')



William Blake's *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* reveals itself to be a powerful touchstone for this image of Satan. The work stands as an opposing voice to both Swedenborgian version of the Christian mythology and orthodox teachings. It embraces revolution, apocalypse, and poetic genius at the same time. In the prose conclusion of the beginning argument of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, Blake announces the revival of hell, the return of Adam to paradise, risen Christ and Edom –the land of antichrist-.

“As a new heaven is begun, and it is now thirty three years since its advent: the Eternal Hell revives. And lo! Swedenborg is the Angel sitting at the tomb; his writings are the linen clothes folded up. Now

is the dominion of Edom & the return of Adam into Paradise; see Isaiah xxxiv & xxxv” (MHH, *Argument*)

We should emphasize that Blake’s use of contraries reveals itself both in the title of the work, and in his choice of terms used while explaining visions. Here we witness a come-together of Jesus & Satan, Edom & Paradise. The rise of Jesus Christ reveals itself as a Satanic one, while Edom becomes dominated, Adam returns to Paradise. All these conflicts, contraries, start making sense when they emerge as triggering tools of apocalypse. William Blake announces: “The ancient tradition that the world will be consumed in fire at the end of six thousand years is true, as I have heard from Hell” (Yeats, 2002 p.168). Coming into terms with an idea of an apocalypse would destroy everything we have ever read, talked, learned; it would abolish our understanding of every concept, term, or feeling: Blake intends to do this, as a messenger from ‘risen’ Hell. “This monistic merging of opposed forces produces the ontological critical mass that brings on Apocalypse” (Schock, 2003 p.47). Blake transforms the duality of Swedenborgian approach of good and evil into an unorthodox paradigm pool. His aim is to create his own metaphors and myths; by inventing and creating, he tends to overwhelm and tire out these terms of good and evil. The narrator of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* talks of angels merely as perceivers when he describes himself “walking among the fires of hell, delighted with the enjoyments of Genius, which to Angels look like torment and insanity” (MHH, 1975 p.11). He creates a blurry atmosphere where all distinctions like demonic & angelic, body & soul become mere illusions. Satan’s image develops to be a figure that questions and evaluates all ‘given’ values; thus, a tool for renewing ethics and internal set of beliefs. Blake was an admirer of John Milton, and his words about him in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* evaluates his life’s work, *Paradise Lost*, within an unorthodox view. Blake suggests,

“The history of this is written in *Paradise Lost*, and the Governor or Reason is called Messiah. And the original archangel or possessor of the command of the heavenly host is called the Devil, or Satan, and his children are called Sin and Death. But in the book of Job, Milton’s Messiah is called Satan. (...) It indeed appeared to reason as if desire was cast out, but the Devil’s account is, that the Messiah fell, and formed a heaven of what he stole from the abyss.” (Yeats, 2002 p.164)

Blake moves forward suggesting that Milton was ‘of the devil’s party without knowing it’:

“But in Milton, the Father is destiny, the Son a ratio of the five senses, and the Holy Ghost vacuum!

Note: The reason Milton wrote in fetters when he wrote of angels and God, and at liberty when of

devils and hell, is because he was a true poet, and of the devil's party without knowing it." (Yeats, 2002 p.165)

Satan in Blake, is developed to be an adversary character who shows the desire of human kind to discover new realities; to overcome its restraints of mortality. "The Marriage of Heaven and Hell thus concludes with a Satanic vision of world-wide political revolution, with an infernal figure, occupying the role of Liberty leading people." (Schock, 2003 p.51) It is quite remarkable how ambivalent God and Satan become. According to Blake, 'good' equals to poetic imagination. This specific term could be both God and Satan. However, "A God who is the supreme evil is clearly the traditional Devil; by 'God', therefore, Blake and the Romantics often meant the 'Devil'" (MP, 1986 p.179). In the last 'Memorable Fancy' part of the work, the narrator tells us about how he met a Devil in a flame of fire. This Devil utters, "The worship of God is, honouring his gifts in other men each according to his genius, and loving the greatest men best. Those who envy or calumniate great men hate God, for there is no other God." (*The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, 'A Memorable Fancy'). He is the one telling that 'no virtue can exist without breaking the ten commandments' and that 'Jesus was all virtue, and acted from impulse, not from rules'. Most of these words, we are not used to hear from a Satanic figure. The Angel figure in the last 'Memorable Fancy' is somewhat shallow and he calls the Devil an 'idolater' after the Devil utters his words about cherishing God. Thus, the understanding of interchangeability of the terms God and Satan becomes a prerequisite for Blake's works.

VII.

The Rise of the Satan Figure in British Literature

Satan has been the most powerful personification of evil throughout the history of the world. The Anglo-Saxon Devil exhibits itself as an enigmatic ambiguity bobble: He is so powerful, yet fragile from time to time; a revolt, yet jaded or exhausted; smart and witty, but pathetic and miserable. Both his omnipotence and nothingness have attracted writers from different periods; they aimed to put light to the problem of evil by looking at the world and in themselves.

Looking at the Old Testament, one finds out eventually that the word 'Satan' as an opponent figure of God is not very often seen. 'Satan' as a word is taken to mean 'adversary'; and does not really imply a personality of evil: "The Old Testament only mentions the cosmic foes of a primordial battle (Leviathan, Rahab) in vague, undeveloped references" (Dendle, 2001 p.9). It is important that we underline Satan's few appearances as a distinct character: He is a member of heaven's court, a prosecuting attorney who levels accusations against mankind. It was, the Hebrews that really developed an idea of an independent opponent figure. Although in the Yahweh figure we see an embodiment of both vice and virtue, it is often said that Yahweh is one of the most influential figure in terms of the formation of an idea of Satan. Many would oppose to this idea, of course; and with the right agenda. It is actually impossible to speak of these matters without the restriction of certain social and cultural values. On the one hand, early Jewish belief does not necessarily suggest an image of Satan. It is just the influential elements in this belief system, that we are talking about.

The New Testament, on the other hand, offered a strong cosmic force whose will was the opposite of God's. There are many names for this force; Beelzebub, Azazel, Belial, Satan, Semjaza, Sammael, and many more. Later on, the mainstream Christian theology recognized Satan, and developed a belief that he was "not only created, but was created good: he only turned away from God on his own impetus" (Dendle, 2001 p.9). God was ontologically prior to the Devil, but was thought not to be responsible for him to fall. Satan was portrayed as a lustful watcher angel in the earlier sources; however in Genesis B and Milton, we see him as

a proud, rebel angel. This is really a big change considering the image of Satan. Later in the Christian tradition, we see that with Origen of Alexandria, Satan's rebellion and fall was pushed back before the human's original sin and fall.²⁸ Thus, the fall of angels is separated from the fall of men, and Satan's fall represented an example for the human fall.

By the time of Augustine, Christian view of Satan more or less became stable. Augustine said it was from pride Satan acted; not from envy. Augustine is also famous for his thought that evil and sin were non-being. Augustine's argument was "too sophistic to hold much sway in practice" (Dendle, 2001 p.10). The Anglo-Saxon Satan has been closely associated with Lucifer, serpent of Genesis, and dragon of Revelation. This image was also identified closely with the idea of death. The Anglo-Saxon Devil's physical appearance was not identified very much by the early authors. However, when it comes to the figure's mythological and psychological characteristics, the authors aimed to write in detail. Though the image of Satan was challenged by Augustine's idea of 'Original Sin' (which held the idea that there was no need for any external motive for sin) and Anselm's 'Redemption Theology' (which presented that the execution of Christ was not to be linked with any power Satan held before God); it managed to survive, and live on in the writings of future authors. In the Anglo-Saxon literature, Satan represented an image of power, attraction, temptation, desperation, and wit.

Among some of the British authors who found evil and Satan attractive themes, we should mention Ben Jonson (1572-1637), John Bunyan (1628-1688), Daniel Defoe (1659-1731), Matthew Lewis (1775-1818).

Ben Jonson, was a Renaissance author, whose comedy *The Devil is an Ass* (1616) told the story of Pug, a little devil, sent to earth by the great devil Satan to make trouble. The irony is so powerful; Pug is not able to cope with the corrupt atmosphere of London and fails his mission. It appears as even Devil himself can not deal with the inhabitants of London at the day; and London appears to be more chaotic than hell. What Jonson reveals humourously, tends to entertain the reader but at the same time, make him question modern times and relations. John Bunyan's allegorical novel *Pilgrim's Progress from This World to That Which Is to Come* (1678), on the other hand, seriously goes into the depths of dealing with the 'burden' of belief. The main character Christian, journeys from the 'City of Destruction' – which is the earth- to the 'Celestial City' of Zion –heaven- with a burden on his back which is

²⁸ An early Christian scholar, theologian. He was one of the most important fathers of church; and his writings exhibited intellectual approaches to Christianity.

resulted from reading a thick book: obviously the Bible. This burden is actually associated with the Original Sin of mankind.

Daniel Defoe was a writer, journalist, and spy. In his *The Political History of the Devil* (1726), he made himself quite clear to openly defend that Devil was a powerful participant in the world history. That is, that the Devil himself inspired the Crusades, the war against Turks and Saracens, and some other events. Of course, the work had satiric elements; however, it has been said that Defoe really had believed that Devil actually caused trouble around the world. Defoe challenges both the perceptions of Satan in his day and the situation of mankind who is tempted by evil, in a brave way; opposing the Catholic image of the terrifying Satan. Defoe's Devil is overwhelmed by witnessing how much humankind is capable of doing evil deeds; perhaps more than he is. Thus, Defoe is posited among authors who tend to displace the exterior evil and make it closer and connected with humankind. Matthew Lewis is also a writer who is interested in the evil 'within'. His gothic novel *Monk* (1796) boldly challenges Roman Catholicism with themes of rape, incest, demonic pacts, and lust. The main character Ambrosio, who is a respected monk in Spain, gets himself into a chain of terrible events. He can not control his sexual and violent impulses which lead to his rape and kill an innocent woman named Antonia. The monk is eventually judged by the Inquisition resulting with the verdict of death sentence. However, he manages to escape after making a pact with the Devil in return for his soul. The Devil does not accept his repentance and makes him suffer with an everlasting torturous death. *Monk* questions and argues both the orthodox Catholic teachings, and the nature of evil within man.

Among the Romantics of British Literature, Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822), Mary Shelley (1797-1851), and Lord Byron (1788-1824) are remarkable for their themes of evil which they aimed to discuss innovatively in their works. Percy Bysshe Shelley was a revolt, a rebel who rejected traditional orthodox ways of living throughout his life; and wrote *Prometheus Unbound* in 1820. As we mentioned earlier in this study, Prometheus was held to be a great source of inspiration for Romantics: They associated Prometheus with Satan. *Prometheus Unbound* was written based on Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*, and tells the "sufferings of Prometheus, unrepentant champion of humanity" (Abrams, 2000 p.732). Shelley vividly portrayed Prometheus who was condemned by Zeus to be chained and tortured. Shelley, "continued Aeschylus' story but transformed it into a symbolic drama about the origin of evil and the possibility of overcoming it" (Abrams, 2000 p.732). Shelley's Prometheus strongly resembles Milton's Satan;

The only imaginary being, resembling in any degree Prometheus, is Satan; and Prometheus is, in my judgement, a more poetical character than Satan, because, in addition to courage, and majesty, and firm and patient opposition to omnipotent force, he is susceptible of being described as exempt from the taints of ambition, envy, revenge, and a desire for personal aggrandizement, which, in the hero of *Paradise Lost*, interfere with the interest (Shelley, 2003 p.35).

In Shelley's version, Zeus, as an oppressor, was overthrown and Prometheus was released. Shelley was a remarkable writer to make an attempt to question the political, historical, and cultural institutions which he found to be connected with the origin of evil. He was a defender of reform and change in society and ourselves; like other romantics as his wife, Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley.

Mary Shelley was a defender of political, cultural and sexual revolution. Her masterpiece *Frankenstein, or the Modern Prometheus* (1818) marks the milestone for the Gothic interests in British literature, and Shelley began to write it at the age of eighteen. *Frankenstein* both criticized the technological innovations of the industrial era, and the consequences of Faustian ambitions. Victor Frankenstein, the inventor scientist of the nameless creature, is associated with the figures Prometheus, Faust, and eventually God. The creature is thus, associated with 'the created', Adam. "Frankenstein is a Faustian overreacher, and at times both he and the Creature are types of Milton's Satan and, in a similar vein, Byronic heroes" (Abrams, 2000 p.906). John Milton was perhaps the greatest influence on Romantic authors of British Literature. Lord Byron's *Cain* (1821) is a closet drama which told the story of Cain and Abel from Cain's point of view. It is no surprise that the greatest source of inspiration for this work was Milton's *Paradise Lost*. The character of Cain is developed to be resembling Milton's Satan. In the poem, Cain is obsessed with the idea of death, for the reason that he does not have any explanation for it. He thinks that the punishment and fall of Adam and Eve is not a fair judgement, and once tells his father that he has nothing to thank God for because he is mortal. Lucifer –resembling Prometheus- is the character who sheds light to Cain's fears about death. He takes him for a tour to the Abyss of Space, which is a scene inspired from Michael's tour with Adam in *Paradise Lost*. Cain becomes more and more depressed to witness this universal perspective, comes back, and finds himself eventually in a chain of events resulting with his murder of Abel. Killing of Abel is a revolt against God's will; and because Abel is 'good', his destruction has the potential to challenge God's omnipotence.

Romantics have taken the Miltonic Satan and developed this image to be much more explanatory in terms of modern man's condition in an age of much confusion. The big changes in the societal living conditions of the era were, thus, able to find reflection in the words of these great authors.

The analysis of the image of Satan in British literature offers too much in terms of a discussion of evil in our world. The writers we have emphasized on allows us to build up different approaches as to how evil represents itself; both literally and metaphorically. From time to time, we find ourselves at the crossroads where we are not able to create a clear distinction between good and evil: Miltonic image of Satan is the main source of influence for this kind of vagueness. A great critic, C.S. Lewis has read Milton's great poem, "as a kind of instructive guide to the self-evident complexities of Christian belief" (Bradford, 2001 p.101). These complexities actually go far from the religion framework: They tend to be hidden in the ultimate depth of human spirit, and makes the reader question the essence of his very being. This is why these works are apt to create a great effect on us. Starting with Milton, Christopher Marlowe, William Blake, and some other authors in British literature have offered their Satanic figures to be much more relevant to human nature: "Waldock and Empson conducted humanist readings in which Satan emerges as a more engaging character than God (...) Christopher Hill, a marxist, is probably the most radical of the humanist critics and he argues that Milton uses the Satanic rebellion as means of investigating his own deeply divided personality" (Bradford, 2001 p.103).

Thus, we come to an 'inner' motive as means to evaluate the absolute evil image. The idea of an 'external' personification of evil, as the Satan image, had been questioned and manipulated by authors like Shakespeare. As we have seen in Richard III –and many other works of Shakespeare-, the powerfully dangerous and evil figure represents itself to be so 'human' that it actually becomes one. Satanic Richard image causes us to rethink the means that make one evil, and some others good. This is a dangerous disclosure of the man with evil, and eventually these two become overlapping, inseparable ideas. After Shakespeare, many other British authors developed this idea of 'an inner evil': Some of these authors wrote about two separate components in one soul; one good and the other, evil. Like Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-1894) did while writing *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*. Jungian terms like, 'the Self' and 'the Shadow', or 'the guilty other' idea became very popular after Stevenson's great novella about the duality of men's nature. The idea of man consisting of two polar personalities, one good and the other evil, offered an 'inherent' idea of evil; and

eventually became a popular routine for both literature and cinema. The Shakespearaen idea of an inherent evil, thus, finds itself reflections in the modern era.

It is remarkable to witness the process of the change considering the image of Satan throughout the centuries; and the figure continually manages to find variable reflections in literature. Coming in terms with the most powerful personification of evil in history, one finds himself both in a great world of abstract references of myths and materialistic historical happenings which took place in earlier times. In the modern world, there is indeed, an idea of Satan which tends to be resembling a 'patchwork'. The modern understanding of this figure constantly combines both early theodicies, myths, and relatively modern ones. Of course, it is impossible to deny the great influence of political and cultural influences on the modern perspectives of Satan. Eventhough the modern conditions tend to make men become more and more nihilistic; the myth of Satan still lives on. This brings to mind the words of one of the greatest poets of 19th century;

My dear brothers, never forget, when you hear the progress of the Enlightenment praised, that the Devil's cleverest ploy is to persuade you that he doesn't exist.

Charles Baudelaire

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