

Editors' Foreword

PRINCE HENRY: ... What hast thou found?
PETO: **NOTHING BUT PAPERS, MY LORD.**
PRINCE HENRY: Let's see what they be: read them.
[*Henry IV*, Part I, Act II]

Gentle Reader! You hold in your hands a volume composed of 'nothing but papers,' yet, be not deceived, for 'tis a fine selection of twenty pieces, including three plenary lectures and seventeen essays, on sundry aspects of the Early Modern English period: linguistics, literature and literary theory, history, cultural and comparative studies, translation ...

It has been the editors' wish, in accordance with recent SEDERI policy regarding the qualitative improvement of its annual reviews, that only the finest contributions to the SEDERI XIII conference –held in Vigo from March 21st to March 23rd 2002– should be published. Accordingly, all papers have undergone an independent and anonymous peer-reviewing process, which has resulted in the editing or correction of some, and, alas, the rejection of others. Also in consonance with this policy, the papers in this volume share a common space, in strict alphabetical order, with the three plenary lectures by well-known scholars in the fields of historical linguistics and Renaissance literature, who were our guest speakers at the conference: John Drakakis (University of Stirling), Terttu Nevalainen (University of Helsinki) and Jacqueline Pearson (University of Manchester).

The successful outcome of the SEDERI XIII conference would not have been possible without the excellent facilities and attentive staff of our venue, the *Club Financiero Vigo*, but neither would it have been accomplished without the invaluable and good-humoured willingness of the following graduate and undergraduate students of the English Studies degree at Vigo University: Victorina González, María Platas, Rosalía Rodríguez, Aida Rosende and Nuria Yáñez.

We would also like to transmit our heartfelt thanks to Karen Duncan, director of the University of Santiago Theatre Group, and to her 'company' for their staging of Shakespeare's *Love's Labours Lost* at the *Centro*

Cultural Caixanova on the second evening, a refreshing interlude amid so much scholarly debate.

Finally, the organizing committee of SEDERI XIII is also indebted to the following institutions and publishers for official, financial and material support, as regards the organization of the conference and the edition of the present volume: Ministerio de Ciencia y Tecnología, Xunta de Galicia (Secretaría Xeral de Investigación e Desenvolvemento), Universidade de Vigo (Vicerrectorado de Investigación; Servicio de Publicacións; Departamento de Filoloxía Inglesa, Francesa e Alemana), Sociedad Española de Estudios Renacentistas Ingleses (SEDERI), Oxford University Press and Palgrave Ltd.

The Editors

Richard Hakluyt, promoter of the New World: the navigational origins of the English nation

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ABSTRACT

The defeat of the Spanish Armada and the launch of the first exploratory voyages towards the New World, forced England to seriously consider her immense possibilities of replacing Spain in the international arena. Taking as a point of departure the final version of Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* (1598-1600), this piece explores the management of the texts he compiled to promote English expeditions to North America. If we consider the fundamentally private financing of these dangerous and expensive voyages, convincing Englishmen to risk their purses and their lives was not an easy task. But Hakluyt managed to do it successfully by resorting to some skillful narrative and editorial strategies. One aspect that stood above the rest in this unique attempt at channeling the expansionist desires of Englishmen towards the New World was the creation of a national identity. Many of the issues Hakluyt brought up in his work were aimed at defining a truly English national character, one radically different from that of other identifiable nations, one based on the 'new worldness' of the lands encountered across the Ocean Sea. The 'newness' of America became an emblem for a new and regenerated nation whose idiosyncrasy would help her become the divinely-appointed master of the known world.

In the early 1580s, almost a century after Christopher Columbus first set foot on the New World, England could boast no substantial or legitimate claim to the territories that we now call 'America'. Less than a century later, England had not only managed to become an empire but she had also replaced her most powerful rivals in the international arena. In the time elapsed, the labor of those who believed in the expansionist potential of 'little England' contributed to lay the ideological foundations necessary to advance uncertain and for a long time unsuccessful colonial ventures across the Atlantic.

Well before England found any legal right to the vast territories of the Americas, some English managed to create and develop an empire-oriented

consciousness. Predating material success, and as a primordial component of this success, a contingent of ideological forces joined in the attempt to *promote* risky enterprises towards the New World. This was the era of adventurers such as Francis Drake, Walter Raleigh, Thomas Cavendish, Humphrey Gilbert, and John Smith; of artists such as John White and Theodor de Bry; of theoreticians such as John Dee, Richard Hakluyt, and Thomas Hariot; of writers such as William Shakespeare and Edmund Spenser; and, finally, of rulers such as Elizabeth and James. All together, in a composite effort, made the creation and the expansion of an English imperial nation possible, and many of them did so by means of words rather than martial deeds. It is true that words in this particular case served the interests of direct involvement in the New World, but what makes these words special is that during this period they did not reflect fulfilled achievements of the English nation but, rather, repeated hardship and failure. In this manner, promoting English expeditions to the American territories became a matter of presenting these territories as a new Paradise, a new land of opportunity that God in His providence had destined for the enjoyment of Englishmen, even though no Englishman who had attempted it had ever succeeded in turning such opportunity into real profit. The propaganda that preceded the establishment of English colonies in North America was based on a fantasy of transcended insularity and failure, on a guarantee that the providential destiny of an imperial English nation would be fulfilled if only Englishmen applied themselves to the task hard enough and piously enough.

The reverend Richard Hakluyt (b.1552-d.1616) stands out as the most singular name among those mentioned previously. Born into an upper-class family of Herefordshire, Hakluyt studied Theology at Oxford and, while there, he became interested in geographical literature through the influence of his own cousin and namesake, a lawyer, a collector of voyage narratives, and a consultant of the Muscovy or Russian Company. In the “Epistle Dedicatorie” to Sir Francis Walsingham of the 1589 edition of his major work, *Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt (1903-1905:I,xvii) alludes to his beginnings as a student of navigation and geography:

From the Mapped he [the elder Hakluyt] brought me to the Bible, and turning to the 107 Psalme, directed mee to the 23 & 24 verses, where I read, that they which go downe to the sea in ships, and occupy the great waters, they see the works of the Lord, and his woonders in the deepe.

In the late 1570s and early 1580s Hakluyt joined his cousin in the active promotion of a shared interest: establishing an English colony in America. From the very beginning, though, Hakluyt differed from his cousin’s approach. If the lawyer always displayed a predominantly economic

outlook aimed at making the enterprise profitable, the priest had a more genuine 'colonial' attitude characterized by the obsession with stopping Spanish progress and by his fear of national exclusion and shame. The younger Hakluyt was more than anything preoccupied with the idea that England could be left behind in the colonial race, and, even more so, with the idea that this potential exclusion would be a direct consequence of England's own character flaws. From the start Hakluyt realised that he had to contribute to the change of his countrymen's mentality before the material success his cousin advertised could become a reality.

Hakluyt's first work as a promoter of New World enterprises appeared in 1582 under the title *Divers voyages touching the discovery of America*. This was a short compilation of foreign and national travel narratives in support of the voyage that Sir Humphrey Gilbert was planning for the planting of the first English colony in North America. This little quarto, despite its obvious and excusable shortcomings as an inaugural piece of this kind, already displays the clear goals that Hakluyt would pursue with even greater commitment in his later publications: establishing English legitimacy in the New World (that is, her right to be present there and to take her share in the profits that other European nations had been enjoying for almost a century), and demonstrating that colonizing ventures like the one intended by Gilbert were not only profitable in theory but also feasible for the English at that time. This work also illustrates the diverse nature of the genre chosen by Hakluyt, the motifs that would turn up again and again in English colonial discourse, as well as the international scope of the enterprise at hand. This embryo of Hakluyt's later promotional work, the emphasis on including absolutely everything that could be of value to encourage the English to action, already shows the propagandistic character of Hakluyt's task. As W.E.D. Allen (1974:170-171) pointedly argues, "there is in Hakluyt's work an undertone of propaganda justified indeed by his intention to inspire Englishmen to take a strenuous part in the contemporary expansionist drive of the western European maritime nations."

Considering the importance that Hakluyt indeed had for the promotion of New World ventures in England, one might get the impression that he actually took part in some of these ventures. The fact that most scholars usually refer to his compilations as 'Hakluyt's voyages' also contributes to the illusion that he was not only an intellectual but also a traveler. But this is far from the truth. Hakluyt's only recorded voyage beyond English borders was his five-year stay in France as chaplain and secretary to Sir Edward Stafford, the English ambassador in Paris. However, not having set foot on the lands he promoted was not his own fault. We know that Hakluyt intended to accompany Gilbert in the 1583 voyage that he helped promote with his *Divers voyages* but, in the end, his friend, the Hungarian scholar

known as Stephanus Parmenius, took his place. Also in 1584, when Walter Raleigh was about to take up Gilbert's patent and a new voyage to America was in the works, Hakluyt wrote to Walsingham asking for permission to take part in the venture (Taylor 1935:206):

And calling to mind that your honor made a motion heretofore unto me, whether I could be contented to goe myselfe in the action, these are to put your honour out of doubt that for myne parte I am most willinge to goe now in the same this present setting forth and in the service of God and my country to employ al my simple observations readings and conference whatsoever.

On this occasion, another good friend of his, Thomas Hariot, took his place. It seems that Hakluyt was more appreciated as a student and planner of voyages than as a possible specialized observer in them. As Parks (1928:107) argues in the best biography of the English compiler written to date, "Hakluyt stayed at home to become the best-traveled man in England." But in 1583 Hakluyt did go to France and, during his stay, he worked not only as Stafford's chaplain but, more importantly, as Walsingham's agent. There is no written record proving Walsingham's official employment of Hakluyt in his service, but we do have extant letters written by both men wherein they exchange confidential information about happenings at the French court. In France Hakluyt also maintained repeated interviews with Frenchmen involved in colonial enterprises (André Thevet, the Royal Cosmographer, was the most prominent among his French contacts) and also with foreigners who happened to be in France at the time and who could provide him with useful information to be employed by future English voyagers. In 1584, during one of his frequent escapades to England, Hakluyt was received by Queen Elizabeth and he presented her with the *Discourse of Western Planting*, a long document in support of Walter Raleigh's plans to establish an English colony on American soil. The *Discourse* is the largest and best example we have of Hakluyt's own writing and of his theory about how colonization should proceed. Unpublished at the time but widely circulated within private circles, this document is of the utmost importance in our understanding of the approach Elizabethan adventurers and entrepreneurs took towards the New World. The *Discourse* is also a flagrant attack on Spain and a systematic summary of the reasons why Raleigh's plans should be approved by the Queen, supported by wealthy investors, and generally applauded by the entire English population. More importantly, in this text Hakluyt emphasized how the American colonies should be pursued and secured as an extension of England and the English people across the ocean. This is not a redundant or unimportant feature. For the first time in

England the New World was not presented as a separate entity to be exploited and then, once exhausted, abandoned, but as a prolongation of the English borders across the Atlantic. With the aid of men like Hakluyt, England's colonial mentality was now changing and the goals of the enterprises directed to the new lands also had to change. It is now that we find a much greater concern with the legitimizing of English colonial ventures, as well as with the attacks on the lack of legitimacy of other foreign powers that had been sending their men to America for almost an entire century. Even though the outlook Hakluyt displayed in the *Discourse* remained strongly economic (with the inclusion of long catalogues of commodities to be found and also with the addition of sets of instructions to follow in order to achieve a successful and permanent colonization), it is not less true that most of the document was concerned with ideological arguments aimed at establishing English rights in the New World.

But Richard Hakluyt's main claim to fame, and his definitive establishment as the leading figure in the promotion of New World ventures in England, came in 1589 with the publication of *The Principal Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation*. In what has been termed as, quoting Froude (1852), "the prose epic of the modern English nation," Hakluyt produced a monument to English optimism and unlimited imperial aspirations. Based on the model first used by the Italian compiler Gian Battista Ramusio in his *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, Hakluyt compiled a collection of documents of about 700,000 words, in three books, with the two-fold goal of establishing England's international reputation as a nation engaged in overseas enterprises and of promoting new and more adventurous voyages that would eventually turn England into the most powerful nation in the entire globe. This compilation would see a second edition between the years 1598 and 1600, this time in a much enlarged form (up to 1,700,000 words) and with the inclusion of many more voyages carried out by non-English adventurers. When comparing both editions of this work, we observe the extent to which Hakluyt's concerns progressively became more global and his approach more all-inclusive. In the Dedicatory to Robert Cecil we find in the third volume of the second edition (1600), Hakluyt (1903-1905:lxxvii) boasted of this all-inclusive nature of his work: "there is no chiefe river, no port, no towne, no citie, no province of any reckoning in the West Indies, that hath not here some good description thereof, aswell for the inland as the sea-coast." This all-inclusiveness could also be seen as proof of how English attempts to settle and to trade overseas had intensified in the decade following the defeat of the Spanish Armada, a direct outcome of the optimism and self-confidence that this victory represented for the English. Together with the travel narratives proper, in both editions Hakluyt included all kinds of documents that he considered important for his audience's

understanding of the magnitude of his goal. The preparations and antecedents of a particular voyage (letters patent, promotional literature, instructions to be carried out before and during the enterprise) were accompanied by the relation of the voyage itself (sometimes with different versions) and by panegyrics commending the results and encouraging similar enterprises. He also included clearly fictional narratives, something for which later scholars have sourly criticized him, but we must not forget that this was a man who took his labor as an editor and as a historian very seriously and thus followed the maxim that no story could be rejected as impossible until it could be checked by further evidence (Parks 1928:178). More than anything, with this work Hakluyt wanted to provide a pedigree of glory to English navigational skills, to show the antiquity of English commercial and navigational origins, to shut the mouths of those who had ridiculed England for not venturing in overseas enterprises. Reading the *Principal Navigations* from cover to cover one gets the impression that the English had been in the picture of overseas enterprising for at least as long as any other European nation of the period. And this is why this work became such a point of reference not only for contemporary entrepreneurs, but also for later generations of English adventurers. Hakluyt was already aware of this in his preface to the second edition (1903-1905:xlvi):

But that no man should imagine that our forren trades of merchandise have bene comprised within some few yeeres, or at least wise have not bene of any long continuance; let us now withdraw our selves from our affaires in Russia, and ascending somewhat higher, let us take a sleight survey of our traffiques and negotiations in former ages.

Hakluyt was not a historian in the modern sense of the term. Another criticism levied against his *Principal Navigations* was that he failed to provide editorial notes or that he did not assemble overall theories based on the narratives he so carefully collected, commissioned, and ultimately published. But this is not a fair criticism of Hakluyt's work as from the outset he was absolutely clear about his 'mission' when bringing out this collection. In the preface to the 1598 edition he outlined his antiquarian method of work for his readers (1903-1905:xxix):

I am not ignorant of Ptolemies assertion, that Peregrinationis historia, and not those wearie volumes bearing the titles of universall Cosmographie which some men that I could name have published as their owne, beyng in deed most untruly and unprofitable ramassed and hurled together, is that which must bring us to the certayne and full discoverie of the world.

As Pagden (1993:94) argues, the great value of Hakluyt's achievement is that he provided the new empirical sciences with the kind of data which all previous studies of the behavior of man had lacked, that is, "truly *objective* information based upon first-hand, eye-witness accounts." Objectivity may be questioned in many of the narratives included in Hakluyt's collection, and many will undoubtedly question Hakluyt's own objectivity when deciding which narratives to include and which to omit. However, Hakluyt claimed not to interfere with the subjects whose voice he enabled to be heard. The authors of Hakluyt's 'travels' were apparently allowed to speak through him unimpeded, and he took pains to make the reader believe that what he read had not been distorted by the experienced or biased hand of the editor. Hakluyt let his authors establish their own authorial voice, and he only interfered in his prefaces with pointed allusions to how man should use his reasoning capacity, his ability to learn and understand by inference and not only by direct empirical observation. Nevertheless, Hakluyt also wanted to emphasize his active participation in the enterprises he collected. He never hesitated to compensate for his lack of first-hand experience in overseas voyaging, equating his own 'travail' as an editor with the 'travel' undertaken by the authors of his narratives, as if his own 'travail' as an editor supplemented or even perfected the 'travel' of the adventurer. The hardship that always accompanied English travelers' actions was thus shared by the editor who traveled to English libraries in search of documentation, the editor who traveled long distances to interview informants, the editor who tirelessly translated or commissioned the translation of a vast amount of foreign relations (Hakluyt 1903-1905:xxxix-xl):

what restlesse nights, what painefull dayes, what heat, what cold I have indured; how many long & chargeable journeys I have traveled; how many famous libraries I have searched into; what variety of ancient and moderne writers I have perused; what a number of old records, patents, privileges, letters, &c. I have redeemed from obscurity and perishing.

As it could not be otherwise, self-promotion went hand in hand with the promotion of the enterprises with which Hakluyt occupied his time and energy.

A major implication in the discussion of Hakluyt's narratives is the process whereby the imaginative construction of the New World in England played a fundamental role in the creation of a 'new' (or at least 'renewed') English nation. Like other European peoples who took part in the initial discovery and exploration of America, the English could not fail to achieve a better and definitive understanding of themselves as a nation, even at the cost of failing to obtain a clear understanding of the peoples and landscapes this 'new' world encompassed. The travelers we find in Hakluyt's work

underwent a traumatic experience of self-estrangement, an experience that eventually led to the discursive formulation of a national model on which the new English self, the one destined to succeed Spain in the domination of the world, would be set. America was not discovered by the English, as it was not really discovered by Spain; rather, English travelers discovered themselves and their new identity was based on hardship and failure, on endurance and the surmounting of difficulties. This was a new identity constructed in reference to the 'new' and the 'old', the recently encountered and the already known, the Amerindian and the Spanish. But even the absolutely familiar, the 'old' English self, was credited with a participation in the reconstitution of a totally new identity: the discordant elements of the newly-envisioned nation, the idle and the rowdy, the malicious and the dangerous, could be regenerated, rehabilitated, purged, so as to be reincorporated in the new nation. The ideal of an English imperial nation had to be construed on the unstable foundations of repeated self-deception. As Knapp (1992) convincingly argued, England managed to sublimate the notion of being an empire 'nowhere'. Not only in the promotional texts comprised in Hakluyt's collection, but also in a whole series of literary works from this period (Shakespeare's *History Plays*, Spenser's *Faerie Queene*), notions of England's 'otherworldness' worked as powerful motifs aimed at transcending her otherwise suffocating insularity. The fact that at this time England had not yet managed to expand her boundaries overseas and even that she was an island ruled by a childless female monarch, were not taken as limiting factors for the feasibility of creating a mighty English nation but, on the contrary, as proof of England's moral superiority with respect to her European competitors.

The nationalist discourse created in this tradition was one in which spiritual achievement was presented as capable of overcoming material lack, and this spirituality was made into a trope to show England's unmistakable destiny as an imperial nation. What is more, the failure characterizing English attempts at establishing overseas colonies was precisely redeemed, compensated for, through the creation of narratives such as the ones compiled by men like Richard Hakluyt. If the purses of Englishmen were empty, the same was not true of the nation's literature, which could still produce some of the most compelling portraits of English endurance, determination, and potentiality. The nation envisioned in the promotional narratives of the New World was always deferred, always promised and anticipated. Failure and hardship were converted into exemplary traits that any Englishman aspiring to the greatness of the emerging nation should imitate and reproduce. Due to the impossibility of recording material gain, Hakluyt's writers constantly brought their narratives back to the English self that deserved praise just for trying. The 'heroes' of England's New World

enterprise, unlike the Cortéses and Pizarros of Spain, and the Magellans and Vasco da Gamas of Portugal, were not superhuman beings or demigods who could serve to create a foundational myth of national stability or perpetuation. On the contrary, these heroes were flawed human beings who should learn to overcome their flaws in order to transcend their current state of imperfection and provide the foundations for a more stable English nation. These heroes were common men, normally illiterate, habitually unsuccessful, but their determined engagement in adventures that until then had provided England with little more than loss and heartache was what qualified them as worthy members of a worthy nation. And this qualification was discursively constructed through the work of promoters like Hakluyt who managed to stretch their imaginative capacities to the maximum. This was definitely, as we now know, a worthy enterprise.

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'Civil Monsters': race, eroticism and the body in early modern literature and culture

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ABSTRACT

Taking its theoretical cue from the work of Rosi Braidotti and Judith Butler, the paper explores some examples of the construction of the body of the racially and sexually 'other' as monstrous, abject and 'de-formed', with particular reference to early modern medical treatises and Shakespeare's *Othello*. Yet, the paper argues, the demonisation of these bodies does not fail to reveal the anxiety about boundaries of gender and race at the heart of the 'dominant'.

The whitest faces have the blackest souls.
(Lust's Dominion)

Rosi Braidotti argues that "the peculiarity of the organic monster is that s/he is both Same and Other. The monster is neither a total stranger nor completely familiar; s/he exists in an in-between zone" (Braidotti 1996:141). S/he is the 'foreign' at the heart of the 'domestic', a paradoxical entity or non-entity the rhetoric of the 'human' represses but does not fully suppress. In short, s/he is the uncanny.

In order to develop her point, Braidotti refers to early modern discourses on reproduction, and in particular to the quasi-paranoid connection they establish between the role played by women and women's 'imagination' in the process of 'generation' and the production of monsters.² Indeed, early modern anatomical and gynecological treatises are replete with advice to women on how to conduct themselves during coition and pregnancy. To stay with the latter, I want to cite from Jacques Guillemau's *Childe-Birth* (1612),

¹ An expanded version of this paper, under the title of 'Speaking in Terror: Femininity, Monstrosity and Race in Early Modern Culture', is forthcoming in Maria Teresa Chialant (ed.), *Incontrare i Mostri: Variazioni sul tema nella letteratura anglo-americana* (Naples: ESI, 2002).

² 'Generation' commonly stands for 'reproduction' in early modern treatises.

whose first book is dedicated to 'The government and ordering of a woman the nine monethes that she goes with childe'. Part of this 'government and ordering' concerns the disciplining of women's imagination:

Discreet women [...] will not give eare unto lamentable and fearefull tales or storyes, nor cast their eyes upon pictures or persons which are uglie or deformed, least the imagination imprint on the childe the similitude of the said person or picture. (Guillemeau 1612:26)

To Guillemeau, therefore, a pregnant woman is highly impressionable, a passive recipient of *fictio* who has nonetheless the power to leave an indelible mark on the child and turn what should be a happy delivery into a monstrous birth.

Guillemeau's warning is by no means unique. The burgeoning literature on monsters of the early modern period routinely evokes the spectre of maternal imagination. Ambroise Paré's *Des Monstres* (1573), for instance, which first appeared in English in 1634, lists 'imagination' as the fifth of the thirteen causes of monsters.³ The French physician quotes the opinion of those who think that "the infant once formed in the wombe [...] is in no danger of the mothers imagination", but concludes that it is "best to keep the woman, all the time she goeth with child, from the sight of [deformed] shapes and figures" (Paré 1634:979).

It has often been claimed, in relation to the early modern sex-gender system, that women do not simply *have* a body. They *are* the body. As Phyllis Rackin argues, there is an inextricable linkage between femininity and that negatively marked and reviled entity which is the body / flesh. "The body itself", she sums up, "was gendered feminine" and subordinated to a 'masculine' soul / spirit (Brink 1993:39). Therefore, even before one begins to consider the extent to which maternal bodily imagination is involved in the making of monsters, one must emphasise that the female body qua body / flesh bears the mark of monstrosity.

I want to refer now to the title page of Helkiah Crooke's 1615 anatomical treatise *Microcosmographia* to illustrate this distinction between 'masculine' spirit and 'feminine' flesh, but also to recast it slightly, using Judith Butler's work, as the difference between bodies that matter (bodies that are significant), on the masculine side, and bodies that do not matter (bodies

³ Paré's teratological treatise was first translated into English as a section of his monumental *Works*. See Paré (1634:961-1026). For the complex textual history of this treatise, see Pallister (1982:viii-xv). By 'naturalisation' I mean, following Park and Daston, the shift of discursive emphasis in teratological literature from "final causes (divine will) to proximate ones (physical explanations and the natural order)." See Park and Daston (1981:35). See also Céard (1977), especially pages 437-479.

that are *not* significant), on the feminine side (*Bodies that Matter. On the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'*).

Crooke's title page presents two bodies standing next to each other. The male body has had its skin removed and exhibits its arteries, veins and muscles. It is nothing but a hypermasculine armour, almost a cyborg *avant la lettre*. It stays in mid-air, as if to signify some kind of 'virtual' transcendence of the flesh. This is compounded by the fact that it is sexually undifferentiated.⁴ It bears no sexual organs. It is a body that matters *precisely because* it is a figure of 'dis-embodiment'. Moreover, although it is fully exposed, it haughtily averts the eyes of the observer. The female figure, instead, meets the eyes of the –potentially male– observer. She is an 'object' of display, and conscious of being so. Unlike the male figure, she is sexed. In fact, to an extent, she is the only body there is. She 'em-bodies' the realm of the flesh, which belongs to the earth and lacks transcendence. She bashfully hides her breasts and genitals and yet, by doing so, she draws attention to them. Moreover, this gesture of covering herself seems to be simultaneous with her folding back of the layer of skin standing underneath her breasts, which reveals her insides and reproductive organs. This is a body that matters, I would want to argue, only insofar as it is inserted in an ocular economy, an economy which displays to the eye and –sadistically– dismembers the body.⁵ This ocular economy is a process of 'monstering', if I may speak a little preposterously. It shows (*monstrat*), and what it shows, as Crooke's treatise unfolds, is, first of all, that the womb stands synecdochically for the female body as a whole, and, second, that it is a sign of radical 'dis-figuration' and formlessness.

Thomas Laqueur argues that in the early modern period the 'one-sex body' is still the predominant way of figuring sexual difference in Western Europe. Women are nothing but men turned outside in. In 'normal' circumstances, they lack sufficient heat to extrude the penises they bear within. Their sexual organs are inverted mirror images of those of the male. In short, the womb is a penis. Yet, the examples from Crooke's treatise I now want to present tell a different story. Far from being a reassuring double, the womb re-presents itself as an uncanny threatening double, and this is facilitated by the fact that in early modern discourses on reproduction one cannot separate the erotic from 'generation': a woman's orgasm is essential to reproduction. The womb, in other words, takes on the features Rosi Braidotti attributes to the 'organic monster'. It is, to quote Braidotti again, "neither a total stranger nor completely familiar" (Lykke & Braidotti 1996:141).

⁴ I owe much to Karen Newman's reading of Crooke's title page. See Newman (1991:3-4).

⁵ For an acute analysis of early modern ocular economy, see especially Parker (1993:60-95). See also Sawday (1995: *passim*) and Calbi (2001:43-120 and *passim*).

Men and women, according to Crooke,

in their mutual imbracements doe either of them yeeld seede the mans leaping with greater violence. The woman at the same instant doth not onely eiaculate seede into her self, but also her womb *snatcheth* as it were and *catcheth* the seed of the man, and *hideth* it in the bottom and bosome thereof. (Crooke 1615:262)

Later in the text, he clarifies that the simultaneous emission of “seed” is not entirely necessary for a successful conception to take place. Yet,

if at the same time both sexes yeelde their seede, then is the conception sooner [...] because the wombe at that time being as it were *enraged*, doth *more greedily draw* and *more narrowly embrace* the seede which is cast unto it. (Crooke 1615:295)

The passages from Crooke I have just cited show that, once considerations of the erotic are introduced, the womb qua double of the penis re-emerges as a hybrid less-than-human or super-human ‘entity’ which remains nonetheless the condition of possibility for the (re)production of the ‘human’.⁶ In fact, to paraphrase one of Judith Butler’s central critical arguments, the womb qua double is ‘re-marked’ as a site of ambivalence, as the ‘dis-figured outside’ of the (phallic) logic of the one-sex body, providing “the necessary support” for such a logic but also continuously posing a threat to its coherence (Butler 1993:16). It is domestic and foreign, central and marginal, relentlessly coming back to haunt. Therefore, one could argue that the one-sex model Laqueur describes, and subscribes to, turns out to be, to a large extent, an anxious response to a threat.⁷

It might seem a little far-fetched to move from this anatomical drama of distorted and dangerous reflection to early modern theatre and to *Othello* in particular, if only briefly. Yet, I believe that early modern plays, too, offer a complex, often contradictory, *mise-en scène* of the process of materialization of bodies. This is a process, I maintain, taking my theoretical cue from Butler’s work, which is simultaneous with the violent institution of “a domain

⁶ In other words, the womb remains a half-human and half-animal roaming womb, in spite of the fact that all early modern anatomists ostensibly reject the Platonic idea that the womb moves up and down a woman’s body. Janet Adelman, taking her cue from the representations of the wandering womb in *King Lear*, suggests that these representations “might [...] partly destabilize the hierarchical tidiness and stability implicit in the Galenic model.” She adds that “the body in which a womb can wander [...] may figure not a comfortable homology with the male but rather a fearful interior.” See Adelman (1992:301n.) On the ambivalence of the ‘figure’ of the wandering womb, see also Paster (1993:175).

⁷ For a more extensive critique of Laqueur’s approach, see Parker (1993:337-64). See also Calbi (2001:16-23 and 179-228).

of radical *unintelligibility*”, “a domain of abjected bodies, a field of deformation”– the realm of monstrosity, one may add here, constituted as an outside and yet constitutive and, as such, menacing (Butler 1993:35). In other words, early modern plays dramatise *and* problematise the dividing line between bodies that matter / are significant and bodies that do not matter/ are not significant.

To Othello, Desdemona unmistakably stands for a ‘body that matters’. It matters especially because it consolidates, or is supposed to consolidate, Othello’s transformation –what the play ambiguously calls “redemption” (I.iii.138)– from the monstrous black and Islamic ‘other’ to the valiant noble white Moor of Venice.⁸ She is “the fountain, from the which [his] current runs” (IV.ii.60), as well as a shield from “chaos”, as Othello states in the following poignant lines: “I do love thee, and when I love thee not / Chaos is come again” (III.iii.92-3).⁹ Crucial to this transformation is the acquisition of the body of white masculinity, which defines itself, in early modern discourses, in opposition to lust, a desire to desire, a bestial appetite which is tantamount to a monstrous undermining of manhood. The early modern name for this delusion is ‘effeminacy’, and the ‘racial other’ is construed as particularly susceptible to it.¹⁰ As a result, soon after pleading with the senators to let Desdemona go to Cyprus with him, Othello feels the need to justify himself, not only as a man but also as an outsider: “I [...] beg it not / To please the palate of my appetite, / Nor to comply with heat” (I.iii.261-3). In fact, he promises that “light-wing’d toys, and feather’d Cupid” (I.iii.268-69) will not “corrupt and taint [his] business” (I.iii.271), the “business” of war against “the general enemy Ottoman” (I.iii.49).

From Othello’s point of view, therefore, to access the body of an aristocratic Venetian maiden is yet another step towards the attainment of the ‘normative’ body of white masculinity. This has a price: Othello cannot but “put into circumscription and confine” (I.ii.27) his treasured “unhoused free

⁸ All references to *Othello* are from the New Arden Edition, ed. M.R. Ridley (London and New York, Methuen, 1965), and are included parenthetically in the text.

⁹ Much of my interpretation of the play is indebted to Ania Loomba’s groundbreaking work. See Loomba (1989:48-62).

¹⁰ Many critics have recently underlined differences between early modern and modern and late modern erotic systems. Male ‘effeminacy’, the result of excessive and/or non-reproductive contact with women, is often referred to as an emblematic example of some of these differences. See Rackin (1993:37-63). On masculinity as an anxious performance, endlessly attempting to dispel the spectre of ‘effeminacy’ as emblematised by the ‘default body’ of the female, see Levine (1994) and Breitenberg (1996). Yet, all these studies fail to emphasise that effeminacy, just like sodomy, emerges as a charge against men only as a way of signifying a wider undermining of boundaries, including, and most importantly for my purposes here, ethnic and racial boundaries.

condition" (I.ii.26), which speaks obliquely of the boundlessness of desire.¹¹ From Iago's point of view, instead, Othello's access to the body of Desdemona is yet another episode in Othello's "travel's history" (I.iii.139). It shows the extent to which Othello pursues his career as an "erring" (I.iii.356) Barbarian pirate in Venice. Talking to Cassio about Othello's marriage, Iago half-jokingly observes: "He to-night hath boarded a land carrack: / If it prove lawful prize, he's made for ever" (I.ii. 50-1). In other words, to Iago, as well as to other characters who operate through strategies of demonisation of 'racial alterity', Othello remains "an extravagant and wheeling stranger, / Of here and every where" (I.i.136-7), an oxymoronic fluctuating monstrous 'non-identity' which confounds ethnic, religious, cultural and sexual affiliations.

Daniel J. Viktus persuasively argues that there is a spectre haunting early modern English and European imagination: the spectre of 'turning Turk'. Indeed, for Viktus, we witness a spate of demonising representations of the Turk, "not from the perspective of cultural domination but from the fear of being conquered, captured and converted" (1997:145-76). As Viktus adds, this fear of conversion does not fail to leave its imprint on *Othello*. The play continuously raises the spectre of 'turning Turk.' Yet, its reverse form (i.e., conversion from Islam to Christianity) does not cause less panic. To the proto-racist *imaginaire* of the play, the Moor's "redemption" (I.iii.138) simply means that the one who 'turns', even the one who 'turns Christian', is bound to turn again or turn back. 'Turning Christian' is, as far as the Moor is concerned, nothing but the symmetrical uncanny equivalent of 'turning Turk'. It speaks the same lascivious story. In this sense, one does not have to wait for Othello to metamorphose into a "turban'd Turk" (V.ii.354) at the end of the play. He has been one all along. In short, a renegade is a renegade...

Representations of the 'Christian Turned Turk' proliferate in travel writings and religious literature of the early modern period. The English translation of the lavishly illustrated *Navigations, Peregrinations and Voyages, Made into Turkie* (1585), for instance, describes the French traveller Nicholas de Nicholay's encounter with the multitude of renegades who live in Algiers. They are typically portrayed as the 'dis-located' and 'dis-locating' antithesis of an incipient sense of European normativity and civilisation:

The most part of the Turkes of Algiers [...] are Christian renied, or Mahumetised, of all Nations, but most of them Spaniards, Italians, and of Provence, of the Ilands and Coastes of the Sea Mediterane, given all to

¹¹ That Othello is willing to exchange his "unhoused free condition" for the domestic pleasure of the *oikos* is one of the elements which differentiates him from stereotypical representations of the Moor such as Aaron's in *Titus Andronicus* or Eleazar's in the anonymous *Lust's Dominion* (1600). Yet, as Lyotard reminds us, and as *Othello* bears out, the *oikos* is never a place of safety. It is, rather, "the place of tragedy". See Lyotard (1991:97).

whoredome, sodometrie, theft, and all other most detestable vices, lying onely of rovinges, spoyles, & pilling at the Seas.
(de Nicholay 1585:8)

If these depreciatory constructions of the renegade are brought to bear on Shakespeare's play, one is in a better position to gauge Othello's reaction to the "barbarous brawl" (II.iii.163) which breaks out in Cyprus: "Are we turned Turks?" (II.iii. 161) This question, of course, is part of a speech in which Othello appeals to Christian values in order to mark his distance from the Ottoman 'other' just vanquished by a providential storm: "For Christian shame, put by this barbarous brawl" (II.iii.163). Yet, this is also a speech which furtively announces the eruption of the Islamic enemy within himself.¹²

Early modern discourses on Islam situate themselves within a long-standing Western tradition which routinely interpreted it as nothing but idolatry, in fact, as no religion at all. For these discourses, Islam is indistinguishable from devilish witchcraft. The attraction of Islam has also to do with the fact that it is a religion of sensuality, a cover for monstrous sexual practices. Moreover, its followers keep on converting, and converts are Islam's most zealous 'sexual' adherents.

It is this kind of enticing 'sexual proselytism' which obsessively informs Brabantio's speeches and dreams: "Thou hast enchanted her" (I.ii.63); "Thou has practis'd on her with foul charms" (I.ii.73). To Desdemona's father, Othello is an impostor, "an abuser of the world, a practiser / Of arts inhibited, and out of warrant" (I.ii.78-79). Brabantio, of course, would not concede that his daughter is "half the wooer" (I.iii.176). As he learns of her active role in the affair –what Desdemona herself calls her "downright violence" (I.iii.249)–, he contents himself with instilling into the Moor the suspicion that it may be impossible to put an end to the trespassing of the boundaries of gender instigated by Desdemona: "Look to her, Moor, have a quick eye to see: / She has deceiv'd her father, may do thee" (I.iii.292-3).¹³ The changeability of the 'wheeling convert' Othello thus begins to intersect with the changeability of the 'converted', monstrous Desdemona, whose most poignant expression will be the following: "She can turn, and turn, and yet go on / And turn again" (IV.i.249-50).¹⁴ The tragedy of the play

¹² The expression 'turning Turk' often recurs in the drama of the period. The spectre of conversion to Islam is so widespread that it becomes the central theme of plays such as *A Christian Turn'd Turke* (1612) by Robert Daborn, fictionalising the life of the famous English renegade John Ward, and *The Renegado* (1624) by Philip Massinger. See Matar (1993:489-505).

¹³ It is not by chance that Brabantio's warning will become part of Iago's repertoire of 'seductive strategies' later on: "She did deceive her father, marrying you" (III.iii.210).

¹⁴ Cf. Newman (1991:71-93) for a reading of the monstrous conjunction of blackness and femininity in and around *Othello*.

mostly lies in the fact that it is precisely by speaking and acting from the orthodox and rigid position which damns them both that Othello will terminate all kind of 'turning'.¹⁵

Juxtaposed to the construction of the abjected body of Othello qua 'Islamic other', is the casting of the Moor as a stereotypically rampant black male (Catherine & Wells 2000:203-4). As Ania Loomba reminds us, one cannot simply replace the black pagan with the Islamic other as the embodiment of the outside / inside threat to the dominant. In short, Othello is not only figured as a monstrous Barbary horse 'covering' Brabantio's daughter; he is also imagined as "an old black ram [...] tupp[ing] [a] white ewe" (I.i.88-9).

For Leo Africanus, a Moor born in Granada who converted, or was forced to convert, to Christianity after being captured by Italian pirates, Barbaria "is the most noble and worthie region of all Africa, the inhabitants whereof are of a browne or tawnie colour, being a civill people, and prescribe wholesome lawes and constitutions unto themselves"(Africanus 1600:2). Yet, Leo's panegyric on the people of Barbaria seems to be a function of the utter abjection of one of the remaining four principal 'nations' of Africa,¹⁶ which he calls "the land of the Negroes": "the negroes [...] lead a beastly kinde of life, being utterly destitute of the use of reason, of dexteritie of wit, and of all artes [...]. They have great swarmes of harlots among them" (Africanus 1600:42). Later on, he adds that they live

a brutish and savage life, without any king, governour, common wealth, or knowledge of husbandrie. Clad they [are] in skins of beasts, neither [have] they any peculiar wives [...]: when night [comes] they [resort] ten or twelve both men and women into one cottage together, using hairie skins in stead of beds, and each man choosing his leman which he [has] most fancy unto. (284-5).

Yet, in most early modern texts I am aware of, the distinction established by Leo seems to be inconsequential. One form of demonisation feeds upon the other. Lasciviousness provides the code that allows writers to move with nonchalance from blacks to Muslims and back. Iago, for instance, effortlessly switches from the "old black ram [...] tupp[ing] [a] white ewe" (I.i.88-9) to the Barbary horse covering Brabantio's daughter to "the beast with two backs" (I.i.116). To Iago, all these 'dis-figured' figures emblemise a monstrous

¹⁵ Othello kills Desdemona, as well as himself, acting and speaking on behalf of 'all men', adopting a universalistic construct of man which in fact excludes him as a non-white and non-Christian man. Cf. Loomba (1989:59-60).

¹⁶ This eulogy becomes more complicated in other sections of the text, but I cannot dwell on this here.

sodomitical conjunction.¹⁷ Yet, monstrosity does not merely lie in the sodomitical act. Iago also evokes the spectre of the production and reproduction of a new breed of Venetians: “You’ll have your nephews neigh to you; you’ll have coursers for cousins, and gennets for germans” (I.i.112-3).

To conclude, I now want to associate Iago’s fantasy of a ‘monstrous progeny’ with a passage from Paré’s *Des Monstres*, in which he discusses the monstrous reproduction resulting from “the mixture or mingling of seed”, from bestiality, a pre-eminent example of ‘sodomy’ in the early modern sense:

There are monsters that are born with a form that is half-animal and the other human, or retaining everything about them from animals, which are produced by sodomists and atheists who “join together” and break out of their bounds – unnaturally– with animals, and from this are born *several hideous monsters that bring great shame to those who look at them or speak of them*. (Paré 1982:67, my emphasis. Cf. Paré 1634:982)

Leaving *Des Monstres* for the moment, I want to return to *Othello* one last time. The audience understands, as do the characters at the end of the play, or at least those who survive, that *Othello* performs a rhetorical inversion of black and white. As Martin Orkin has argued, the play “reverses the associations attached to the colors white and black [...]. It is Iago, the white man, who is portrayed as amoral and anti-Christian”(1987:170).¹⁸ Moreover, it is Iago who takes on the traits of the stereotypical Moor or the cruel Turk. He embodies deceit, duplicity, cruelty and lasciviousness. He can thus be identified as the “civil monster” (IV.i.64) he mentions in the first scene of the fourth act. He can also be associated with almost everything else he claims the ‘other’ to be, with almost everything he attributes to the ‘other’. Bearing this in mind, I want to return to the passage from Paré I have just cited, to the “hideous monsters that bring great shame to those who look at them or speak of them.” I want to interpret the French surgeon’s words allegorically, as words that speak otherwise. They not only summarise my analysis of *Othello*’s monsters but also re-mark my own theoretical position on monstrosity. Paré’s words suggest that there is “great shame,” that there is monstrosity, and perhaps terror, at the centre of the process of ‘monstering’, at the heart of the ‘dominant’ production of monsters as abject and deformed

¹⁷ By ‘sodomitical’, I am not simply referring to the way the sexual act between Othello and Desdemona is visualised. Sodomy, as many studies of early modern erotic systems have pointed out, after Foucault, is also a way of naming the unnameable, everything that undermines the early modern dispositif of alliance. See especially Bray (1982) and Goldberg, (1992).

¹⁸ See also Smith (1998:168-186), an essay which argues that, by means of inversion, the play disrupts and interrogates the binarism of early modern racial hierarchies.

'others'. It is this, indeed, this monstrosity at the centre, the monster "too hideous to be shown" (III.iii.112).

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Spanish translations of culture-bound elements in *The First Part of Henry IV*: a historical perspective

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to analyse the techniques used by three different Spanish translators when translating a specific group of culture-bound elements in Shakespeare's *The First Part of Henry IV*. In order to determine whether the techniques vary according to the uses and customs of different historical periods, the translations chosen were those by Macpherson (1897), Astrana (1932) and Valverde (1967). For the purposes of this paper, I will be focusing only on a group of culture-bound elements related to money and measurements. These elements are especially relevant throughout the tavern scenes in *The First Part of Henry IV* and play an important part in the dynamics of those scenes.

1. INTRODUCTION

In his lecture given at the British Academy in 1949, Sir Henry Thomas reviewed the reception of Shakespeare in Spain paying special attention to the critical essays and translations that had been written to that day. Among the various translations published during the first decades of the twentieth century, Thomas (1949:19) referred in particular to Astrana's, the first translator to render the entire Shakespearean production into Spanish. According to this author, the success of Astrana's translations "was evident from the nine or ten editions of the *Obras Completas* and the thousand individual plays and poems" that had so far been circulated among the Spanish audience. Astrana's accomplishment was soon after replicated by Valverde, whose *Teatro Completo* also enjoyed the same success and popularity as his predecessor's. The many editions and publications that followed throughout the twentieth century made both Astrana and Valverde's translations the basic source of Shakespearean knowledge available in Spain until the end of the century. However, previous contributions to the field had been offered as early as 1873 by Jaime Clark

and 1885 by Guillermo Macpherson. These English speaking, non-professional translators rendered a sum total of thirty-five plays into Spanish, and despite the harsh criticism their translations later earned from scholars such as Par (1935), theirs was the first attempt to translate directly from the English since Villalta's ill-fated *Macbeth* (1838). In Thomas' words (1949:17), "it is gratifying to think that these two foreigners did what no Spaniard ha[d] yet done [...] for Spain and for Shakespeare in Spain." In this light, an essay aiming to give a historical perspective on the Spanish translations of culture-bound elements in *The First Part of Henry IV (IHIV)* should take into account one or both of these translators' work. Unfortunately, Jaime Clark only translated three tragedies and seven comedies, as early death intervened. Macpherson also died before accomplishing the translation of all Shakespeare's plays, but published twenty-three translations, *IHIV* included. Therefore, together with Astrana's and Valverde's translations, this paper will also focus on Macpherson's work.

In this paper, I seek to give a general overview on the translation techniques the three selected translators used when rendering a potentially problematic area in *IHIV*: culture-bound elements. These elements pose a particularly difficult task for translators as they refer to certain objects, practices and beliefs that can only be understood in their own socio-cultural context. As a consequence, translators need not only to have an extensive knowledge of Elizabethan culture, but also be intimately acquainted with Spanish culture. The adaptation, explanation and even non-translation of these elements may provide us with valuable information about the way these translators understood their own practice. In addition, the analysis of the resulting translations may allow us to tentatively establish the translators' aims and the kind of audience to whom they addressed their translations.

Any analysis dealing with the concept of culture-bound elements should first provide a definition of the term. However limiting a definition of culture may be, I consider conceptual clarification has to be provided. In this way, and for the purpose of this paper, I have adopted a working definition proposed by Williams (1976:90): "[Culture is] the independent and abstract noun, whether used generally or specifically, which indicates a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period or a group." Similarly, culture will be considered in this study as the way of life that is peculiar to the members of a given social group; hence, their beliefs, their customs and the objects they use in their everyday routine. Bearing this definition of culture in mind, I propose a definition of culture-bound elements as those objects, allusions or expressions that refer to the way of life a particular people or society lead. In my definition, I avoid labelling these elements as 'words' or 'terms', as in doing so I would be limiting them to a linguistic category. In my opinion,

culture-bound elements do not belong to any linguistic category in particular, and they can be formed either by words, adjectives or any other kind of extra-linguistic manifestation.

2. DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS

2.1. Money

Among the various material objects typical of a society, coins seem particularly affected by the passing of time. Whereas folk and religious beliefs are deeply rooted within a community, the coins their members use are subject to changes in their external appearance, weight and value. Political and economic factors determine the coinage of new coins and the disappearance of old ones, and this process may take place in a relatively short period of time. As an example, let us mention coins such as *angel* or *denier*. These were both legal tender in Shakespeare's days, although hardly heard of a century after his death. The allusion to these and other coins in *IHIV* poses a difficult task for both critics and editors, as most contemporary native speakers are unaware of their equivalence and value. Translators, on their part, are faced with two difficulties when rendering these coins into Spanish: that they no longer exist in their country of origin and that, even if they did, they would probably be unknown to most Spanish readers. The analysis of the selected translations will show the ways these coins have been translated in different historical periods in Spain.

2.1.1. Penny

In the third scene of the first act, King Henry shows his determination not to ransom the traitorous Mortimer, having him rather die in the hands of Glendower:

For I shall never hold that man my friend
Whose tongue shall ask me for one penny cost
To ransom home revolted Mortimer
(*IHIV*, I.iii.1.90-3).

The penny is still used in Britain, although its value has changed considerably since Shakespeare's times. However, to determine the exact value the coin had in Elizabethan society is not necessary to understand this allusion, as we consider King Henry is not referring to the penny itself, but to the fact that he is not willing to pay anything to ransom Mortimer. The

Oxford English Dictionary (OED, penny 5) points out that phrases like “*not a penny, never a penny or not worth a penny*” are used in the sense of “not the least amount, no money at all.” In our opinion, this is the idea that lies beneath the use of the coin in the King’s speech. Macpherson (1885-97:153) renders this allusion by means of a cultural equivalent:

REY. Y por amigo no tendré yo nunca
A ninguna persona cuya lengua
Sólo un maravedí para el rescate
De ese rebelde Mórtimer me pida.

By translating *penny* for *maravedí*, Macpherson seems to be trying to accommodate the English coin to Spanish culture, erasing the original reference and replacing it with an equivalent easily recognisable to the Spanish audience. This technique makes the translated text very easy to understand, as most readers of the time would be acquainted with the value of the *maravedí* and would have no problem in grasping the King’s meaning. However, we consider the appearance of a Spanish coin such as *maravedí* in *IHV* may also give rise to the suspicion that the translation has been excessively manipulated. Readers could think this is so as it is very unlikely Shakespeare used this coin when writing the play. In this way, the translator could be accused of tampering with the original text.

In contrast to Macpherson, both Astrana (1974:411) and Valverde (1973:1172) avoid a cultural equivalent and translate *penny* as literally as the Spanish orthography and phonetics would allow:

Astrana REY. ... porque no tendré por amigo al hombre cuya lengua me pida gastar un penique para rescatar a su casa al rebelde Mortimer.
Valverde REY. ...pues nunca consideraré amigo mío al hombre cuya lengua me pida gastar un penique para que vuelva a casa rescatado el rebelde Mortimer.

In our opinion, this translation seems far more coherent with the socio-cultural context of the original play. Although it is possible that some readers may not know the exact equivalence of a *penique*, its use in the translation does not seem inappropriate, as it is only logical that an English King would use an English coin when referring to the ransom of an English nobleman. Besides, we do not consider knowing the value of the penny necessary to an understanding of the King’s words, since it is clear from the context he does not want his coffers to “be emptied to redeem a traitor home” (I.iii.11.86). As opposed to the technique used by Macpherson, which entails a conscious replacement of *penny* for *maravedí*, these translators appear to be concerned

with respecting the original reference and rendering it as faithfully as the Spanish language would allow.

2.2. Linear measures

England has traditionally used its own system of linear, capacity and weight measures. This system is still in use nowadays, and has been adopted by other English-speaking countries such as Australia and the United States. However, this system differs from the Metric System that has been used for centuries in Spain, and so units such as the *yard* or the *mile* may require explanation or equivalents to be fully appreciated by Spanish readers.

2.2.1. Yards, miles

At the beginning of the second scene of the second act, Poins informs Hal he has robbed Falstaff's horse, and that the knight is furious with him. Indeed, Falstaff appears on stage insulting Poins ("Poins, and be hanged!" II.ii.1.4) and later comments on the hardships travelling on foot mean for him:

Eight yards of uneven ground is threescore-and-ten miles afoot with me, and the stony-hearted villains know it well enough (*IHIV*, II.ii.11.23-5).

A clarification on the exact meaning of both *yard* and *mile* is needed to judge the accuracy of the translators' proposed renderings. According to the *OED*, *yard* (*n* 2; 9a) is: "A measure of length (traditionally the standard unit of English long measure) equal to three feet or thirty-six inches." As one yard is equal to 0,9144 meters, 8 yards would then be little more than 7 meters.

With regard to *threescore-and-ten miles*, two elements need to be explained. Firstly, and following the *OED*, *score* (*n*; III) was "a group of twenty"; in this way, *threescore and ten* would be 70. As for the mile, this English measure was originally equivalent to 1.618 yards (*Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, Appendix 12, p.1075); as a consequence, 70 miles would be equal to 105,000 meters.

In this light, we consider Falstaff to be making an exaggerated comparison, as he is suggesting a mere distance of 7 meters is as much for him as to march a hundred kilometres. From our point of view, this hilarious comment reinforces Falstaff's characterization as an obese and lazy knight throughout the play. Macpherson (1887-95:167) translates both *yards* and *miles* by means of two cultural equivalents:

FAL. Ocho varas de terreno quebrado son para mí setenta leguas, y á esos infames de corazón empedernido, bien les consta.

By employing these equivalents, Macpherson not only shows his knowledge of the English and Spanish measurement systems –8 *varas* and 70 *leguas* equal 8 yards and 70 miles precisely– but also facilitates comprehension for Spanish readers, who are able to fully appreciate Falstaff's hyperbole. However, and as we mentioned above, the use of this equivalence technique may be criticised as it reveals Macpherson's conscious effort to accommodate the English text to Spanish customs. As a result, the translator's presence becomes noticeable, and so readers may become aware the text they are reading is a translation and not an original play.

Astrana (1974:416-17) renders these measures as literally as possible, making some changes in their orthography and pronunciation to adapt them to the Spanish language:

FALSTAFF. Ocho yardas de terreno desigual equivalen para mí a hacer setenta millas a pie; y los villanos, de corazón empedernido, lo saben perfectamente.

Although by rendering yards as *yardas* and miles as *millas* Astrana keeps certain coherence with the original cultural context of the play, the fact that these measures have never been used in Spain may hinder understanding for Spanish readers. These may infer from the context that Falstaff is exaggerating, but the force of the hyperbole is lost in vague measures whose equivalence is widely unknown. In this case, Astrana seems to disregard readers' full appreciation of the comment for the sake of faithfulness to the original text. In his translation, Valverde (1973:1182) uses both a cultural equivalent and a literal translation:

FALSTAFF. Ocho varas de terreno desigual son para mí como setenta millas a pie; y esos malvados de corazón de piedra lo saben muy bien.

Similarly to Macpherson, Valverde also chooses the *vara* as an equivalent for *yard*, thus facilitating readers' understanding of the measure mentioned. However, and most surprisingly, the translator renders *miles* as *millas*, a literal translation that, while keeping faith with the original text, does not seem coherent with the previous use of a cultural equivalent. We can only speculate on Valverde's reason for using two different criteria when rendering so similar culture-bound elements. Be that as it may, this lack of

systematic approach may result in readers missing Falstaff's hyperbolic comparison at the beginning of the second act.

One of the first conclusions we may obtain from this analysis is that the translators selected do not follow a specific technique when translating culture-bound elements, but resort to different strategies such as literal translation and cultural equivalents.

There is a clear tendency in Macpherson to accommodate the original cultural references to Spanish culture. Although this technique undoubtedly renders his translation comprehensible to the Spanish audience, some critics may think his acculturation process gives a distorted or unfaithful picture of Elizabethan society. In addition, the inclusion of coins and measures typical of Spanish culture may shatter readers' dramatic illusion, making them realise they are reading a translated text. A possible explanation for Macpherson's choices when rendering these elements may lie in the fact that he considered the translator's mission was to render the original text "revestido siquiera del modesto atavío de un lenguaje inteligible" (Ruppert 1920:48). In this light, it is possible that Macpherson carried out a conscious replacement of a number of culture-bound elements for the sake of intelligibility. Be that as it may, and although further analysis would be necessary, we consider it most probable that Macpherson devised his translation to be staged. Bearing potential theatre-goers in mind would certainly account for the use of cultural equivalents, as these undoubtedly facilitate understanding of quick and witty dialogues in a theatre.

Astrana's tendency, however, seems to be that of rendering the original culture-bound elements as literally as possible. Astrana very seldom replaces an Elizabethan culture-bound element by a Spanish equivalent, but rather keeps the original ones with minimum changes to their orthography. This may be due to the fact that Astrana was very much concerned with producing a faithful translation of Shakespeare. As he himself pointed out (Astrana 1974:1979) in his translation of *The Winter's Tale*, "nosotros hemos emprendido la abrumadora tarea de verter y comentar a Shakespeare, no para mutilarlo ni falsearlo, como nuestros predecesores, sino para expresar exactamente lo que dijo." With this aim of faithfulness in mind, it is only logical that he widely employed the technique of literal translation when rendering the original culture-bound allusions into Spanish. However, although some may judge literal translations as faithful to the original text, these may not always be fully appreciated by Spanish readers, and may give rise, in certain cases, to misunderstandings and incomprehension. Even though more research on Astrana's techniques would be needed, it seems this translator had a reading audience in mind, and that he would expect them to be acquainted with many aspects of English culture.

Whereas Macpherson's tendency is clearly to use cultural equivalents, and Astrana's literal translations, Valverde does not seem to follow a definite criterion when translating culture-bound elements. In his translations, Valverde uses both of these techniques, thus showing no special inclination to either accommodate or to literally translate the original allusions. Valverde admittedly translated for readers, thus judging his translation as "a failed one" (Valverde 1973:xiii). However, his combination of techniques seems to blend the two previous tendencies, thus producing a more balanced –and complex– translation. Further research into Valverde's techniques when rendering other kind of culture-bound elements would nevertheless be needed to judge his translation procedure and to discover his preferences in translation.

These general observations are by no means intended as an exhaustive account of the techniques Macpherson, Astrana and Valverde use throughout their translations of *IHIV*. The analysis proposed in this paper has been of a tentative nature, aiming to give an initial outline on how translation techniques used to render culture-bound elements have changed from one translator to another. However limited in its scope, we hope this analysis may give rise to future research into the translation process the three translators followed when rendering the remainder of Shakespeare's plays.

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**On the development of deverbal conjunctions.
A case-study on the grammaticalisation of
provided (that) in early Modern English¹**

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ABSTRACT

The immense amount of medieval borrowing from French and Latin into English is not restricted to immutable lexical income, since, once introduced, the loan-words may become subject to internal processes of language change. Some recent studies by M. Rissanen (1999b, 2000a, 2000b) have looked in particular at loan-words which have undergone processes of grammaticalisation, i.e. the development of grammatical material out of lexical items. In this paper, our attention is focused on the development of deverbal conjunctions from French loans, as illustrated in the specific case of PDE *provided that*. The loan *provide* is introduced into English during the Middle English period, but evidence of the progressive grammaticalisation of the original form does not start to be witnessed until the very last years of Middle English. The aim of this paper is to trace the gradual process of grammaticalisation of the form from the time of its introduction to the end of the early Modern English period (early eighteenth century).

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to focus on the evolution of loan-words introduced into English during the Middle English period, and more specifically to analyse the development of borrowed verbal lexemes which eventually became conjunctions.

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During the Middle English period there was a heavy influx of foreign elements which were added to the English lexicon. Of special interest for us are the verbs which were borrowed in this period. Although some of these borrowed verbal items were lost in the course of time, others did not only survive, even up to Present-day English, but also underwent a number of changes which gave way to their later emergence as deverbal conjunctions or prepositions (cf. Kortmann 1997:299-301). Such is the case of Middle English *consider*, *suppose*, *accord* or *provide*.

Since a detailed analysis of all deverbal conjunctions is not possible here, we shall concentrate on the verb *provide*, tracing its development from the moment it was introduced into English to the end of the early Modern English period.

Besides describing its evolution, we shall also consider the progressive grammaticalisation of the form *provided (that)*. As Rissanen (2000b:249) claims, the majority of studies which deal with grammaticalisation focus exclusively on native vocabulary, without analysing loan-words as items which can also be affected by this process. It is possible, however, that the conclusions drawn from this study help to shed some light on the process of grammaticalisation of deverbal conjunctions in English.

2. DIACHRONIC OVERVIEW OF THE VERB *PROVIDE* FROM LATIN TO ENGLISH

The English verb *provide* has its roots in the Latin verb *provideo* which, according to the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, was used to convey the following meanings: 'to see before' (used when denoting space); 'to foresee, to consider in advance'; 'to prepare, arrange'; 'to take care, take precautions, protect'; 'to supply.'

By the beginning of the twelfth century the verb *pourvoir* started being used in French as a reproduction (to a certain extent) of the Latin verb *provideo*. However, the meaning 'to see before' conveyed by Latin *provideo* was not acquired by French *pourvoir*. At first, and according to the data provided by dictionaries such as *Trésor de la Langue Française* or the *Dictionnaire Historique de la Langue Française*, the French verb is attested with the meaning 'foresee'. By the end of the twelfth century the French verb *pourvoir* developed the sense 'supply someone with something.' Therefore, the range of meanings conveyed by *pourvoir* was more restricted than that of Latin *provideo*.

Around the fifteenth century the verb *provide* was introduced into English. The meanings of this verb listed in the *Oxford English Dictionary*

(henceforth *OED*) can be summarised as follows: ‘to foresee’; ‘to make provision’; ‘to prepare, arrange’; ‘to supply’; ‘to stipulate.’

Taking the evidence provided by the *OED* as starting point, we proceeded to analyse all the examples of the verb *provide* recorded in the *Helsinki Corpus* (*HC*). Although our study is mainly based on the information retrieved from this corpus, when necessary, data extracted from other sources, namely the *OED* and the *Lampeter Corpus*, have been included.

3. THE VERB *PROVIDE* IN THE *HELSINKI CORPUS*

133 instances of the verb *provide* have been found in the *HC*. Non-finite forms of this verb are the most frequent, especially participles, which are more numerous than infinitival forms. On the contrary, finite forms are scarce, being recorded only in 11 examples.

Focusing on the semantics of the verb *provide*, we have classified the meanings this verb can convey into four groups, (i) to (iv). The main features of each group are explained and exemplified below:

(i) ‘to make provision,’ as examples (1) and (2) show:

- (1) To ioyne in Conferrence wth the Kinges Mynisters and theirs, to the intent that as they are all in a Bande of Confederacy, so they may ioyntly resolve ether to giue eare to Treatyse or to *provide* for warres contynuance. (*HC*, 1640, Robert Cecil, *Letter to Edmondess*)
- (2) Nowe when Simon was gon from his said master, and was at his fre libertie to serve ellswere, he might have had mani masters, but he wold dwell with none, but *provided* and wente to the free scolle every day for eight wicke’s space, and followed his bocke hard. (*HC*, 1600, Simon Forman, *The Autobiography and Personal Diary of Dr Simon Forman, the Celebrated Astrologer*)

When *provide* conveys the meaning ‘make provision’ the type of complementation it requires is either just one complement, always a prepositional phrase (PP), as in (1), or no complement at all, as seen in (2).

(ii) ‘to prepare, arrange,’ as illustrated in examples (3) to (5):

- (3) But Custom makes all things familiar and easy, that we generally Repose till Two the next Day; when our Cook has *provided* not only our Dinner (which is as Sumptuous as if at Home, and brought in with the same order) but furthermore, our necessary Provant for the ensuing

Day's Journey. (HC, 1672-1681, John Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia, being Nine Years' Travels*)

- (4) Nevertheless because ye are strangers, and have endur'd so long a journey, to impart us the knowledge of things, which I perswade me you believe to be the truest and the best, ye may be sure we shall not recompence you with any molestation, but shall *provide* rather how we may friendliest entertain ye. (HC, 1670, John Milton, *The History of Britain, that part especially now call'd England*)
- (5) After priuat praier I went to breakfast, and then I talked with a phesiton which, I hope, the Lord hath *provided* for me in steed of Doctor Brewer, and some other gentlemen. (HC, 1599-1605, Margaret Hoby, *Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*)

When occurring with this meaning, *provide* may be followed either by one or by two complements. Examples (3) and (4) show the use of *provide* with one complement, a noun phrase (NP) in (3) and a clause in (4). Number (5) is an instance of the use of *provide* with two complements.²

(iii) 'supply:'

- (6) Why how now Huswife, do you snap at me? Do you grudge me my Victuals? Pray Madam Joan, what is it to you how much I eat and drink, do I not *provide* it? (HC, 1685, *Samuel Pepys' Penny Merriments*)

When used with the meaning 'supply', *provide* is always followed by at least one complement, usually an NP, as in (6) above, although it is more commonly used in the corpus with two complements, an NP and a PP, as (7) below shows:

- (7) You knowe not what belongeth to youre case, and therefore we must teach you: it appertaineth not to us to *prouide* Bookes for you, neyther sit wee here to taught of you. (HC, 1500-1570, *The Trial of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton*)

(iv) 'stipulate by law:'

- (8) And it is hereby *provided* and enacted by the Authority aforesaid That it shall and may be lawfull for any Person or Persons to ship or putt on

² The double complementation of *provide* in example (5) is not straightforward, due to the insertion of the predicate in a relative clause, whose relativiser (*which*) fulfils the function of direct object.

- board any Corn Meale Flour Bread Malt Starch or Biscuit to be carried Coastwise. (*HC*, 1640-1710, *Statutes*)
- (9) The Mayers wyfe of the citie *provided* in her wyll, that she would be buried without any pompe or noyse. (1560, J. Daus, *Slei dane's Comm.* 114b. *OED* s.v. *provide* v. 2c)

When *provide* has the sense 'stipulate', it only takes one complement, a *that*-clause, as (8) and (9) show.

Therefore, almost all the senses of the verb *provide* listed in the *OED* have been found to occur in the corpus. The only exception is the meaning 'foresee'. Although the *OED* lists instances of *provide* with this meaning as early as c.1420, examples of the verb under study with this sense have not been recorded in the *HC*.

As for the chronological evolution of the meanings of *provide* present in the corpus, the earliest instances go back to ME3 (1350-1420) where *provide* has the meaning 'prepare, arrange.' The next chronological subperiod of ME, that is ME4 (1420-1500), is of great relevance because at this stage new meanings of this verb emerge, namely 'make provision,' 'supply' and 'stipulate'. Although 'supply' is the most frequent sense in the corpus, all the meanings which arose in ME survive and are still recorded in the corpus in the last subperiod of early Modern English.

After describing and exemplifying the main semantic and syntactic features of the verb *provide*, we shall now proceed to consider its evolution up to the moment the form *provided* (*that*) became a subordinator, and its behaviour as such.

4. FROM VERB TO SUBORDINATOR IN ENGLISH

4.1. Subjectless participial constructions

Already in the last ME subperiod (1420-1500), participial forms of the verb *provide* are attested in specific constructions, like (10) below, which constitute the roots of a new conditional subordinator.

- (10) And more over that it be inacted and stablissed by thauctorite aforsaid from hensforth that no butte or buttes of Malmeseys in vessell or in vessels that shalbe brought in to this your seid realme shall be sold above iiij l~i. sterling.

Provided allwey *that* this acte extend not to any Englissh man borne touching the newe custume above reherced of xvij s. And that this p~sent acte endure no leng~ than they of Venice shall sette aside the imposition of the payment of the iiij Ducates aforseid. (*HC*, 1420-1500, *Statutes*)

As can be seen, there is a significant similarity between the participle occurring in structures of this kind and the PDE conditional subordinator *provided (that)*. Nevertheless, the past participle in constructions like (10) retains much of the verbal character of the original lexeme, as is shown by the consideration of the following criteria:

a) Discontinuity. The occurrence of adverbial modifiers in between the participle and the particle/complementiser *that* is an indication of verbal-like behaviour, because internal modification is not possible in a function word. Quirk *et al* (1985:1003) use this criterion to distinguish between participles used in *free syntactic constructions* (as (11)) and those used in *complex subordinators* (as (12)), since only *free syntactic constructions* can be expanded by adverbials, like ordinary verbal participles:

- (11) Supposing, for the sake of argument, that
- (12) *Provided, for the sake of argument, that

Out of 64 instances of the subjectless participial construction under consideration in the *HC*, 52 (i.e. more than 80%) contain a discontinuous structure. The occurrence of different structural variants (e.g. *always*, *also*, *nevertheless*, etc.) as internal modifiers demonstrates that the elements occurring between the participle and the particle *that* are not part of a fossilised expression:

- (13) *Provided alsoe That* noe Person shall bee discharged out of Prison or have any Benefitt or Advantage by force or virtue of this Act who shall bee really and (\bona fide\) indebted in more than the Su~m of One hundred Pound~ Principal Money for Debt or Damages or shall stand charged with any Debt to His Majestie. (*HC*, 1640-1710, *Statutes*)

b) Coordination with a verb phrase. Besides adverbial modification, *provided (that)* is occasionally made discontinuous by the introduction of a coordinated verb phrase, as in (14) below:

- (14) *Provided and bee it enacted by the Authority aforesaid That* if such Person who was Goaler or Keeper of such Goal or Prison on the said Five and twentieth Day of December One thousand six hundred ninety

and five shall not happen to bee the Goaler or Keeper of such Goal or Prison att the time of the making such Su~mon that then the said justice or Justic~ of the Peace before whom the Sheriff Goaler or Keeper of such Prison shall appeare by virtue of such Warrant shall administer and give to such Person as shall bee Sheriff Goaler or Keeper of such Prison att the time of making of such Summons an Oath to the Effect following viz^t. (*HC, 1640-1710, Statutes*)

In this example the coordination of *provided* with the finite passive verb phrase *be it enacted* suggests that *provided* is a constituent of a similar passive construction where the dummy subject *it* and the passive auxiliary *be* have been omitted, by virtue of their status as shared material in coordination. The passive structure becomes evident in example (8), repeated here as (15) for convenience, where the participle *provided* explicitly forms part of a passive periphrasis:

- (15) *And it is hereby provided and enacted by the Authority aforesaid That it shall and may be lawfull for any Person or Persons to ship or putt on board any Corn Meale Flour Bread Malt Starch or Biscuit to be carried Coastwise (...). (HC, 1640-1710, Statutes)*

In view of the similarity between the finite construction in (15) and the non-finite constructions which we are presenting here as subjectless participial constructions (cf. (14)), we are inclined to analyse these participial constructions as part of similar passive verb phrases.

The hypothesis of a passive interpretation for the examples under consideration gains support from the examination of the immediate linguistic context.

- (16) *And be it furthermore ordeyned and enacted by thadvyse and auctoritie aforesaid that the Kyng our Soverayn Lord or eny other persones take not any advantage or p~fuyt of any penalties of forfaitures by an Act made in the p~liament (...) And provyded also that this Acte extend not to Wollen Clothes called Tostok~ (...) Provyded also this Acte or eny penaltie or articule therin conteyned extend not ne in any wise be hurtfull or prejudiciall to any cloth makers for makynge of any Cloth within the Countie of Cornewall (...). Provyded also that this acte extend not nor be prejudicyall of or to the maker merchant or byer of eny wollen clothes called Bastard~ made with cremyll Lystes. (HC, 1500-1570, Statutes)*

In this example, *provided* functions as the verbal head of a number of clauses which occur in paratactic arrangement (either syndetic or asyndetic) with a previous imperative passive verb-phrase (i.e. *be it (...) ordeyned and enacted*).

In all these cases, *provided* introduces syntactically independent units, separated from the contiguous clauses by strong punctuation marks (sometimes even paragraph boundaries, as in example (10) above).

c) Matrix control. It is frequently assumed that in the initial stages of the development of a participle into a functional unit (either a preposition or a conjunction), the matrix clause controls the interpretation of a subject for the participle. Consider in this connection examples (17) and (18) below:

- (17) Given the chance, I'd do it again.
- (18) Given that this work was produced under particularly difficult circumstances, the result is better than could be expected. (both taken from Quirk *et al*, 1985:660)

The participle in (17) can only be interpreted as a verbal form, because there is an element in the matrix, in this case the subject, which controls the assignment of a subject to the participle. This example should be paraphrased as "If I were given the chance, I'd do it again." On the contrary, there is no such control in (18) and this permits a conjunctive interpretation of the participle.

Given that all our examples involve passive structures with a dummy subject *it* and a clausal complement, we shall refer to semantic rather than syntactic aspects of control (cf. Kortmann 1995). In this respect, we can identify matrix control in the assignment of semantic arguments of the participle. Semantic control can be seen in an example like (16), where the agent argument of the matrix predicate *be ordained and enacted* (i.e. *by thadvyse and auctoritie aforesaid*) can also be interpreted as the agent of the participle *provided*. Only in more advanced stages of grammaticalisation does the participle lose the typically verbal capacity to select its own arguments.

4.2. Reanalysis of the participle as subordinator

The phrasal construction in which the participial form retains its original verbal nature is fairly common throughout the eModE period, always in connection with legal documents (as was the case in examples (10) and (13) to (16)). According to the data retrieved from the *HC*, the loss of verbal properties by the participle is not evident until the seventeenth century, as shown in the consideration of the following criteria:

a) In the first place, there is a loosening of textual restrictions and semantic weakening. With the detachment from legal contexts, there is a weakening of

the meaning associated with the participle from a strictly legal stipulation to a more general stipulation or provision devoid of legal nuances.

- (19) such breede will holde vp and continue the stocke, *provided that you reare not vp any calues which are calued in the prime daies*, for they generally are subject to the disease of the sturdie, which is dangerous and mortall. (*HC*, 1615, Markham, *Countray Contentments*)

b) Secondly, the clause introduced by the participle is no longer an independent clause in these new contexts; it is incorporated into a complex sentence separated from the adjacent matrix clause by commas.

c) Thirdly, none of the participles occurring outside legal contexts in the *HC* is affected by adverbial modification or appears in a discontinuous phrase. We must note, however, that there are instances from the seventeenth century (outside the *HC*) where a relatively grammaticalised form of *provided (that)* occurs under the scope of an adverbial modifier, as shown in (20) taken from the *Lampeter Corpus*. In the few examples of this kind, the adverbial element tends to occupy premodifier position, without provoking, therefore, a discontinuous structure.

- (20) However, if there be any such place, that is so remote from a Town, that they cannot send to it, without too much trouble, there a Shop-keeper may be allowed to set up, alwaies *provided that he hath a certificate of his freedom of some Shop keeping Trade; and that the place where he shall set up in, be eight measured Miles from any Market Town, which is hardly six by computation*. (*Lampeter Corpus*, 1681, *The Trade of England Revived*)

d) Finally, the last criterion refers to the optionality of *that*, which is reached by the second half of the seventeenth century (none of the *HC* examples from this period shows *that*-reinforcement), as can be seen in examples like (21) below.³

³ In this respect, we could possibly suggest a difference between the use of *that* in the phrasal constructions of the participle and its later use in the complex subordinator. In the phrase, *that* is clearly a complementiser introducing a clausal complement required by the verbal predicate. As a complementiser, *that* is likely to be omitted ever since the late ME period, specially when dependent on predicates of saying or mental activity (cf. Fischer 1992:313, Rissanen 1999a:284, Denison 1998:258). In conjunctive uses, *that* could be interpreted either as a remnant of the original verbal complementation pattern of the participle or as a subordination marker, such as those following numerous subordinators throughout the ME and eModE periods, but still relatively common with complex and newly-acquired subordinators in PDE (cf. Beal 1988).

- (21) This new accident made him more impatient of liberty, and he was every day treating with (^Trefry^) for his and (^Clemene's^) liberty and offer'd either gold, or a vast quantity of slaves, which should be paid before they let him go, **provided** he could have any security that he should go when his ransom was paid. (*HC*, 1688, Aphra Behn, *Oroonoko*)

Optional dropping of *that* after participial forms in conjunctive uses has been interpreted as a signal of grammaticalisation by Beal (1988:58-60). *That* is taken to be a subordination marker; therefore, when it becomes optional, it is because the subordinating nature of the original participle is sufficiently established.⁴

The amount of examples of the new grammaticalised conjunction in the *HC* is too low to warrant significant conclusions. It must be pointed out, however, that the subjectless participial construction continues to be the predominant option by the end of the seventeenth century, always limited to legal documents, while the new conjunction gradually gains ground from the moment of its introduction (early seventeenth century) to the end of the eModE period.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The historical development of the medieval loan *provide* from a verbal lexeme to a subordinating conjunction *provided (that)* throughout the Renaissance period has been presented in this paper as a gradual process, where the progressive loss of verbal properties by the participle results in its final acquisition of grammatical status in the early seventeenth century.

The data from the *HC* reveal that the roots for this process of grammaticalisation are found in the subjectless participial constructions occurring in legal contexts since the end of the fifteenth century. Our data suggest that the participle does not abandon its original verbal behaviour until the construction extends to a wider variety of text types in the early seventeenth century.

As a grammaticalised subordinator, *provided (that)* does not express the same broad sense of condition as the general conditional subordinator in English, *if*, but rather it has specialised for the expression of a very specific type of condition, namely “sufficient and necessary condition.” This

⁴ The actual occurrence of *that* in complex subordinators where it has become an optional constituent has been associated with the need for explicitness in cognitively complex environments (cf. Rohdenburg 1996:165-66).

specialisation in meaning can possibly account for the successful and rapid establishment of *provided (that)* as a conditional subordinator in English.

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**Thomas Morley's
First Book of Madrigals to Four Voices.
A Pastoral Romance**

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ABSTRACT

All the important lutenist song-writers from the Elizabethan Age such as Thomas Campian, Robert Jones, John Dowland, Thomas Morley, Philip Rosseter, Thomas Ford, William Corkine or Francis Pilkington were undoubtedly acquainted with the arrangement of poems in sequences suggested in the Sonnet Cycles. Thomas Morley's *First Book of Madrigals to Four Voices* (1594) is maybe one of the most significant examples of this. The sequenced reading of this set of madrigals by Morley clearly indicates that the author selects and locates the poems within his work with the sole intention of creating a madrigal cycle. The cycle allows the author to provide his audience with an amorous story similar to those found in the pastoral romances that were so popular at the time. The later inclusion of four new songs, two of them in his Italian Collection (1597) and the other two in the 1600 second edition of his work, definitely lends support to the sequenced reading of this set of madrigals as an amorous story characteristic of any pastoral romance. It also makes the reading particularly interesting. Without these four new songs, Morley's *First Book of Madrigals to Four Voices* would have never reached the listener of the time as the conventional amorous story of two shepherds who can finally enjoy the happy ending expected in pastoral romances.

During the period between 1597 and 1612, a collection of about thirty volumes of songs by important lutenist song-writers such as Thomas Campian, Robert Jones, John Dowland, Thomas Morley, Philip Rosseter, Thomas Ford, William Corkine, or Francis Pilkinton was issued in England. Some time later, this collection starts to be considered a mere combination of music and verse. It is generally assumed that its authors' only purpose when making up these volumes was to "enhance the beauty of the recitation

through the simplicity of music.”¹ Criticism has not paid enough attention to the possibility that these authors could have had a clear objective in mind when selecting, locating and organizing the poems within their volumes the way they did. Therefore, these authors’ possible interest in providing their song-books with an internal organization in sequence similar to that of the Elizabethan Sonnet Cycles, has been neglected for a long period of time.²

The problem is that by the time these volumes were written, their authors were undoubtedly acquainted with the arrangement of poems in sequences. Thomas Morley’s *First Book of Madrigals to Four Voices* (1594) is a quite significant example of this. Not surprisingly, read as a sequence of twenty poems, this work by Morley turns out to be the conventional amorous story of two shepherds called Philistus and Clorinda. This fact is of primary importance, because Philistus and Clorinda’s story is quite similar to any of the amorous stories that can be found in any pastoral romance of the time. Moreover, the importance of Morley’s example comes given by his later addition of four poems, two of them to his 1597 Italian Collection, and the other ones to a second edition of his *First Book of Madrigals* published in 1600. This addition of four new poems definitely supports the approach to his book of madrigals as the amorous story of any pastoral romance. The only difference is that Philistus and Clorinda’s story is made up of twenty-four selected poems.

The main goal of this paper is to carry out a sequenced reading of Morley’s volume, always pointing to the reasons why the additional poems included in later editions are basic to achieve this goal. Through the sequenced reading of Morley’s *Book*, the paper makes explicit the narration of the amorous story of a pastoral romance that has remained implicit in the *Book* by Morley for a long period of time. In this way, the paper shows that

¹ In the General Preface to his *The English School of Lutenist Song Writers*, E.H. Fellowes talks about the collection as follows (1920:iv): “We have in this collection of volumes a rich store of national song, the music of which is wedded to superb verse belonging to the finest period of our national literature. And the words were set by these lutenist composers with a true appreciation of their poetic value; their sole purpose was to enhance the beauty of the recitation of such lines through the medium of simple musical expression as opposed to any idea of elaborate device. It was their wonderful success in carrying out this special purpose placed this group of English song-writers among the highest rank”.

² In the introduction to her edition of the *Elizabethan Sonnet Cycles: Licia* by Giles Fletcher and *Phillis* by Thomas Lodge, Martha Foote Crow (1896:9) points to the opening sonnet of Chapman’s *Mistress Philosophy* (1595) as an example of critical attitude against the monotony of the popular Cycles. In 1597, it is impossible for the lutenist song-writers such as Morley not to know the characteristics of a genre that was being called into question as early as 1595. William O. Harris (1971:451-469) provides further information about the popularity of the Elizabethan Sonnet Cycles.

Morley, like the rest of the lutenist song-writers of his time, was perfectly aware of the sequenced readings provided in the Sonnet Cycles. There is no better reason for this author to definitely make up his mind to combine music not only with "the beauty of the recitation" but also with lyrics organized in such a way as to reach the listener of his madrigals as the conventional amorous story to be found in any pastoral romance.

In her *Elizabethan Poetry. A Study in Conventions, Meaning and Expression*, Hallet Smith talks about pastoral love in the following terms:

Love is simple in essence, but the variety and complexity of its consequences make for a total paradox. Though there is no jot of reason in love, the lover invariably reasons about it. Pastoral provides amply for this paradox. It utilizes for the purpose various devices which taken out of their context seem absurd. The most common perhaps is the "cross-eyed Cupid" situation, in which A loves B, B loves C, C loves D, and D loves A. It is used in Montemayor, and of course it is a device in Lodge's *Rosalynde* and Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, as well as in the woodland part of a *Midsummer Night's Dream*. The paradox is that love itself is so simple; the Lyric and plot elements of pastoral romance work together to enforce the contrast between simplicity and complexity. (Smith 1952:17-18)

The "Cross-eyed Cupid" situation, linked to the great popularity of pastoral romances by the time Morley's *First Book of Madrigals to Four Voices* (1594) was first published, clearly justifies the sequenced reading of this set of madrigals by Morley as a pastoral romance.³ Unsurprisingly, read as a sequence of 20 poems, Thomas Morley's *First Book of Madrigals to Four Voices* (1594) turns out to be a conventional love triangle in which Philistus, A, falls in love with the false Clorinda, B, while she is blindly in love with Thyrsis, C (in turn probably in love with a fourth D) being that the reason why he ends up disdaining the false Clorinda himself. From the very beginning of this set of madrigals, the shepherd Philistus is perfectly aware of his beloved Clorinda's infatuation with Thyrsis. Despite his efforts to comfort himself, the forsaken shepherd keeps on suffering from Clorinda's unrequited love till he meets the nymph Lycoris. Philistus' fortune is supposed to change after his meeting with Lycoris. The nymph's situation is quite similar to Philistus' own amorous story. She is also a forsaken nymph

³ As Jusserand (1966: 217) explains, "Greeks, Romans, Italians, Spaniards, the French and the English, have differed in a multitude of points, but they have one and all delighted in pastorals. No class of heroes either in history or in fiction has uttered so much verse and prose as the keepers of sheep." In fact, as Jusserand states in his introduction, "Not a line of Shakespeare was put into French before the eighteenth century, while prose fictions by Nash, Greene and Sidney were translated more than a century earlier" (27).

who has been unable to prevent her false beloved Dorus to forsake her. But very soon, Philistus realizes that Lycoris's love pleasures can not substitute Clorinda's love, and he starts suffering again for his old beloved's unrequited love.

In the first song of the *Book*, the shepherd Philistus reflects upon the impossibility of moving his beloved Clorinda, blindly in love with Thyrsis, to live with him and be his love. In order to do that, the forsaken lover makes use of a metaphor that allows him to identify Clorinda's beauty with the warm seasons: spring and summer. In contrast, this metaphor also fits Philistus' intention to relate the cruelty of Clorinda's heart with the cold autumn:

April is in my mistress' face,
And July in her eyes hath place;
Within her bosom is September,
But in her heart a cold December. (I:1-4)⁴

With the metaphor in the first song of the *Book*, Philistus emphasizes the cold, disdainful cruelty of his beloved Clorinda; not to be expected in such a warm, beautiful woman. In this way, he can justify his attitude in the second song of the *Book*, where he definitely makes up his mind to renounce to Clorinda's unrequited love:

Clorinda false, adieu, thy love torments me:
Let Thyrsis have since he contents thee.
O grief and bitter anguish!
For thee, unkind, I languish! (II:1-4)

Immediately afterwards, in the third song of the *Book*, Philistus tries to convince himself of the fact that Clorinda's love for Thyrsis is just a way for the nymph to prove the honesty of the love he says to profess her:

Why sit I here, alas, complaining
With sobs and groanings my disdainings?
O this mirth contenteth
Whom grief of mind tormenteth.
Cease this weeping, fool, she does but this to prove thee; (III:1-5)⁵

⁴ All quotations from Morley's *First Book of Madrigals* have been taken out of Thurston Dart's revised edition of Edmund H. Fellowes' previous work. The reviser provides the "Lyrics Set to Music by Thomas Morley in his *First Book of Madrigals to Four Voices*."

⁵ It is common to find nymphs who prove the honesty of their lovers before accepting them in pastoral romances such as Montemayor's *Diana*, Greene's

But, right away, in the second part of this same third song, the forsaken Philistus realizes that, in thinking so, he is just trying to comfort himself in vain:

Away, away, false comfort! no thou canst not move me.
You that saw too much, mine eyes, shall dearly buy it,
You that made my heart believe I did espy it.
Hence false comfort! in vain thou dost ease me;
Away, I say, thou canst not please me. (III:6-10)

Once he is aware of his real condition as a forsaken lover, the shepherd Philistus devotes the following three songs of the *Book* to complain about Clorinda's cruel inability to pity neither his sufferings, nor his love labours. The last two lines of Song V are a good example of this: "See a nymph unkind and cruel/ So to scorn her only jewel!" (V:3-4).

After so much suffering, a new female character appears in Song VII. It is at this point that Philistus meets a nymph called Lycoris, who has been also forsaken by her cruel beloved Dorus:

Her lovely cheeks in dew of roses steeping,
Lycoris thus sat weeping,
Ah Dorus false, that hast my heart bereft me,
And now unkind hast left me,
Alas cannot my beauty move thee? (VII:1-5)

Lycoris's amorous story is so similar to his own, that it starts reminding Philistus of the cruelty of love, making him feel sad once again. Not surprisingly, it is Lycoris herself who unexpectedly changes Philistus' mind by making him fall in love again. As a nightingale in the month of May, Lycoris is full of kindly lust and, "Love's inspiring", devotes herself to invite forsaken shepherds such as Philistus to stop weeping in order to be able to enjoy the pleasures of love: "Come, lovers, follow me, and leave this weeping. / See where the lovely little God lies sleeping" (XI:1-2). However, it is important to take into account that when she talks about the "pleasures of love," Lycoris is just making reference to that kind of lustful love that can be only enjoyed while not being caught by the darts of Cupid: "Hence follow me away, begone, dispatch us! / And that apace, lest, if he wake, he catch us" (XI:9-10).

Menaphon, or even the continuation of *Rosalynde* by Thomas Lodge carried out by Shakespeare in *As You Like It*.

Lycoris is the one to invite the shepherds of the forest to enjoy the pleasures of love, being the kind of non-idealized shepherdess to be neither wooed nor moved with presents. Because of this, Philistus is totally disappointed, and makes up his mind to definitely forsake her:

I will no more come to thee,
That flout'st me when I woo thee;
Still ty hy hy hy thou criest,
And rings and pins and gloves deniest. (XIII:1-4)

Philistus is used to suffering from Clorinda's unrequited love without getting any kind of favor in exchange. For this reason, the shepherd does not manage to understand Lycoris's attitude to love: always away from Cupid's darts, but enjoying his pleasures with no need of woos or complaints. Lycoris's amorous invitation to other shepherds in Song XV can work as a kind of motto summarizing the nymph's attitude:

Sport we, my lovely treasure!
For why? long love serving
Asketh equal deserving.
Let be our sportful pleasure
To kiss the while, love's token.
Joy more that can be spoken! (XV:1-6)

The lustful happiness of the rest of the shepherds in the Book he is unable to share, makes Philistus feel bad again in the last two songs of the 1594 edition. This time, the shepherd does not only wish to die while complaining about the cruelty of love in general terms, but also to meet her beloved Clorinda again.⁶ With this intention, and always in case they just meet her by chance, Philistus asks the nymphs of the mountains to provide his beloved with the garlands of flowers he has made to move Clorinda to be his love with presents. He also asks the nymphs to let Clorinda know with a kind kiss that she is the only one he would never forsake:

Gentle nymphs that tread these mountains,
Say, whilst sweetly you sit playing,
Saw you my sweet Daphne straying,
Straying along your crystal fountains?

⁶ In the song, Philistus addresses Clorinda as "his Daphne."

If so you chance to meet her,
Kiss her and kindly greet her;
From me these garlands take her,
And say I'll ne'er forsake her. (XX:1-8)

The pastoral romance that can be read out of Thomas Morley's (1594) edition of his *First Book of Madrigals to Four Voices* does not present the happy ending to be expected in a conventional pastoral romance, where "cross-eyed Cupid" love paradoxes get usually solved at the end through the ceremonies of marriage. Maybe because of that, in the (1597) Italian Collection of this same Book of Madrigals, Morley decided to add two other songs taken out of his *Two Canzonets. Or Little Short Songs to Four Voyces* (1597), trying to provide the pastoral romance implied in his set of madrigals with a happy ending in this way. The first of these two songs starts with a question in which a character speaking in first person asks his/her heart the reason why it has "taken, forgotten, and forsaken" (no. 8 in the original). In the same song, the addressed "heart" tries to justify his/her behavior answering that it is impossible not to carry out all those actions when burning in love:

My heart why hast thou taken
And forgotten and forsaken?
Thou dost it lest, inspired
With his flames, thy heart be fired. (8:1-4)

In the second song added in the Italian Collection, a character assures in first person that his/her heart is still burning in love. In this way, his/her listener can be aware of the fact that this character's past amorous problems have not been able to prevent his/her heart from keeping on working:

Still my heart frieth,
Yet it never dieth.
Ah! that my love hath not some mortal firing
And that no storms may quench his heart inspiring. (9:1-4)
[no. 9 in the original]

At first sight, it does not seem difficult for the listener of the madrigals to identify the shepherd Philistus with the "heart" addressed in the two songs added in Morley's Italian Collection. It is not to be forgotten that, throughout the different songs of this Book by Morley, the shepherd Philistus does not only make up his mind to forget Clorinda's love in order to be able to accept Lycoris's invitation to enjoy the pleasures of love. He also forsakes the nymph Lycoris before ending up searching for his old beloved Clorinda.

Nevertheless, the reception of this set of madrigals as a pastoral romance becomes clearer once the two new songs are included in Morley's (1600) edition of his *First Book of Madrigals to Four Voices*. In the first of these two songs, a character tells in first person the story of a maid he/she heard complaining about her beloved's disdain: "A pretty merry maid that long before had walked / 'Hey ho! trolly lo! heavy heart,' quoth she, / 'My lovely lovely lover hath disdained me'" (XXI:4-6). In the second, the encounter between this character and the forsaken pretty maid takes place already:

On a fair morning as I came by the way,
Met I a pretty maid in the merry month of May,
When a sweet love sings his lovely lovely lay,
And every bird upon the bush bechirps it up so gay. (XXII:1-4)

Following the same process of relating the songs in the *Book* by Morley to convey Clorinda and Philistus' conventional love story that is being carried out in this paper, the listener of these songs is perfectly able to identify the "pretty maid in the merry month of May" in the last song above with the "forsaken pretty nymph" of the previous song. In the same way, the "pretty maid that long before had walked" in the first song included in the (1600) edition, can be also identified with the "sweet Daphne straying along the crystal fountains" the shepherd Philistus was looking for in the last song of the (1594) edition. Thus, the two songs taken out of Morley's *Canzonets. Or Little Short Songs to Foure Voyces* (1597) make much more sense, and turn out to be the dialogue Philistus and Clorinda keep after finally meeting in the second song of the (1600) edition. Apart from Lycoris and the nymphs of the mountains, Clorinda is the only one in the whole set of madrigals who knows Philistus' past. Because of this, she is the only one who can demand an explanation from him once they meet. And, no doubt, Philistus is the one who can not only try to justify himself for having forgotten Clorinda; but also make her know that he remains passionately in love with her despite the past events: "Still my heart frieth, / yet it never dieth" (9:1-2). In this way, Clorinda finally realizes that Philistus keeps on loving her despite the fact of having taken, forgotten and forsaken in the past: "Ah! that my love hath not some mortal firing / And that no storms may quench his heart inspiring" (9:3-4).

As has been proved above, the sequenced reading of Thomas Morley's *First Book of Madrigals to Four Voices* carried out in this paper clearly shows that Morley purposefully selected and located the songs within his work with the intention of creating a madrigal cycle that would allow him to provide his audience with an amorous story similar to those of the pastoral romances so popular at the time. The inclusion of four new songs,

two of them in his Italian Collection (1597) and the other two in the (1600) (second) edition of his work, definitely lends support to the sequenced reading of Morley's set of madrigals. It also makes the reading particularly interesting. Without these four new songs, Thomas Morley's *First Book of Madrigals to Four Voices* would have never reached the listener of the time as the conventional amorous story of two shepherds who can finally enjoy a happy ending.

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Jews, bastards, and black rams (and women): representations of 'otherness' in Shakespearean texts

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ABSTRACT

This essay examines the various articulations of 'otherness' in a range of Shakespearean texts, and focuses particularly on those figures, such as 'bastards', 'jews' and 'negros' all of whom stand in a constitutive structural opposition to the dominant discourses of texts such as *Titus Andronicus*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Much Ado About Nothing* and *Othello*. The position that these types occupy in these plays are not identical to each other but structurally similar, and this also allows us to establish a connection with the structure of gender politics as they are articulated here. A distinction is initially drawn between a modern reading of 'otherness' of the sort to be found in the ending of Julie Taymor's film *Titus* with its Levinasian echoes, and the more stringent process of marginalisation that takes place historically. Each 'type' is presented in these texts as a challenge to the phantasmagorical unity that the dominant late Elizabethan or Early Jacobean culture weaves for itself, and the process of marginalisation discloses a series of tensions for which dramatic (and fictional) aesthetic, political, and social solutions are sought.

I begin with an ending: to be precise, the ending of one of Shakespeare's earliest plays *Titus Andronicus*, and with Julie Taymor's film which reads the ending in a remarkable way. In Shakespeare's text the captured black Moor Aaron appears at the opening of Act 5 and is about to be hanged with his bastard infant son whom he has fathered on Tamora, Queen of the Goths. Before the execution can take place, Aaron pleads with his captor Lucius:

Lucius, save the child,
And bear it from me to the empress.
If thou do this, I'll show thee wondrous things
That highly may advantage thee to hear.
(5.1.53-56)

The late Kenneth Muir (1972:20) thought the figure of Aaron “splendidly theatrical” and that throughout the play Shakespeare “seems to have hoped to arouse commiseration as well as admiration by means of effective oratory.” Perhaps we might be persuaded that this moment reveals a humanity in the villain absent up to this point, although an attentive reader of the New Testament book of Revelations might well detect echoes of the fornicatrice Jezebel (Revelations 3:22-23) and the beast Satan himself marked here not with a number but by his colour (Revelations 13:16-18), and whose concern is not to have his son sacrificed for the benefit of humanity but preserved. Aaron’s ‘revelations’ cast him in the role of ‘beast’ and ‘devil’, indeed he identifies himself with the figure of Satan in the Book of Revelations:

If there be devils, would I were a devil,
To live and burn in everlasting fire,
So I might have your company in hell
But to torment you with my bitter tongue
(5.1.147-50)

Aaron is gagged and he and his bastard son are taken off at the end of the scene. Two scenes later Aaron is brought onto the stage again, but we hear no more of his bastard son. He is permitted one short speech in which he alludes obliquely to his offspring: “I am no baby, I, that with base prayers / I should repent the evils I have done” (5.3.184-85), and the attention then turns to Lucius’s pronouncement of the fate of the body of Tamora: “Her life was beastly and devoid of pity, / And being dead, let birds on her take pity” (5.3.198-99). This is the Q1 (1594) reading of the final lines of the play, but Q2 (1600), Q3(1611) and F(1623) extend this by four further lines:

See Iustice done on *Aaron* that damn’d Moore,
From whom our heauy happes had their beginning:
Then afterwards, to Order well the State,
That like Euent, may ne’re it ruinate.

I leave aside the historical irony that undermines Lucius’s closing remarks, since the Roman ‘State’ was about to be ‘ruinated’ by the very Goths that are deployed to counterbalance the threat from within from Tamora and Aaron. Aaron is not forgotten in the early texts that follow Q1, but in no early version do we know what happens to his bastard son.

In her recent film version of *Titus* Julie Taymor has a solution. The events of the final scene are telescoped, and the infant remains to be taken up by Lucius who walks slowly from the amphitheatre, where the play begins

and ends, out towards a breaking but still menacing dawn. In an interview with Bill Moyers, broadcast on American Prime-time TV, on 20 September 2001, Taymor had this to say about her changing of the ending of the play:

There is the child of the enemy. Aaron the Moor, has a baby. Normally I think in any normal culture, the baby would have been confined or killed. Because, of course, as these children, if their parents are slaughtered they're going to grow up and avenge their parents and their culture. But I had a different ending. This is the ending that I would hope for, which is I took my 12 year old boy because the whole sequence is told through the eyes of Titus' grandson, the whole movie I see through these eyes. At the end of the film on his own after he's seen all the slaughter, after he's been complicit. He was also part of the vengeance act, he took this child, this black child, out of a cage – because I had it in a cage. They wouldn't kill the child, but keep it in a cage, his parents, the young boy's father. But he himself on his own will took the child out and held his enemy and moved out of the coliseum... And he exited. Now he's going to a bleak landscape. There's water. There's the beginning of a sunrise, but he's taking the enemy out of the coliseum. When we opened on Christmas Day 1999, that's what I hoped for. I hoped that when we went to the next millennium that there would be that, that the children... And I believe there has to be children... the children have to start to question because they're inculcated.

I quote her comment almost in full because the context of the events of 11 September in New York allow her to revisit the ending of *Titus*, although behind that re-visitation is a philosophical position that in some respects challenges much of what I am about to say. Lucius's embracing of 'otherness', his taking of responsibility in a manner that in Shakespeare's text is unthinkable, allows him to expose himself to alterity. But even more than that: the relationship with Aaron's child is Levinas (1989:108-109) might have called a "relationship with the other, the one-for-the-other" that threatens the very notion of a logocentric 'consciousness' that would re-assert an egotistic mastery over that which is exterior to it. Taymor rejects the allegation that she had been 'sentimental' for a much more radical position that challenges the short-lived, and consequently, ironically-framed, imperialism, realised imperfectly in what Bate (1995:97) asserts was "the working manuscript" that lay behind Q1, and made more explicit in the three following texts, of the ending of Shakespeare's play.

I use this example to lead into a discussion that aims to link together three Shakespearean plays, *The Merchant of Venice* (1597), *Much Ado About Nothing* (1598), and *Othello* (1604), although I am aware that some of the issues that I want to raise are present, in one form or another in a much wider range of Shakespearean and non-Shakespearean texts of the period. My concern with 'otherness' is also a concern with the structural dynamics of

marginalisation. I emphasise the issue of structure here not because I want to dwell exclusively on the formal properties of these texts, but because the dramatic, cultural, and historical tensions that they disclose suggest certain homologies. I do not wish to argue that the marginalised figure of the Jew in *The Merchant of Venice* occupies the same position as the figure of the 'bastard' in *Much Ado About Nothing*, or that of the Moor in *Othello*, or that all these positions can somehow be collapsed into that of the marginalised figure of 'woman'. However, in a provocative study of *Othello*, Fiedler (1973:166-67) draws attention to the waiting-woman Emilia's "full-scale defence of female infidelity as woman's sole weapon in what she takes to be the endless warfare of the sexes." Emilia, he says, "speaks from the point of view of the oppressed rather than the oppressor," and this leads him to draw a telling conclusion: "Exploited outsiders tend to resemble each other strangely, so that women and Jews fall together not only in Shakespeare but in the imagination of the Western world as a whole." That in 1973 Fiedler should find this homology all but inexplicable – his resort to the adverb 'strangely' discloses an anxiety – is an indication of precisely how far Shakespeare Studies has come in the last 30 years. We no longer find this resemblance 'strange'; indeed, we are more inclined to see in this connection a series of fundamental political tensions that intersect with questions of genre, aesthetics, and that body of collective, ideologically over-determined fantasies within whose powerful aegis that which is constructed is represented as 'natural'. In their articulations of these cultural tensions, in the discourses used to represent them, in the disposition of antagonistic forces, and in the artistic solutions that these plays pose, we overhear, not only our own voices, but also those of an historically distant culture in its attempts to grapple with (perhaps resolve, even) discursively the problems posed by a multi-faceted 'otherness'. At the same time we need to remind ourselves of that double-edged Foucauldian maxim whereby discourse (Foucault 1981:101) can be "both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling-block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy." In short, 'otherness' may be both an *effect* of power, but it may also provide a site of *resistance* to it. Marginalisation may be both a consequence *and* a constitutive feature of the assertion of what we might call a symbolic centrality; but in any event, what this emphasises is what Foucault (1981:95) calls "the strictly relational character of power relationships." Part of the argument I want also to advance in relation to these three plays is that there are certain issues that they all engage with although at different levels and in different dramatic and cultural registers. Let me begin with what has become for us the most difficult case: difficult because we cannot easily separate our responses to the play from some of the horrifying consequences of the history of the last half-century.

The Merchant of Venice (1597) presents us with a series of thematic problems that, in a world where questions of racial diversification and their political consequences are now more sharply in focus than ever, threatens to collapse the historical differences between late sixteenth-century England and our own time. At one level, we might say that the economic world that the play shapes anticipates the one we now live in, although there are certain dangers in positing an unproblematical historical continuity of this kind. Perhaps more than any other of Shakespeare's plays, *The Merchant of Venice* requires a context. There are three possible contexts: firstly, the context of genre that relates the play to Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* (c. 1590) which, according to one editor of the play, N.W. Bawcutt (1978:1), was revived in 1594 at the height of the scandal involving Queen Elizabeth's 'Jewish' physician, Dr Lopez who was executed for treason on 7 June, 1594, and there were 8 performances of Marlowe's play in 1596. A second context would be the 'history' of Venice and its appeal to Elizabethan sensibilities. In his essay on "The idea of Venice in Shakespeare and Ben Jonson," Salingar (1993:173) argues that Shakespeare, and later Jonson, "made little or no dramatic use of the city's reputation for visual splendour"; rather, he argues, they concentrate

on the idea of Venice as an aristocratic republic and cosmopolitan centre of capitalism, with her exceptional freedom for strangers and her exceptional attraction for travellers in search of sophistication. The image of Venetian society in their three plays is a refracted projection of London.

Much of the evidence for this is derived usually from plays themselves, and also from accounts from travellers such as Thomas Coryat which, for the most part, ante-cede the plays. What in Coryat's view (1611:160) was "this thrise worthy citie: the fairest Lady, yea the richest Paragon and Queene of Christendome," was already balanced early in the reign of Elizabeth by William Thomas's less besotted, more analytical account in which Venetian commercial practice had already begun to supersede military force as an instrument of political subjugation. In his *Historye of Italye* (1561) Thomas observed:

For sins Constantinople was gotten by the Turkes, theyr dominion hath decreased, both by reason (as the same goeth) they practise with money, to bie and sel countreys, peace and warre: than to exercyse needes of armes: and for that most Venetians are at these daies become better merchauntes than men of warre.

This perception informs both *The Merchant of Venice* and *Othello*, two plays which, taken together, comprise the full spectrum of the late

Elizabethan concern with what we might think of as both a geographical and a moral (not to say, religious) location.

In a wide-ranging account of Shakespeare's concern with 'the Jewish question,' Halpern (1997:185) suggests that in addition to what he calls "a certain taxonomic perplexity about whether the Jews were a religious, racial, cultural, or national entity," it is necessary now to "add the belief that they actually may be an economic one." In Shakespeare's play the figure of the Jew looms large because, although a marginalised and demonised figure, his stance in relation to the Venetians in the play is one of symbolic centrality. So much so, that it becomes possible, through the play's unwitting deployment of the *structures* of prejudice, to draw some conclusions about how they operate in a society famed during the Renaissance for its liberal tolerance of different ethnic groups. In Shakespeare's play the difference that the Jew represents is not so much 'real' as phantasmatic, and we need to understand it in terms of the capacity of the Elizabethan imagination to project its anxieties onto alien groups and geographical spaces. The Christian hostility to Judaism is coupled with an acknowledgement of the necessity of employing 'Jewish' financial practices to underwrite a political economy in which the circulation of investment capital for the purpose of generating profit was becoming a necessity. We have here a classic instance of the tension that arises when the social relations of production (and consumption) gradually get out of synchronisation with developing forces of production. In his book on *Racism* Memmi (2000:52-53) observes, in connection with the astonishing mythological claims that "All Jews have syphilis and the women are said to bite off the sex of their lover," that

What is remarkable is that these disparaging myths, whether funny or not, always devolve to the same basic themes: money, power, and sex, which reveals the preoccupations of the ones who impute the myth. Racism is a mode of behaviour, but it is also a discourse, the presentation of a case, both as an accusation and a self-exoneration.

If Memmi is correct, and I think he is, then the question we need to ask ourselves is why should such fantasies emerge at particular historical moments? What kind of threat does the figure of the Jew present in a play such as *The Merchant of Venice*, and what might the need for a kind of collective 'self-exoneration' be in this case? Arendt (1958:20,27) connects the birth of anti-Semitism with the growth of the nation state and the transformation of the role of the Jewish financier, unfettered by the allegiance to any state, from one of personal provider of money for an aristocratic master involving the "handling of private business" that was

“unrelated to political considerations” or that of a nomadic outsider inadvertently caught up in the political retreat into an ethos of competing nationalisms. This analysis does not quite square with the theatrical representations of the figure of the Jew, although texts such as Marlowe’s *The Jew of Malta* appear to be aware of the role of the Jew, in this case Barrabas, as a source of State finance. It is Barrabas’s contradictory rootlessness *and* commitment to a geographical location, Malta and his adherence to a Machiavellian ethic that he shares with his Christian adversary Ferneze, that makes him a complex source of demonic energy in the play. His activities ultimately vindicate (though how ironically is open to question) the operations of a Christian providence. The subjugation of the Turk Calymath restores Christian power in Malta and Ferneze’s Machiavellian tactics turn out to be, not the result of accident or pagan destiny, but divinely authorised:

So, march away, and let due praise be given
Neither to fate nor fortune, but to heaven.
(5.1.122-3)

Shakespeare’s Jew is drawn a little differently. His name, ‘Shylock’, may, in fact be of English origin, as Furness (1888:ix-x) suggested in the Variorum edition of the play,¹ and he inhabits a ‘house’ in Venice. His most virulent opponent is Antonio, the ‘merchant’ of Venice whom he berates for calling him “misbeliever, cut-throat dog” whom he accuses of spitting “upon my Jewish gaberdine” (1.3.105-106), and who admits himself that he is “as like to call thee so again, / To spet on thee again, to spurn thee too” (1.3.125-26). The source of the antagonism is that Antonio has ‘rated’ his adversary “About my money and my usances” (1.3.102-103), betraying a tension that is the precise opposite of the myth of Venice as a multi-cultural republic.

But the antagonism is more complex than that, as the textual evidence of their radically opposed attitudes to the metaphor of ‘generation’ makes clear. Antonio’s dedication to the lordly Bassanio in the opening scene of the play is much more than a business relation: “My purse, my person, my extremest means / Lie all unlock’d to your occasions” (1.1.138-39). Antonio’s ‘purse’ is the receptacle in which his money is kept, but it is also his scrotum, the biological receptacle of the means of generation. In a reading that firmly resists reducing the play to a heterosexist norm, Alan Sinfield (1996:124) has suggested that “the mercenary nature of Bassanio’s courtship (...) allows him (Antonio) to value their love, and gives him a crucial role as banker of the enterprise.” Another possible reading might be

¹ This suggestion was recently corroborated by Stephen Orgel in a lecture entitled “Shylock’s family” at the World Shakespeare Congress in Valencia (April, 2001).

to link this display of intimacy with the demands of a homosociality that articulates male bonding erotically, while at the same time being forced to acknowledge an instrumental use of women. Sonnet 20 articulates the complexities of the economy of divided desire perfectly; here the male object of the narrator's attention has "A woman's face with nature's own hand painted" (l.1), a 'gentle heart' that is not subject to allegedly female (and also fashionable) change, eyes which are windows of the soul, "less false in rolling, / Gilding the object whereupon it gazeth" (ll.5-6), and an authoritative demeanour destined to exert control. Of course, it is biology that frustrates the narrator's passion since the act of generation interferes with the process of homosocial bonding and demands another, complementary form of attachment: "But since she (Nature) pricked thee out for women's pleasure, / Mine be thy love, and thy love's use their treasure" (ll.13-14). It is almost as though the woman is perceived in the poem as something added to the masculine 'principal', the usurious 'profit' that is both necessary and, in mythological terms, fraught with danger.

Whereas for Antonio the process of generating wealth is articulated as being as 'natural' as breeding – and in this case Bassanio's pursuit of wealth is naturalised as his pursuit of Portia – the Jew's generation of wealth is 'sterile' and perverse, and depends for its explanation on a deception, an interference with nature:

And when the work of generation was
Between these woolly breeders in the act,
The skilful shepherd pill'd me certain wands.
And in the doing of the deed of kind
He stuck them up before the fulsome ewes,
Who then conceiving, did in eaning time
Fall parti-colour'd lambs, and those were Jacob's
(1.3.77-83)

Antonio wishes to recuperate this Old Testament narrative for a mercantilist ethic that attributes the ultimate responsibility for nature's 'skill' to heaven: "A thing not in his (Jacob's) power to bring to pass, / But sway'd and fashion'd by the hand of heaven" (1.3.87-88). It is a short step from this allegation to the claim that Shylock is "An evil soul" who invokes "holy witness": "A goodly apple rotten at the heart. / O what a goodly outside falsehood hath!" (1.3.96-97). Shylock's narrative is an attempt to justify himself; Antonio's rejection of it is couched in terms that re-stage the Fall (aligning the devil with deception and temptation), and is designed to undermine the foundation of his adversary's identity. Such utterances provide the justification for the Jew's suffering as a punishment associated both with the biblical Fall from grace, and the historic crime that made

redemption possible, and for continuing to usurp divine power through the process of making money 'breed'. Antonio reads Shylock's narrative allegorically and asks "Was this inserted to make interest good? / Or is your gold and silver ewes and rams?" (1.3.89-90); the Jew's response is "I cannot tell, I make it breed as fast" (1.3.91). Implicit in Antonio's question is a firm sense of the inherent illegitimacy, and animality, of usurious practice, locating it at a lower level in the established hierarchy of Christian values. The 'gold' and 'silver' here allegorised negatively as 'ewes and rams' will later be displaced into the contents of the caskets that two of Portia's suitors will choose. But Morocco and Arragon will later be deceived by appearances and they will mistake the substance of money for *real* worth. We can see how nervous the play is at the prospect of the circulation of a commodity that heralds the separation of 'worth' from the act of exchange: a signifier in danger of losing contact altogether with a stable signified. 'Interest' in the play, therefore, is articulated as a deception, a gesture of false friendship, and a mark of the sterility that threatens to destroy society; it is the empty sign, the representation of a representation. Is it an accident in the play that the Jew should insist upon the provisions of the 'scripted' bond and upon a bizarre equation between writing and flesh, brought into a symbolic alignment with each other? If Antonio can ridicule Shylock's account of parturition, then the Jew's 'revenge is to strike, literally, at the 'heart' of Christianity. We will encounter a version of this opposition later in *Othello* in connection with another representative of Venetian 'otherness', when Iago incites Brabantio with the words: "Your heart is burst, you have lost your soul, / Even now, now, very now, an old black ram / Is tupping your white ewe" (1.1.86-88).

The echo in *Othello* of the moment I have been glossing in the earlier play is, to my mind, striking and suggests a connection between the wilful Desdemona and Shylock's daughter, Jessica who is the model for her later, tragic counterpart. But there is also another form of dramatic economy at work in *The Merchant of Venice*. The wilful daughter who is, at one level, the *effect* of her father's deviancy becomes the instrument of his Christian subjugation and the testimony of his conversion will be the role he will henceforth have to play as a Christian patriarch. Viewed in this context Shylock's role is less that of a scapegoat than a displacement of Venetian anxieties. His historic destiny is to be converted in what is a war between Christian and infidel. But the challenge he mounts provides both the test and the justification for Christianity itself. The Jew's 'suffering' is not an agony that he will undertake as a precondition of salvation but justice, of a decidedly Christian kind, for the crimes (many of them imaginary) of which he stands accused. But there is something even more perplexing about this in that once we begin to examine the *structural* relationships that prevail in

Venice, we uncover a disturbing anamorphism. Venice is and is not England. Elizabethan sympathies with the fiscal dealings of the Venetians are offset by the inadvertent disclosure that Venetian Christianity is imperialistic in its designs: conquest, subjugation, financial domination, are its objectives which it habitually mis-recognises in the idealistic domestic discourses of Christian patriarchy, courtship, marriage, and the theatrical genre that sustains them, comedy. Rather than think of there being, in Greenblatt's (1990:43) terms, "obscure links between Jew and Gentile" which compels Shakespeare's audience "to transform its disturbing picture of sameness into a reassuring perception of difference" that difference is constitutive in that Jewish and Christian identities in the play are mutually dependent upon each other. The Jew's fiscal dealings which have serious religious and moral implications for the circulation of capital in the play, challenge the discourses of a fundamentally homosocial mercantilism that depends for its efficacy upon a series of patriarchal domestic supports that theatrical art validates.

I want now to turn to the second category that is indicated in my title, that of 'the bastard' and let me attempt a tendentious bridge between *The Merchant of Venice* and *Much Ado About Nothing*. I have in mind the episode when the indistinguishable duo of Solanio and Salarino / Salerio confront Shylock with the elopement of his daughter. Jessica is, Shylock, asserts, "damn'd" for her elopement and there occurs the following exchange:

Shy. My own flesh and blood to rebel!
Sol. Out upon it old carrion! rebels it as these years?
Shy. I say my daughter is my flesh and blood.
Sal. There is more difference between thy flesh and hers,
than between jet and ivory, more between your bloods,
than there is between red wine and Rhenish:
(3.1.31-36)

Two allegations seem to be rolled into one here: the strong hint of proscribed domestic sex, and the claim that Shylock is 'black' and that Jessica is not his daughter. Salarino's insult, however, accuses the *father* of being illegitimate, and this gives added point to Shylock's conversion later in the play. But it also recalls, in part, the episode from *Titus Andronicus* with which I began, in which the illegitimate black infant discloses, even as it embodies, the sexual transgression of its parents while at the same time emphasising a polarity of 'black' and 'white' that according to Kim Hall (1995:9) "is most often worked out in representations of black men and

white women". It will surface once more a little later in *Othello* where the overbearing patriarch is exchanged for the 'black' husband.

For Neill (2000:129-30) the bastard in Renaissance drama "is habitually figured as a creature who reveals the 'unnaturalness' of his begetting by the monstrous unkindness of his nature (...) whose mixed nature is expressed in an idiom that systematically subverts the 'natural' decorums of kind." Neill (2000:142) goes on to comment on the one bastard in Shakespeare, the figure of Faulconbridge in *King John* who is rendered admirable by the fact that in the play "the legitimacy of all claimants to the throne is under challenge." Without a 'name' Faulconbridge's only recourse to power is through possession of land; his honour is 'new-made' and as such it unpicks the precarious order. Faulconbridge is a forerunner of Don John, the bastard brother of Don Pedro in *Much Ado About Nothing*, and, of course of Edmund in *King Lear*. Neill (2000:131,147) is surely right to see the figure of the 'bastard' as a "special class of transgressive male" who is marginalised as part of "the attempt to define and preserve a certain kind of social order", but whose role is "by definition (...) to challenge that order." But the question arises about to what extent this was a real or an illusory challenge.

In his book *Courtship, Illegitimacy and Marriage in Early Modern England* (1996) Richard Adair notes that while illegitimacy rates piqued during the last decade of the sixteenth century the figure never rose beyond 4.5%, and in the South East of England it was never above 1.9% for the whole of the decade from 1591-1600. By the time that Jonson's *Volpone* appeared in 1605 the figure of the 'bastard' had become one of a select group of outsiders whose very existence had become entrenched in those phantasmagoric processes of demonisation that we might now read as an index of Elizabethan and Early Jacobean cultural anxiety; Corvino's urgent request to Mosca regarding Volpone's progeny: "Has he children?" is met with the following response (Parker 1983:181):

Bastards,
Some dozen or more that he begot on beggars,
Gypsies, and Jews, and black-moors, when he was drunk.
(1.5.42-45)

These are translated into "the dwarf, the fool, the eunuch" of which 'family' Volpone is "the true father" (1.5.47-48). Here deformity is naturalised as the *effect* of illegitimacy, thus establishing a causal relation between morality, the laws governing sexual activity, biology, and, of course, dramatic characterisation. In *King Lear* (1605-606), a play very close in time to *Volpone*, Gloucester's 'bastard' son Edmund rails against the law

that excludes him from a place within the social order: "Wherefore should I / Stand in the plague of custom, and permit / The curiosity of nations to deprive me?" (1.2.2-4). A little later in the same scene Edmund demystifies the projection of human sexual transgression onto supernatural agency in his decrying of "the excellent foppery of the world." The 'bastard's' *energy* derives from the very activity of illicit generation (an awareness of the materiality of sexual activity), and a keen sense of exclusion, from a positioning which marks as marginal all those forces that contribute to the definition of order itself. As the 'other' of a regulated sexual activity which is the key to the principle of social order, bastardy challenges a carefully circumscribed and heavily policed set of practices that function to legitimate the securing and transferring of the material supports of patriarchal power. Neill (2000:131) enumerates a series of 'bastard' figures in the drama of the period, but he distinguishes between the *historical* evidence of illegitimacy, particularly from within the aristocracy, which indicates both a negligible illegitimacy rate accompanied by "a large degree of practical tolerance" on the one hand, and what he calls "the disruptive power of the bastard figure in the drama", for whose "transgressive potential we need to look beyond the more or less rational realms of politics, moral judgement, and social regulation into regions of more obscure anxiety" on the other. The two spheres are not, of course, unconnected, since what is at issue here is the shared fantasy-life of Early-Modern culture in which ideology (and aesthetics) prescribed (and sometimes challenged) those social boundaries which effectively regulated the behaviour of gendered human 'subjects'.

This discussion brings us a little closer to *Much Ado About Nothing* and to some understanding of why the figure of the 'bastard' Don John should loom as a threat to the comic harmony of the play. It will be obvious from what I have said so far that the discursive field within which 'bastardy' is articulated during the period is causally connected with the matter of the shaping of female subjectivity. It is the consequence of the violation of the marriage-bed, and involves, as Neill (200:134) correctly observes, a process of defilement or pollution. *Much Ado About Nothing* begins with a victory over the bastard brother of Don Pedro, Don John. It is, of course, a symbolic victory designed to constrain the latter's anarchic energy. That energy derives its source from unrestrained sexual activity associated in the play with a wilful individuality. There is an initial recognition here, as elsewhere, in Shakespeare that this energy derives from a potentially uncontrollable *desire*. The sexually frustrated Portia admits as much early on in *The Merchant of Venice* when she recognises that the 'blood' may disregard legal constraint, with the result that the source of her frustration is the powerful patriarchal prohibition imposed upon her: "so is the will of a living daughter curb'd by the will of a dead father; is it not hard, Nerissa, that I cannot

choose one, nor refuse none?" (1.2.23-26) This problem in *The Merchant of Venice* emerges in a range of Shakespearean comedies, but is of particular significance in *Much Ado* where the daughter Hero follows the path that patriarchy maps out for her, but where her cousin Beatrice (who is, significantly, fatherless) insists upon making a choice for herself. To have no choice in this play is to place Hero at the mercy of patriarchy itself that effectively textualises the female body. The well-known pun in the play's title on 'noting' and 'nothing' seems to me a brilliant encapsulation of that process, where 'noting' is both symbolising and signifying (a kind of 'writing') and 'nothing' is the groundless substance of female chastity whose materiality resides entirely in the practice of signification. This is, of course, something that the cynical misogynist Iago recognises in *Othello* when he persuades the hero that female 'honour' is an illusion: "an essence that's not seen, / They have it very oft that have it not." (4.1.16-17). Hero's plight, which is engineered by Don John, articulates in the play a patriarchal logic that assumes bastardy to be the effect of female promiscuity. And in a play where romantic attachments can be engineered using the very same forms of deception that can divide potential marriage partners, the 'much ado' circulates around a form of desire that has anarchic potential and requires some form of social regulation.

Female 'honour' in the play is inscribed within a constellation of discursive practices that can transform masculine sexual desire in to a carefully circumscribed text; Claudio does more than mediate his "soft and delicate desires" for Hero through a ritualised language that Don Pedro immediately identifies:

Thou wilt be like a lover presently,
And tire the hearer with a book of words.
(1.1 286-7)

In Benedick's more cynical formulation a little later: "now is he turned orthography – his words are a very fantastical banquet, just so many strange dishes" (2.3.20-21). This is particularly ironical in a play in which the 'married' woman, Leonato's wife Innogen, who appears in two scenes, is silent; it is even more ironical in that this very discourse, later in the play, reduces the object of Claudio's amorous attentions to a condition that imitates 'death'; and what is even more ironical is that the most voluble female in the play, Beatrice, is herself ultimately reduced to silence by an utterance: "Peace I will stop your mouth" (5.4.97). Both quarto and folio texts ascribe this line to Leonato, which would be appropriate since he has successfully stopped his wife's mouth. Only from Theobald onwards have editors emended this and attributed the line to Benedick. In either case it

makes Beatrice the object of a sentiment that she had herself expressed earlier in the play when Claudio was embarrassed into silence by his mistrust of Don Pedro and Hero: "Speak cousin or, if you cannot, stop his mouth with a kiss and let not him speak neither" (2.1.292-93). But, perhaps the greatest irony resides in the fact that the 'bastard', the very cause of the misreadings that occur here and later in the play, should characterise himself as a figure who is "not of many words" (1.1.146).

But, of course, the 'bastard' is already a signifying body, who, like Aaron's son in the earlier play, bears the 'stamp' and the 'seal' of his parentage (*TA*. 4.2.71). He is already the articulation of an explicitly political, and implicitly political, anarchy. If the bastard is 'nothing', the *filiius nullius* of legal discourse, he is also that non-identity in a society which is caught in the contradictory process of 'naming' as a necessary step towards self-identity, but forced to disclose, time and time again, the differential mechanisms of its own signifying practices.

Insofar as we are invited in the play to think of the potential for 'deformity' that inhabits linguistic practice, then Don John becomes a kind of virus that infects language and society, an unruly excess that resides at the core of meaning that the symbolic order of Messina wrestles to control. At one end of the social spectrum we have the figure of the bastard who violently challenges all of those domestic and public institutions that comprise the symbolic order. At the other end of the spectrum we have the hilarious Watch, who, in the figure of Dogberry in particular, attempts to reconstitute the grammar of the language as a mimetic equivalent of the order they are charged with upholding. Deformation at one extreme threatens the social order; at the other extreme it functions to make that threat public. This movement is a mirror image of the centripetal processes of deception as they are made to operate in the play. Don John deceives Claudio into thinking that Hero has been unfaithful to him; in other words, that she has engaged in that allegedly feminine propensity for unrestrained sexual activity that produces bastards. But at the same time, Hero is involved in a plot to bring Benedick and Beatrice together that will depend for its efficacy upon a creative linguistic deformation: "And truly I'll devise some honest slanders / To stain my cousin with: one doth not know / How much an ill word may empoison liking" (3.1.84-6). The claim is that Beatrice "cannot love, / Nor take no shape nor project of affection" because "She is so self-endear'd" (3.1.54-6). In a society where the patriarchal law legitimates and manages (hetero-) sexual desire, Beatrice's resistance is both 'shrewish' and 'individualistic' to the point where it threatens both the internalised emotional structures of affection *and* the objectively constituted order that requires its human subjects to behave in particular ways. In *All's Well That Ends Well* the appropriately named Parolles sums up the debate in his

insistence that "virginity is peevish, proud, idle, made of self-love, which is the most inhibited sin in the canon" (1.1.141-3), and this prompts Helena to articulate a dilemma that frustrated Portia in *The Merchant of Venice* and is clearly behind Beatrice's virulent misanthropy: "How might one do, sir, to lose it (virginity) to her own liking?" (1.1.147). To move too far in one direction, and without restraint, runs the risk of producing bastards; to accept uncritically the dictates of patriarchy is to be deprived of choice.

And it is no accident that the mechanism for displaying the risks that are inherent in the complexity of marriage choices in *Much Ado About Nothing* should himself be an *effect* of divorcing desire from those social structures that exist to contain it. Demonised though he is as a malcontent, Don John represents that heteroglossic activity that constantly threatens Messina's precarious attempts to impose a monologic order on its daily activities. He is that constitutive 'otherness' that resides at the very heart of the language of the play that threatens to destabilise signifying practice itself. We have only to look at the devastating textualisation of Hero's body as she stands on the threshold of marriage. Claudio's allegation of infidelity is immediately accepted by Leonato with the extraordinary rhetorical question: "Could she here deny / The story that is printed in her blood?" (4.1.121-2). Hero's very 'blood' – and 'blood' here is used in both its literal and metaphoric senses – is now a narrative, and as if that were not sufficient, he goes on to lament:

I might have said. 'No part of it is mine;
This shame derives itself from unknown loins'?
But mine, and mine I lov'd, and mine I prais'd,
And mine that I was proud on – mine so much
That I myself was to myself not mine,
Valuing of her – why, she, O she is fall'n
Into a pit of ink, that the wide sea
Hath drops too few to wash her clean again,
And salt too little which may season give
To her foul-tainted flesh.
(4.1.134-43)

So far as I am aware, no account of this episode has emphasised the extent to which Hero is almost reduced at this crucial moment to the same status as the bastard Don John. But because the play is a comedy there is an alternative way of reading Hero's 'body language' that will ultimately restore her to life and reinstate patriarchal authority; the Friar's "Trust not my reading nor my observations, / Which with experimental seal doth warrant / The tenor of my book" (4.1.165-7) opposes ecclesiastical (and by implication patriarchal) authority against the risky democratising potential of

individual interpretation. 'Freedom' in *Much Ado About Nothing* 'deforms' society, but the only way in which the counter-intuitive structures of constraint can negotiate this problem is to position the anxieties that they generates and to subject them to laughter. Insofar as we might say that comedy aims to be therapeutic, then the therapy inheres in a revivification of the phantasy-life of the audience. The besmirched Hero is cleansed of any allegation of promiscuity, and brought back to life as the silent wife at the end of the play whose only words assert her innocence: "One Hero died defil'd, but I do live, / And surely as I live, I am a maid" (5.4.63-64). Attention then turns to the loquacious Beatrice and she too is reduced to silence, while the 'cause' of the instability, Don John is, yet again, recaptured and brought under the rule of Law. This symbolic capture, that is also a repetition, forcibly subjugates the disruptive term 'bastard' which will always threaten to return and undo the social formation.

The Merchant of Venice and *Much Ado About Nothing* are in different ways precursors of *Othello* since each play has a particular stake in a shared discursive field, and the intertextual relations between them are complex. In the earliest of these three plays the 'outsider's' involvement in the financial life of Venice functions as part of a series of structural oppositions that disclose both the distributions and the hierarchies of power, while at the same time articulating the psychological investments that each group makes in the state's institutions. In *Much Ado About Nothing* the figure of the 'outsider' presents a different sort of challenge but one that is equally symbolically central to the ways in which Messina defines its institutions and its human subjects; also the way in which the play deals with sexual jealousy indicates the *emotional* investment that patriarchy makes in the social relations it prescribes.

In *Othello* many of these elements are combined in a new synthesis involving the 'black' outsider, a theatrical relation of Morocco in *The Merchant of Venice* who is also the military defender of the very Venetian values from which his 'race' excludes him. Like the Jew before him, Othello is indispensable to the functioning of the Venetian state, but his appearance renders him an ambivalent figure, an uncomfortable amalgamation of apparent opposites susceptible to vilification from 'indigenous' Venetian subjects. The play exposes the audience to a negative valuation of Othello before he appears, so that Iago's and Roderigo's judgements of him as "the thick lips" (1.1.66), or, even worse:

Even now, very now, an old black ram
Is tugging your white ewe; arise, arise,
Awake the snorting citizens with the bell,
Or else the devil will make a grandsire of you.
(1.1.88-91)

This is part of a dual perspective that strategically foregrounds the nature of judgement itself, and there are a number of occasions when the veracity of the empirical evidence is laid open to question. The explicit ambivalence of Iago: "I am not what I am" (1.1.65) cynically counterbalances the ambivalence of Othello himself. The protagonist, like the Jew before him, is both necessary and demonised, and the trouble arises when that political necessity spills over into more intimate social relations that threaten the patriarchal authority of Venice. Desdemona, like her precursor, Jessica, elopes, and in the context that Iago and Roderigo provide – both of whom have an interest in Othello's actions (Roderigo as a competitor for Desdemona, and Iago as a competitor for the post that Cassio has secured) – her father is persuaded to pre-judge the issue according to an antecedent moral imperative:

It is too true an evil gone she is,
And what's to come of my despised time,
Is nought but bitterness. Now Roderigo,
Where didst thou see her? (O unhappy girl!)
With the Moor say'st thou? (Who would be a father?)
How did'st thou know 'twas she? (O thou deceivest me
Past thought). What said she to you? Get more tapers,
Raise all my kindred, are they married think you?
(1.1.160-67)

Desdemona's action is here regarded as a "treason of the blood" (1.1.169), the very energy, articulated here as political rebellion, that Portia's 'law of the dead father' was designed to curb. But it is a treason whose material effects are devastating. Desdemona has violated those laws devised "for the blood" (*MV* 1.2.17-18) by illicitly aligning herself with one whose complexion and whose 'blood' symbolises the act of rebellion itself. This chain of significations extends back to *The Merchant of Venice* in which Morocco's "shadow'd livery of the burnish'd sun" and his 'red' blood (2.1.2,7), is aligned with the rebellious "flesh and blood" of the Jew (3.1.31). In the earlier play Jessica's "treason of the blood" is projected mischievously onto the Jew himself, whereas in the later play the 'insider' patriarch, Brabantio, is allowed to project his anxiety onto the 'outsider' patriarch Othello, whose own hybrid identity effectively amalgamates the politico-

moral oppositions of Venetian and Turk. That conflict is staged in the narrative of Othello's suicide at the end of the play where he characterises himself as "one not easily jealous, but being wrought, / Perplex'd in the extreme; of one whose hand, / Like the base Indian / Judean, threw a pearl away, / Richer than all his tribe" (5.2.346-49). The quarto reading 'Indian' corrected by the folio reading 'Iudean' reaffirms Othello's identification with the archetypal infidel, the Jew, who is easily transcoded into another infidel figure, the Turk, who shares certain ritual practices with his non-Christian adversary:

set you down this,
And say besides, that in Aleppo once,
Where a malignant and a turban'd Turk
Beat a Venetian and traduc'd the state
I took by the throat the circumcised dog,
And smote him thus.
(5.2.352-57)

The folio reading 'Iudean', that is almost certainly a compositorial turned letter in Qq, restores this discourse of marginalisation that would otherwise be less precise. Here, to use a formulation proposed by Memmi (2000:44), the phantasmatic, the fictional demon emerges as both 'real' and 'different'; the 'black devil' merges with the tragic protagonist in a form of heterophobia that now "takes manifest form in terms of actual events that pose a potential threat." But that threat embodies a contradiction in that it is both feared and loved; positive and negative stereotypes amalgamate in an impossible unity that death itself simply fails to resolve. Curiously it is Othello, the 'black' protagonist, who is the 'racist' in this final scene, since it is he who both internalises and then deploys what Memmi (2000:37-38) describes (in a different context) as "a difference to denigrate the other, to the end of gaining privilege or benefit through that stigmatization."

But there is also a further level of complexity in the play. Brabantio's heterophobia is rooted in the fantasy-life of Venice. When he is first told of his daughter's elopement his response is:

This accident is not unlike my dream,
Belief of it oppresses me already:
Light I say, light!
(1.1.142-4)

He dreams of filial disobedience, of bestiality, of miscegenation, of the corruption that will ensue, and of the consequences for the process of inheritance. And this anticipates Othello's own Iago-induced fantasies about

his wife's imagined infidelity. When the 'dream' is realised, when the phantasmagoria becomes flesh, it 'kills' the father. In *Othello* however, the phantasy does not die with the father; it is bequeathed, almost in the manner of a legacy, to the husband. Though racially distinct, the positions that Brabantio and Othello occupy in the play are structurally similar.

The cause of their anxiety is 'women'. Desdemona has disobeyed the law of the father in eloping with Othello, except that we never quite get to the bottom of the affair. What are we to make of Roderigo's description of the elopement and his characterisation of Othello?

Your daughter (if you have not given her leave,
I say again), hath made a gross revolt,
Tying her duty, beauty, wit, and fortunes,
In an extravagant and wheeling stranger,
Of here, and every where.
(1.1.133-37)

Has Brabantio encouraged Othello? What can we make of Othello's later statement that: Her father lov'd me, oft invited me, / Still question'd me the story of my life" (1.3.128-29).

Othello's evident rootlessness, that is articulated contradictorily as romantically attractive 'otherness', encapsulates the contradiction of Venice itself in that, as I suggested earlier, like the Jew he is both necessary *and* other. If we put the matter thus we can then begin to see the structural similarity with the category 'woman'. Desdemona is accused of a 'gross revolt' of allowing her 'blood' to dictate her actions. It is Iago who pursues this masculine Venetian definition of female subjectivity:

Come on, come on, you are pictures out o' doors;
Bells in your parlours; wild-cats in your kitchens;
Saints in your injuries; devils being offended;
Players in your housewifery; and housewives in your beds.
(2.1.109-12)

And it is this duplicity that cleaves the image of Venice in two. Iago is not what he is, nor is Othello, nor, it is claimed, is Desdemona. And that pathological duplicity, exemplified in each of the marginal groups to which I have referred, is a product both of female desire *and* of patriarchal fantasy that Desdemona's waiting-woman, Emilia articulates:

What is it that they do,
When they change us for others? Is it sport?
I think it is: and doth affection breed it?

I think it doth. Is't frailty that thus errs?
It is so too. And have we not affections?
Desires for sport? and frailty, as men have?
Then let them use us well: else let them know,
The ills we do their ills instruct us so.
(4.3.96-103)

This is not so very different from the Jew's own mimetic identification with the Christian capacity for revenge in *The Merchant of Venice* which begins from a position of 'sameness' but proceeds to a mimicking of the least defensible aspects of Christian practice. It is at moments such as this that the coherence and cohesion of the Venetian ruling patriarchy becomes destabilised in these plays. What Emilia's utterance focuses for us is both the oppressive structures of patriarchy *and* the representation of the lived experience of women as they negotiate its restrictive practices. This is a remarkable moment, and it reverberates through all of the male-female relationships in the play. She is saying that female subjectivity is an 'effect' of male behaviour, and in doing so she speaks for the wider structures of domination and subservience in the play. Analogously, the domain of the 'Turk' as the historically 'real' other of Venice is incorporated into the realm of the Venetian 'subject' and then projected outwards as a psycho-geographical space to be conquered. The 'Turk', the alien, the 'Moor', and (by implication the Jew) are psychological projections that tell us more about the fears of the State and its ruling subjects than they do about the social lives of those marginalised groups. In this respect we might regard Venice as a screen upon which Elizabethan and early Jacobean London sought to project its own tensions, and the conceptions of 'otherness' that it formulated were those phantasmagoric, spectral threats whose significance was pre-eminently psychological, moral, ethical, and of course, religious.

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Farcical innocuousness versus morality and satire in the comedies of Thomas Durfey

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ABSTRACT

Durfey's comedies, the early ones in particular, have been often considered farcical, even nonsensical, rather than satirical. This paper explores the hybrid nature of Durfey's work, in which farcical externals often veil a grim view of the ways of his time.

Some Restoration comedies are predominantly farcical, others border on satire, and even those intrinsically comic may be very different, since they may emulate Jonson's humours style or, following Fletcher, focus on love intrigue. I have already written on these generic ambivalences, but focusing on the Restoration playwrights' theoretical views (2001). Now I will deal with their presence in Durfey's comedies. The central issue will be the potential compatibility of farcical implausibility and entertainment with satiric objectives. Can satire, the most punitive of genres, be embedded in a farcical background? Critics of Wycherley and Otway will probably see no problem: a frequent use of asides, implausibility, and clownish behaviour do not undermine the social or political reflections, the complexity of the self, the tension between desire and social norms, etc, all those qualities we tend to identify with maturer genres, comedy and satire, rather than with farce. But Durfey seems a less complex playwright: there has been a tendency to see him as a songwriter and entertainer soaping a court elite, and Charles II leaning on his shoulder and sharing a song. It is not my purpose to vindicate Durfey as one of the best playwrights of the Restoration: he was not. Still, he was very prolific, perhaps excessively so (thirty plays including two operas and a lost comedy), and certainly one of the few professionals (though not always successful) of the theatre, with Dryden, Shadwell and Behn. Some of his plays deserve much more attention than they have received.

Before analyzing the hybrid nature of some of Durfey's plays, an

important key issue, related to farce in particular, must be dealt with: physical violence. There is plenty of slapstick in Durfey's plays. For instance in *The Virtuous Wife* (1679?) Beauford is bullied three times in a row, which deprives the gallant of the necessary glamour to encourage admiration among the audience. In this case, by making the hero the foolish victim of physical aggression, Durfey is demythifying the standards of masculinity, but there are also violent situations in Durfey's work which seem to go beyond sheer farce, especially when the victim of abuse is a woman and not a man; that is, when there is no carnivalesque reversal of real-life situations. Does Durfey share Shadwell's attitude? When Shadwell's Mrs. Gripe, the crossdressed heroine in *The Woman-Captain* (1679), beats her husband, the audience are asked to enjoy the abuse, but when the nasty husband talks of mistreating his wife the situation is not only morally unjustifiable, but also too real, much more serious and probable. A man beaten by his revengeful wife may be naturalized as mere slapstick, a carnivalesque reversal; a woman beaten by her husband may be too verisimilar a situation.

Coming back to Durfey, two instances of violence that make us wonder whether farce or satire predominates are those of Thomas and his servant's attempt to rape Cellida and her cousin Sabina in *Trick for Trick* (1678), and that of Sir Lubberly's striking his wife, the old Lady Beardly, in *The Virtuous Wife* (1679). The first example reminds us of Volpone's frustrated rape of Celia in Jonson's play. In spite of the comic background, Cellida's screaming and her father's cry for mercy underline the tragic component in the frustrated assault. Sir Wilding's encouraging his son to commit the rape enhances the satirical monstrosity. The play closes with a mock-conversion and an underserved pardon, suggesting male predators get away with it. As far as the beating of Lady Beardly is concerned, it would most probably not be seen as sheer slapstick were the role of Lady Beardly played by Mrs. Bracegirdle or any other actress; James Nokes was cast as the old widow to provoke mirth and soften the violent underside. And yet, although in the real world on the stage a man is being beaten by another, a conventional situation found in many plays (especially in farcical scenes like those involving Beauford in act IV), the audience may feel that in the fictional realm no woman, however ugly and vain she may be, deserves such cruelty. We may argue that there are other similar examples of physical violence in Durfey's work in which slapstick predominates over satiric grimness. For instance, when in *The Marriage-Hater Match'd* Bias tells his brother and father that once he marries Lady Subtle he will revenge them by beating her, the truth is that the scene, in which the character played by Mrs. Barry throws things at the courting rustics, is too farcical to consider Bias's threat seriously (III.i,24-25). Still, however innocuous this passage may seem, Bias's attitude reinforces the thesis of Durfey's awareness of male violence in the real-world domestic realm: there

are many Thomases, Sir Lubberlys and Biases out there. Similar tendencies in the male members of the audience are more probable than any abuse performed by women emulating Lady Subtle or Shadwell's 'woman-captain'.

Restoration audiences were often asked to laugh at the victims of physical and/or verbal abuse. Who the abused is in the play clearly matters, and he or she may deserve it, but this is not always the case. Certainly, some things are allowed in comedy which would be condemned in the real world; that is part of the spirit of the genre, especially when it moves toward farce or the carnivalesque. In most generic theories (e.g., Bentley's, Hughes' or Holland's), farce is aggressive but conservative and escapist, childish and nonreflective, whereas comedy can reveal a bitter awareness of reality. In practice such generic borderlines are not that evident. Durfey's comedies, many of which border on farce, are a good example. Can satiric objectives and moral judgment coexist with farcical elements? Is laughter nonreflective, mere retaliation? Concerning Durfey, Canfield has no doubts; he states that "[t]he most prolific writer of comical satire in the Restoration is the underrated and insufficiently studied Durfey. Critics have recognized the moralist in Durfey's later comedies but have not known what to do with his earlier ones" (1997:213). According to Nicoll, Durfey evolves from plain farce to a comedy of manners that is even blended in the 1690s with melodramatic sentiment and a consciousness of libertinism as sinful (1967:273-78). Lynch (1930) argues that only a few of Durfey's comedies are serious, but that as early as in *The Virtuous Wife* and especially later in *Love for Money* Durfey creates a typically sentimental heroine, a woman endowed with reforming powers. Instead, in the latest and most comprehensive study on Durfey yet, McVeagh argues that "Durfey has been wrongly described as a proto-sentimentalist" (2000:13), and that his plays in general are much closer to Behn's or Otway's than to those by Cibber or Steele. I agree.

Certainly, there exist two periods in Durfey's dramatic production, but the Durfey of the 1670s and 1680s is more satirical and serious than it seems, while the Durfey of the 1690s, however influenced by the new moral tone of the court circle and the demands of the Societies for the Reformation of Manners, reveals a fondness for the old favorite subjects, cuckolding and less-than-perfect heroes. Although *Love for Money* presents Mirtilla and the Merritons as exemplary and has sentimental elements, four years later Durfey wrote a very vulgar musical low-comedy, *The Comical History of Don Quixote, Part III* (1695?), which Collier considered anticlerical and obscene. Although Durfey's aesthetic priorities may not be clear, although we may wonder to what extent he tried to produce innocuous, nonreflective laughter or rather correct the defects of society and humankind, one thing seems clear. Like other playwrights (for instance, Dennis), he believed that too much heroism was alien to the comic spirit: human frailty existed in the real world,

and even in the improbable case the world were to become so 'reformed' in the 1690s as to exclude human imperfection, at least it would be necessary on the comic stage. That is why Durfey creates few exemplary characters, even in the 1690s. Being both a satirist and a *farceur*, he sees in the world more to correct and/or laugh at, than to admire.

Contemporaries of Durfey such as Shadwell (a Whiggish enemy in the early 1680s), Langbaine or Gildon considered his work primarily farcical. For Langbaine, Durfey was not only a plagiarist but also a poor playwright. Gildon, who continued Langbaine's critical work, had a better opinion of Durfey's comic production, but he agreed about its farcical nature. What about Durfey's own metaliterary statements? Writers tend to disavow satiric intent, especially when particular people may feel they are being alluded to, and Durfey is no exception. That is to say, the scrutiny of the prefatory material cannot be taken at face value. On the one hand, Durfey often insists on his trying to do no harm, on his alluding to no one in particular; on the other, he often complains that people are easily offended, as if playwrights were not allowed to be as satiric as they would like to be (for instance, in the Prologue to *A Fool's Preferment* [1688]). For Canfield, there is no doubt that Durfey is a satirist. *The Fool Turn'd Critick* (1676), *Squire Oldsapp* (1678) and *Trick for Trick* are "conservative corrective satire, designed to expose libertinism's dangerous threat to civil society and the peaceful transmission of power and property through marriage" (1997:216). If Durfey cannot close these plays in a satisfactory way, with a social regeneration, argues Canfield, it is because the exposed folly and libertinism still remain, and so does the satirist's anger. My point is similar. Even in Durfey's cit-cuckolding stuff of the 1670s the approach is less innocuous than Hume (1976:309-10,334-35) or Rothstein and Kavenik (1988:207-208) have stated. Let us examine first a play that is apparently farcical, *A Fond Husband*, then a political play of the 1680s, *The Royalist*, in which Durfey identifies Toryism with virility and justice and satirizes Whiggery, and afterwards two later plays, *A Fool's Preferment*, and the comedy that seems to represent best the 'serious' Whiggish Durfey of the 1690s, *Love for Money*.

A Fond Husband (1677) is primarily a farce, and we should bear in mind that Bubble, the cuckolded husband, was played by the comedian James Nokes, who probably enhanced the unrealistic quality of the script. The stage is crowded with fools, but, in spite of its farcical nature, the play does have potential as an exposure of serious issues, the tyranny of husbands included. Not all critics accept Hume's thesis that the play is too nonsensical to see in it any clear target for satire: Wheatley (1993), Canfield (1997:233-36), and Hughes (1996:199-201) present very different readings but they all insist that there is more than meets the eye. *A Fond Husband* has bitter elements that may remind us of Jonson's, Otway's or Wycherley's ethically responsible

satirical comedy. The cuckold's violent ways place the play beyond cit-cuckolding farce. When Ranger tells Bubble he has seen his wife do "monstrous things" with Rashley, Maria asks the cuckold what he would do if he caught them. His initial calm reaction is surprising:

Bubble. Do! – Why, I'd ask him civilly whether his meaning were good or no.
Ranger. His meaning? –
Bubble. Ay. – You know 'tis best to begin mildly, that afterwards, if occasion be, a man may cut his throat with greater assurance. (III.i.213-25)

As the husband's anxiety over adultery is worked up by the two accusers, his plans of revenge show a peculiar "sence of honour" that Ranger praises: the masculine ideals of aggression, competitiveness and defence of property (and patrilinearity) degenerate into sadism: "if I find this true, I'll cut him piece-meal" (III.i.243-52). In the following scene the cuckold realizes he has abused the wrong woman:

Enter Bubble dragging in Snare.
Bubble. Strumpet! Whore! Witch! I'll spoil your curls by the Lord *Harry*. O Lord! My wife – and she that I have beaten a stranger.
Snare. Oh Heav'n! Was ever poor sinner so abused? (*Weeps.*)
Bubble. (*Bubble looks amazedly at his wife, then at Snare, then at a lock of black hair in his hand*) Madam, I beg your pardon, and am asham'd of my fault; but I'll make you amends presently. (III.i.496-505)

Durfey's play points to the existence of a violent and immoral underside. It shares with *The Country Wife* an unconventional closure: the transgressing rake (less attractive than Wycherley's Horner) does not reform himself. But it is even more bitter than Wycherley's play, since both the libertine characters and those that protect social norms are much alike. (At least Wycherley creates a gay-couple plot, two charming characters, Harcourt and Alithea.) Duty, honour, truth and justice are empty words, mere discursive mechanisms used by hypocrites. Except for Cordelia in the underplot, even the characters that claim to represent moral authority, Maria and Ranger, are moved by desire and jealousy. To convince her cuckolded brother that he has been cheated, Maria weeps because her sister-in law has taken no notice of her instructions on marital duties (III.i.175-97). She pretends to protect the family from "any spurious offspring," and claims that "truth and honesty" are on her side (V.i.137), but personal revenge is her real motive. Rather than forgive a presumably penitent adulteress, Maria hopes to "tyrannize more than a Turk over his slave" (V.iii.99-100). *A Fond Husband* may have been one of the merry monarch's favorite plays, but the fact that Charles II also enjoyed Durfey's light-hearted songs should not mislead us

into thinking Durfey meant to be merely entertaining: *A Fond Husband* has too much bitterness underneath the farcical externals.

In *The Royalist* (Jan. 1682?), Durfey leans toward political satire, even more clearly than in *Sir Barnaby Whigg* (Oct. 1681?). There is plenty of slapstick; for instance, Slouch and Copyhold, two treacherous fools from the countryside who claim to be supporters of the republic, are beaten by *both* royalist and roundhead soldiers (III.ii). But even this farcical situation has serious political implications: not only that roundheads/Whigs deserve a beating, but also that appearances are unreliable, especially at times of instability. Durfey's program is to defend Toryism through the contrast between the leading character, Sir Charles Kinglove, and all the Commonwealth rascals that want his property (an unscrupulous Committee of Sequestration similar to that of Howard's *The Committee*). Such Whiggish tricksters are ready to make up false accusations or even, in the case of Captain Jonas, to plan murder. The Royalists in the play are not corrupt, but they are certainly libertines. A certain rakishness in male heroism was part of the Tory agenda at the time: the king and his brother had to be justified. Kinglove is certainly attracted to Camilla, Sir Oliver Oldcut's wife, but the major reason to court her is he wishes to get even with Oldcut. Since Camilla will not commit adultery, Kinglove feels some kind of sexual humiliation will do, one more proof that adultery is defined in homosocial terms: Camilla is to pull out two of her husband's teeth, be kissed before his face, and have him beaten up (III.iii), typical stuff in cuckolding farce. These humiliation scenes (IV.i; V.i; V.ii) move the play toward slapstick, although the trial of Jonas combines farce with political satire. The domestic rebellion suffered by Oldcut is justified: the husband, a rebel himself in the public realm, is paid with a similar coin. He deserves it all, not only because he has tried to rob Kinglove of his estate, but also because he is associated with voyeurism, homosexuality and impotence (II.i.12; IV.i; V.ii.60). Instead, the Royalists – Kinglove more than Heartall – represent sexual charm and honour, which for Kinglove "outweighs all interest" (V.i.52). They are the satirist's standard. Eventually, there is justice: providence intervenes through Cromwell himself, and the hero is given back his estate. But Cromwell is no godsend; he is denied the divine status of a royal *deus ex machina*, since his justice is that of a dying man afraid of the immediacy of God's judgment (V.ii.63). Hume thinks this denouement "silly" (1976:360), and certainly Durfey is forced by the expectations associated with the comic genre to reward his hero and jeopardize the verisimilitude of the text. And yet, however contrived the closure is, by making Cromwell reform, Durfey is able to provide an ironic twist that is in line with his satirical approach to the Commonwealth order.

Farce and a certain logical discretion concerning political affairs replace harshness in a *A Fool's Preferment* (1688), but the play is still a satire

on social climbing, a “corrective comical satire” (Canfield 1997:229). Two country gentlemen – the rank-admiring Cocklebrain and his uncle Grub, a Justice of Peace – and the servant Toby are cheated into thinking the King has made them Dukes. Although their preferment is a sham, the fact that Cocklebrain should know that even a “[c]heese-monger” and many cheating citizens have been knighted, or that Phillida – Grub’s wife – should think that the court is crowded with upstarts, including foreign ones, seem to suggest that meritless thriving does take place (II.29; III.34). Cocklebrain’s preferment, the first in the play, is actually a trick to keep the rich man in London so that he will finance the gambling habit of his unfaithful wife: the wordly tricksters and gamblers allied with Aurelia perform the deceit when Cocklebrain, fed up with wasting his time and money to obtain preferment, plans to return to the country and turn the idle Aurelia into “a good Houswife” (II.25).

In spite of the humorous nature associated with country labour, corrective satire is achieved through the presentation of a positive standard of behaviour, a standard endorsed by characters who are themselves subject to the temptation of social climbing. Grub and the nostalgic Toby initially convince Cocklebrain to go back home and take care of his neglected estate, but they too are awed by his unexpected court preferment. They eventually mock their old country lifestyle and their initial defence of the value of land and patrilineal descent. Grub’s pride on his living “godlily” as a Country Justice, which includes taking bribes (III.35), is already a sign of immorality. Like Aurelia, whose idleness he criticized, he too wishes to “trouble [him]self no more with Sowing and Reaping; but laugh and lye at Ease” (III.39). As far as servant Toby is concerned, his new lofty tone once he is made “Secretary”, his mockery of his past “dull Dunghill” life (II.32), his looking down on the authority of a mere Country Justice, his self-congratulatory remarks on his own innate merit, his hope of becoming a Duke himself, and his sudden rejection of country labour are certainly meant to be a rebuke (III.35-38), a foil to his initial worries about his master’s husbanding and protection of the landed property of the family (I.5) or about the wages of employees (II.25). Toby’s astonishment on not being recognized when wearing a blanket points to a basic message in the play: splendour is often meritless, related to appearance only (V.71). Rather than wish to rise above their possibilities, servants should be as practical as Toby initially is. And Grub’s assertion that the noble proprietor of land should be aware of the “Value” of his tenants’ “Sweat and Labour” (I.6) points to the responsibilities of the landed class, who squander wealth. Sheer common sense dominates Toby’s and Grub’s initial warnings, in spite of their laughable rustic simplicity; for instance, Toby’s admiration for his master’s ‘ancestral’ looks in riding habit (II.26)

probably enhanced the laughable quality of the comedian Nokes in unfashionable attire.

Cuckoldry is still a social stigma in this play, as in the cit-cuckolding comedy of the 1680s, but the major reflection is that ambition makes the rustics exhibit or even prostitute their wives, who are turned into commodities. Grub is not miles away from Jonson's Corvino in *Volpone*: both are jealous of their honour till ambition makes all values go down the drain. Both Cocklebrain and Grub are punished, especially the former, whose wife is pregnant (p.74) and therefore genetic patrilinearity may have been subverted. The carnival kings are deposed, but those tricksters that usurped the sovereign's authority to grant titles are also punished. There is a sense of order being restored, of hope that actual preferment is granted to those who really deserve it. And yet, Durfey may have created some doubt: perhaps Cocklebrain's initial hopes were based on facts and not merely on wishful thinking.

In *Love for Money* (Jan 1691) Durfey keeps farce more under control, although there are plenty of asides and absurdities. Actually, the most farcical scenes – namely those associated with the hoydens at the boarding school, Jiltall's overdone manifestations of affection for Amorous, or Old Bragg's dealing with his son – might be defined as low comedy rather than farce. Even Anthony Leigh's playing Lady Addleplot goes beyond farcical masculinization and enters the realm of political satire: she is a Jacobite conspirator and also a domestic tyrant capable of locking up her husband or whipping her daughter. Apart from a partly comic, partly satirical exposure of Jacobitism, Durfey presents a rather grim picture of a society governed by sheer monetary interest. People prostitute themselves: Young Bragg, a fake captain, is kept by Lady Addleplot, and Betty Jiltall, her female equivalent, pretends to love the deluded Amorous. Sir Rowland Rakehell, a vicious, cowardly atheist that kidnapped the girl he was supposed to protect and who often talks of murder and capital punishment, is one of the critical voices in the play:

prithce ask the young Cocking Atheist how he got his rich Widow with 6000 *l.* a year, and see whether he answers Vertue, or the illiterate Dunce that can scarce spell his own name, Whether he got his Place at Court by Vertue; the sweaty splayfoot City Putt, Whether he came to be Lord Mayor by Vertue; ask how the Laundress came to be a Lady, or the lawless Pettifogger a Judge, and see if Vertue be the cause on't, ye old Church Weesel, ha, ha, ha. (II.i.16)

His cynical discourse is similar to that of Jonson's *Volpone* about money making people as virtuous or heroic as they wish to be: "I have three thousand pounds a year fool"; he tells his nephew Amorous, "– thats reputation" (p.18).

Whereas Rakehell's behaviour ratifies this cynical view of a society governed by pretence, interest, and appearances, another satirical scourger, Young Merriton, as his own name suggests, represents (along with his father) the moral authority in the play. His actions are governed by true love and disinterestedness. Besides, familial respect defines his relationship with his father, whereas Amorous and his uncle only try to cheat each other, and Young Bragg denies both his low origins and the parental authority of Old Bragg. Although Young Merriton's love for a girl he thinks poor borders on the platonic, Durfey avoids sentimentalizing him, since the hero can plot and mock fools as much as his hedonistic but goodnatured friend Amorous. Because of his moral superiority, Merriton's complaint against "[a] cursed Fortune, still to Justice blinde, / Averse to Merit, but to Ideots kinde" (III.i.27) is that of a loser. In this age of meritocracy and political change, many a crook or upstart disguises under military or lordly apparel, but being a poor learned man that has scruples, Merriton feels "[w]it is disgrac'd, the Sciences despis'd, and modest Merrit mourns in Rags it's fortune, 'tis the Epitome of the nauseous world" (p.27). Durfey, as we expect along the comedy, does reward virtue with monetary success and happiness. Rakehell and Jiltall are caught in their own trap and punished in typically comic fashion (married to each other), but the Jacobites are sent to prison and Rakehell faces hanging, which makes the play grimmer. B. Corman (1993:74-79) argues that Durfey's failure to blend Jonson and Fletcher successfully, to mix correction and love intrigue, was caused by the punitive elements in *Love for Money* being still too aggressive, not as softened as they would be in plays written a few years later, when humour had become more benevolent.

Durfey's portrayal of society, the law, politics and domestic matters may be occasionally merry, but his tendency to underline the vulgar side of life also suggests a rather grim view of things. Apparently, in the 1690s Durfey is more serious; for instance, his later rakes are either hardly glamorous like Amorous or plainly monstrous like Rakehell. Still, *A Fond Husband*, *The Virtuous Wife* and *Trick for Trick* show signs of a certain dark outlook, whereas the more "serious" plays of the 1690s still have farcical elements. The denouement of *Trick for Trick* reveals that the Durfey of the 1670s was not too optimistic. The fact that rapists should not be punished reveals, not that society is benevolent, but rather that it is unfair and misogynistic. After the Revolution of 1688 Durfey enhanced the satiric elements, but not necessarily because, like Dryden, he disliked the new regime. On the contrary, at the same time he became more caustic he did create some exemplary characters that do represent the best of the new order, characters like the Merritons that have merit rather than birth, and who have little to do with the royalists Kinglove and Heartall except for the fact that they represent Durfey's moral standard at a given time and that they are rewarded. Because

of this, there is more hope in *Love for Money* than in *Trick for Trick*. The new order rewards merit and punishes perversion, although Durfey is conscious that this is not always the case; for instance, *The Marriage-Hater Match'd* (1692) points out the corruption and deceit associated with legal processes (II.ii; IV.ii), as well as with politics and the army (Callow is a Jacobite infiltrator, and the play gives to understand there are many more). The more we study Durfey, the more we realize how much of a moralist, as well as a political propagandist, he was.

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Adjective comparison in Renaissance English¹

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ABSTRACT

The corpus-based study presented in this paper offers a better understanding of the evolution of double periphrastic comparatives in the Renaissance than the one provided in the literature. Analysing the works of major dramatists and some relevant corpora of the period, I show that the double periphrastic forms were a characteristic feature of elevated registers and upper class speech. In addition, I demonstrate that they did not disappear from the written language – as the specialised literature claims – in the second half of the seventeenth century but much earlier, as a result of the gradual loss of prestige that they underwent from the last decade of the sixteenth century. Finally, the paper suggests that both standardisation and prescriptivism did not trigger but, instead, merely reinforced the social downgrading of the double periphrastic comparatives, and points to the need of taking into consideration factors other than the ones suggested in the literature in order to obtain a more complete explanation of the stigmatisation process.

1. INTRODUCTION

Double comparatives are hybrids formed by the combination of *more* with adjectives already inflected for comparison (*more friendlier*, *more better*) or by the addition of inflectional endings to suppletive comparative adjectives (*worser*, *lesser*). This comparative strategy has been rather marginal in the history of the language; as the quotations under (1) below indicate:

- (1a) The double forms turn out to be *of sporadic use only*; the real rivalry of the forms is between the inflectional and the periphrastic form proper (Kytö 1996:128 [emphasis added])

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- (1b) At all periods, however, the primary variants have been the inflectional and periphrastic types. Double forms *have always been marginal*. Although once used in the literary language, they gradually disappeared from the written language under the influence of Standardisation. Both eighteenth-century and modern grammarians have condemned them (Kytö and Romaine 2000:173 [emphasis added])

Perhaps because of their status as peripheral comparative structures, double forms have not received much scholarly attention, the standard accounts boiling down to the idea that double forms were frequent in Early Modern English (EModE) literary language, and that nowadays, due to the influence of standardisation and prescriptivism, they survive in popular speech only (see quotation (1b) above; cf. also Pound 1901:49, Poutsma 1914:490, Curme 1931:503, Brook 1958:146, Kytö and Romaine 1997:338).

In this paper I will explore the social distribution of double forms in the Renaissance, defined here, following Adamson (1999:541), as the period from 1500 until 1667 (the year in which Milton's *Paradise Lost* was published). In addition, I will try to give a more precise account than the one provided in the standard literature about when and why double comparatives were restricted to non-standard speech.

The results of this research are based on a 6.3-million-word corpus consisting of the EModE subcorpus of the *Helsinki corpus*, the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence sampler*, the *Lampeter Corpus of Early English Tracts* and the dramatic works of William Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Christopher Marlowe, Thomas Middleton, Thomas Dekker, Thomas Heywood and John Fletcher.

2. SOCIAL DISTRIBUTION OF DOUBLE FORMS

Taking into consideration that drama is the genre coming closest to reflecting the social range of language, my analysis of the social distribution of double forms will initially draw on the dramatic works of the authors mentioned above.

2.1. Analysis of the data

I found 40 double comparative forms, most of them (33 instances, 83% of the total number of examples analysed) in Shakespeare's plays. In addition, 3 double forms were found in the plays of Middleton, 2 in the plays of Fletcher and 1 in the dramatic works of Jonson and Heywood (see Table 1 below).

COMPARATIVE	CHARACTER	PLAY
<i>more fairer</i>	King Henry	Shakespeare's <i>King Henry IV</i> , Part II (iv, 5)
<i>more better</i>	Fluellen	Shakespeare's <i>King Henry V</i> (iii, 2)
<i>more sharper</i>	King of France	Shakespeare's <i>King Henry V</i> (iii, 5)
<i>more stronger</i>	Duke of Norfolk	Shakespeare's <i>King Henry VIII</i> (i, 1)
<i>more fairer</i>	Boyet	Shakespeare's <i>Love's Labour's Lost</i> (iv, 1)
<i>more better</i>	Bottom	Shakespeare's <i>A Midsummer Night's Dream</i> (iii, 1)
<i>more elder</i>	Shylock	Shakespeare's <i>The Merchant of Venice</i> (iv, 1)
<i>more sounder</i>	Touchtone	Shakespeare's <i>As You Like It</i> (iii, 2)
<i>more worthier</i>	Touchtone	Shakespeare's <i>As You Like It</i> (iii, 3)
<i>more softer</i>	Hector	Shakespeare's <i>Troilus and Cressida</i> (ii, 2)
<i>more wider</i>	Troilus	Shakespeare's <i>Troilus and Cressida</i> (ii, 2)
<i>more fitter</i>	Angelo	Shakespeare's <i>Measure for Measure</i> (ii, 2)
<i>more mightier</i>	Angelo	Shakespeare's <i>Measure for Measure</i> (v, 1)
<i>more hotter</i>	Clown	Shakespeare's <i>All's Well that Ends Well</i> (iv,5)
<i>more better</i>	Prospero	Shakespeare's <i>The Tempest</i> (iv,2)
<i>more braver</i>	Prospero	Shakespeare's <i>The Tempest</i> (iv,2)
<i>more nearer</i>	Polonius	Shakespeare's <i>Hamlet</i> (ii,1)
<i>more richer</i>	Hamlet	Shakespeare's <i>Hamlet</i> (iii,2)
<i>more rawer</i>	Hamlet	Shakespeare's <i>Hamlet</i> (v,2)
<i>more wider</i>	Duke of Venice	Shakespeare's <i>Othello</i> (i,3)
<i>more safer</i>	Duke of Venice	Shakespeare's <i>Othello</i> (i,3)
<i>more nearer</i>	Othello	Shakespeare's <i>Othello</i> (v,2)
<i>more better</i>	Senator	Shakespeare's <i>Timon of Athens</i> (ii,1)
<i>more kinder</i>	Timon of Athens	Shakespeare's <i>Timon of Athens</i> (iv,1)
<i>more richer</i>	Cordelia	Shakespeare's <i>King Lear</i> (i, 1)
<i>more worthier</i>	King Lear	Shakespeare's <i>King Lear</i> (i,1)
<i>more corrupter</i>	Duke of Cornwall	Shakespeare's <i>King Lear</i> (ii,2)
<i>more worse</i>	Regan	Shakespeare's <i>King Lear</i> (ii,2)
<i>more headier</i>	King Lear	Shakespeare's <i>King Lear</i> (ii,4)
<i>more harder</i>	Kent	Shakespeare's <i>King Lear</i> (iii,2)
<i>more larger</i>	Octavius	Shakespeare's <i>Anthony and Cleopatra</i> (iii,6)
<i>more worthier</i>	Coriolanus	Shakespeare's <i>Coriolanus</i> (iii,1)
<i>more bigger</i>	Theseus	Shakespeare's and Fletcher's <i>The Two Noble Kinsmen</i> (i,1)
<i>more stricter</i>	Mitis	Jonson's <i>Every Man out of his Humour</i>
<i>more calmer</i>	Duke of Florence	Heywood's <i>The Fair Maid of the West</i> (iv,1)
<i>more weaker</i>	King	Fletcher's <i>The Mad Lover</i> (iv,1)
<i>more gladder</i>	Soto	Fletcher's <i>Women Pleas'd</i> (i,3)
<i>more properer</i>	Honour	Middleton's <i>An Invention</i>
<i>more nearer</i>	Galosho	Middleton's <i>The Nice Valour</i> (iii,1)
<i>more fairer</i>	Time	Middleton and Rowley's <i>The World Tost at Tennis</i>

Table 1. Double periphrastic forms in Renaissance drama

Focusing first on Shakespeare's works (a 887,460-word corpus), the majority of the double comparatives are attested in the speech of characters who are distinguished members of their respective societies. Thus, in plays set in courts, double forms occur in the speech of the members of the royal family or important officers of the King (e.g. the Duke of Cornwall, King Lear or

Cordelia in *King Lear*); in plays set in ancient Greece or Rome, they appear in the speech of noble Greeks and Romans (e.g. Octavius in *Anthony and Cleopatra*), whereas when the action takes place in cities, they are attested in the speech of wealthy citizens (e.g. Angelo in *Measure for Measure*; see Table 1 above).

PERIOD	PLAY	NO.	YEAR	SUB-GENRE
	<i>Love's Labour's Lost</i>	1	1595	comedy
1594-1595	<i>A Midsummer's Night Dream</i>	1	1596	comedy
(3 ex.)	<i>The Merchant of Venice</i>	1	1596-1598	comedy
	<i>Henry IV</i>	1	1597-1598	history
1597-1599	<i>As You Like It</i>	2	1598-1599	comedy
(5 ex.)	<i>Henry V</i>	2	1599	history
	<i>Hamlet</i>	3	1601	tragedy
	<i>Troilus and Cressida</i>	2	1609	tragedy
	<i>All's Well that Ends Well</i>	1	1603-1604	comedy
1600-1610	<i>Othello</i>	3	1603-1604	tragedy
(21 ex.)	<i>Timon of Athens</i>	2	1606-1608	tragedy
	<i>Anthony and Cleopatra</i>	1	1606-1608	tragedy
	<i>Measure for Measure</i>	2	1604	comedy
	<i>King Lear</i>	6	1605-1606	tragedy
	<i>Coriolanus</i>	1	1608	tragedy
	<i>The Tempest</i>	2	1611	comedy
1610-1616	<i>Henry VIII</i>	1	1613	history
(4 ex.)	<i>The Two Noble Kinsmen</i>	1	1613-16	tragi-comedy

Table 2. Distribution of double comparatives in Shakespeare's plays

It should also be noted that most of the double forms occur in tragedies written between 1600 and 1610 (the exception being two double forms in the comedies *All's Well that Ends Well* and *Measure for Measure* (see Table 2 above). Interestingly, Holbrook (1994:92) observes something that is very much the line of my findings, namely, that Renaissance tragedy appears to be "an upper-class mode, not only because of its subject matter but in its appeal to a specific kind of spectator." Thus, there are only 4 cases where the double forms are uttered by lower or less noble characters; i.e., the clown in *All's Well that Ends Well* (1 example), Touchstone in *As You Like It* (2 instances) and Bottom the weaver in *A Midsummer's Night Dream* (1 token). These examples, nevertheless, reinforce the claim that double comparison is characteristic of upper class speech (see examples (1) and (2) below):

- (1) Bottom Write me a prologue; and let the prologue seem to say, we will do no harm with our swords, and that Pyramus is not killed indeed; and, for the *more better* assurance, tell them that I, Pyramus, am not Pyramus but Bottom the Weaver
(MND III,i)

Bottom the weaver is in a rehearsal of a play in which he has the role of Pyramus, a nobleman. The stage play conventions of the period were such that characters spoke according to their social condition (McIntosh 1994:62), and therefore Bottom has to conform his speech to the courtly, refined style that would correspond to his character.

Also interesting are the two instances uttered by Touchtone, the clown in *As You Like It*. Berry (1988:64) describes Touchtone as “the prototype of a dandy.” Indeed, throughout the play he sees himself as having courtly manners, and he tries to put the inhabitants of the woods at a distance by means of using refined speech. Thus, in example (2) below he discusses with Corin the advantages of courtly life. The power relations between them are manifested in the terms of address, as Touchtone is always addressed by Corin as “sir” or “master Touchtone”, while Touchtone himself addresses Corin with a disdainful “shepherd”.

- (2) Touchtone Why, if thou never wast at court, thou never sawest good manners (...) Thou art in a parlous state, shepherd (...)
Touchtone Your lips will feel them sooner. Shallow again. A *more sounder* instance, come (...)
Corin Sir, I am a true labourer: I earn that I eat, get that I wear, owe no man hate
(AYL III,ii)

Further support for the link between double comparison and upper class strata is provided by the fact that double comparatives co-occur with three linguistic features traditionally associated with high style and formal registers. Firstly, Hussey (1982:147), Blake (1983:28) and Berry (1988:xvi) note that high style in Renaissance drama was conveyed though poetic prose or blank verse. Accordingly, most of (Shakespeare’s) double comparatives occur in passages written in blank verse (23 instances, see example (3) below) or poetic prose (4 instances, see example (4) below):²

² The exception being the 4 examples where the double comparatives occur in the speech of Touchtone, Bottom the weaver and the clown in *All’s Well that Ends Well*. In these examples, the prose does not have a poetic function but it is used with comic or informative purposes. Another case of a double form occurring in a prose passage is attested in a speech by Hamlet, where the use of prose serves to indicate the madness of the character (Hussey 1982:148).

'Nothing but papers, my lord'

- (3) Shylock 'Tis very true: o wise and upright judge!
How *much more elder* art thou than thy looks!
(*Merchant IV,i*)

- (4) Boyet 'By heaven, that thou art fair, is most infallible;
true, that thou art beauteous; truth itself, that
thou art lovely. *More fairer* than fair, beautiful
than beauteous, truer than truth itself, have
commiseration on thy heroical vassal!
(*LLL IV,i*)

Secondly, Blake (1983:37,83; see also Hussey 1982:162) remarks that the dummy auxiliary *do* was very frequently used for emphasis in the sixteenth century, and claims that "there is evidence to suggest that in the Elizabethan period it was also used as part of the elevated style." Thus, it does not seem to be a coincidence that some of the double comparatives occur in speeches where instances of dummy *do* are also attested (7 examples, see (6) and (7) below).

- (6) Angelo I did but smile till now:
Now, my good lord, give me the scope of justice
My patience here is touch'd. I do perceive
These poor informal women are no more
But instruments of some *more mightier* member
(*Meas. II,ii*)

- (7) Duke of Venice To vouch this, is no proof,
Without *more wider* and more overt test
That these thin habits and poor likelihoods
Of modern seeming do prefer against him
(*Oth. I,iii*)

Finally, Blake observes a social difference in the use of the *-th/-s* variants for the third person singular in the verbs *do* and *have*. Although he warns that the use of one or the other form may have metrical reasons (*-th* provides one syllable more than *-s*), he carefully suggests "*has* and *does* may have sociolinguistic overtones indicating a low or comic register" (1983:38). This suggestion seems to be consistent with my findings, as double comparative forms always combine with *-th* variants (see (8) and (9) below):

- (8) Troilus Within my soul there doth conduce a fight
Of this strange nature that a thing inseparate
Divides *more wider* than the sky and earth
(*Troil. V,ii*)

2.2. Interpretation of the results

In the light of the results obtained so far, one may pose two questions:

(i) *How can one account for the noticeable difference in the social distribution of the double periphrastic forms between Shakespeare and the other dramatists?*

As for this first question, one should bear in mind that these dramatists, although contemporaneous to Shakespeare, were younger than Shakespeare himself. One may hypothesise then, that their work might reflect a change over time, i.e. the *very beginnings* of the loss of prestige of double forms. This hypothesis seems to be consistent with the analysis of the double comparatives in the Helsinki and Lampeter corpora as well as the *Corpus of Early Correspondence Sampler* or *CEES* (see Table 3 below). In these corpora, double forms occur in written domains in which a certain level of education is expected from the authors (i.e., private letters, travelogues, religious and scientific texts, etc) but only until 1615. After this date, no double comparative form is attested.

DOUBLE FORM	YEAR	AUTHOR	BOOK/LETTER
<i>more better</i>	1506	Dorothy Plumpton	Letter to her father
<i>more hyer</i>	1517	Richard Torkington	<i>Ye Oldest Diarie of Engysshe Travell</i>
<i>more dearer</i>	1521	John Fisher's	<i>Sermons</i>
<i>more higher</i>	1537	Jane Messyndyne (Prioress of the nunnery of Legborne)	Letter from the Prioress of the nunnery of Legborne to their founder
<i>more indifferenter</i>	1548	Thomas Vicary	<i>The Anatomie of the Bodie of Man</i>
<i>more feebler</i>	1548	Thomas Vicary	<i>The Anatomie of the Bodie of Man</i>
<i>more happier</i>	1593	Queen Elizabeth	Translation of <i>Boethius</i>
<i>more easier</i>	1602	William Clowes	<i>Treatise for the Artificiall Cure of Struma</i>
<i>more nearer</i>	1615	Gervase Markham	<i>Countrey Contentments</i>

Table 3. Double forms attested in the EModE subcorpus of the *Helsinki corpus*, the *Lampeter corpus* and the *CEES*

Further support for this claim is provided by Blake, who notes that the double superlatives “most best, most deereſt” in the two quartos of *King Lear* were replaced in the 1623 folio by the simple superlative forms “the beſt”, “the deereſt”, and that all the modern editors seem to have followed the folio because it avoided the double superlative forms (1983:3). This leads Blake to conclude that “it is poſſible that the wiſh to avoid this conſtruction [the double comparatives and superlatives] was already felt ſhortly after Shakespeare’s death” (1983:3).

In order to shed more light on the matter, I examined the sections on adjective comparison in several grammars of the EModE period (from 1586 to 1700). The results of this analysis are illustrated in Table 4 below:

EMODE GRAMMAR	YEAR	COMMENT ON DOUBLE COMPARATIVES
Bullokar	1586	×
Greaves	1594	Non mirum si vulgus barbare loquatur
Gill	1619	×
Butler	1633	×
Jonson	1640?	A certaine kind of English Atticism (...) imitating the manner of the most ancientest and finest Grecians
Poole	1646	×
Wallis	1653	×
Wharton	1654	×
Wilkins	1668	×
Lye	1671	×
Coles	1674	×
Cooper	1685	×
Miege	1688	×
Aikin	1693	×
Lane	1700	×
Greenwood	1711	Is it good English to say <i>more stronger</i> ? (...) No, you ought to say, <i>stronger</i> , or else, <i>more strong</i>

Table 4. EModE grammars and double comparatives

Most of the grammars consulted did not make any mention of double comparatives. There are however, two exceptions. Greaves (1594) comments that double comparatives are only used by non-educated speakers. By contrast, Jonson's *Grammar* (1640),³ ratifies the claim made earlier on, i.e. that double comparison in EModE is a characteristic feature of high style (which, in its turn, is usually associated with upper class speakers).

The fact that these two grammarians contradict each other does not weaken my claims, though. Generally speaking, any process of change is not perceived and commented upon until it has spread quite widely. In other words, the reason why the loss of prestige of double comparatives and their subsequent stigmatisation was not immediately noticed by grammarians may be that both the remark by Greaves in 1594 and the distribution of double comparatives in Renaissance dramatists other than Shakespeare only reflect *the inception phase* of the change. In any case, a clear sign of the fact that this process of stigmatisation was well underway by the second half of the seventeenth century is that in 1672, Dryden commented on the "incorrect" use

³ Derek Britton (p.c.) informs me that there is evidence to suggest that Jonson was writing this version of the grammar in c1624.

of double comparatives in Jonson and Shakespeare (Bolton 1966:62; see example (12) below):

- (12) I think that few of our present Writers would have left behind them such a line as this, *Contain your spirits in more stricter bounds*
But that gross way of two comparatives was then, ordinary: and therefore more pardonable in Jonson
(Dryden *Defense of the Epilogue* 1672, Bolton 1966:62)

Thus, the following diagram summarises the pattern of change that seems to be developing:

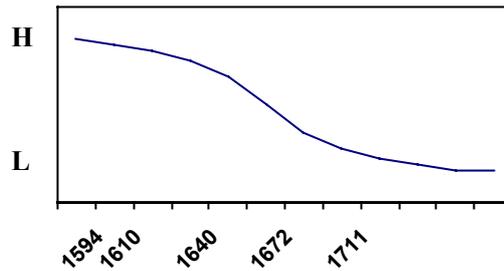


Figure 1. Stylistic distribution of double comparatives⁴

At the beginning of the Renaissance period, double forms are a distinctive feature of high style. By the time of Shakespeare's major works (i.e. the beginnings of the seventeenth century), the loss of prestige of double forms started to take place. Some association of double forms with high style is still present by 1640 (see Jonson's comment in Table 4 above; note, however, that the grammar may have been written in 1624). Nevertheless, the idea of the "incorrectness" of double comparatives gradually took over, as indicated by Dryden's criticisms in 1672. Soon after that, the stigmatisation of double forms was on its way to completion, as one finds prescriptive grammarians preaching against their use from 1711 onwards (see Table 4 above).

(ii) *What were the factors that led to the loss of prestige and ultimately to the stigmatisation of double forms?*

According to the literature, the disappearance of double periphrastic forms was mainly due to the influence of standardisation and prescriptivism (see quotation (1b) above). However, in the light of what has been presented in

⁴ H and L stand for H(igh) and L(ow) style, respectively.

previous sections of this paper, the importance of these two factors with regard to double comparatives should not be overestimated. As some scholars have noted (Willcok 1966:119, Blake 1983, Adamson 1999:539, Nevalainen 2000:334), the process of standardisation had started, or at least, the concept of a standard language was around in the sixteenth century already. Nevertheless, at that time double comparatives do not seem to have been stigmatised yet. Therefore, standardisation may have been a factor that *reinforced* the stigmatisation of double forms in later stages of the process, but presumably it did not *trigger* the process. Moreover, the idea that the prescriptions of eighteenth century grammar led to the social downgrading of double comparatives is not completely accurate either: prescriptive grammarians made the public aware of the supposed incorrectness of the double forms, and in this sense they contributed to their rejection in educated circles, but in doing so they actually did little more than reflect the result of a process of stigmatisation that had started long before.

As for what did trigger this stigmatisation, I would now like to suggest two possible factors.

(i) The spread of Euphuism to lower classes

The transition from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century brought about a reaction against the artificial, high-flown styles of the earlier Elizabethan period, among them Euphuism. According to King (1941:xxiv), the reaction against Euphuism started in the 1580s; however, by the end of the 1590s it had spread to the lower classes. Euphuism, as a representative of high style, made use of double comparative forms. I found 9 double comparatives in *Euphuus* and *Euphuus and his England*, a (relatively) high number of examples if one takes into account the small size of this corpus – 152,225 words – as compared to that of the corpora used in earlier sections. Thus, I would like to suggest that the popularisation of the Euphuistic style may well have contributed to the stigmatisation of double forms. On the one hand, it made double forms attractive for uneducated people, since they (i.e. the lower classes) saw them as a sign of refinement. On the other hand, it may have led to a rejection of double forms among the upper classes, as these upper classes consequently started to relate them with a style which had started to be massively used by the non-educated classes.⁵

(ii) The (early) influence of logic on language

It is commonly accepted that the eighteenth century brought about the idea that grammaticality could be assessed by the logical analysis of the linguistic

⁵ See, for instance, the occurrence of double forms in the speech of Touchtone or Bottom the weaver, (examples (1) and (2) above).

structures (Leonard 1929:139). However, as the quotation from Sydney demonstrates (see (13) below), the rule that two negatives cancel each other out (which had a great influence in the disappearance of double negation) was already known in the sixteenth century:

- (13) But Grammar's force with sweet successe confirme
For Grammar⁶ says (ô this deare Stella weighe,)
For Grammar sayes (to Grammar who sayes nay)
That in one Speech two Negatives affirme
(Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*, 1580-1584;
Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1995:123)

Taking this fact into account, one may hypothesise that the influence of logic on language had already begun in the Renaissance period, and consequently, that logical judgements might have started to be imposed on double comparatives before the start of the eighteenth century – although presumably not earlier than the first decade of the seventeenth century (see above). This is, nevertheless, a highly speculative hypothesis that needs further work in order to be substantiated.

3. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The present paper has demonstrated that double comparatives in EModE were a characteristic feature of upper classes and elevated registers, at least in the drama of the period. In addition, it has suggested that the Renaissance period saw the beginnings of the social stigmatisation of double forms, and has pointed at the need of taking into account factors other than those suggested in the literature (i.e. standardisation and prescriptivism) in order to obtain a more complete explanation of the stigmatisation process.

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⁶ The term 'grammar' in the passage refers to Latin grammar; however, taking into account that Latin grammar shaped English grammatical distinctions at the beginning of the EModE period, the rule can be applied by extension to English (cf. Tieken Boon-van Ostade 1995:123).

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The matter of invention in Hawes' *Passetyme of Pleasure*

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Oxford English Dictionary

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to consider what may be deduced about literary invention in the early sixteenth century through an examination of the way in which the word 'invention' is used in Hawes' *Passetyme of Pleasure* (1506). Despite much recent argument to the contrary, the assumption is still sometimes made that in England it was not until the mid or late sixteenth century that there was any sustained interest in literary invention in a form which is still understood – that is, one in which the source of the writer's work and the work's authority is his own power of mind, rather than an *auctor* or set of *auctoritates* external to himself. Examining the connotations of 'invention', I shall argue that the use of the word in the Hawes' work suggests that there is a need to modify the reading of late sixteenth-century poetics.

As presented in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the word 'invention' first appears in the classical sense of 'discovery' (a1350), with its subsense, rhetorical invention 'the finding out or selection of topics to be treated' first appearing in 1509. The senses which are now more familiar, 'the action of devising, contriving, or making up' and 'the faculty of inventing or devising; power of mental creation or construction; inventiveness' appear slightly later, in 1526 and 1576 respectively. This is not to say that these senses were not available before; rather, it says something about the availability and interpretation of evidence at the time at which the original *OED* entry for 'invention' was first published, in 1901. The *OED* entry itself includes a citation from Caxton's *Esope* (1484) in which the word takes the sense 'a work or writing as produced by exercise of the mind', implying the prior existence of 'invention' in senses related to the action of the mind. The more recent *Middle English Dictionary* entry for the same word includes a quotation from Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* (a1439) in which 'invention' is clearly seen to involve the treatment of the poet's material as well as its initial selection: "Of poetis, this the sotil fourme, Be newe invencion thynges to transfourme." In the *MED* this appears as only an isolated instance of the

word in a sense that implies the process of working on the material, rather than the fact of its selection. However, I shall here argue that there is evidence from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century which forges a link between Lydgate's use and the reappearance of the word towards the end of the latter century with an emphasis on senses relating to power of mind. There is a famous indication of this in Henryson's carefully balanced deliberation in *The Testament of Cresseid* (late fifteenth-century), when he writes of the supposed source of his narrative that he "wait nocht gif this narratioun / Be authoreist, or fenzeit of the new / Be sum poeit, throw his inuentioun" (Fox 1987:113).¹ In speaking of invention as a process of mind rather than as the material to be treated, Henryson's use of the word foreshadows later sixteenth-century usage. In the later period the earlier, rhetorical use of the word is not, of course, entirely superseded; rather, various senses co-exist. In his *Brief Apology for Poetry* (1591) Harington treats 'invention' and 'imitation' as synonyms when he writes that "by the authoritie of sacred Scriptures both parts of Poesie, inuention or imitation and verse, are allowable" (Smith 1904:2:207), yet elsewhere in the same treatise he speaks of one of "the two parts of Poetrie" as "inuention or fiction" (Smith 1904:2:204), and of "some inuention of mine owne" (Smith 1904:2:218) as opposed to translated matter. In the first instance, 'invention' involves the writer's selection of his material from a pre-existent source; in the second, it is his own devising of the material; and in the third, it has connotations both of the action of devising and the thing devised, "a writing [...] produced by exercise of the mind." Harington's juxtaposition of these different senses in a single work demonstrates the practice of his period in microcosm. When Nashe writes in his Preface to Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* (1591) that "wee neede doe no more but sette an olde goose ouer halfe a dozen pottle pots (which are as it were the egges of inuention) and wee shall haue such a breede of bookes within a little while after, as will fill all the world with the wilde fowle of good wits" (Smith 1904:2:227) he contrasts the idea of invention as a reworking of existing material with the newer sense. His use reveals the continued existence of the original, rhetorical sense of the word, but at the same time implies that true invention lies elsewhere: good wits produce not golden geese, but wild-fowl. This emphasis on invention as creation recurs constantly; for example, Thomas Churchyard writes of the 'invention of wit' in his *Pleasant Discourse of Court and Wars* (1596), Harvey in *Pierces Supererogation* (1593) of the "superexcellent wit that is the mother pearle of precious Inuention, and the

¹ The same quotation is dated 1593 in the *OED* entry for 'invention, n.', due to the dictionary's practice of giving the date of publication or manuscript rather than the date of composition.

goulden mine of gorgeous Elocution" (Churchyard 1816:sig.C3v, Smith 1904:2:250), and Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie* (1589), without using the word itself, summarizes the view contained in these uses in its statement that the poet "makes and contriues out of his owne braine both the verse and matter of his poeme" (Smith 1904:2:3).

This location of invention as an activity of mind is anticipated in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century not only in practice, as in Henryson's line, but in theory, as is evident from Hawes' use of the word 'invention' in his *Passetyme of Pleasure*. In this fusion of romance and philosophical instruction, the hero is warned by Fame that his quest for La Belle Pucelle will be a difficult one; as well as overcoming a number of temptations in the form of many-headed giants, he must at the very outset undergo a rigorous process of instruction in the seven Liberal Arts: grammar, logic, rhetoric, arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy. Such fusion of romance and didacticism has precedents, most notably in the fifteenth-century *Court of Sapyence*, which Hawes (mistakenly) attributes to Lydgate. However, Hawes' description of the part played by invention within the art of rhetoric is wholly his own. Hawes initially seems to follow the pattern laid down in classical theory, and in later works such as Geoffrey de Vinsauf's *Poetria Nova* (c1210). Like these, he declares that rhetoric has five parts (invention, disposition, elocution, pronunciation, and memory) and that "The fyrste of them / is called inuencyon" (l.701). After this canonical introduction his elaboration is startling. Invention, he says,

... sourdeth / of the most noble werke
Of .v. inwarde wyttes / with hole affecyon
As wryteth ryght many a noble clerke
With mysty colour / of cloudes derke
How comyn wytte / doth full well electe
What it sholde take / and what it shall abiecte.

(Mead 1928:33)

The idiosyncrasy of Hawes' treatment is immediately obvious. The *OED* cites the first two and a half lines of this stanza as the first recorded instance in English of 'invention' in its purely rhetorical sense 'the finding out of matter to be treated.' In view of the general context in which Hawes uses the word, this is the only possible sense assignment. However, the immediate context shows that Hawes' use of the word carries a connotation of other senses, most notably 'the action of devising, contriving, or making up' and 'the faculty of inventing or devising.' In his declaration that invention "sourdeth of the most noble werke / Of .v. inwarde wyttes" Hawes conflates the classical rhetorical tradition with the equally ancient tradition of faculty psychology, derived from Aristotle's *De Anima*, according to

which the phenomena of the mind are controlled by mental faculties such as fantasy and reason. Although a full description of faculty psychology is found in one of Hawes' sources, Gregory Reisch's *Margarita Philosophica* (1496), it is there kept entirely separate from the discussion of rhetoric. Rhetoric, treated in a thoroughly Ciceronian fashion as the art of the lawyer, is the subject of book three of Reisch's work, as the third of the liberal arts. The inward wits are described in book ten, long after the artes have been dealt with, as part of the discussion of the powers of the soul. The human mind is said to have five internal senses, or inward wits, corresponding to the body's five physical senses – common wit, imagination, fantasy, estimation, and memory. Common wit, found at the front of the brain, mediates between the mind and the outside world, receiving impressions from the external senses, and distinguishing between things and the sensations they induce. It has no power of retention, but passes the impressions back to the imagination, whose task is to give them a fixed form and store them. Estimation, found still further towards the back of the head, makes judgements based on these impressions, while memory, at the very rear, gives both impressions and judgements permanent storage. In this respect, it functions like the imagination, but unlike the imagination, whose images exist in an eternal present, it has a sense of chronology. Whereas the imagination receives impressions from the common wit alone, memory receives them from both the common wit and the estimation, so that there is at once a parallelism between the functioning of the front and back parts of the brain, and a cumulative processing of information received. The fantasy stands slightly outside this chain of communication. Although it too is assigned a position within the head – like the imagination, it is situated immediately behind the common wit, but a little higher – it is perceived as a roving faculty. Reisch emphasizes that is independent, not wholly reliable, at its most powerful when estimation (or reason) sleeps, and given to inventing or fabricating sense impressions (Reisch 1503:10:23: sig.H2v). Writing slightly earlier, in the 1440s, Reginald Pecock similarly presents it as a faculty whose office it is

for to forge and compowne, or to sette to gedir in seemyng, þingis whiche ben not to gedir, and whiche maken not oon þing in kynde: As if a man feyn a beest to be made of an horsis heed and of a kowys body and of a lyouns taile (Hitchcock 1921:10)

Although Pecock is writing solely of the function of the mind, the way in which his fantasy combines things which are naturally distinct, bears a startling resemblance to Horace's famous comments on the dangers of poetic feigning in his *Ars Poetica*:

Humano capiti cervicem pictor equinam
iungere si velit, et varias inducere plumas
nudique collatis membris, ut turpiter atrum
desinat in piscam mulier formosa superne,
spectatum admissi risum teneatis, amici?

(Rushton Fairclough 1970:ll.1-5)²

Pecock's simile thus provides a useful background against which to consider Hawes' treatment of the fantasy and of invention as a foreshadowing of that in later writers.

By conflating the classical rhetorical tradition with that of faculty psychology, Hawes' 'invention' emphasizes not the pre-existence of the material to be selected, but the writer's activity of selection, treating as literal and physical what was previously only implicit in metaphor. Geoffrey de Vinsauf, for example, says of the process of invention that "[t]he mind's hand shapes the entire house before the body's hand builds it," and speaks of the writer's material being "made pliant" by "the mind's fire" (Faral 1924:198,203).³ As has been seen, Lydgate too speaks of the writer's activity as one of transformation. However, Hawes is the first to translate such metaphors into the terms of the science of the day. In doing so he suggests that the metaphor is less a figure of speech than an image of truth with its basis in fact, locating invention firmly as an operation of the mind through a series of fully realized parallels. "Comyn wytte" performs the task normally described as rhetorical invention; it "dooth [...] electe / What it sholde take and what it shall abiecte" (Mead 1928:33). This, however, is only the beginning: the process of invention also involves the imagination, which must "drawe [the] mater" (Mead 1928:33); the fantasy, which must "exemplify" the poet's "newe inuencyon mater" (Mead 1928:34); the estimation, to control and abbreviate it; and finally, the memory, to give all this its permanent form. The operation of the faculties is made to correspond to the five parts of rhetoric, in a transposition of psychological functions into rhetorical terms which vastly extends the meaning of invention. From being merely the first part of rhetoric, it becomes the whole of rhetoric in

² "If a painter chose to join a human head to the neck of a horse, and to spread feathers of many a hue over limbs picked up now here now there, so that what at the top is a lovely woman ends below in a black and ugly fish, could you, my friends, if favoured with a private view, refrain from laughing?"

³ "Si quis habet fundare domum, non currit ad actum Impetuosa manus: intrinseca linea cordis Praemetitur opus, seriemque sub ordine certo Interior praescribit homo, totamque figurat Ante manus cordis quam corporis"; "Formula materiae, quasi quaedam formula cerae, Primitus est tactus duri: si sedula cura Igniat ingenium, subito mollescit ad ignem Ingenii sequiturque manum quocumque vocarit, Ductilis ad quicquid."

microcosm; it is not only the selecting of the matter to be treated, but the whole treatment of it that makes it the poet's own. Although a description of the other four parts of rhetoric follows, this is inevitably coloured by their original treatment as functions of the mind. When *dispositio* is described as the art of "gyuyng[e] [...] place" to "the maters founde" (Mead 1928:38), it has already been defined as the means "To make of nought / reason sentencyous." Similarly, memory is not only "The whiche / the perfyte mynystracyon Ordynatly causeth / to be retentyfe Dryuyng[e] the tale," but also "inwarde / a recapytulacyon Of eche ymage the moralyzacyon" (Mead 1928:52); it does not only store the writer's material, but provides it with its meaning. Just as the parts of the mind are interconnected, working on the same material simultaneously and in parallel to produce a perfect understanding of it, so too the parts of rhetoric work not separately but in conjunction, in Pecoock's terms, "forging" and "compowning". As in the late sixteenth century, invention is treated as the product of the writer's own wit.

This portrayal of the five parts of rhetoric as inseparable then provides the means of tracing a further resemblance between Hawes' theory and the treatment of invention in the later sixteenth century. Hawes' encompassing of all the parts of rhetoric under the heading of invention is repeated in a more discursive fashion under the heading of elocution, the part of rhetoric which he presents as the responsibility of the fantasy (Mead 1928:41-50). In giving a prominence to the fantasy equal to that allowed to the seat of invention, common wit, Hawes' treatment foreshadows the prominence which that faculty is given in later sixteenth-century poetics. In these later works fantasy is presented as that power of mind on which the poet's power of creation, fiction, feigning or invention depends. For Puttenham, for example, it is that part of the mind which

being well affected [...] is [...] so passing cleare, that by it, as by a glasse or mirrour, are represented vnto the soule all maner of bewtifull visions, whereby the inuentiue parte of the mynde is so much holpen as without it no man could deuise any new or rare thing (Smith 1904:19-20)

while for Francis Bacon, writing in 1604, the fantasy "doth raise and erect the mind [...] whereas reason doth buckle and bow the mind unto the nature of things" (Wright 1957:102). Bacon's phrase recalls Sidney's reference to the 'erected wit' of the poet as his distinguishing feature (Smith 1904:1:157). Here, as before in Hawes, the operation of the fantasy is intimately associated with the operation of invention. However, Bacon, Sidney, Puttenham alike exhibit a certain wariness towards the fantasy even while commending it; like its predecessor in faculty psychology, the poetic fantasy is liable to mislead. The source of both its strength and its weakness is its

freedom from a duty of accurate representation; as Bacon says of the closely associated faculty of the imagination: "being not tied to the laws of matter, [it] may at pleasure join that which nature hath severed, and sever that which nature hath joined, and so make unlawful matches and divorces of things" (Wright 1957:101). In Hawes' treatment none of these doubts are apparent, perhaps because he presents writing as an activity of the mind as a whole, rather than of the fantasy alone, but there is nonetheless an interesting anticipation of one possible source of them in his association of the fantasy specifically with the third part of rhetoric, *elocutio*, or choice of words.

In classical works on rhetoric and their direct descendants the division between invention and elocution is almost absolute. Following Cicero, both Geoffrey and Reisch speak of words as ornament; only once the matter has been selected and arranged is it provided with the clothes in which it will appear. In Hawes' discussion of *elocutio*, there is a clear memory of this fairly inorganic relation between words and matter; he too says that the writer's choice of words "exorneth" his subject (Mead 1928:40). Nonetheless, his discussion of *elocutio* under the heading of invention suggests that the division between the two is untenable, and his recapitulation of the whole process of invention under the heading of elocution itself confirms that a writer's choice of words is indistinguishable from the writer's selection of matter (Mead 1928:41-50). To treat invention and elocution as separate topics presupposes that the process of writing is not a whole, but a series of processes. It also assumes that neither the process of writing nor the words a writer employs in any way alter his matter. A writer's 'sentence' or essential meaning exists independently of his phrasing, and words are agents of persuasion only in so far as they influence the writer's (or orator's) audience; they do not act either upon the writer or upon his material, but are wholly under his control. By the mid to late sixteenth century this position is evidently untenable. Wilson's *Art of Rhetoric* (1560) shows clear unease at the impossibility of separating *res* from *verba*, in his writing of tropes in particular, and by the early seventeenth century Bacon writes as if of accepted fact that "*verba gignant verba*" (Medine 1994:196-97, Spedding 1858:1:645). The origins of this heightened awareness that the relation between words and matter is not one of straightforward representation have frequently been traced to the teaching methods of the sixteenth century, which were intended to make students eloquent Latinists, and which emphasized *verba* over *res*. An early and famous example of the technique is of course Erasmus' *De Copia*, with its series of detailed illustrations of the many guises in which a single sentiment may be presented. As Kinney has argued, such concentration on rhetorical technique led to a heightened and sometimes uneasy awareness that truth itself is a relative rather than an absolute, dependent on phrasing (Kinney 1986:17-22).

For Sidney, "*oratio* is next to *ratio*," while Ascham goes still further in his lament that "ye know not what hurt ye do to learning, that care not for words but for matter, and so make a divorce betwixt the tongue and the heart" (Smith 1904:1:182, Ryan 1967:115). While for Sidney, speech and thought are seen to be counterparts, as closely connected as the terms *ratio* and *oratio* themselves, for Ascham it seems there is no matter before there are words in which to express it. In this implicit belief both may readily be seen to reflect the principles inculcated by the sixteenth-century emphasis on *imitatio* as a means of teaching Latin style. As presented in Ascham's *Scholemaster*, for example, the aim of his system of double translation was to inculcate a purely classical idiom as a standard against which variation might be developed (Ryan 1967:14-15, 83-87). A similar purpose was served by the popular use of the commonplace book in teaching; in both, complementary, systems, imitation was imagined not as slavish copying, but as a way of acquiring a classicality of one's own (Kinney 1986:11-14, Crane 1993:12-14). Each system too encouraged a tendency to think of the boundary between words and matter as indistinct, since a creative imitation, or appropriation, of style was seen to make the subject too the imitator's own. When Bacon writes that the imagination is not tied to "the laws of matter," it is clear from the context that he is in the first instance referring to the laws of nature, just as Sidney praises the poet's freedom from any compulsion narrowly to imitate the facts of history (Smith 1904:1:156-58, 164). Yet it is also possible to read Bacon's claim in a purely literary sense, where 'matter' is the subject to be imitated. This indicates that the shift in the meaning of invention from the finding out of matter to the production of new matter is in part coloured by emphasis on style. Nonetheless, Hawes' use of the word in the latter sense at a time when the teaching methods common in the later sixteenth century were found in England only in embryonic form suggests that there is an additional, perhaps less classical reason for the close association of words and matter and thus for the changing meaning of the word 'invention' itself.

At the time at which Hawes was writing, the vernacular was developing a visible history as a literary language, as was evident not only in the translation work of writers such as Hawes' close contemporary Skelton, but also in Lydgate's invention of an aureate authorial tradition, with which Hawes explicitly aligns himself. As Lois Ebin has argued, the terms of Hawes' critical vocabulary, with its emphasis on darkness and illumination, represent a conscious development of the terminology which Lydgate develops in order to describe the role of the poet, and the way in which he works upon his material (Ebin 1988:138-39, 145-47). Lydgate's use of terms such as "golden" and "aureate" underlies a passage such as Hawes' description of elocution as that which

... doth ryght well claryfy
The dulcet speche / from the langage rude
Tellynge the tale / in termes eloquent
The barbary tongue / it doth ferre exclude
Electyng wordes / whiche are expedyent
In latyn / or in englysshe / after the entent
Encensynge out / the aromatyke fume
Our langage rude / to exyle and consume

(Mead 1928:41)

Hawes' terminology is thus of interest for two reasons. In referring constantly to the transformation of the writer's material, the very terms in his vocabulary recognize the inseparability of the processes of invention and elocution. Writing is imaged as an almost physical process of transformation in metaphors drawn from alchemy and from metal-work, represented in this stanza alone by Hawes' use of terms such as "electyng" and "encensynge", and still more explicit in the previous stanza, where elocution is said to clarify the language "[a]s we do golde frome coper purify" (Mead 1928:40). Still more importantly, however, the fact that these terms come with a history of previous use suggests that such terms not only declare the inseparability of words and matter, but provide a practical example of the way in which a writer's choice of words rhetorically shapes the matter he describes. By virtue of repeating terms used in the work of previous writers, Hawes' description of eloquence becomes a statement of the poet's place in a genealogy of English and Scots poets derived through Lydgate from Chaucer, and thus a guarantee that Hawes too possesses a comparable eloquence. Such usage indicates that words are not neutral tools, but that the colour they acquire from previous usage to a large extent determines the matter they describe. Thus, Hawes' treatment of the fantasy may be seen to anticipate the practice of the later sixteenth century in a number of ways. In combining the classical rhetorical tradition and the tradition of faculty psychology, he heralds the late sixteenth-century relocation of the poet's authority in his own mind. At the same time, the way in which the fantasy, the seat of elocution, is seen to encompass all parts of rhetoric as fully as does the common wit, the seat of invention, indicates something of the fusion of words and matter which is generally thought to be characteristic of the later period. Hawes' highly idiosyncratic treatment of invention thus demonstrates that the shift in the meaning of 'invention' and the perception of the poet's authority is not attributable to humanist influence alone, but that the poetics of the late sixteenth century are in part anticipated within a wholly vernacular tradition.

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One and one is two, three is potency: the dynamics of the erotic triangle in *Othello*

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ABSTRACT

While in modern western culture the heterosexual couple is the paradigm of romantic love, the erotic triangle involving at least one homosexual trajectory of desire seems to be far more interesting and disturbing. Based on Eve K. Sedgwick's analysis of male homosocial desire in *Between Men* (1985), this essay inquires into the de(con)structive dynamics of the erotic triangle in Shakespeare's *Othello*. It sets out to explore the triangular constellation as not merely a strategy of the preservation of patriarchal power through male bonding but rather as Iago's favourite strategy of manipulation. Drawing on both contemporary discourses and the work of New Historicist scholarship, this essay establishes the socially accepted parameters within which the erotic triangle will work as a cover for homosocial/erotic/sexual desire – and beyond which it will enter the realm of the disorderly, and collapse.

Our culture is constructed around a set of dichotomies that regulate our thinking and our behaviour in significant ways. This is especially true for our assumptions about the relations of the sexes. In Western culture, the most accepted and, indeed, promoted relationship is that between a man and a woman, preferably institutionalized within marriage. This basic pattern of man and woman seems to comprehend a whole universe of binary oppositions such as Culture/Nature, Reason/Feeling, Public/Private, and so forth. Cixous (1986:63) quite rightly wonders in *The Newly Born Woman*, "Is the fact that logocentrism subjects thought – all concepts, codes and values – to a binary system, related to 'the' couple, man/woman?" Yet in spite of its seeming universality, the diversity of the couple is one of a line between two points: there is A and B, or B and A. The introduction of a third term means an explosion of possibilities. The triangle resists the categorization into binary terms, it transgresses the boundaries produced by the dichotomous order, it opens up a third space, as Bhabha has it. Far from being merely a figment of postmodern thought, however, the triangle proves

to have always been a substantial part of Western narrative. In her seminal study of *Bisexuality and the Eroticism of Everyday Life*, Garber (2000:423) contends that the fundamental romantic courtship narratives of Western culture are stories of how the lover 'won' the beloved from a rival or tragically failed to do so: "It is as though love can only be born through an obstacle."

Another scholar who works with the concept of the erotic triangle is Sedgwick. In her (1985) study of relationships between men, she sets out to discuss our culture in terms of "male homosocial desire." This concept acknowledges both the potentially erotic desire that inhabits social relationships between men and their uneasy situatedness within a radically disrupted continuum between *homosocial* and *homosexual*, a disruption that in our society manifests itself in ideological homophobia. One way Western culture has developed to guard relationships between men against the suspicion of – and maybe also the drifting into – a sexual bond, is what Sedgwick calls "obligatory heterosexuality" (p.3). Sedgwick draws here on cultural and anthropological studies by Lévi-Strauss, Gayle Rubin and Luce Irigaray, to name only a few, that have come up with the notion of "male traffic in women". In this account, women become exchangeable property with the primary purpose of cementing the bonds between men. Thus male homosocial desire is contained and, indeed, legitimated by the institution of marriage. In other words: The true partner of a marriage is the other man (pp.25-26).

If this is so, then the erotic triangle between two men and a woman enables our perception and analysis of male homosocial desire inscribed into a literary or other cultural text. It is the reading strategy Sedgwick applies to canonical literary texts from the seventeenth century onward to recover homosocial relationships between men. To this purpose, she employs the work of French cultural critic Girard, who acknowledges that the relation of erotic contest between two men is as intense and potent as the bond that links either of them to the female beloved. Girard suggests that the choice of the beloved is due to her already belonging to another man, who has been chosen as rival. This he calls "mimetic desire."¹ Sedgwick takes this notion a step further and develops it into an epistemological tool for reading the heterosexual relation chiefly as a strategy of male homoerotic desire. Taking

¹ For his own applications of the concept of mimetic desire, see Girard (1988, 1991). Girard himself does not include the dimension of homosexuality into his account but rather relegates it to the realm of the pathologic (1991:43). His declaration of mimetic rivalry as both cause and symptom of cultural disintegration (1991:166) is finely counterbalanced by Sedgwick's (1990:1) *Epistemology of the Closet* where she diagnoses male homosocial desire in the very centre of Western culture.

the male-male relations in Shakespeare's *Sonnets* and Wycherley's *The Country Wife* as her examples, she shows how heterosexual love and marriage can serve as a cultural space for bonding between men (Sedgwick 1985:28-66). On an abstract level, the triangles she finds consist of a male subject who desires an object of the same sex; in order both to get nearer the desired object and at the same time to cover up his homoerotic desire as purely social, the subject enters a heterosexual relationship with a woman who is close to the object – his daughter, his sister, his wife, or his lover.

Sedgwick argues convincingly that the erotic triangle is a means of maintaining and transmitting patriarchal power and as such is a stabilizing force of male-dominated societies (p.25). This stability, however, seems to be a precarious one. True, it is an underlying structure of patriarchal society and in its recurrence can certainly be said to have a stabilizing character. Yet it is neither ahistorical nor an expression of symmetric power relations. Rather, it exhibits a twofold asymmetry in that it ascribes social power along gender lines (men have power, women do not) and in the rupture of the continuum between homosocial and homosexual (nonsexual bonds between men, however intensely emotional, are accepted, sexual ones are not). Indeed, the moving of a homosocial relationship into an openly homosexual bond is what threatens the order of patriarchal society by subverting the power ascriptions and gender categories it is based on.

I would like to problematize the notion of the stability of the erotic triangle further by exploring it as a strategy of manipulation. As Sedgwick shows, the erotic triangle remains intact only as long as the relationships it contains move within socially accepted limits and thereby reinforce the existing norm. As soon as one of the triangular bonds subverts this order, for example by turning from homosocial to homosexual, the triangle disintegrates. This works the other way round, as well: the erotic triangle can be a strategy of dissolving an already existent relationship of two, say, a heterosexual couple, by releasing the dynamics of desire that are at work in a triangular constellation.

Since the erotic triangle is not an ahistorical, Platonic form, as Sedgwick explains, but an epistemological tool for the analysis of a nexus of power and sexuality that shapes social relationships at a specific historical moment, I would now like to undertake a reading of the dynamics of the erotic triangles in Shakespeare's *Othello*. My reading will be based on an analysis of the gender-discourses available at that historical moment. It is my aim to explore the erotic triangle not as a stabilizing, normative structure but to intervene at precisely those moments when the triangles engendered by Iago collapse and to ask, why this happens.

According to the triangular dynamics of rivalry and cuckoldry Sedgwick has explored, *Othello* should not be a tragedy at all. Othello,

Brabantio, Cassio, Roderigo and Iago are connected to each other in rivalry and putative adultery by Desdemona. Just as in Wycherley's *The Country Wife*, so in *Othello*, too, the cuckoldry plot is the means by which men interact with each other. In Sedgwick's phrase, "'to cuckold' is by definition a sexual act, performed on a man, by another man" (1985:49). The adultery in *Othello* is not even an actual one, yet the assumed bond with a rival has real, and tragic, consequences – whereas in Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, for example, rivalry with the lovely boy is what makes the dark lady attractive in the first place. Were *Othello* a tragicomedy in the vein of Fletcher's *Mad Lover*, then the Moor would after some comical and humiliating confusions (including cross-dressing on all sides) refrain from his improperly excessive love for a woman, realize that only friendship between men can make a man a man, go to the wars with Cassio and/or Iago by his side, and leave Desdemona at home with Emilia – a veritable "moth of peace" (Honigmann ed. 1997:1.3.258).

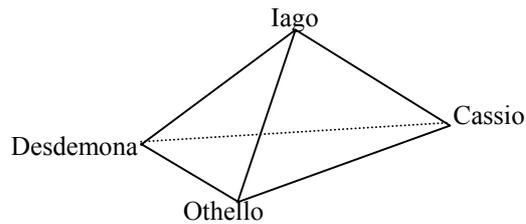
Iago as a master of manipulation knows how he has to play on the feelings and fears of others, and he does so by ingeniously placing them into several erotic triangles. Then what is the reason for the ultimate failure of the triangles he engenders? I would like to show that Iago's goal is a close homosocial bonding with Othello and that the miscarriage of this plan is due to the incapability of them both to perceive each other's desires.

Iago uses the triangle as a strategy of manipulation, as a means to split up a given unity of two, most notably the loving relationship between Othello and Desdemona. However, the play sets out with yet another close couple: Cassio has been promoted to the position of Othello's lieutenant in Iago's stead. Iago claims that it is this professional frustration that brings forth his hatred for both of them and serves as an explanation for his first intrigue. Before the middle of the play, Iago will have succeeded in making Othello suspend Cassio as his officer. Now *he* has Othello's trust, the position as lieutenant to the Moor seems secure. Iago has achieved his goal – or has he? As a matter of fact, his erstwhile 'official' motivation for his hatred of Othello has by now been complemented by a more private feud: according to unconfirmed rumours, he is being cuckolded by Othello. If motivated by jealousy, he would now have to replace the triangle Othello-Emilia-Iago by one in which he seduces Desdemona and cuckolds Othello. Yet just as professional envy before, private jealousy fades out of view if we take into account the discourse on women and marriage that Iago situates himself in.

Iago's view on women is marked by cynicism, contempt and indifference. The relation between the sexes belongs to the realm of sensuality, heterosexual love is to him merely "lust of the blood and

permission of the will” (1.3.335). Such love, as expressed by Roderigo for Desdemona, is a degrading lust. Only if man masters suchlike desires will he be able to pertain full humanity and masculinity. Iago opposes beastly sensuality to reason and proper self-love – his ideal is “a man that [knows] how to love himself” (pp.314-15). In this discursive context, self-love does not only mean egotism, but translates as easily into ‘love for someone like himself,’ that is, the preference of bonds between men before the ‘love’ of a woman. Iago presents himself throughout the play as a representative of a misogynistic discourse.

If he claims to be impelled by jealousy, then, we must construe this not as jealousy for a woman, but rather for a man – Othello. Iago’s professed fears of being cuckolded by another man get deconstructed further when he almost paranoically insists on it as an additional incentive for ruining Cassio: “For I fear Cassio with my night-cap, too” (2.1.305). This thought occurs to him towards the end of the soliloquy that shows him plotting the slandering of Desdemona’s honour (2.1.284-310). The erotic triangles he calls up in fast succession start with Cassio and Desdemona as one adulterous couple and end with Cassio and Emilia as another one. This unites Iago and Othello as being cuckolded by the womanizer Cassio. Looked at from a triangular point of view, it uncovers Othello as the true object of Iago’s desire and reveals his two rivals for Othello’s affection: Cassio as well as Desdemona. In order to achieve his goal, Iago has to manipulate two already existing couples he himself is excluded from. He does so by devising a constellation of intersecting erotic triangles that he himself controls:



In this constellation he ingeniously draws upon a triangle with a story: in Othello’s wooing of Desdemona, Cassio had often acted as mediator. Garber describes the vectors of desire Iago is reactivating here as “the Othello-Desdemona-Cassio triangle, in which Othello acknowledges desire for Desdemona and represses or sublimates desire for Cassio – so that it is easy for him to imagine Desdemona choosing Cassio over himself” (2000:454). Thus Iago is playing upon Othello’s anxiety that it might finally be him who will be pushed out of the triangle by Desdemona and Cassio, and it is indeed the course Iago’s intrigue aims at: to pair Desdemona and

Cassio off and receive Othello, who will by then be cured from his excessive infatuation for a woman, in an embrace of homosocial brotherhood.

And it looks as if Iago will succeed. Wayne (1991) identifies in her essay on "Misogyny in *Othello*" three different discourses on women and marriage in the play that are represented by the characters. Not surprisingly, she has Iago represent a residual, but still powerful discourse of misogyny; Desdemona the dominant discourse of companionate marriage, and Emilia an emergent discourse claiming full equality of the sexes. Wayne argues that by the middle of the play Othello has taken on Iago's misogynistic attitude. This is not only due to Iago's persuasiveness, but rather can be traced back to a contradiction inherent in the dominant discourse itself: the illusion of a total containment of women and their sexuality in marriage. While the ideology of marriage permitted husbands to view their wives as property and to construct their identity as ideally chaste and obedient, Wayne explains, it could not control women's desire. Since men's appropriation of women was never entire, jealousy arose from the contradictory claims of possession and desire. At the end of the day, this discourse suppresses women just as the misogynist one that claims that all women are whores and to be treated as such (Wayne 1991:173).

This certainly does account for the initial success of Iago's slander; whether it does explain the tragic outcome of the events, remains yet to be seen. Since the erotic triangles in Sedgwick's study work only as long as they move within socially accepted limits, I would now like to take an exemplary look at one central aspect in each discourse in order to find out in how far the relationships between Iago, Othello and Desdemona conform to their respective norms.

Let me begin with a quote from Becon's *Book of Matrimonye* (dating from 1584) which promotes an ideal of heterosexual exclusivity: "Let her not accustom herself to strange flesh [...], but content herself only with the love of her husband" (Aughterson ed. 1995:112). Heterosexual love as institutionalised in marriage is supposed to be characterized by exclusivity and chastity. Desdemona embodies the ideal of this discourse, she is "A maiden never bold,/ Of spirit so still and quiet that her motion/ Blushed at herself" (1.3.95-97) as her father maintains. Against all slandering she *is* chaste, faithful, obedient and, especially toward the end, silent. As regards exclusivity, the marriage of Othello and Desdemona certainly conforms to the norm. In respect to marital chastity, however, it turns out to be disorderly, a point already made by Greenblatt (1980:248).² Othello is ready to give up everything for his love of Desdemona, and indeed he does upset

² For an overview of contemporary notions of marital chastity, see Greenblatt (1980:247-49).

most of the men he is connected with, above all Brabantio, whom he loses as a friend and influential patron. He estimates the love and company of a woman higher than all the other homosocial relationships he is involved in. As Orgel has pointed out in his influential essay on cross-dressing on the English Renaissance stage, for a man to associate with women was felt to be increasingly dangerous: lust effeminates, makes a man incapable of his pursuits. This argument is grounded in the Galenic one-sex model according to which woman is but an imperfect man and can in exceptional cases develop toward complete manliness and humanity. By implication, this notion also carries what Orgel (1989:13-15) calls “the fantasy of its reversal”, that is, the conviction that men can turn *back* into women, too. We have encountered this notion already in Iago’s conversation with Roderigo where he perceives of heterosexual love as degrading lust. The threat of manliness lost and duties neglected surrounds Othello in his speech before the Venetian senate, too. The very fact that he feels the need to assure the assembly of a strict fulfillment of his duties as a soldier in spite of his wife’s presence at Cyprus testifies to this: “I therefore beg it not / To please the palate of my appetite [...] And heaven defend your good souls that you think / I will your serious and great business scant/ When she is with me” (1.3.262-269). His succumbing to womanly pleasures endangers his manliness, or as again Iago puts it: “His soul is so enfeathered to her love / That she may make, unmake, do what she list, / Even as her appetite shall play the god / With his weak function” (2.3.340-343).

But Othello is not the only one to upset the gendered order. Kemp (1996) points out that Desdemona’s behaviour at the beginning of the play speaks of an active, independent mind that in a woman violates conventional gender assumptions. As Brabantio’s heir, she embodies a valuable commodity on the Venetian marriage market. Her elopement denies Brabantio the possibility to advance his social connections by marrying her to some “wealthy curled darling of [the] nation” (1.2.68) who would themselves climb a rung or two on the social ladder by acquiring her through marriage. Thus from the perspective of Brabantio in particular and Venetian society in general, Desdemona’s value is squandered on Othello, who is a man without a family or a nation. By giving herself in marriage, rather than being the object of exchange between two representatives of the patriarchy, she becomes a wasted token: no bond is established between families, clans, states, or nation. Desdemona also insists on being taken along to Cyprus, despite the impending war. Against Othello’s declaration that private pleasures and public office will be strictly separated, the scene of his reunion with Desdemona at Cyprus speaks yet another language. The troops there expect the arrival of their experienced, respected commander, “the warlike Othello” (1.3.27), in a situation of military crisis – what they get, however, is

a married man in love with his wife, who greets her as his “fair warrior” (2.1.280) first and foremost. Quite rightly the editor of the Arden edition wonders: “Is it significant that Othello turns first to Desdemona, though he arrives on official duty as governor?” (Honigmann 1997:174, note on line 180). You bet it is.

In their relationship, both Desdemona’s and Othello’s desire conflicts with contemporary notions of love, marriage and gender. Yet in the end it is Desdemona only who must be punished for her transgressions, “else she’ll betray more men” (5.2.6). While in this ideology adultery is the ultimate transgression and has to be punished by death, in the discourse of male homosocial bonding it represents one possibility for connecting with other men, as Sedgwick has shown. The criterion of exclusivity, then, is assessed differently: within the dominant ideology of marriage, it is the ideal – within the discourse of male bonding, it means a disorderly restriction and endangering of the homosocial net and, indeed, society itself – or as Bacon has put it in his essay “Of friendship”: “It is a mere and miserable solitude to want friends, without which the world is but a wilderness” (Smeaton ed. 1976:80).

Seen from this perspective, however, Iago’s desire is just as disorderly as Othello’s and Desdemona’s are: Instead of establishing and maintaining a net of homosocial bonds within which patriarchal power is perpetuated and asserted, he strives at having Othello’s affections exclusively to himself. Thus he repeatedly attempts to discredit all close homosocial relationships between Othello and other men. For example, when Othello’s friendship to Brabantio is at stake after he has eloped with Desdemona, Iago deepens the split between them further by insinuating that Brabantio secretly despises and ridicules Othello (1.2.4-10). He destroys Cassio’s career as Othello’s lieutenant by having him involved in a night-brawl while Cyprus is still on the alert (2.3). This neglect of duty costs him his place, the cuckoldry-plot devised by Iago will cost him his close friendship to Othello. This desire for exclusivity culminates in the scene in act 3 where Iago and his general exchange what is best described as ‘mock marriage vows.’ Iago has by now succeeded in convincing Othello of Desdemona’s guilt, in ‘infecting’ him with his misogynist discourse, as Wayne puts it (1991:173). It is also the scene in which Iago comes to expressing his feelings for Othello most directly. We see Othello kneeling down and swearing his love for Desdemona is dead –

Othello: Now by yond marble heaven
In the due reverence of a sacred vow
I here engage my words.

Iago: Do not rise yet. *Iago kneels.*
Witness, you ever-burning lights above,
You elements that clip us round about,
Witness that here Iago doth give up
The execution of his wit, hands, heart,
To wronged Othello's service.
[...]
Othello: Now art thou my lieutenant.
Iago: I am your own forever.

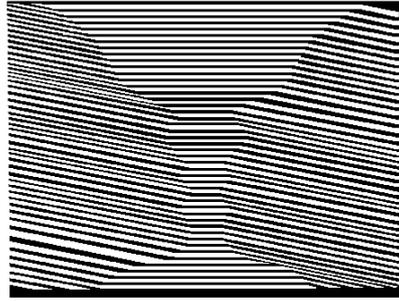
(3.3.463-482)

This is the moment when Iago usurps Cassio's place as Othello's lieutenant and confidant. What is more, Iago believes that he has also usurped Desdemona's place closest to Othello's heart; this notion makes him cast his oath of faith in words that recall the Anglican marriage service.

I would like to suggest again that the tragic ending of the play is due to the fact that Iago and Othello are blind for each other's desires. The erotic triangle as a strategy of male bonding between Iago and Othello meets with disaster since each acts within a discourse of his own that intersect but also differ and preclude each other in significant ways. The close look at the relationships in *Othello* I have just given corroborates this view. Wayne posits Othello's shift from a dominant discourse of companionate marriage into a misogynist discourse as the crucial movement in the play. Yet the point is perhaps less that one discourse is replaced by another one, especially since these discourses complement rather than contradict each other. Rather, the dividing line runs between homosociality and heteronormativity. Heterosexuality is the norm Wayne's essay advocates, too. She addresses the issue of gender *only* from a heterosexual point of view. Yet the discourses she correctly identifies are as much about the relation between the sexes as they are about the bonds between men. Misogyny, if looked at from this angle, means not only a pejorative reduction of heterosexual love to depraved lust; it also means the corresponding superiority of male friendship. This is where Iago's and Othello's inability to see each other's desires truly lies: Othello lives in a heteronormative world which makes sense to him only in terms of heterosexual relationships. Iago, on the other hand, recognizes his society as one structured by homosocial bonds, and responds to those only.

In this respect, both the play and the greater part of scholarly criticism about it posit a kind of *trompe-l'oeil* scenario. One of the simplest and best known examples of a *trompe-l'oeil* is the picture of a vase that is also a picture of two heads facing each other.³

³ Interestingly, this is also the logo the Gay Men's Press has chosen for its publications.



[source: Hotz-Davies, I. 1995: *Adversarial Stances: Strategies of Resistance in Selected Renaissance Texts*. Trier, WTV; cover.]

Depending on which stance we take towards *Othello*, the play reads either as the tragic failure of a heterosexual love or as the tragic failure of a homosocial desire. In the first case (the vase-picture, so to speak), the play is aptly named *The Tragedy of Othello* – in the second case (the two faces), it should instead be called *The Tragedy of Iago*.

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Sociolinguistic perspectives on Tudor English

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ABSTRACT

Tudor English is the English of the Renaissance, of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, of Caxton and Shakespeare. It is also a period of language change during which a large number of linguistic features supralocalised and spread throughout the country. Most, but not all, of these changes were diffused from the capital region to the rest of the country. My discussion is focused on some of these processes in their social contexts. How did the third-person singular verbal ending *-(e)s*, for instance, replace *-(e)th* in the south and make its way to the supralocal usage, later becoming part of Standard English? Particular attention will be paid to establishing, literally, the role played by the King's English in processes such as this. I will show the multiple sociodialectal layers ranging from the Royal Court to the City of London, East Anglia and the north that can be uncovered when analysing processes of linguistic change in Renaissance England.

The work to be discussed has been made possible by the project 'Sociolinguistics and language history; the mechanisms of change in Renaissance English' launched by Dr. Helena Raumolin-Brunberg and myself at Helsinki University in the early 1990s. Our research is based on the electronic *Corpus of Early English Correspondence (CEEC)* compiled by our team for historical sociolinguistic studies. The 1998 version of the corpus covers the period from the early fifteenth to the late seventeenth century. Some pilot studies based on this material appeared in the collection published in Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (1996); a more comprehensive discussion of our findings on grammatical changes characteristic of Renaissance English is presented in Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (in press).

1. INTRODUCTION

The text in (1) presents a transcript of a personal letter written by King Henry VIII to Anne Boleyn in 1528. The letter is holograph in that it was composed, written, and signed by the monarch himself. The original is the property of the Vatican library, but a facsimile of it can be found, for instance, in Theo Stemmler's edition (1988), which is used here.

- (1) Syns yors last letters, **myne** awne derlyng, Water Welche, Master Browne, Jhon Care, Yrion off Brearton, Jhon Coke the potecary **be** fallen off the swett in thys howse, and thankyd be god all well recoveryd. So that as yet the plage is nott fully ceasyd here, but I trust shortly it shall by hys marcy off god. The rest off vs yet **be** well and I trust shall passe it, other nott to have it, or att the lest as easily as the rest have don. As tochyng the mater off Wylton, my lord cardinall **hathe** had the nunnys byfore hym and examynyd them, Master Bell beyng present; **wyche hath** certefied me that, for a trawght, that she **hath** confessyd herself (**whyche** we wolde haue had abbess) to have hadde to chyldren by tow sonderly prestes and further sins **hath** bene keppyd by a servant off the Lord Broke that was, and that nott long agoo. Wherefore I wolde nott for all the golde in the worlde clooke your consience nor myne to make her ruler off a howse **whyche** is off so vngudly demenour. **Nor** I trust, **yow** wolde **nott** that **nother** for brother **nor** syster I shulde so dystayne **myne** honour or consience. And as tochyng the prioresse, or dame Ellenors eldest sister, thought ther is **nott any** evident case provyd agaynst them and that the priores is so olde that off meny yeres she colde nott be as she was namyd, yet nottwithstandyng, to do yow pleasure, I have donne that nother off them shall have itt, but that summe other, good and well disposyd woman shall have it; werby the howse shall be the better reformyd, wheroff I ensure yow it had moche ned, and god mucche the better servyd. As tochyng your abode att Hever, do therin as best shall lyk yow, for **yow** know best what ayre **dothe** best with yow. But I wolde it wer comme thereto (yff it pleasyd god) that nother off vs nede care for that, for I ensure yow I thynke it longe. Suche is fallen syk off the swett, and therfor I send yow thys berar, bycause I thynke **yow** longe to her tydyng fromme vs as we do in lyke wyse fromme yow. Writtyn with the hand *de vostre seulle* — H Rx (A 1528 FN HENRY8 124)

The letter not only gives some interesting information about the King's person and his relation to Anne Boleyn, but also about his language. The following features, printed in boldface in (1), are worth pointing out:

- In the beginning of the letter, in *mine own darling*, the King uses *mine* in the determiner function; similarly, halfway through the letter, in *myne honour*.
- He also uses the form *be* in the indicative plural when he writes: *Water Welche, Master Browne, Jhon Care, Yrion off Brearton, Jhon Coke the potecary be fallen off the swett and the rest off vs yet be well*.
- His consistent third-person singular verb forms are *hath* and *doth*: *my lord cardinall hath had the nunnys byfore hym and what ayre dothe best with yow*.

- We also find the relative pronoun *which* used with reference to human antecedents, as in *Master Bell beyng present; wyche hath certefied me*.
- Moreover, the monarch employs multiple negation in cases like: *nor I trust, yow wolde nott that nother for brother nor syster I shulde so dystayne myne honour or consience*.
- Finally, he uses the pronoun *you* as a subject form in *for yow know best*.

What are we to make of a combination of features like these? A textbook answer would be that they simply represent typical sixteenth-century English. Some more specific answers are given by language historians. *A History of Modern Colloquial English* by Wyld (1936), a classic in the field, offers a whole section on the English language from Henry VIII to James I. Somewhat disappointingly, Wyld has nothing to say about the language of King Henry himself, but he refers to the Royal Court when he writes:

The dialect of the Court is definitely stated to be the 'best' form of English, the one to be acquired, and as far as possible to be used in the writing of poetry, that is, for the highest possible purpose to which language can be put. (Wyld 1936:99)

Wyld's comment identifies a particular Court dialect, and is presumably derived from contemporary views of writers like George Puttenham. If a Court dialect existed at the time, we may ask whether it also meant that all aspects of the King's usage would have been followed by those around him, including courtiers and the King's secretaries, who were in charge of the Monarch's official correspondence.

The more general topic that will run through my paper is language change in the Tudor era. In particular, I will relate individuals like King Henry to overall developments in the changing English language at the time. I will emphasize the need for *baseline data* on processes of language change in any historical period. In order to be able to see whether something like a uniform Court usage existed, for instance, in King Henry's time, we need descriptions of the language of a number of people attached to the Royal Court in the first half of the sixteenth century. Moreover, we need to compare these descriptions with others representing the City of London, and even the country at large. In other words, in order to be able to assess idiolects, we need quantitative evidence of the changing usage of the time.

As the linguistic examples of Henry VIII's usage given above suggest, I shall be looking at morphological and syntactic features of the language, not phonology. In order to minimize genre differences, my descriptions will be based on a corpus of personal letters. But it is, of course, clear that the impact of language change is not limited to non-literary material like

correspondence. The concern for baseline data on contemporary language use has similarly been raised by those who study literature, for instance, by Shakespeare scholars like Lynn Magnusson (1999:3-4), who wish to anchor Shakespeare and his contemporaries more firmly in the linguistic practices of their time. My contribution to the late Tudor period is a brief comparison of the language of Queen Elizabeth I and her entourage with that of her father in the latter half of this paper.¹

2. THE KING AND THE COURT

In order to address the issue whether King Henry VIII's private holograph letters reflected a uniform Court usage, we may compare them with his much more voluminous official correspondence. The vast majority of his official letters were drafted and composed by his clerks and secretaries, and only signed by the monarch. They were of two different kinds: letters under the sign manual and those signed at the close. Unlike some later monarchs, who only did the signing, Henry VIII is, however, reported to have often taken the trouble of correcting the drafts presented to him by his secretaries (Akrigg 1984:24).

Most of the government paperwork was signed by the sovereign at the head of the letter, not at its foot. These letters under the 'sign manual' were only authenticated by the monarch, but not drafted or dictated by him. The other category of secretarial letters are those that the sovereign signed at the close. Although monarchs may not have corrected them at the draft stage, letters bearing the royal autograph signature at the close were considered more important than letters under the sign manual. They were often checked by the Secretaries of State (Akrigg 1984:24-30).

But the most important category for our purposes of comparison consists of the King's holograph letters. Theo Stemmler's (1988) edition contains all the surviving seventeen holograph letters by King Henry VIII (1491-1547) to Anne Boleyn (?1501-36), eight of them in English and the rest in French. They are undated but were all written between 1527 and 1528, at a time when the King was in the process of negotiating the annulment of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon. My sample letter in (1) is drawn from the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence*, which incorporates all his English love-letters to Anne Boleyn.² The corpus

¹ The research reported here was supported by the Academy of Finland Centre of Excellence funding for the Research Unit for Variation and Change in English (VARIENG) at the University of Helsinki.

² *The Corpus of Early English Correspondence* (CEEC 1998) covers the period 1410-1681. It was compiled by the Sociolinguistics and Language History team at the Department of

contains altogether ten holograph letters written by the King between 1516 and 1528 and 25 secretarial letters covering the time-span from 1517 to 1542.

2.1. General comparison

Some general characteristics of King Henry's love-letters are discussed in Nevalainen (2002). They will be briefly recapitulated here. The 'amatory sentiments' a love-letter is expected to convey are already revealed by the King's informal salutations. In the letter cited in (1), he addresses Anne Boleyn as *myne awne derlyng*. Other terms of endearment he uses in the opening lines of his letters to her include *darlyng*, *myne awne swethhart* and *good swethhart*. They do not differ from the intimate forms of address used by spouses among the highest ranks in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 1995).

The forms of address found in Henry's letters to Anne resemble some of the more intimate terms he used in his early holograph letters addressed to Thomas Wolsey, Lord Chancellor and Archbishop of York (*My awne good Cardinall*). They convey a close personal relationship if compared with some of the secretarial letters contained in the *CEEC*. The King's letters under the sign manual include forms like *To our right trustie and right welbeloved cousin therle of Cumberland* (addressed to the First Earl of Cumberland) and *To our right trustie and welbeloved the lord Clifford* (to the tenth Lord Clifford).

Another notable feature that runs through Henry VIII's private letters to Anne Boleyn is the absence of the royal *we*. The King consistently refers to himself in the first-person singular. The same level of informality can only be found in some of his other holograph letters. The royal *we* is the form used in the secretarial letters. It is, however, noteworthy that despite the intimacy created through the forms of address and terms of reference in the King's love-letters, the second-person singular form *thou* never occurs in them, but Henry always refers to Anne with the pronoun *you* (or uses French forms, such as *votre* in (1)). *Thou* is similarly absent from the roughly contemporary private correspondence by spouses.

Henry's pattern of pronoun usage may have several explanations. As the second-person singular pronoun was generally going out of use at Court and among the upper ranks at the time, the desired intimate effect could be partly achieved by means of nominal address forms. Henry's use of terms of

English, University of Helsinki: Jukka Keränen, Minna Nevala, Terttu Nevalainen, Arja Nurmi and Helena Raumolin-Brunberg. A sampler version, the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence Sampler (CEECs)*, was published in the *New ICAME Corpus Collection CD-ROM* by the HIT-Centre, Bergen, in 1999.

endearment testifies to this. There is, however, evidence in the *CEEC* of the use of *thou* in intimate family letters in the seventeenth century (Nevala 2002). But this is also a period when it becomes increasingly difficult to distinguish supralocal patterns from the more local ones, and *thou* does not disappear from regional use. King Henry's usage would presumably have followed the supralocal trend of his time. *Thou* could also be used by social superiors in addressing their inferiors. By employing *you* throughout in his intimate letters, the King avoided drawing attention to differences in social distance between the monarch and his *awne swethhart*.

2.2. Linguistic comparison

Moving on to the gist of this paper, a linguistic comparison of the King and his Court, let us return to five of the six linguistic features introduced at the beginning in section 1. They are listed here under (2):

- (2)
 - the use of *be* instead of *are* in the indicative plural
 - the use of *-th* instead of *-s* in the third-person singular present indicative
 - the use of *which* instead of *who* with human antecedents
 - the use of multiple negation
 - the use of *you* instead of *ye* as a subject pronoun

Comparing the use by the King and his secretaries of the first two items, *be* in the plural and the third-person singular present indicative *-th*, we find them in full agreement. No instances of the plural *are* or the third-person singular ending *-s* appear in either source. Example (3) with two occurrences of *be* is drawn from an early holograph letter written around 1516 by Henry VIII to Cardinal Wolsey.

- (3) So it is that I have resavyd your letters, to the whyche (by cause they aske long wrytyng) I have made answar by my Secretary. Tow thyyngs ther **be** whyche **be** so secrete that they cause me at thys tyme to wrytte to yow myselfe; the won is that I trust the quene my wyffe be with chylde; (A 1516? T HENRY8 126)

The *CEEC* samples of King Henry VIII's holograph and secretarial letters also agree on the use of the suffix *-th* in the third-person singular present indicative. An instance of it from a secretarial letter is shown in (4):

- (4) And therfor now shew yourself as **becomyth** you, that **ye** may answar to that good opynyon we have conceyved of your good and loyal hert towards vs; (C 1536 T HENRY8 24)

As we know from many varieties of Present-day English, including the standard, the plural *are* and the third-person *-s* eventually won the day. They also share another feature: both originated in northern dialects. So we may conclude that the King and his secretaries were not among those promoting the two incoming features at the time. This is more generally true of the Royal Court, as we shall see shortly.

It is interesting to find that in some respects the King's usage may give the impression of being more conservative than that of his secretaries. This is the case with the nominative relative pronoun *who* and multiple negation. In his holographs, Henry does not use the nominative relative pronoun *who*, a fifteenth-century innovation, but alternates between *which* and *that* with human antecedents, as in (1): *Master Bell beyng present; wyche hath certefied me that*. The secretarial correspondence, by contrast, includes some instances of *who*, as in (5) from a letter addressed to the Earl of Cumberland.

- (5) And understand that one Dicke of the Woodfoote otherwise called Richard Urwen, Scottishman and a simple person **who** hath committed felony within this our realme upon our subjectes on our borders of Scotland is taken and in ward with you under your charge with our castle of Carlisle. (C 1528 T HENRY8 36-37)

Incidentally, our earlier studies indicate that in the first half of the sixteenth century *who* was more frequent among upwardly mobile professional men than among representatives of the highest social ranks (Nevalainen 1996:72).

The same is true of the disappearance of multiple negation. Our earlier research shows that the process was promoted by professional men in the sixteenth century (Nevalainen 1998). A comparison between Henry's private usage and that of his secretaries is, however, complicated by the fact that our royal evidence is sparse. But, as illustrated by the letter in (1), Henry VIII's holograph letters contain both complex constructions with multiple negation and single negation followed by non-assertive forms. Multiple negation is present in: *yow wolde **nott** that **nother** for brother **nor** syster I shulde so dystayne myne honour or consience*, while single negation is found in *ther is **nott any** evident case provyd agaynst them*. Only single negation is observed in the secretarial letters, illustrated by example (6):

- (6) in all these things **you** will procede so honorably as **no** good subject be for **any** displeasure damaged nor the great offenders left unpunished. Yeven under our signett at our castle of Windsor the sixth day of October (C 1536 T HENRY8 55)

But to render the argument on the uniformity of Court usage even more difficult to uphold, there is also one process of change where the King's holograph letters clearly differ from the secretarial ones in favour of the incoming form. This is the replacement of the subject pronoun *ye* by the oblique form *you*, which largely took place in the sixteenth century. It is a process where the time course of the change proves to be of particular interest.

Henry VIII's holograph letters in the corpus all date from before 1530, but his secretarial correspondence extends to 1542. The holograph letters suggest that the King only uses one form for the subject, the incoming *you*, as in *for yow know best* in the letter cited in (1). More variation can be found in the secretarial material, where both *you* and the traditional form *ye* are used; cf. examples (4) and (6). It is significant, however, that *you* does not occur in the subject function in the secretarial letters before 1536. Table 1 further indicates that after that date *you* is generalized very rapidly: the frequency of *ye* drops from one hundred to 26 per cent of the cases during the period 1536–42.

	<i>ye</i>		<i>you</i>		Total
Holograph letters 1516–28	–	(0%)	12	(100%)	12
Secretarial letters 1517–35	41	(100%)	–	(0%)	41
Secretarial letters 1536–42	20	(26%)	57	(74%)	77

Table 1. Forms of the second-person subject pronoun (from Nevalainen 2002).

It will be shown in the next section that the King's usage is in keeping with the general sixteenth-century trend to generalize *you* in private letters (and presumably in speech) earlier than in more formal kinds of writing. But significantly, the King's official letters also quickly caught up with the innovation, which indicates that the administrative language of the Court was by no means fixed at the time, and hence far from uniform.

To conclude this comparison of the King and his secretaries, we may say that there were processes of change in which neither participated. On the other hand, there were processes with respect to which the King's idiolect appears to have been less advanced than the usage of his secretaries. And finally, there was at least one process, in which the King proved to be an innovative force at Court.

3. THE KING AND THE COUNTRY

Having reached these conclusions, we may now move on to their general implications. If the King and his secretaries agreed on a particular usage,

was it the Court usage, or more generally the mainstream usage among the literate ranks at the time? More importantly, if the King deviated from his secretaries, who were the more advanced, and set the Court model that Wyld posited for the sixteenth century? Or is this model simply a myth that does not apply to language features undergoing change?

Let us now consider contemporary practices in general, and compare the Court with the rest of the country, or rather with certain regions of it. The Corpus of Early English Correspondence is constructed so as to make it possible to follow the progress of linguistic changes in four localities simultaneously: London, the Court, East Anglia, and the North. Those people who lived in the City of London or Southwark are entered in the Corpus as Londoners. The Court refers to a set of people, mostly resident in Westminster, who were courtiers or belonged to the royal household, or were high-ranking government officials or diplomats, reporting to the monarch, or the Lord Chancellor. Writers resident in Norfolk and Suffolk are entered as East Anglians, and those living in the counties north of the Chester–Humber line as Northerners. This classification does not include people who had emigrated from their native area and settled permanently somewhere else (Nevalainen 2000b; Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg, in press).

For the purposes of linguistic comparison, four of the processes that have already been referred to, will be discussed, namely:

- (7)
 - the use of *be* instead of *are* in the indicative plural
 - the use of *-th* instead of *-s* in the third-person singular
 - the use of *you* instead of *ye* as a subject pronoun
 - the use of multiple negation

We have already established that the King and his secretarial staff agreed on the non-use of *are* in the indicative plural and of *-s* in the third-person singular. It will therefore be interesting to see how the two features fared among the literate population in the country at large. Figure 1 shows the spread of *are* in the sixteenth century, the first 40-year period corresponding to the time-span covered by King Henry's correspondence in the corpus.

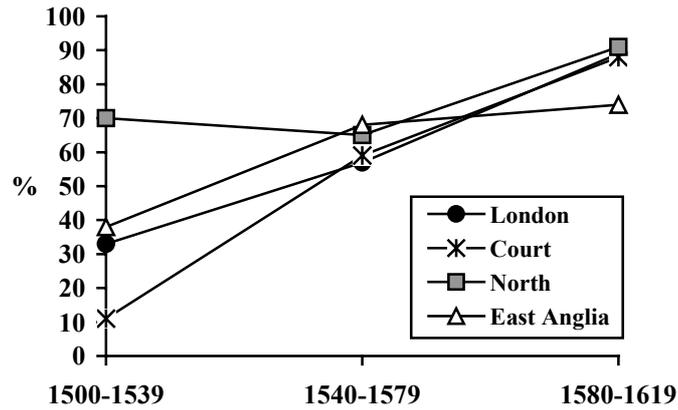


Figure 1. The replacement of *be* by *are* in the indicative plural. Regional distribution of *are* (%). *CEEC* 1998 and *Supplement*.

First of all, Figure 1 simply confirms that *are* is of northern origin: it is used much more frequently by the northern writers than by the southern in the early part of the sixteenth century. The data also support the suggestion that there was something like Court usage at the time at least with respect to early phases of this process of change. In this case it appears that is not the Court but the City of London that promotes the incoming feature in the south. The London figures are low here, but the much more plentiful data from the last couple of decades of the fifteenth century strongly support the interpretation.

But the City and the Court could also pattern rather similarly. Figure 2 presents the regional distribution of the third-person singular indicative *-s* in the sixteenth century. Its frequency in London and at Court agrees with the King and his secretaries: the incoming northern form is hardly used in the capital at all until the last couple of decades of the sixteenth century. Rather, it would appear that the southern *-th* had made deep inroads into the north in the course of the century among the literate sections of the population. It will therefore be interesting to see how the northern form made its way into a mainstream variant at the turn of the seventeenth century. We shall return to the issue in section 4.

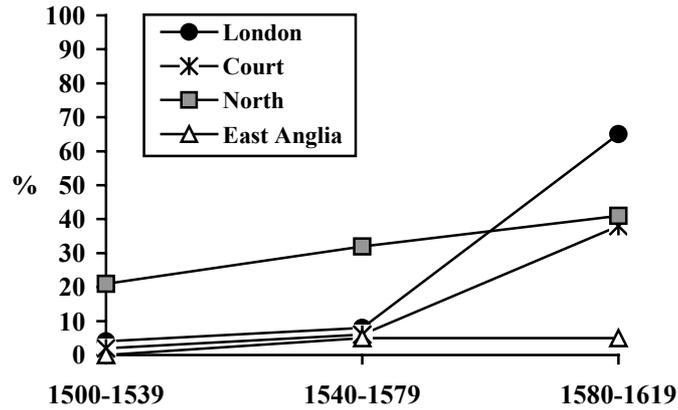


Figure 2. The replacement of *-th* by *-s* in verbs other than *have* and *do*.
Regional distribution of *-s* (%). *CEEC* 1998 and *Supplement*.

The City and the Court could also take a joint lead in a process of change. Figure 3 shows how the traditional subject form *ye* was replaced by the object form *you* in the course of the sixteenth century in the correspondence corpus. The country seems to be divided along the north-south axis here, with the City and the Court leading the process, and East Anglia and the north following suit. However, as shown by Table 1, at a time when the process began to pick up in the second quarter of the century, King Henry VIII's private usage was much more advanced than his secretaries'.

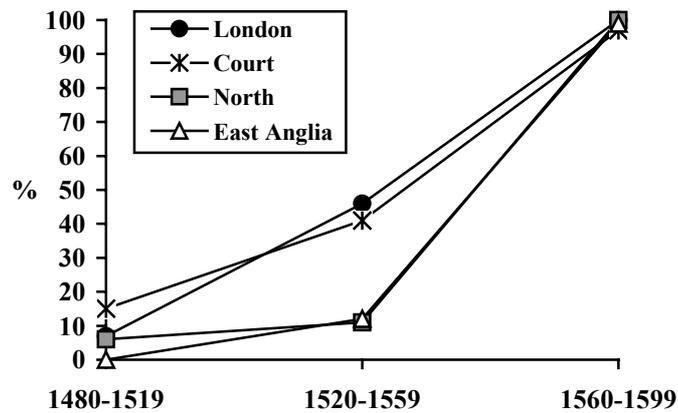


Figure 3. The replacement of *ye* by *you* in the subject function.
Regional distribution of *you* (%). *CEEC* 1998 and *Supplement*.

But the opposite could also be the case. Our final example is the demise of multiple negation, presented in Figure 4. Here the Court and the City of London are simply contrasted with the rest of the country in order to get some more primary data. Figure 4 shows a statistically significant difference between the Court and London proper in the first period, and the Royal Court leads the process throughout the century. It is noteworthy that we are only looking at male data here. I have shown elsewhere that there was a significant difference between men and women with respect to the loss of multiple negation, and that it was a process that stratified socially throughout the Renaissance period (Nevalainen 2000a).

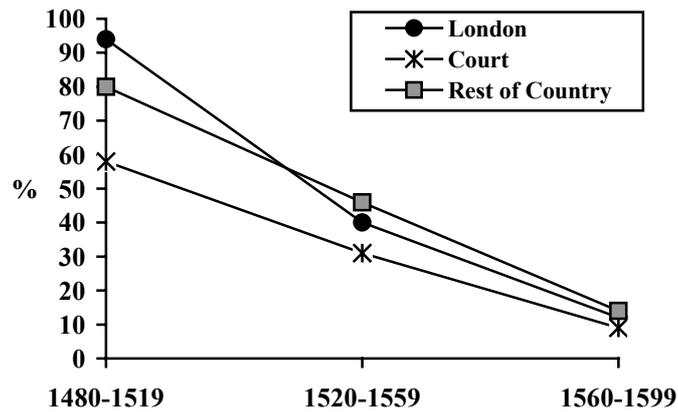


Figure 4. The replacement of multiple by single negation. Frequency of multiple negation (%). *CEEC* 1998 and *Supplement*; male writers.

Unlike the generalization of *you* as a subject form, the disappearance of multiple negation turns out to be a process promoted by professional men at Court.

On the basis of the above evidence, we may provisionally conclude that no uniform Court practice emerges with early sixteenth-century supralocal processes of linguistic change. I have examined four of them, providing baseline data from exactly the same set of people, over the same period of time. It can therefore be assumed that the role of the Court in promoting ongoing changes may range from active to passive depending on several factors. One of them is the origin of the process: the King's Court clearly does not provide the gateway for the introduction of northern features into the south.

4. FATHER AND DAUGHTER

This is not necessarily true of the City of London, which we saw promote the northern plural form *are* of the verb *be*. In the case of the other form of northern origin, the third-person verbal ending *-s*, it was again the City and Southwark that accepted it more readily than the Court of Elizabeth I, daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn (see Figure 2, above). In the Elizabethan period, the London writers in the *CEEC* include people like Philip Henslow and his theatrical circle writing around 1600. But what about the Queen herself? Was she perhaps linguistically less conservative than her father had been in his day? To move my argument forward in time, I would like to return to the individual and compare Elizabeth's idiolectal usage with that of her Court.

In the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence*, the holograph material by Elizabeth Tudor (1533-1603) spans almost fifty years from 1548 to 1596. The recipients of her 33 letters include Lord Protector Somerset, King Edward VI and King James VI of Scotland; James in fact receives most of them in the 1580s and 90s. Elizabeth's correspondence includes no love-letters, and there are presumably none extant, which means that we might expect the language of her private letters to be less intimate than that of her father.

Let us begin by examining the diffusion of the two northern features into the south. Examples (8) and (9) illustrate the forms used by the Queen for the indicative plural of the verb *be* and for the third-person singular present indicative towards the end of the sixteenth century.

- (8) Right deare brother, the strangenes of harde accidens that **ar** arrived here, of unloked for, or unsuspected, attempes in Skotland, euen by some suche as lately issued out of our lande, **constraineth** me, as wel for the care we have of your person as of the discharge of our owne honor and consciense, to send ... (A 1585 FO ELIZABETH1 23)
- (9) My deare brother, As ther is naught that **bredes** more for-thinking repentance and agrived thoughtes than good turnes to harme the giuers ayde, so **hath** **no** bonde **euer** tied more honorable mynds, than the shewes of any acquital by grateful acknowelegelement in plain actions; for wordes **be** leues and dides the fruites. (A 1591 FO ELIZABETH1 65)

It is perhaps surprising to see how variable the Queen's usage was at the time. Figure 1, above, shows that the generalization of *are* was nearing completion at Court towards the end of the sixteenth century. But the Queen only used it 50% of the time in her letters to James VI.

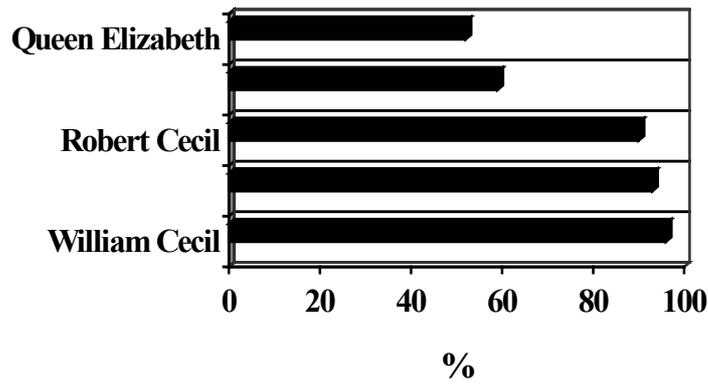


Figure 5. The replacement of *be* by *are* in the indicative plural. Distribution of *are* (%) at Court in 1580-99. *CEEC* 1998.

Figure 5 compares the Queen with some of her well-known courtiers. It turns out that the Queen, now past fifty, is in fact the most conservative of them. Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, comes closest to her usage; born in 1532, he was also her age. Robert Cecil uses more the incoming form, and he is more than a generation younger than the Queen; he was born in 1563. But age cannot really explain the differences because both William Cecil and Francis Walsingham were older than the Queen, Cecil was born in 1520 and Walsingham around 1530.

One possible reason for the range of variation in the men's letters might be scribal influence. While Queen Elizabeth's letters are all holograph, the same is true of the great majority, but not all, of the four courtiers' correspondence. However, no clear pattern emerges if we compare their secretarial letters and holographs: both reveal a mixed pattern of usage. With the plural *are* we may conclude that, after zero incidence in King Henry's time, the Court usage had become variable in the course of the sixteenth century. With respect to this feature the Court had not been a trendsetter to begin with, but had rather followed the practice spreading from outside.

Moving on to the third-person *-s*, the picture we get is rather different. Queen Elizabeth uses the incoming feature half of the time, which is considerably more than the Court average towards the end of the sixteenth century. And, as shown by Figure 6, Robert Dudley and Robert Cecil both also use it more frequently than was customary at Court at the time. By contrast, Francis Walsingham and the older Cecil hardly ever employ the incoming form.

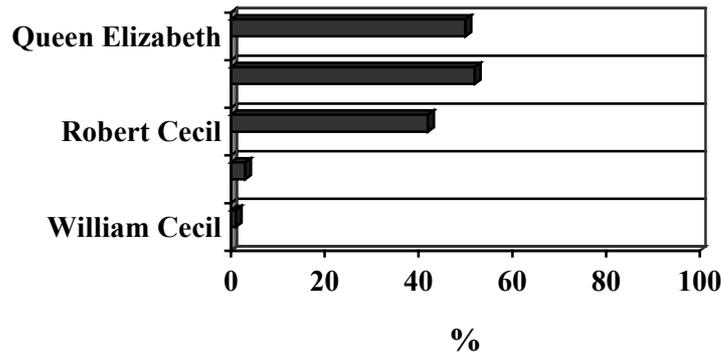


Figure 6. The use of *-s* (%) as opposed to *-th* in the third-person singular at Court in 1580-99, excluding *have* and *do*. *CEEC* 1998.

With respect to this change, it can be shown that only 30% of the writers in the *CEEC* had a variable grammar in the third-person singular in this period; that is, most people used either the recessive or the incoming form and only 30% were like the Queen, Robert Dudley and Robert Cecil, who used both of them concurrently (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg, in press). This means that a person's age was likely to play a role in this change even at Court: William Cecil and Francis Walsingham were older than the rest of the writers in Figure 6, and hardly participated in this change at all.

Elizabeth's usage is well in keeping with that of her Court as far the use of the nominative relative pronoun form *who* and the decline of multiple negation are concerned. Both features were promoted by the Court back in King Henry's time. In both cases Elizabeth uses the incoming form in almost 90% of the cases. The demise of multiple negation is a feature that may also be connected with the level of education rather than simply high social status or Court residence (see Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg, in press). Figure 7 shows that it is this time Francis Walsingham who has a slightly higher frequency of the recessive form than other people in Elizabeth's immediate entourage.

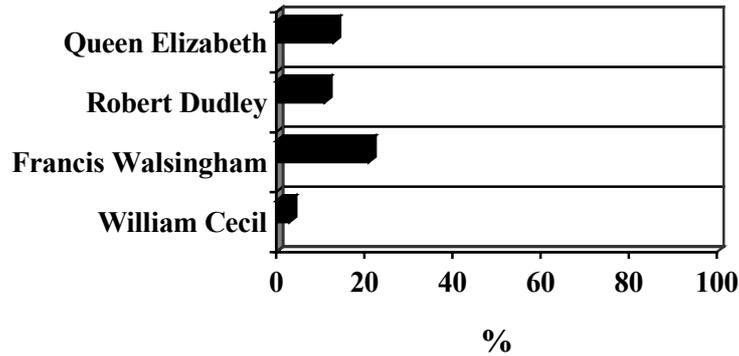


Figure 7. The replacement of multiple by single negation. Frequency of multiple negation (%). *CEEC* 1998 (Robert Cecil excluded because of paucity of data.)

Finally, we saw earlier that King Henry VIII no longer had a variable grammar in some of the incoming forms, notably the subject pronoun *you*. It should therefore not come as a surprise that, as indicated by Figure 3, Elizabeth and her Court had completely gone over to using *you* in the subject function.

5. CONCLUSION

To conclude, I would like to suggest that what the examination of Tudor Court correspondence has revealed to us is *variable usage*, variable both synchronically and diachronically. With findings like this it is difficult to maintain that any uniform Court dialect, let alone uniform sixteenth-century English ever existed. Hence the textbook reality must be regarded as an idealization. What we have found is what we would expect to find today: alternative expressions in varying degrees of competition with each other in the language of the same set of individuals.

There is, however, no denying that the Court had a role, or rather several roles, to play in the diffusion of the changes that took place in Tudor English. In the sixteenth century, the Royal Court formed a centre of linguistic focusing, and so was instrumental in transmitting southern influences to the rest of the country. As these linguistic practices were not prescribed, however, they could be challenged and overridden. We have seen this happen with the plural *be* and the third-person *-th*, which gave way to their northern counterparts *are* and *-s*, first in the City and, after some resistance, also at Court.

Similarly, we have seen that there were linguistic innovations, such as the subject form *you*, which readily made their way in to the Court as soon as they began to diffuse in the language community. Changes like this must have spread from below the level of social awareness, and been adopted more or less simultaneously throughout the capital city.

There were, however, also innovations that were created and promoted at Court by those professionally involved in running the government and its various functions on a day-to-day basis. Processes like the disappearance of multiple negation belong to this group, which originally appear to have had closer links with the written language than the spoken idiom.

It is the language of poetry that writers like Henry Cecil Wyld have in mind when they refer to the dialect of the Court. As there is rarely much poetry in personal letters, not even in love-letters, it might be argued that we have not been looking for the linguistic impact of the Royal Court in the right place. However, I would like to counter this by suggesting that, in order to appreciate the versatility of literary language, we need to be able to place different genres of writing in their wider linguistic context. What was going on in such non-literary registers as personal letters was not without consequences for the language of poetry of the generations to come.

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**Adjectival participles or present participles?
On the classification of some dubious examples
from the *Helsinki Corpus***

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ABSTRACT

As a general rule, adjectival participles in *-ing* and *-ing* participles in combination with *be* are not difficult to differentiate from each other in Present-day English. However, in earlier stages of English, some problems may arise concerning the classification of *-ing* forms as adjectival or verbal, since the division between what is adjectival and what is verbal —progressive— was not so clearcut in early Modern English as in Present-day English. This paper offers a series of combinations of *be* + *-ing* retrieved from the early Modern English section of the *Helsinki Corpus*, in which the dubious nature of the *-ing* form — whether adjectival or verbal — makes it difficult to classify such combinations. In some cases, it is possible to resolve the ambiguity by means of the context or by means of different tests, which help to clarify the nature of the form in *-ing*. In some others, however, it is not possible to decipher such ambiguity and the examples are therefore open to a double interpretation. In this connection, we can say that there is a series of constructions along a gradient between what is verbal — progressive — and what is adjectival.

1. INTRODUCTION

As is well known, there are no problems, as a general rule, to distinguish combinations of the type *this is interesting* or *this is boring* from combinations of the type *the bird is singing* or *the dog is running*. In the former case, the *-ing* forms are adjectival, whereas in the latter case the forms in *-ing* are verbal and the combination *be* + *-ing* in *the bird is singing* and *the dog is running* is called ‘progressive’.

There are many adjectives in English ending in *-ing*, which are usually referred to as ‘adjectival participles’ or ‘participial adjectives’ (cf. Visser 1963-1973:1815 and Quirk *et al* 1985:§7.15 respectively), for they resemble

participles in form but behave like ordinary adjectives. As I have just mentioned, it is usually very easy to differentiate this kind of adjectives (or participles) from present participles, at least in Present-day English. However, there are cases in which ambiguity may arise, as in, for example, *she is calculating* (is she calculating *something*? Is she calculating *by nature*?). There exist different ways in which the nature of the form in *-ing* – whether adjectival or verbal – can be clarified. One of them involves the presence of a direct object, which would confirm the verbal nature of the combination, as in *she is calculating our salaries*, but when there is no direct object present, it may be at times a hard task to identify the nature of the form in *-ing*. However, *-ing* forms derived from transitive verbs when found alone without an object are nowadays considered adjectival in nature, so *calculating* in *she is calculating* would be classified as adjectival in Present-day English.

Premodification by *very*, on the other hand, is usually indicative of the adjectival nature of the *-ing* form, as in *she is very calculating*, the same as the use of certain prepositions, as in, for example, *his opinions are shocking to me*, in which *shocking* is clearly adjectival. The absence of the preposition – *his opinions are shocking me* – would lead to the classification of the cluster as progressive, since *me* functions as the direct object of the preceding verb phrase – *are shocking*. There also exist other ways in which the nature of the *-ing* form can be clarified, but they are not so reliable. It has to be said, however, that despite their external similarity, misunderstanding between *-ing* participles and *-ing* adjectives is rare, since we usually have enough criteria to classify these forms under one category or the other.

Therefore, ‘participial adjectives’ or ‘adjectival participles’ should be analyzed as heads of adjectival phrases since they do not form a constituent with the verb in such cases, while present participles will be analyzed as heads of verb phrases and the whole combination *be + -ing* will be referred to as ‘progressive’.

As we shall see in the following sections, in earlier stages of English, the distinction between *-ing* adjectives and *-ing* participles was not so clear-cut, and the line between them was not so easy to draw. In this connection, some of the most ambiguous cases from the early Modern English period will be analyzed, using data retrieved from the early Modern English section of the *Helsinki Corpus* (1500-1710). The situation of both *-ing* participles and *-ing* adjectives in Old and Middle English will be briefly discussed as well, just to throw some light on this particular aspect before delving in the early Modern English examples.

2. -ING PARTICIPLES AND -ING ADJECTIVES IN OLD AND MIDDLE ENGLISH

In Old and Middle English, but especially in Old English, it was more difficult to account for the differences between adjectival and participial constructions than it is in Present-day English on the basis of the more than likely adjectival nature of the present participle, which, as many scholars hold, is said to have originated from a plain, ordinary adjective. For this reason, participles in Old English were very similar to ordinary adjectives, and they could even be declined weak or strong, just like other adjectives. This fact has led some grammarians to the conclusion that *beon/wesan* + *-ende*, which is considered by many the real ancestor of *be* + *-ing*, was formed on the analogy of *beon/wesan* + adjective.

In the course of time, these participles started to increasingly lose their adjectival properties and started to develop verbal characteristics so that they finally became completely integrated within the English verb system.

In order to distinguish present participles from *-ing* adjectives, Denison has proposed a series of tests which may be helpful when dealing with Old and Middle English examples (1993:373-80). Some of them, such as the presence of a direct object or the use of certain prepositions have already been discussed,¹ but some others are relevant for earlier periods, namely:

- modifiers: the use of certain modifiers, such as *hu* 'how', *swa* 'so' or *to* 'too' was indicative of the adjectival nature of the form in *-ende*; others, such as *swiþe* 'much, very', were used to modify both adjectives and participles;

- substitution: the use of *dyde* as a substitute in (1) below suggests that the form in *-ende* is verbal rather than adjectival, and the cluster should be translated as *be sitting*:

- (1) HomS 8 (B/Hom 2) 147 (Traugott 1992:188-189):
Ðonne *beo* we *sittende* be þæm wege, swa se blinda *dyde*
'Then we should *be sitting* at the way-side, as the blind man *did*'.

In turn, the use of the substitute *wæs* (*wesan*) for *dyde* in (2) would suggest that the nature of the *-ende* form is adjectival rather than verbal and the cluster should be translated as *be seated*:

- (2) Ðonne *beo* we *sittende* be þæm wege, swa se blinda *wæs*
'Then we should *be seated* at the way-side, as the blind man *was*'.

¹ The use of other 'tests' when dealing with earlier examples can nevertheless be dangerous (cf., for example, the use of *very* as indicative of adjectival nature).

Examples (3) and (4) are Middle English examples which have been quoted to illustrate some of the difficulties arisen in the classification of *-yng(e)* forms as adjectival or verbal, although the former option seems, perhaps, more likely in both cases:²

- (3) *Canterbury Tales*, I.2201 (Fischer 1992:251):
What ladyes fairest *been* or best *daunsynge*.
- (4) Caxton, *Blanchardyn and Eglantine*, 56, 4 (Åkerlund 1911:44):
And many penoncelles, baners, and standardes that the wynde shok here and there, whereof the golde & the azure *vas gylsteryng* tyl vnto her eyen/ bycause of the bryght bemes of the sonne that spred were vpon them.

3. *-ING* PARTICIPLES AND *-ING* ADJECTIVES IN EARLY MODERN ENGLISH

In spite of the fact that *-ing* participles and *-ing* adjectives are usually easy to classify under one category or the other, there are some examples of *be* + *-ing* combinations in the early Modern English section of the *Helsinki Corpus* that deserve special attention on the basis of their dubious or ambiguous nature. In some cases, the context is very helpful when trying to classify *-ing* forms as verbal or adjectival but, unfortunately, in many others, the context is not enough, and we have to resort to other 'tests', so to speak, which may help in the task of separating true progressives from constructions resembling them. But even with the help of the context and other resources, classifying other examples proves impossible, since the nature of the *-ing* form, whether truly verbal or not, is a debatable question. As has been noted, the division between what is progressive and what is adjectival was not as clearcut in early Modern English as it is in Present-day English and, in this connection, we can say that there was a series of constructions along a 'gradient' between what is truly verbal (progressive) and what is adjectival. The notion of 'gradient' has been defined, among others, by Quirk *et al* (1985:§2.60) as

a scale which relates two categories of description (for example two word classes) in terms of degree of similarity and contrast. At the ends of the scale are items which belong to one category or to another; intermediate positions on the scale are taken by 'in-between' cases — items which fail, in different degrees, to satisfy the criteria for one or the other category.

² In fact, the *Oxford English Dictionary* quotes example number 3 to illustrate the use of *dancing* as a participial adjective, not as a present participle (s.v. *OED dancing* ppl.a [-ING]).

In what follows, we shall examine some of these problematic combinations in detail.

4. *-ING* PARTICIPLES AND *-ING* ADJECTIVES IN THE *HELSINKI CORPUS*

As has been repeatedly mentioned, combinations of *be* + *-ing* in the early Modern English period can still be ambiguous. In some cases, it is easy to decide whether the form in *-ing* is adjectival or verbal, as in the following example from the *Helsinki Corpus* (example 5):

- (5) In the sixt booke. Whatsoeuer Wines be sweete, and also of a readish yellow color, all such *are* sharpe or *biting*, and hote aboue measure.
(|QE1_IS_HANDO_TURNER: PC6V).

Biting is co-ordinated to an ordinary adjective — *sharpe* — so that it seems logical to infer that the *-ing* form is adjectival. However, it should be borne in mind that co-ordination cannot be taken as a necessary indication of categorial identity at this time, since co-ordination was not restricted to constituents of the same grammatical category and, therefore, the presence of the co-ordinator *or* does not guarantee categorial identity between *biting* and *sharpe*. On the other hand, the absence of a direct object does also lead to the classification of *biting* as an adjectival participle and not as a present participle.

Let us also consider the following example from the corpus (example 6):

- (6) And now, I beseech thee, let the power of my LORD be great, according as thou hast spoken, saying, The Lord *is* long *suffering*, and of great mercie, forgiuing iniquitie and transgression, and by no meanes clearing (the guiltie), visiting the iniquity of the fathers vpon the children, vnto the third and fourth generation.
(|QE2_XX_BIBLE_AUTHOLD: PXIV, 1N).

A first approach to the combination *be* + *-ing* in (6) above could lead to the classification of *is ... suffering* as progressive, and *long* would therefore be an adverb modifying the verbal periphrasis (*the Lord is suffering/has been suffering for a long time*). But if we take into account the information gathered from the *Oxford English Dictionary* (henceforth *OED*), we can conclude that *suffering* — when found in combination with *long* — is an adjective with the meaning of ‘bearing provocation or trial with patience’ (s.v. *OED long-suffering* a.):

- (7) 1535 Coverdale *Exod.* xxxiv. 6 Lorde Lorde, God, mercifull and gracious, and *longe sufferinge*.
- (8) 1611 Bible *2 Pet.* iii. 9 The Lorde..*is long-suffring* to vs-ward.

So far, the *-ing* forms analyzed have been classified as adjectival and, much in the same way, other forms can be classified as verbal, since the presence of a direct object makes, for example, (9) progressive:

- (9) When he came, attended by all the young soldiers of any merit, he was infinitely surpriz'd at the beauty of this fair Queen of Night, whose face and person *was so exceeding all he had ever beheld*, that lovely modesty with which she receiv'd him, (|QE3_NI_FICT_BEHN: P155).

Although *exceeding* is recorded in the *OED* as a participial adjective (s.v. *OED exceeding* A.adj.2), the fact that it governs a direct object (the dependent clause *all he had ever beheld*) suggests that the *-ing* form is verbal in nature and hence progressive (s.v. *OED exceed* v.3).

Other examples from the corpus are far more difficult to classify as verbal or adjectival, even with the help of the *OED*. The majority of cases involve verbs that would not be typically found in the progressive in Present-day English, such as *agree*, *accord*, *consent*, *owe*, *differ* and *want*:

- (10) And farthermore euey thyng, kepethe that thyng, that *is agreyng* and *according* to it, ryght as the thynges that be contrarye, corrupteth and dystroyeth it. (|QE1_XX_PHILOBOETHCO: P80).
- (11) And I beseech your Lordship to make that Construction of it; and I humbly beg of your Lordship not to harbour an ill Opinion of me, because of those false Reports that go about of me, relating to my Carriage towards the old King, that I *was* any ways *consenting* to the Death of King (Charles) I. (|QE3_XX_TRI_LISLE: PIV, 122C2).
- (12) He has given a true state of his Debts, and had ordered to pay them all, as far as his Estate that was not settled, could go: and was confident that if all that *was owing* to him were paid to his Executors, his Creditors would be all satisfied. (|QE3_NN_BIA_BURNETROC: P145).
- (13) Therefore that which *is* in its Nature *differing* from the chief Good, cannot be said to be the Good it self: which to think of God would be most impious and profane, since nothing can excel him in Goodness and Worth. (|QE3_XX_PHILO_BOETHPR: P136).
- (14) My mind is with thee howsoever I am forced to be absent from Thee. I see thy care and vigilance and thank Thee; mine *is not wanting* wherein I may. (|QE3_XX_CORP_HOXINDEN: P273).

The main problem of these examples arises from the double nature of the forms in *-ing*. Let us take the case of *agreeing* (10), which may be interpreted as adjectival with the meaning of ‘in conformity with, conformable, corresponding *to* or answering *to*’ (s.v. *OED agreeing* ppl.a. 1):

- (15) a1555 Bradford *Wks.* 189 What is more necessary than meat and drink, or more *agreeing to nature*?

If, on the other hand, the cluster *is agreeing* is classified as progressive, the *-ing* form would correspond to the present participle of the verb *agree* (s.v. *OED agree* IV 14.a.), which also governed *to* in early Modern English:

- (16) 1625 Burges *Pers. Tithes* 50 This Statute *agreeth to the best English Canon Law*.

The interpretation of *according* in the same example (10) seems more complicated. As a participial adjective, it is recorded in the *OED* with the meaning ‘agreeing, corresponding *to*, matching’ (s.v. *OED according* ppl.a. 1):

- (17) 1532 Thynne Dedic. Chaucer in *Animadv.* (1865) 24 Frutefulnessse in wordes wel *accordynge to the matter and purpose*.

According does also admit a verbal interpretation, in which case the meaning of the verb is ‘to agree, be in harmony, be consistent’ (s.v. *OED accord* V. II.7), as in:

- (18) 1542 Boorde *Dyetary* (1870) ix. 250 More meate than *accordeth with nature*.

It should be noted, however, that this sense of *accord* involves the use of *with*, whereas the example from the *Helsinki Corpus* is followed by *to* and not by *with*.

The example with *consent* (11) is also difficult to classify. If the verbal interpretation is adopted, *consent* has the meaning ‘agree to a proposal, request; voluntarily to accede or acquiesce in what another proposes or desires’ (s.v. *OED consent* v.II.6), as in:

- (19) a1533 Ld. Berners *Huon* lxxxiii. 254 He *wold haue consentyd to the deth of Huon*.

(19) is very similar to the example from the *Helsinki Corpus*, since in both cases the object of *consent (to)* is 'the death of someone.' But *consenting* is also recorded as a participial adjective governing *to* (s.v. *OED consenting* ppl.a. 1), with the meaning 'agreeing or giving consent (to a proposal, opinion),' as in:

- (20) 1578 Banister *Hist. Man* i. 14 The wise *are* alwayes *consenting vnto truth*.

The same problem arises in the case of *be owing* (example 12), although the participial interpretation seems perhaps more likely to me. *Owing* is found as a participial adjective with the meaning (when referring to things) 'to be paid or rendered; owed, due,' and it is very frequently followed by *to* (s.v. *OED owing* ppl.a. 2). It is significant that the origin of this use is obscure. However, *was owing* can at the same time be interpreted as verbal if the cluster is to be considered 'passival', i.e. it may express passive progressive meanings in combination, thus being equivalent to 'being owed' (s.v. *OED owe* v.II.2.a). Once more, the classification of the cluster as verbal or adjectival is a difficult task on the basis of the dubious nature of the form in *-ing*, which makes it almost impossible to select one possibility rather than the other.

As for *differ* in example 13, the adjectival interpretation seems to be more likely (s.v. *OED differing* ppl.a.1), since the cluster can be replaced by *be* + adjective (*is different*) with no – or perhaps very slight – change of meaning. In fact, the *OED* quotes this sense of *differing* as synonymous with *different*, especially in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

The case of *be wanting* in example (14) is somewhat different from the others that I have just discussed. I would say that it is possible to classify all instances of *be wanting* in the *Helsinki Corpus*, and there are seven, as straightforward cases of progressive periphrases. One of the main problems as regards the use of *want* is that the meaning conveyed by this verb in early Modern English was quite different from its current one. Moreover, *want* in Present-day English does not occur in the progressive and this is why its use in the examples from the *Helsinki Corpus* seems rather unusual. The basic meaning of *want* in the early Modern English examples is 'to be lacking or missing; not to exist' (s.v. *OED want* v.1.a. intrans.). Examples (21) to (25) from the corpus illustrate this meaning of *want*:

- (21) and for everie quarter of a yarde w^{ch} *shalbe wantinge* in lenghte of either sorte of the saide Kersies likewise beinge soulde or offered to be soulde, Twelve pence; ... (QE2_STA_LAW_STAT4: PIV, 859).

- (22) But certaine it is, that vnto the deepe, fruitefull, and operatiue studie of many Scyences, specially Naturall Phylosophy and Physicke, Bookes be not onely the Instrumentals; wherein also the beneficence of men *hath not beene* altogether *wanting*: ... (|QE2_EX_EDUC_BACON: P4R).
- (23) be sur of this you shall have it, though you stay som tim for it, in the meantime *let* no respect *be wanting* to your housband and his mother, with the rest of his frends, in this you shall gain yourself a good reput ... (|QE2_XX_CORP_PEYTON: P87).
- (24) But if we will in good earnest apply our selves to the practice of Religion, and the obedience of God's Holy Laws, his Grace *will* never *be wanting* to us to so good a purpose. (|QE3_IR_SERM_TILLOTS: PII: II452).
- (25) My Lord — my Girl's young, (Hoyden) is young, my Lord; but this I must say for her, what she wants in Art, she has by Nature; what she wants in Experience, she has in Breeding; and what's *wanting* in her Age, is made good in her Constitution. (|QE3_XX_COME_VANBR: PI, 59).

According to the *OED*, this use of *want* has been rare since the seventeenth century, although some of examples just quoted belong to that century. In Present-day English, *want* is not found with this meaning any more.

A different meaning of *want* is involved in examples (26) and (27) from the corpus:

- (26) The King has directed me to attend him tomorrow about the matters of yr Excellencie's last letter and I *shall not bee wanting* to acquainte you with his Ma^{ties} pleasure so soon as I know itt, and in ye meane time I desire yr Excellency will continue to mee ye happinesse of being esteemed. (|QE3_XX_CORO_OSBORNE: P22).
- (27) My mind is with thee howsoever I am forced to be absent from Thee. I see thy care and vigilance and thank Thee; mine *is not wanting* wherein I may. (|QE3_XX_CORP_HOXINDEN: P273).

Here *want* can be interpreted as 'to fail to do something' (s.v. *OED want* v. 1.e. intrans), as in the following example from the *OED* (28):

- (28) 1576 Common Conditions 216 (Brooke) Like beggers wee liue and *want to pay rent*.

There should be no problems as regards the classification of the *be wanting* examples as progressive, at least in this period. It must be

acknowledged, however, that the fact that the verb is intransitive in most cases does not contribute to clarifying the status of the *-ing* forms.

Other examples from the *Helsinki Corpus* also deserve an independent treatment, especially because they have been classified as straightforward instances of the progressive by Rissanen (1999:221-22). In my opinion, it is not so clear whether the *-ing* form in such cases is adjectival or verbal. Let us see these examples in detail:

- (29) (*T.I.*) The hapiest meeting that our soules could wish for Here's the Ring ready, I *am beholding* vnto your Fathers hast, h'as kept this howre. (|QE2_XX_COME_MIDDLET: P28).
- (30) whiche at the time of Araignment of the Parties so accused (if they *be* then *liuing*) shall be brought in Person before the said Partie accused, (|QE1_XX_TRI_THROCKM, PI, 68.C2).

Beholding in (29) above can be interpreted as verbal and adjectival. Rissanen (1999:221), however, selects the former option, i.e. the classification of the cluster as progressive, to illustrate the idea that the progressive does not have to form a frame for another, shorter action, since “instances without an expressed frame [...] are in the majority.” But if the latter option is selected, *beholding* should then be classified as a participial adjective with the meaning ‘under obligation, indebted, beholden’ (s.v. *OED beholding* ppl.a. 1), as in the following examples from the *OED*:

- (31) 1598 Shakes. Merry W. i. i. 283 A Iustice of peace sometime *may be beholding to his friend*, for a Man.
- (32) 1662 H. More Antid. Ath. i. vi. (1712) 19 We have some Ideas that *we are not beholding to our Senses* for.

Rissanen also classifies *living* in *be liuing* above (30) as a true progressive, in which *live* can be interpreted as a verb of state. The use of the progressive with such verbs, as we know, is not very common, but in this particular case it may emphasize the temporary character of the state, or it can even call the attention to the more actional features of the verb.

However, it is difficult to know whether *be living* can be interpreted as progressive within this specific context. It is true that *live* is quite frequently found in the progressive in Present-day English, as in *Mary is living in London*, but it is difficult to decide whether (30) can be classified as verbal or adjectival. If the verbal option is selected, the cluster should be classified as progressive (s.v. *OED live* v. 1a. intrans.), but if the adjectival option is preferred, *be living* would then be equivalent to *be alive* (s.v. *OED living* ppl.a. 1). Similar difficulties arise as regards the classification of the rest of examples including *be living*:

- (33) (*Throckmorton.*) M. (Croftes) *is* yet *liuing*, and is here this day; how hapneth it he is not brought Face to Face to justifie this matter, neither hathe bin of all this time? (|QE1_XX_TRI_THROCKM, PI, 66.C2).
- (34) (*Throckmorton.*) But what doth the principall Author of thys matter say against me, I mean the Lord (Thomas Grey), who *is* yet *liuing*? (|QE1_XX_TRI_THROCKM, PI, 70.C1).
- (35) Provided alwaies, That this Acte nor any thinge therein conteyned, shall extende to any person or persons whose Husband or Wife shalbe continuallie remayninge beyond the Seas by the space of seven yeeres together, or whose Husband or Wife shall absent hym or her selfe the one from the other by the space of seaven yeeres together, in any part within his Majesties Dominions, the one of them not knowinge the other *to be livinge* within that tyme. (|QE2_STA_LAW_STAT4: PIV, 1028).
- (36) And if you fish for a Carp with Gentles, then put upon your hook a small piece of Scarlet about this bigness, it being soked in, or anointed with (Oyl of Peter), called by some (Oyl of the Rock); and if your Gentles be put two or three dayes before into a box or horn anointed with honey, and so put upon your hook as to preserve them *to be living*, you are as like to kill this crafty fish this way as any other. (|QE3_IS_HANDO_WALTON: P298).
- (37) (*Tom.*) Why how now Huswife, do you snap at me? do you grudge me my Victuals? Pray Madam Joan, what is it to you how much I eat and drink, do I not provide it? be it known to you Joan, that your Mistris when she *was living*, would not have said so much to me poor Soul. (|QE3_NI_FICT_PENNY: P267).

5. CONCLUSIONS

Separating true progressives from constructions resembling them, especially from combinations of *be* + participial adjectives in *-ing*, has not always been an easy task, at least in earlier stages of English. This paper has shown that there were a number of constructions in the early Modern English period which are difficult to classify as adjectival or verbal. In some cases, there are certain ‘tests’ that have been of help to clarify the real nature of the *-ing* forms. In other cases, the *Oxford English Dictionary* has been a priceless tool in deciphering the status of such forms. Unfortunately, as some examples retrieved from the *Helsinki Corpus* show, there exist some dubious combinations in which it is not possible to resolve the ambiguity of those forms, since both interpretations — adjectival and verbal — seem plausible. Only in the latter case, i.e. in cases in which the combination consists of a

form of *be* + the present participle of a lexical verb, can the combination be classified as 'progressive'.

One of the most important conclusions derived from this paper is that there existed a series of constructions in early Modern English along a 'gradient' between what is adjectival and what is verbal (progressive). Some of these constructions were closer to the adjectival end while some others were closer to the verbal end. I have decided to include all of them in my classification of progressive constructions in the *Helsinki Corpus*, for they all admit a verbal interpretation, at least according to the information gathered from the *OED*, but we should not forget the fact that they also admit an adjectival interpretation, in which case the combination would not be progressive.

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**"... and often Absences / Withdrew our Soules and
made us Carcasses".
The destructive power of the female figure
in Donne's *Nocturnall* and Quevedo's love poetry**

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Deustuko Unibertsitatea

ABSTRACT

This paper aims to highlight the destructive power of a female figure *in absentiae* in the landscape of the lyric I's physical identity. Two love sonnets by Francisco de Quevedo (B485 and B486), and John Donne's "A Nocturnall Upon St Lucies Day" are the texts in which this particular destructive force of the feminine is explored. In this light, their love poetry shows interesting affinities with their religious and occasional poetry: Donne's *Holy Sonnets* and *Anniversaries* and Quevedo's *Heráclito Cristiano*. The singular treatment of the subject's body and its vulnerable stability in both Donne's and Quevedo's texts may work as a point of departure to discuss the problematic concept of subjectivity in early seventeenth-century poetry, and the role of the female figure in the construction of such an identity. It may also lead to reassess the significance of Petrarchan conventions in the formation of the poetic experience.

This paper is part of a larger comparative research on the presence of literary traditions in the poetry of Donne and Quevedo. Here I argue that Donne's and Quevedo's poetry come together neither under the powerful presence of the metaphysical wit, nor due to their concern with love and death. They converge in the unavoidable presence in their poetry of a powerful poetic subject, pervading all themes and all poetic sub-genres, from the religious and the moral, to the erotic and the satirical, which is invariably expressed through strikingly powerful material, bodily images. This self-centred concern is, I believe, partly rooted in the long life Petrarchan tradition, from which Donne and Quevedo somehow recover but also discover this "subjective" quality, intensifying and purifying it.

Needless to say, the poems I am going to discuss now are but a very limited sample, and I use them somehow as synecdoches of their literary

production. In them, the destructive power of the female figure reveals this subject's struggle for permanence.

Quevedo's *Poem to Lisi* is a collection of poems written in the shape of a Petrarchan *canzoniere* or love cycle. In these poems Lisi – the poet's beloved – invariably appears as a distant, cruel and elusive figure or does not appear at all. Thus the whole cycle dwells at length upon the effects this feminine absence or contempt produces within the lover. Donne's love poetry, on the contrary, although gathered under the title *Songs and Sonets*, keeps no apparent resemblance with a Petrarchan cycle and is far from being a homogeneous collection. Both, however, contain poems which resist easy categorisation and could rather be aligned with religious or funeral poetry, than with conventional love-lyrics. Departing from the orthodox motif of the cruel lady and her unattainable quality in some cases, or from the evidence of the lady's absence in some others, they evolve toward a thorough purgation of elements associated with the female identity, who has simply become a destructive principle. In this light, the Elizabeth Drury of the *Anniversaries* would not be far from the female identity present in "A Nocturnall" or "A Feaver", for example, nor from Quevedo's Lisi; all work as *logos*, as a motive power which produces not only the subject's physical destruction but also the disintegration of the whole poetic universe. Some critics point out Donne's wise combination of funeral and erotic formulas in some of these poems, but the truth is that rhetorical disposition in a funeral elegy and a Petrarchan love song keeps a similar pattern of lament and praise (Hardison 1962).

One of Quevedo's most impressive texts about this transit from the love experience of the unrequited lover toward a cosmic vision of destruction and vulnerability is this sonnet from *Canta Sola a Lisi*:

En los claustros de l'alma la herida
yace callada; mas consume hambrienta,
la vida, que en mis venas alimenta
llama por las medulas extendida.

Bebe el ardor, hidrópica, mi vida,
que ya, ceniza amante y macilenta,
cadáver del incendio hermoso, ostenta
su luz en humo y noche fallecida.

La gente esquivo y me es horror el día;
dilato en largas voces negro llanto,
que a sordo mar mi ardiente pena envía.

A los suspiros di la voz del canto;
la confusión inunda el alma mía;
mi corazón es reino del espanto. (B485)¹

This poem has received much critical attention (maybe the most celebrated reading would be that of Gonzalo Sobejano) and has been regarded as a text that moves beyond literary conventions into a deep metaphysical mood. And yet, Petrarchan motifs are pervading each stanza: take, for instance, the lover's complaint through bitter sighs and tears, and the loving fire resulting in that internal hell. Love suffering is presented as an experience which takes place in the subject's innermost extension, in the cloisters of the soul, expression of full resonance which recalls Santa Teresa's *morada interior*. Nevertheless, poetic language is built upon powerful physical images: soul, love and suffering are all materialised in cloister, wound and fire. The wound of love progressively consumes the lover's body until it becomes "...ceniza amante y macilenta, /cadáver del incendio hermoso..." (B485:6-7) powerful image which echoes the most celebrated "polvo enamorado" of sonnet 472.² This devastating experience has a powerful subjective quality, as the lover's body becomes a microcosm, the only space in which the experience can be expressed.

There is no other reality but that of the subject's interior realm. The only reference to the external world is that of the first tercet: "sordo mar", in reference to the lady's extreme disdain, but also to the unavoidable presence of death. We are, thus, facing a plurisemic expression which brings together two juxtaposed concepts: the Petrarchan complaint of the unrequited lover, whose "negro llanto" leads him irrevocably to that sea of the end of life – the unavoidable destiny of his loving ashes –, and the deaf sea of Lisi's distance, indifference, and aloofness. This ambiguity is far from coincidental, as the audience was perfectly acquainted with the implications of these metaphors, so common in early seventeenth-century love poetry. The female representation enjoys a great destructive power, which brings her close to the power of death. Robert Watson has observed this kinship in representations of perfect wives as silent, passive and cold, and their "striking resemblance to the traits of the dead as conceived by annihilationism" (1994:31). Hence the emphasis that criticism has thrown upon the metaphysical quality of Quevedo's love poetry. What Quevedo does nothing but to intensify the use of these elements already present in the literary tradition and contemporary

¹ Quevedo's quotations follow Blecua's edition (1981). Poems will be subsequently cited by the initial B (Blecua's) and their number in this edition.

² One must highlight the basic difference in that the latter triumphantly overcomes the boundaries of death, whereas this former shows the remains of an individual consumed by love.

poetry so as to achieve a striking effect which was of much pleasure for his contemporaries and which results in an unorthodox and apparently “modern” exercise for today’s reader.³

Quevedo’s sonnet B486 “Amor me ocupa el seso y los sentidos” can also be read in this light. The image that closes the above sonnet “mi corazón es reino del espanto” has its counterpart in this other quatrain:

Explayóse el raudal de mis gemidos
por el grande distrito y doloroso
del corazón, en su penar dichoso,
y mis memorias anegó en olvido (B486:5-8)

The visualisation and materialisation of the lyric I’s inner landscape are again the result of a displacement of interest from the external phenomena toward the subject’s intimate realm. In this quatrain, the heart acquires a macrocosmic dimension, in accordance with the subject’s suffering. This destructive suffering is materialised through these images of overwhelming physicality. The tercet that follows shows how this devastating love experience is expressed through the lover’s body remains:

Todo soy ruinas, todo soy destrozos,
escándalo funesto a los amantes,
que fabrican de lágrimas sus gozos (B486:9-11)

The subject seems to be invaded and finally annihilated by the power of passion. One has to go back to Petrarch to find such an expression of a desolate inner universe. Petrarch speaks of a destroyed self where the beloved’s image dwells, and in fact, very few Petrarchists after Petrarch really achieved his depth and self-concern. But Petrarch’s poetry humbly accepts the ephemeral quality of the loving body. And this assumption that the perishable body can no longer shelter a loving spirit is precisely what Quevedo’s sonnet strives to avoid. The very self-identity is firmly rooted in its physical final redoubts.

In this light, maybe the most revealing poem in showing such unique, extreme and annihilating individual experience is Donne’s extraordinary “A Nocturnall Upon S. Lucies Day, being the shortest day.” Unlike the sonnets discussed above, this poem begins with powerful imagery showing the

³ Dámaso Alonso’s seminal article on Quevedo’s love poetry (Alonso 1950) was partly responsible for the general approach in the 60’s, 70’s and early 80’s to Quevedo as a “modern” author. Studies such as Paul Julian Smith’s (1987) contributed to reassess Quevedo’s literary practice in the light of early seventeenth-century rhetoric and aesthetic conventions.

correspondence between an agonising macrocosm and a subject/microcosm who stands as the epitaph of a universe in a process of destruction:

Tis the yeares midnight, and it is the dayes,
Lucies, who scarce seaven houres herself unmaskes,
The Sunne is spent, and now his flasks
Send forth light squibs, no constant rayes;
The Worlde whole sap in sunke:
The generall balme th'hydroptique earth hath drunk,
Whither, as to the beds-feet, life is shrunke,
Dead and enterr'd; yet all these seeme to laugh,
Compar'd with mee, who am their Epitaph (1-9)⁴

The celebration of Saint Lucy's Day, considered as the shortest day, contributes to create a crepuscular atmosphere in which the world seems to collapse at the lack of light and life. It is a hymn of absence for a beloved woman⁵, whose elusive presence keeps, in my opinion, a striking resemblance with the Elizabeth Drury of the *Anniversaries*. It is thus a poetic representation of the feminine that moves beyond concrete expressions of particular women. If in this first stanza the lyric "I" shares a desolate landscape of darkness and death, in the following lines the scope will shift from this external world to the microcosm embodied in the poetic subject:

Study me then, you who shall lovers bee
At the next world, that is, at the next Spring:
For I am every dead thing,
In whom Love wrought new Alchemie.
For his art did expresse
A quintessence even from nothingness:
He ruin'd mee, and I am re-begot
Of absence, darkness, death; things which are not. (10-18)

As in the Quevedo's poem, here the "I" offers himself as *exemplum* to future lovers. The poetic images contribute to intensify notably the lover's annihilation, as though it were not possible to express his real state through physical evidence, and therefore he must turn to metaphors of negation, of nothingness, of what is not: "quintessence from nothingness ... absence,

⁴ Quotations from Donne's poetry follow Shawcross' edition (1967).

⁵ The identity of this woman is still subject to discussion for Donne's scholars, who identify her with Lucy, Countess of Bedford (Grierson 1912, Gardner 1965), with his wife Anne More (Carey 1990, Shawcross 1967) or with an imaginary construction of the feminine (Marotti 1986).

darknesse, death; things which are not" (16,18). The presence of the winter's solstice helps understand the cyclical quality of these images, and this changing process intensifies the feeling of non-existence for the lyric "I": its reduction to "nothingnesse" no doubt overcomes the hyperbolic ruins and destruction of Quevedo's sonnet (and Petrarch's dust and shadows). It is through love and through those alchemy processes – so dear to Donne's poetic imagination – that the subject becomes the essence of nothingness, it becomes all that cannot be nor will ever be:

All others, from all things, draw all that's good,
Life, soule, form, spirit, whence they beeing have;
I, by loves limbecke, am the grave
Of all, that's nothing ... (19-22)

Love as a transubstantiating element transforms the lover's nature. But it is not only love that eventually destroys the subject; it is the experience of absence and the ultimate death of the woman that provokes such a devastating effect:

... and often absences
Withdrew our soules and made us carcasses.
But I am by her death, (which word wrongs her)
Of the first nothing, the Elixer grown; (26-29)

He is not even a "nothing" resulting from the presence of a "something". This insistence upon his non-existence, his annihilation in hardly credible terms places this poem closer to the *Anniversaries* than to other love poems.

The absolute negation of existence, embodied in the identity of the lyric "I" is not an isolated motif in Donne's poetry. As it is often the case, now and then in Donne's works we perceive this oscillation between the microcosmic realm of the lyric I's body and the macrocosmic expression of a space subject to similar processes of generation and destruction. The lady no longer exists and Love turns into torment and inner struggle, in an experience that does not move beyond the geographical boundaries of the subject's body (Pando 2000).

The significance of the feminine figure thus transcends her merely physical presence or absence, as the emotion expressed is invariably that of the subject, and the only reality is its material destruction. Whether this is provoked by a beautiful lady's cold disdain (Lisi) or by other lady's death (whose relation with the subject cannot be established) proves how elusive this feminine presence may be, and how irrelevant her relationship with the "persona" in the poem can be in order to understand the rhetoric of the text. We could speak, at this point, of a feminine destructive power which often

aligns with the conventional Petrarchan representation, and which is present in most Petrarchan compositions. Yet it is also present in texts other than conventional Petrarchan cycles, such as funeral elegies, or compositions like "A Nocturnall", which resists easy categorisation. The representation of the female destructive force offers a powerful contrast with the subject's deep humanity and extreme suffering in his non-requited expression of love. This contributes to create a very effective tension within the poetic space by which both elements (the absent lady and the mournful lover) occupy incompatible realms.

All the spatial metaphors noted above also reveal an inner struggle as they endow the poetic expression with a physical and subjective dimension. It is at this point that some critics cannot help qualifying this poetry as "modern"; and it is at this point that, in my opinion, Donne's and Quevedo's poetry move toward a solipsistic stance which comes from Petrarch. This solipsistic shift operates as the intensification of an inward displacement and the materialisation in spatial metaphors of this expression of inwardness, which is always conditioned by the powerful, overwhelming voice of the lyric I. In this light, I believe that the different poetic "personae" of their texts reveal an ontological conflict by which any theme or motif (in the examples explored, that of the feminine representation) suffers a process of appropriation and subjectivisation.⁶

Raimundo Lida, in a classical article on Quevedo's prose, summarises Quevedo's work with a powerful and revealing metaphor that, I think, acquires full meaning here: "Aquel yo gigantesco de Quevedo que en la dedicatoria de los Sueños firma precisamente así, YO ... con esa Y de brazos descomunales..." (1981:39-40). The plasticity of Lida's expression could also be extended to Donne's literature. Any attempt to approach Donne's and Quevedo's work, their treatment of literary traditions, their expression of the idea of God, love, or death, their representation of the feminine, any of those, is invariably filtered by their superb solipsistic expression, which is, I think, post-Petrarchan in its quality. Very much unlike sixteenth-century Petrarchists, they rewrite Petrarchan subjectivism

⁶ In this sense it is interesting to highlight the work of Anthony Low who sees in the creation of this inner space what he calls an "internal migration", a means of expressing the "private" vs the "public": "Donne was among the earliest and most powerful proponents of love as a shelter and defense against the world, which is an idea or an assumption about love that, over succeeding centuries, has come to dominate our thinking and behavior" (Low 1993:49). What Low regards as communal spaces in Donne's popular love lyrics is for me the expression of a solipsistic shift. At the core of these arguments lies the problematic conceptualisation of the "subject" in early seventeenth-century literature. Needless to say, this fascinating question deserves further analysis.

and take it further towards this solipsistic shift. Their self-concern would be, in this light, the triumphant epilogue of a long and lasting literary tradition, rather than the anachronistic announcement of a “modern”, “romantic” or existential individualism.

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The least certain of boundaries: gendered bodies and gendered spaces in Early Modern drama

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ABSTRACT

Ben Jonson's *Epicoene* uses repeated symbolic reference to doors, windows, walls and thresholds as part of its discourse of gender and the transgression of gender boundaries, thereby interrogating received ideas of gender and thematising its circumstances of performance by the boy actors. This article suggests that this definition of gender through spatial boundaries is the most consistent and inventive of the period, but not different in kind from other domestic plays. It enters into the debate about the gendering of public and private spheres in the early modern period, and also sees strategies with gendered space as part of a strategy of reconciling two apparently incompatible Jacobean formulations of gender difference, which was considered as both substantial and innate, and also unstable and performative.

There is a weird contradiction at the heart of early modern conceptualisations of gender difference. On the one hand, men and women were seen as very different in nature, temperament, role, status, and place on the Great Chain of Being, and these allegedly innate and natural differences were canonised in law, theology, and writings on conduct and society. Anthony Fletcher (1995:vxi-xvii,14), for instance, writes about gender as 'rooted in an understanding of the body,' with 'woman ... seen as a creature distinct from and inferior to man.' As Sir Thomas Elyot put it in 1531, 'A man in his natural perfection is fierce, hardy, strong in opinion, covetous of glory, desirous of knowledge, appetiting by generation to bring forth his semblable. The good nature of a woman is to be mild, timorous, tractable, benign, of sure remembrance, and shamefast' (p.93).

On the one hand, then, men and women were innately very different with different qualities of mind and soul, reflected in different social roles and the different physical spaces that reflect those social differences. On the other hand, though, as Thomas Laqueur's writing on the history of sex has famously demonstrated, the Galenic 'one-sex model' of human physiology represented sex not as a binary opposition but as a sliding scale. As Helkiah

Crooke wrote, men and women possessed the same sexual organs; but the 'hotter nature' of men causes those organs to appear on the outside of the body, while women's 'dull and sluggish heat' kept the sexual organs inside the body. There is clearly a homology between the distribution of bodily parts – outside in men, inside in women – with the spatial imperatives associated with the sexes - men outside, women inside. But this model of the body was also seen as disturbingly fluid and unfixed. Helkiah Crooke knew 'Stories of such Women, whose more active and more operative heat have thrust out their Testicles, and of Women made them Men' (1616:204).

This weird physiology of gender fluidity and transformation resonates in some early modern plays, like Lyly's *Gallathea* and Jonson's *Epicoene*. It lies, perhaps, behind other anxieties about gender boundaries. As Stephen Orgel (1996:153) has memorably written, 'In the discourses of patriarchy, gender is the least certain of boundaries.'

'Gender is the least certain of boundaries.' What I mean to do in this paper is to discuss how gender boundaries are reflected and negotiated through the use of physical, spatial, architectural boundaries in Early Modern plays – houses, doors and windows, grates, walls and so on. There is actually strangely little research on space in the drama, except in attempts to reconstruct staging, though this is beginning to change. As Alice T. Friedman (1989:7) has put it, 'spaces and boundaries exert their own influences on the patterns of behavior enacted within them,' and this clearly has relevance to issues of gender.

Some critics argue that an understanding of space in the early modern period as structured in terms of public and private spheres, which are associated with men and women respectively, is anachronistic: indeed, perhaps this is 'the prevailing orthodoxy' (Huebert 2001:63). Susan Dwyer Amussen (1988:2) argues that our familiar 'dichotomy ... between public and private is necessarily false when applied to the experience of early modern England.' Nancy Armstrong (1987:3) traces to the eighteenth century the invention of 'a new kind of woman,' the 'domestic woman,' and feminist historians have chronicled the rise of an ideology of separate spheres, public/male and private/female, in the same period.

However, more recently some historians have questioned whether the early modern period actually preceded an idea of separate spheres. Retha Warnicke (1993:123) attacks the belief that 'early-modern people ignored the distinctions between private and public' and reiterates in a more nuanced way the idea that 'women's lives were ... much more private' and associated with enclosed, inner spaces (129), and Ronald Huebert (2001:63) accuses of a 'misappropriation' of Habermas those who argue that public and private spheres as such did not exist in the early modern period. His argument is, perhaps, the most judicious on the topic to date: 'although the line between

public and private was not drawn at precisely the same place by early modern writers as it would be today, it was nonetheless drawn with great regularity and with complete confidence in the meaningfulness of the distinction.' It is, it seems to me, certain that the conservative voices of Shakespeare's early plays represent a world defined by the confinement of women to the home while men occupy a public sphere *avant la lettre*. The husband 'commits his body / To painful labour both by sea and land' in order to allow the wife to lie 'warm at home, secure and safe'; his role lies 'out o' door,' hers within (*The Taming of the Shrew* V.ii.149-50, 152; and *The Comedy of Errors* II.i.11). Doors, in fact, will play a central role in my argument. Lena Cowen Orlin (1994:8) argues that the inspiration of domestic tragedy is the voyeuristic desire 'to see through walls,' but I am less concerned with seeing through walls than with the establishment, transgression, and negotiation, of walls both literal and metaphorical. I will associate images of doors, windows, thresholds and other liminal spaces, with gender transgression and indeterminacy. Finally I will offer a full-scale reading of Ben Jonson's *Epicoene*, a play where doors and windows, closed and open rooms, private and public spaces, are repetitively alluded to and meticulously defined.

Many early modern plays, to begin by stating the obvious, focus on figures of ambiguous gender. To quote Orgel (1996:112) again, 'Even as the age defined its gender boundaries, it also continually – one might almost say compulsively – produced figures who overstepped or violated them.' Transvestite heroines through the drama. The Shakespearian trope of the pageboy revealed as 'really' a girl in love with his master became a predictable convention in the drama – so much so, indeed, that in Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Honest Man's Fortune* (1613), although this dramatic conclusion is confidently predicted by a number of characters, the joke is that the apparent pageboy is really a pageboy.

But those who transgress gender categories may be more radically ambiguous. The real-life transvestite Moll Frith, who is staged in Middleton and Dekker's *The Roaring Girl* (c.1610), is 'woman more than man, / Man more than woman' (I.ii.130-1). As a result of this gender hybridity, she is defined not only through ambiguous clothing but also through an association with both closed and open spaces, 'chamber[s]' (IV.i.86, 93) but also extra-domestic spaces like 'Grays Inn Fields' and the like (II.i.294). Jonson's *Epicoene* ends with the revelation that Morose's bride is really 'a gentleman's son' (V. iv.183) and that the marriage is therefore, to Morose's immense relief, invalid. Margaret Cavendish's *The Convent of Pleasure* reveals that the princess 'of a Masculine Presence' (II.3. Shaver ed. 1999:226) is really a prince.

Lyly's *Gallathea* (1592) imagines a world where the fairest virgin must become a human sacrifice to a sea-monster. As a result the two heroines, Gallathea and Phillida, are disguised as boys by their fathers. In these disguises they fall in love, although both fear and suspect the sex of the other. At the end of the play, the goddess Venus agrees to further their love by transforming one of them – we never learn which and the transformation does not actually take place within the bounds of the play – into a boy. Theodora A. Jankowski (1996:253) reads *Gallathea* as a play flattering Queen Elizabeth with its praise of virginity, but also presenting the concept of virginity as 'decidedly problematical.' Not only virginity, though, but gender itself becomes problematic. Indeed, one could argue that the play represents desire in the form of a Freudian pre-gendered polymorphous perversity. Two girls, disguised as two boys, love each other, thus flirting with both lesbianism and male homoerotic desire: there are accusations of incestuous desire, that Melebeus shows 'affection ... more than fatherly' (IV.i.40-1) for his daughter Phillida; and 'leering Cupid' (IV.ii.2) embodies desire in all its forms.

In this world of polymorphous desire, the goddess Venus and the Alchemist both embody a world of transformation without fixed boundaries between spaces, elements or identities. In the final scene one girl is transformed but we never learn which. What matters, it seems, is desire itself and its multiple potential. The forms which structure desire seem almost irrelevant. In this world of fluidity, transformation, and desire without boundaries, it is entirely appropriate that most of the action takes place out of doors: the architectural spaces and boundaries by which humans structure their lives are wholly unimportant. In addition, the outside world is itself one marked by geological and historical change and the transgression and indeed complete redrawing of boundaries. The 'stately temple of white marble' in which Neptune was worshipped is now only a 'heap of small pebble' (I.i.15-16). It is also a coastline subject to constant geological change: 'ships sail where sheep fed' (I.i.33), the boundaries between land and sea are uncertain, and the sea itself, as represented by Neptune and the monster the Ager is itself an element representing fluidity and change. Even the euphuistic prose seems to dramatise not only the establishment but also the abolition of difference.

While *Gallathea* structures its remarkably relaxed celebration of the multiplicity of desire on the absence of man-made structures and boundaries, more commonly dramatists emphasise the symbolic and metaphorical significance of houses, walls, doors and windows for a discourse of gender. The house and the human body, to state the obvious, are often closely identified in the writing of this period, as in the second book of Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* the house of Alma allegorises the body and its faculties.

Women were not only thought appropriate to the domestic sphere: the female body often stood in a metaphorical relation with the house. In Jonson's 'To Penshurst,' the poem charts an imaginary journey from the outskirts of the Sidney estate to the very centre of the country house which serves as a metonym for the English nation; from its public to its most private spaces. At the very heart, sustaining its utopian qualities, is the inner room of the lord and lady, and the chaste yet fertile body of Barbara Gamage Sidney, 'A wonder in this age but rarely known,' as Jonson misogynistically comments (Pearson 2001). This line suggests that the female body is the essential foundation for the family, the dynasty and the nation state, but also that at the same time the female body poses serious threats to that familial and national stability. As Gail Kern Paster (1993) has memorably demonstrated, the boundaries of the female body were viewed as especially problematic. The leaky female body – associated with disorderly extrusions of urine, menstrual blood and other fluids – challenged the idea of the clean proper body, with defined boundaries and an orderly place in the universe. This conflict between ways of reading the female body is often in the drama negotiated through images of closed and open spaces, private and public spaces.

As Alison Findlay (1999:128) has written, 'plays that centred on the family and home were always essentially political in nature,' for in a familiar early modern trope the family was directly parallel to the state: fathers, as Hooker puts it, have 'in private families' the same power that 'lawful kings' hold in the public sphere (Keble ed. 1888:I,242). It is to state no more than the obvious, perhaps, to argue that domestic tragedy situates itself obsessively within the physical and architectural detail of the home, and that this detail is used repeatedly as a metaphor for the female body. In *A Yorkshire Tragedy* (1608), as Viviana Comensoli (1999:99) points out, the words 'home' and 'house' appear more than 15 times, as the Husband 'of a virtuous house' (ii.170) murders his wife and thus brings about 'the desolation of his house' (ix.33). The bleeding bodies of his murdered children, 'Laid forth upon our *threshold*' (x.34: my italics) delineate the limits of patriarchal domesticity. Similarly in *A Warning for Fair Women* (1599), Anne Sanders rebuffs her seducer at the door of her house (Orlin 1994:108), and before she becomes the murderess of her husband, she and her son 'sit at her doore' and she talks of ensuring that her 'Closet [is] lockt' (ii.323-7). At this point of the play Anne Sanders is in a morally and physically liminal situation – she may go through the door to seduction or back into the house, where the locked closet with its contents of fruit serves as a metaphor for the clean proper body which she is about to transgress. At the end of the play, as she is about to be executed for the murder of her husband, Anne bequeaths her children a 'booke / Of holy meditations' which

will keep them 'Safer than in faire buildings' (xxi.2706). Comensoli's overall argument is that domestic tragedy 'neither uniformly nor unequivocally upholds the cults of civility and domesticity' (1999:68). I am not sure whether the general proposition is convincing, but it is clear that the 'faire buildings' of the patriarchal home and the female body are terrifyingly vulnerable.

In Heywood's *A Woman Kill'd with Kindness* (1603), Mountford's house and land possess 'a virgin title, never yet deflower'd' (Wilson Verity ed. 1888:29), and thus provide a perfect parallel to Susan Mountford's virgin body. Both offer capital – both cultural and literal – to her impoverished brother. The clean proper female body is dramatised through the safe boundaries of the house and estate. As Mountford offers his sister to Acton in payment of his debt, attention is again drawn to the limits of the domestic space – 'This is the gate...' (61) – though Susan will only go through the gate into marriage, her virgin body reconciling her brother and his enemy.

Like Mountford, Frankford is also 'preoccupied with the integrity of his house' (Orlin 1994:154), and as in the case of Mountford, this integrity is reflected by the bodies of female family members. However, while Susan Mountford's chastity saves their house, Anne Frankford's adultery draws attention to the dangerous permeability of the boundaries of the physical house, of the household, and of the female body. Anne Frankford's seducer is Wendoll, whom her husband has welcomed into his household as his 'companion' (Wilson Verity ed. 1888:18). As he becomes Anne's lover, he penetrates not only her body but also the inner parts of the house, her 'private chamber' (49). In the fourth act, when Wendoll and Anne go to bed and Frankford discovers them together, much is made of the locking of doors and gates and the keeping of keys. Frankford enters his house drawing a detailed geography of it, as he goes through 'My outward gate; / This is the hall-door; this the withdrawing chamber, / But this ... door ... / It leads to my polluted bed-chamber ...' (52). Lena Cowen Orlin (1994:146,149) draws attention to the 'proliferation of domestic detail' that asserts Frankford's gentry status, but also the 'disjunction between Frankford and his house' that takes place at this traumatic moment. He claims his house again when he retires to his study to consider her fate, and then exiles her to another mansion. Anne's punishment for having 'polluted' and 'stained' (Wilson Verity ed. 1888:52, 62) the domestic space is her banishment from it. There is a striking scene in the fifth act where Acton, Mountford, Susan and others stand 'Before the Manor' (69) to which Anne is banished, again drawing our attention to the limits of domestic space and so by implication Anne's transgression of those limits. Finally the only way of regaining her clean proper body and her marriage is the destruction of that body: as she dies of starvation and remorse Frankford joins her within the newly defined

domestic space, recreating it as a home and her as a wife, a re-creation only possible at the moment of its dissolution.¹

In *Arden of Faversham* (1592) Anne Arden's transgression of wifely obedience through adultery and husband murder is also dramatised through obsessive attention to the details of the physical space of the domestic home, its walls, doors and chambers and even its furniture. Arden's house, in fact, still survives today in Faversham in Kent, and it may be that even in the 1590s, some 40 years after the murder, the playwright may have been familiar with the real house. Enclosed spaces in this play sometimes figure female chastity: when Shakebag talks about a whore 'opening her shop windows' (XIV.13) the building reflects and euphemises the female body, and Alice's constant leaving of the domestic space suggests her disorderly nature. But likewise she appropriates an ideology of domestic containment for her own purposes, as when, for instance, she locks Mosby in her closet (I.191).

The battle between the Ardens is partly enacted over the language of the domestic. As Viviana Comensoli (1999:84) points out, Arden repeatedly refers to 'my house,' while Alice too tries to claim some ownership of the domestic home, asking her lover Mosby to come to 'my door' (I.128) or insisting on referring to 'our house' (X.25). Alice is 'descended of a noble house' (I.202) – in fact she was the stepdaughter of Sir Thomas North – and she struggles to appropriate to herself the domestic space of the Arden household. Arden, in Holinshed and in the play, is not a murdered innocent. His appropriation of the Abbey lands – where, ultimately, ironically, his body will be found – and his possible defrauding of Reede – identify him with a new breed of rising entrepreneurs different from the old aristocracy where Alice's origins lie and the values of the gentry house (in all senses of that noun). His hoarding and opportunistic profiteering unsettle old class and religious hierarchies and, perhaps, teach Alice to do likewise, uniting with her class-inferior Mosby to murder her husband and 'usurp [his] room' (IV.29) and his house.

An early attempt at murder happens in Franklin's 'house' (III.173) at Aldersgate. The servant Michael, who is in on the plot, promises to leave 'the doors ... unlocked' (III.173) for the murderers, advising them to go 'over the threshold to the inner court' (III.175), where they will find on the left

¹ Rebecca Ann Bach (1998:504-505,515), argues that the play 'is not about the heterosexual couple' at all – indeed the heterosexual couple 'did not exist,' and the 'domestic' space, the 'household' is 'a space where men interact with men, not as the private space of the modern nuclear family.' This argument is interesting and to some degree convincing, especially in the subplot, but it dangerously erases Anne Frankford and can make no sense of her seduction by Wendoll. It also, it seems to me, misreads the play's strategy with space.

stairs leading directly to Arden's chamber. The plot, however, goes wrong: sleeping 'Upon the threshold' (IV.91) Michael has a bad dream and rouses the household, and Arden discovers that 'the doors were all unlocked' (IV.101). When Mosby relates this episode to the assassins, he reinvents the past by describing how Franklin and Arden were talking late 'in the porch' (VII.9) and Franklin found 'the doors unbolted and unlocked' (VII.7). This episode in the play makes constant reference to liminal spaces, doors, thresholds and porches, and their function, at this point still successful, to protect the inner spaces, especially in this exclusively male space where the disruptive power of women is temporarily absent.

Ironically in *Arden of Faversham* the open spaces which in Elizabethan thought would have been seen as dangerously haunted by masterless men and other vagrants are all perfectly safe for Arden. He passes unharmed through Rainham Down, notorious for its robbers (VII.18), the 'park' (VI.6) in which he dreams he is a deer pursued to his death, and the frightening misty landscape of Scene XI where Shakebag falls into a ditch. Indeed, open spaces seem to contrive to save him in ways which can be hilariously comic, like the episode where Black Will's head is broken as an apprentice closes up a bookstall in Paul's churchyard. Ironically, Arden is in most danger in the space which ought to be the safest of all for him, his own house. Ronald Heubert (1997:26) reminds us that in More's *Utopia* the private sphere is dismantled as 'threatening to the welfare of the utopian commonwealth,' and plays like *Arden of Faversham* express both the utopian cult of the patriarchal home and a deep anxiety about the meaning of its interior, feminised space. It is in his own house that Alice tries to poison Arden at the beginning of the play, and where at the end he is finally murdered. Other houses, too, protect him, like Franklin's at Aldersgate and Lord Cheiny's at Shorlow. Towards the end of the play even the proverbial language in common usage represents the home as a dangerous place. 'Home is a wild cat to a wand'ring wit' (X.13), says Alice, apparently trying to persuade her husband to stay at home: and the Ferryman who encounters Franklin and Arden in the mist and is a symbolically Charon-like figure who represents death, has a repertoire of anti-domestic sayings: 'like to a curst wife in a little house ... then looks he as if his house were afire...' (XI.11-13).

Closed and open spaces also become central especially in the language of the murderers. They plan to kill Arden within his own 'home' – a word that echoes through Scene XIV where the murder actually takes place – and leave his body 'behind the Abbey' (XIV.123), as if he had been killed by a 'slave' (XIV.125). The closed and open spaces – the house as opposed to the open ground outside – reflects the state of Alice's body, supposedly a clean proper body closed to all but her husband, but in actuality a leaky, 'strumpet' (XIV.405) body, as the reference to other whores in the scene of the murder

and immediately afterwards reinforces. Alice imagines that when the door next 'open[s]' she will be rid of her husband and 'no more be closed in Arden's arms' (XIV.143). 'Black Will is lock'd within' (XIV.160), as previously in their loveplay Alice had locked Mosby in her closet. Michael is ordered to 'lock the street door' (XIV.167) when Arden arrives, this time not to protect him from external dangers but to prevent his escape and ensure his murder. When Arden arrives, Alice tells him that 'the doors are open,' though Michael reminds us that this is a lie for he has 'locked' them (XIV.197-8). Finally, Arden is murdered, after he and Alice each strives to appropriate the house and identify it as 'my house' (XIV.212, 217).

In the confusion afterwards, the words 'house,' 'doors,' and references to closed and open spaces continue to proliferate to draw our attention to the central irony, that what should have been Arden's safest haven in fact becomes the place of most danger and death, as Alice's body, which should have been reserved for Arden alone, becomes the source of his death. Franklin leads a search for evidence 'through every room' (XIV.372) and his repeated comments underline the irony – 'I fear me he was murdered in this house ... he was murdered in this room' (XIV.393,400). Justice is performed at the end of the play – Black Will is burned 'in Flushing on a stage' (Epilogue, 6) – but the audience's feelings are remarkably ambivalent. Even the epilogue, spoken by Arden's friend Franklin, points out the irony that Arden's body was found 'in that plot of ground / Which he by force and violence held from Reede' (pp.9-10). Arden's appropriation of land – even the appropriation of 'my house' from his wife and helpmeet – may be the foundation of Alice's adultery and murder. As Comensoli (1999:84) writes, this play 'invites the spectator to confront the possibility that ... civility and domestic patriarchy are neither unchangeable nor metaphysically ordained,' and that it demonstrates that 'the structures of authority ... are treated problematically.' This problematisation of structures of authority is partly done through the problematisation of physical, architectural structures, and Alice Arden's transgression of the boundaries of wifely obedience is enacted by the play's constant allusions to boundaries and their transgression in the form of doors, walls, rooms and houses.

Lynda Hart (1989:8-9) has argued that women dramatists are particularly preoccupied with theatrical space, which they use as a metaphor 'to disclose and critique women's confinement while suggesting liberating strategies from the patriarchal order.' Aphra Behn for instance, associates gender transgression with the passing of physical boundaries, as Angellica Bianca's house in *The Rover* (1677) draws attention to its doors and windows, and is the site not only of Angellica's public trading with her body but also of Hellena's assumption of male disguise. Derek Hughes (2001:58-9,50) writes of Behn's command of theatrical space and her 'alternation of

public and private spaces' as part of her discourse of gender difference and her analysis of 'public or social identity.'

In Margaret Cavendish's *The Convent of Pleasure*, the wealthy and beautiful heiress Lady Happy decides after the death of her father to establish a convent as a place of safety away from 'the publick world' (Shaver ed. 1999:218) where women face dangers of commodification and loss of identity as they are absorbed into the heterosexual economy. The convent is associated with 'pleasure' but also more oddly with 'Nature' (p.219), for women cannot know or enjoy their own individual nature within the patriarchal order as it is currently constituted. The convent is a place with very secure boundaries: 'there are no Grates, but Brick and Stone-walls ... the Walls are a Yard-thick' (p.227). The foolish men outside who seek Lady Happy simply as a form of lavish commodity cannot enter. It will not even work for them to assume 'Womens Apparel' (p.227), for they lack the basic skills needed by women of any class. The convent thus dramatises the clean and proper female body, but it is no penance to keep to the bounds of this proper space / body, for the convent has 'so much compass of ground' that there is 'room' for anything its inhabitants might need for pleasure and luxury (p.223). Within their secure boundaries, the women perform playlets enacting the difficulties of women's lives, the pain and danger of childbirth, dangers of rape and forced marriage, betrayal by husbands, the death of children.

However, the thick walls of the convent are more permeable than it might seem. The Princess, 'a Princely brave Woman ... and of a Masculine Presence' (p.226), enters the convent, and gains consent from Lady Happy to join the ladies who 'do accoutre Themselves in Masculine-Habits, and act Lovers-parts,' especially to Lady Happy herself. Lady Happy welcomes this 'innocent ... Lover' (p.229), but gradually comes to fear that her love for the Princess is outside 'Nature' (p.234). However, the Princess is in truth a Prince. The play, it may be, like *Gallathea* allows the possibility of lesbian desire, but unlike *Gallathea* that subversive desire must ultimately be contained. It may be that the Prince's ability to enter the convent demonstrates an androgyny which allows him to make a relationship with Lady Happy which transcends patriarchy. But it is somewhat disturbing that he threatens to gain Lady Happy 'by force of Arms' (p.244) if necessary; and that Lady Happy is almost entirely silent after the revelation of the Prince's true sex. As Lady Happy loses her voice, so to some degree does Margaret Cavendish, and large sections of the last two acts are attributed to the Duke of Newcastle, her husband. The convent walls, then, define and protect the clean proper body, but women must, despite the play's very glum treatment of marriage, leave the convent and enter the heterosexual economy. Finally the convent is divided into two sections, for virgins and

widows. The heterosexual economy can be evaded for set periods, but marriage is the only proper destiny for the mature woman.

In Ben Jonson's *Epicoene* (1610), gender boundaries and their transgression are enacted through physical, architectural boundaries in the most inventive and consistent way yet. I want to write into this section what has been conspicuously missing so far, a consideration of the original circumstances of performance of the play. Like Lyly's *Gallathea*, Jonson's *Epicoene* was written for performance by the troupes of boy actors; in Jonson's case by the Children of the Queen's Revels performing at the Whitefriars Theatre. Indeed, in 1609-10 *Epicoene* was one of the first plays performed at the newly refurbished theatre, the so-called 'Second Whitefriars.' The First Whitefriars, as Mary Bly (2000:3) has reminded us, ran for only nine months from 1607-8, and had a 'strikingly abnormal repertoire,' plays full of sexually aware and assertive virgins, and with a heavy use of homoerotic puns. Bly sees this short-lived company as engaged in 'the construction of erotic minorities' (p.17) – perhaps, contrary to the scholarship of Alan Bray and his followers, constructing a gay community in early seventeenth-century London. For Bly, this highly untypical company and repertoire gives us a valuable insight into 'how desire is organised in the early modern period' (p.17). When the first Whitefriars company collapsed in 1608 and the second reopened in 1610, playwrights for the later company had the choice of catering for the homoerotically-orientated audience of the earlier playhouse, or decisively distancing themselves from that audience. Jonson, it could be argued, inventively does both. I shall be discussing *Epicoene* as a play that thematises its circumstances of performance, making the nature of the boy, the conditions of the playhouse occupied by the boy troupe, and the nature of performance itself, part of its theme. It does this through discussions and negotiations of public and private spaces, and also through its parallel treatment of gendered bodies.

When the play begins, Clerimont 'comes out, making himself ready' (1.i., initial SD) followed by the Boy who is his servant. Immediately the problematic relationship between private and public spaces is raised. What have Clerimont and the Boy been doing in the private room beyond audience sight? We have, as it were, the choice between an innocent and an experienced answer. Clerimont is dressing with the aid of his servant; or Clerimont and the Boy have been having sex. The sexual ambiguity of the Boy is kept before our eyes throughout the scene. He visits the 'college of ladies' and is 'the welcom'st thing under a man that comes there' (1.i.8-9); the ladies even attempt to dress him as a woman. When Clerimont's friend Truewit arrives, he suggests that Clerimont's relationship with the Boy is not simply that of master and servant, imagining Clerimont 'between his

mistress abroad and his ingle at home' (I.i.23-4).² This particular Boy, and the boy actor generically, is thus drawn as a liminal figure, sexually ambiguous but erotically charged to both male and female viewers. This liminality is emphasised by the use of and reference to doors in this scene – the 'door' is shut against Clerimont though the Boy can enter the college of ladies (I.i.18), women dress when 'the doors are shut' against men (I.i.109), and Sir Dauphine Eugenie's uncle Morose, who has an obsessive hatred both of noise and of his nephew, is frequently associated with doors (e.g. I.i.156).

The first act of the play, then, establishes an interlocking set of binary oppositions – art / nature; public / private; city / court; male / female. These opposites are crucial to the way the play's characters define their world; but having defined these oppositions clearly and sharply, the play then proceeds to transgress and even deconstruct them. The transgression of boundaries – including boundaries of sex and gender – is a recurrent theme of the play. There are separate spheres of men and women, but the boundaries are permeable: the Boy at least can enter when the doors are shut to the rest of the men. The ladies of the college usurp 'masculine, or rather hermaphroditical, authority' (I.i.76): Mistress Otter, for instance, rules her husband as his 'princess' (III.i.1) who 'commands all at home' (I.iv.25-6).

Public and private – to use two key words of the play – spheres are also separate, opposite, but likewise permeable. Women according to Truewit should 'publicly' (I.i.105) admit to using art to assist nature, though the actual processes of self-construction should take place in 'private' (I.i.106). The terms 'man' / 'men' and 'woman' / 'lady' echo through this first scene – man/men some 15 times in 180 lines. There seems an urgent desire – a result, perhaps, of what Mark Breitenberg (1995) calls 'anxious masculinity' – to define men and women as very different, indeed opposite. Yet at almost every turn, this opposition is more slippery, the boundaries less clear-cut, than seems the case. Jonson, it could be argued, plays with the very contradiction at the heart of Jacobean sexology with which I began: that gender difference is both substantial and innate but also unfixed and permeable. These slippages are dramatised in a whole range of ways – through names, for instance, for not only Mistress Epicoene herself but also Lady Centaur and Mistress Otter are deliberately given names that suggest hybridity, and Sir Dauphine Eugenie is given a name which the scholarly Jonson must have known is feminine in form. But doors and windows, and delineations of different kinds of spaces, are also crucial.

The play's patriarch is Morose, the uncle of Sir Dauphine Eugenie, and a typical Jonsonian humours character dominated by his pathological dislike of noise. In order to prevent him from disinheriting his nephew, the

² 'Ingle,' of course, = 'catamite, boy' (Beaurline ed.: 1966:8).

three young men manipulate him into marrying 'Mistress Epicoene,' who appears to be a silent and compliant young woman but after marriage turns out to be a noisy and bossy virago. Distraught, Morose promises his nephew an income if he can extricate him from this marriage, which he does by revealing that Epicoene is not a woman at all but a boy. Morose's patriarchal and economic power would seem to define him as masculine, but, to quote Stephen Orgel again, that is not a simple term or proposition:

Manhood was not a natural condition but a condition to be striven for and maintained only through constant vigilance ... The fear of effeminization is a crucial element in all discussions of what constitutes a "real man" in the period ... everyone in this culture was in some respects a woman, feminized in relation to someone ... this is a world in which masculinity is always in question. (1996:19,26,124,153)

Morose appears to be the patriarch, owner of the house: he is certainly repeatedly associated with his 'long sword' (II.i.156, IV.ii.106 SD), which forms a ludicrous and ineffective phallic symbol. However, his role seems strangely feminised since like a woman he occupies a private sphere within the house rather than taking a mature masculine public role. A real man, we learn elsewhere, should not remain 'i' your chamber' but should go 'abroad' to 'public shows' (IV.i.51-4): this is how a man learns about the world and thus constructs a patriarchal identity. (Romeo, we will remember, worries his family by confining himself 'private in his chamber' rather than taking a manly role in the outdoor world of Verona. Heubert 1997:34) Because Morose fails to assume a fully masculine public role but remains within a feminised private sphere, his attempt to maintain the clean proper body – of himself or his house – is always hilariously doomed to failure.

So that noise cannot enter, Morose lives in 'a street ... so narrow at both ends' (I.i.158-9), which forms a kind of hilarious parody of the clean proper female body that Morose cannot maintain there. He lives in a room 'with double walls, and treble ceilings,' with the windows 'close shut and caulked' (I.i.175-6). Morose, indeed, is obsessed with doors and windows – 'windores,' as Jonson tends to put it, to echo its similarity to doors. Morose is fighting a losing battle to maintain the integrity of his own doors and windows – when he first appears, indeed, he is talking of ways of keeping the doors closed and quiet, though completely in vain since Truewit bursts noisily in.

Where Morose goes wrong is allowing the allegedly silent woman Epicoene into his house. She instantly starts to talk of it as '*my* house ... a family where I govern' (III.iv.49-50), and becomes Morose's 'regent ... Penthesilea ... Semiramis' (III.iv.51-2). While Morose continues to attempt to bar his doors against the outside world, she insists that they stand 'open,'

refusing to be 'barr'd' (III.v.35, 37). The open door and the sexual openness of the body which it images define Epicoene as the antithesis of the good wife or woman; and Morose's failure to maintain authority over his own house by opening or closing its doors marks the failure of patriarchal masculinity.

Parallel to the open door and the open body is also the open mouth. When she speaks and simply by the fact of speech, Epicoene becomes 'masculine and loud' (IV.i.8-9). The play implies, indeed, that language belongs to men, and that female speech is transgressive and disorderly by definition. Morose's phobia about noise does not extend to himself, for 'all discourses but my own afflict me' (II.i.3-4), and he insists that his social inferiors address him only with 'signs and ... silence' (II.ii.34). 'Silence in woman is like speech in man' (II.iii.109), as the poem has it – 'female vice should be a virtue male' (II.iii.13). Unlike women, men should not be 'dumb' (I.ii.1) or 'mute' (II.iv.17). Earlier, Truewit in defining 'fashionable men' sees one of their key qualities the ability to 'speak aloud' (I.i.38,35). Here 'speak' clearly means, as Beaurline (1966:8) defines it, to 'speak or sound aloud,' but the obscene pun on 'speak' as to ejaculate would not have been lost on the sophisticated private theatre audience. Male language and male sexuality are, therefore, intimately connected, and both are also associated with open spaces, and an orientation to the outside world, while women's bodies and language are associated with female sexuality as passive, enclosed, and orientated towards domestic interiority.

However, these linguistic and bodily spheres are constantly transgressed in this play, and in any case the fact that the poem in praise of female silence is written by the ludicrous John Daw might suggest that the truth is more complex. Daw, the 'only talking sir' (I.ii.64) is feminine in his pointless talkativeness, and so is Amorous La Foole, who lacks discretion in his language but will distract a lawyer in the middle of a case or a lady who is dancing in a masque (I.iii.30-1). Even men, who have license to talk, have to be careful about the appropriateness of their language: Dauphine for instance fears that Clerimont is a 'strange open man' for revealing their plan to Truewit. At the end of the play the young man who has played the role of Epicoene proves his ability to be secret since he 'can speak so well of his silence' (V.iv.228-9). Open and closed mouths and other spaces are crucial to the play, though their gender signals are not always simple ones.

In the central section of the play words like 'in' or 'within' and 'without' become important. Morose seeks to maintain strict boundaries between the secure and enclosed world of his house and the terrifying outside world, but the distinction rapidly becomes untenable. Between the collegiate ladies arguing 'within' and Otter's trumpeters 'without' (III.vii.37, 42), Morose is 'tormented' (IV.i.1) to the point of madness. As a result he

completely leaves the civilised commonwealth of the house and is seen 'i' th' top of the house ... sitting over a crossbeam o' the roof' (IV.i.20-2). Morose complains that they 'have rent my roof, walls, and all my windores asunder' (IV.ii.115). He tries to reappropriate 'my house ... my doors' (IV.ii.107-10) by threatening his tormentors with a long sword, 'a huge long naked weapon' (IV.iii.2-3), but this comic version of his masculinity is completely ineffective, and Morose is left with no alternative but, for once, to run 'out o' doors' (IV.v.3) to seek advice.

As Morose's claims to patriarchal authority as lord of the domestic commonwealth are undermined, so are those of Otter and of Morose's parallels, Sir John Daw and Sir Amorous La-Foole. Before Otter married, he only knew lords and ladies because he has seen them through the 'windore' of the Banqueting House (III.1.44). As pretenders to cultural and sexual capital Daw and La Foole are doomed to defeat and humiliation, and as in the case of Morose, this is defined through spatial metaphors and especially closed and open spaces inappropriately used. La Foole, a 'mannikin' (I.iii.24) rather than a man, invites guests to dine by shouting 'out of his windore as they ride by in coaches' (I.iii.33).

In Act IV, the young gallants rerun the duel scene from *Twelfth Night* in a satirical mode, persuading both Daw and La Foole that the other is a manly man about to challenge them to a duel, and humiliating both through their cowardice and their willingness to accept punishment to save their own lives. Again, physical architectural space is crucial to the dramatisation of their transgression of the protocols of masculinity. In Act Four the gallants wander about 'this gallery, or rather lobby' which has a 'couple of studies' – enclosed spaces – at each end (IV.v.26-7). Daw and La Foole are each persuaded to be 'lock'd in' safely into the feminine enclosed space, ostensibly to protect them and prevent 'public disgrace' (IV.v.75-6) but actually to humiliate them where they can be seen by us in the audience and by the women. To save their lives, the cowards are prepared to risk mutilation, the loss of an arm, teeth or lips. As the gallants draw increasingly violent pictures of their opponents to each of the men, the physical structure of the house is increasingly alluded to, and phrases like 'i' th' house' and 'out o' the house' are repeated. In addition the locking and unlocking, opening and closing of doors become important, especially as they define spaces as private or public. The two cowards agree to take punishment 'in private' and to be 'lock'd up' (IV.v.253,294), but the joke is of course that the scene is actually staged as a public performance not only to us but to the women, who view it from above and recognise them for what they are, drawing comparisons with 'the French hermaphrodite' (IV.vi.27). Daw and La-Foole's swords are confiscated, too, marking, as Beaurline (1966:xv) points out, a kind of 'ritual castration,' which is completed by the end of the

play when they both claim to have slept with Epicoene before marriage, though both are obviously ignorant of 'her' true sex.

A number of these motifs recur in the climactic scenes in Act Five where Morose gradually learns the truth about his bride. Like Daw and La Foole, Morose is willing to undergo bodily mutilation to escape – 'loss of an eye ... a hand, or any other member,' even to 'geld [him]self' (IV.iv.7-9). The clean proper body cannot exist in this world of the transgression of boundaries. In Act V Scene 4, where Morose's anti-climax approaches, the collegiate women again talk of crossing boundaries by opening and closing doors – about peeping through doors (V.iv.14) or thrusting men 'out of doors' (V.iv.10), thereby proving that they transgress gender boundaries and are a 'mankind generation' (V.iv.20). Like Daw and La Foole, Morose must undergo a 'public' exposure (V.iv.39), and like them he undergoes a kind of ritual castration as he confesses 'I am no man' (V.iv.40). This line resonates in all kind of ways. It is fictionally true, as Morose denies his masculinity to escape noise and marriage. It is literally true, since the speaker is indeed no man but a boy. But possibly more is being said, since the play seems to challenge the very possibility of an authentic masculinity.

Unlike Shakespearian comedy, this play does not end with marriages, which celebrate the heterosexual economy and thus bring about social and personal rebirth. The heterosexual economy is not reaffirmed; indeed, neither authentic masculinity nor femininity seems to exist. Mistress Epicoene is a boy, and Mistress Otter and the collegiate women transgress proper gender boundaries. La Foole, Daw and Morose undergo ritual castrations; Otter is dominated by his wife; Dauphine, with his mistress abroad and his ingle at home, is both within and without the heterosexual economy; and in Act Five it is symbolically significant that Clerimont has no pen (V.1.11), though at the end of Act V Dauphine manages to find a pen with which Morose can sign the document ceding to him his inheritance.

At the end of the play we are, perhaps, reminded of the other seventeenth-century meaning of that much repeated word 'house' – not Morose's domestic space but the playhouse where the performance is even at that moment going on. As true identities and true genders are revealed, the fictional private world of Morose's house gives way to the ambiguously private public space of the elite playhouse. As Truewit speaks the last lines, he negotiates the gap between these two kinds of spaces. The play, with its discussion of 'public' and 'private' spaces, to reiterate two words much used in the play, engages not only with discussions about gender, but also with the debate about the respective importance and nature of the public commercial playhouses and the more elitist spaces of the private playhouse. ('Private' was the word used in the period for the enclosed theatres of the boy companies, as in *The Roaring Girl* II.i.151.) Indeed, the play's true subject

could be seen as its own performance by sexually ambiguous performers in a space which is ambiguously both public and private. The play could readily be read as maintaining a view of gender as primarily performative in ways which would be recognised by Judith Butler (1990) or Laura Levine (1994). The boy performs femininity with great aplomb; rather better, indeed, than Morose or Daw or La Foole enact masculinity. Gender is not innate or inevitable, it seems, but is the result of social construction. Mrs Otter, for instance, is a kind of hybrid figure built out of commodities of the city, 'She takes herself asunder still when she goes to bed, into some twenty boxes ... like a great German clock' (IV.ii.87-9).

Jonson, then, negotiates between the two contradictory paradigms of gender available to him. On the one hand, gender difference is substantial and innate, and male and female roles and status are naturally different. Men have rights to language whereas women's language is disorderly; female bodies are leaky vessels. On the other hand, the one-sex model suggests that slippage and transformation are easy and inevitable, and that gender may be almost entirely performative and constructed rather than biologically determined and innate. The play invokes an ideology of binary opposition, but shows that constantly transgressed as boys play girls, women adopt 'mankind' roles, and young men enact bisexual identities. At the centre of these contradictions is the figure of the boy, who Orgel (1996:63) argues represents 'a middle term between men and women,' a figure who 'destabilize[s] the categories, and question[s] what it means to be a man or a woman.' This destabilization of categories, the transgression of the 'least certain of boundaries,' are performed to a surprising extent through spatial metaphors, closed and open spaces, doors and windows, thresholds, public and private spaces.

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The literary construction of a monstrous portrait – *King Richard III* by Thomas More and William Shakespeare

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ABSTRACT

Thomas More's narrative *The History of King Richard the Third* (ca. 1514) and William Shakespeare's play *King Richard III* (ca. 1591) may be considered the epitomes of a tradition that has for ever vilified the last Plantagenet monarch of England. Even in later fictional works, it is hard to come across a more distorted and evil character, whose outward appearance faithfully mirrors his inner moral self. Among several other minor or major contributions to this character's vilification, Bernard André and Pietro Carmeliano had presented him as a monster, physically abominable; John Rous had registered his abnormal birth: after two years in his mother's womb, the child was born exhibiting teeth and shoulder-length hair; Polydore Vergil had explicitly accused him of the murder of the Lancastrian Prince of Wales, Henry VI's son.

It is my intention to focus on the way More and Shakespeare exploit and amplify this vituperative historiographic tradition, full of serious accusations, though mostly based on rumour, uncertainties and legendary elements. Within this widely accepted tradition, both authors manage to shape a solid portrait of a monstrous Richard, an *exemplum* not to be imitated or followed, but whose masterly performance, coinciding with the mastery of the rhetorical devices, has never failed to impress successive generations of readers and theatre-goers.

Hunchbacked, withered arm, born with teeth and shoulder-length hair after two years of gestation in his mother's womb, a murderer, a usurper, a monster. Richard III, the last Plantagenet king of England, was thus immortalized by Thomas More and William Shakespeare who, based on previous historiographical texts, created one of the best known characters in English literature.

Since the fifteenth century, the great interest in the wicked uncle who murdered his innocent nephews has given origin to the production of countless works that form the most extensive bibliography ever written on an

English monarch. Two tendencies have emerged: one centred on the horrid epithets commonly used to define Richard III, mainly created by the Tudor writers, and the other on the blurring of those epithets, in an effort to expose a set of incongruities and exaggerations, mostly based on rumour. As a matter of fact, the vilification of the king stems from such legendary and implausible elements that one is compulsively led to doubts, interrogations and even rejections.

Be that as it may, what eventually subsisted was the negative image of someone abominable, whose deeds are perfect analogies of his distorted physical figure. Legend, myth and speculation may indeed easily flourish, once hardly any official record of the reign survived. As a consequence, Richard III assumed forever a fictional dimension, more than any other character in history, in the sense that Richard III became a literary creation, a feat achieved by means of complex rhetorical devices. Fact and fiction have probably never been mixed in such an inextricable way.

Bernard André, Pietro Carmeliano, John Rous and Polydore Vergil originated the monstrous portrait, each one adding further notes of improbability; Thomas More and William Shakespeare consolidated it, by adapting many fantastical details – the first, in his narrative *The History of King Richard the Third* (ca. 1514), the second, in his play *King Richard III* (ca. 1591), although Parts 2 and 3 of *King Henry VI*, centred on other figures, also contain important sketches for a thorough characterization of the monarch.

The way Gloucester is introduced both in the play and in the narrative, will prove to be essential to his evolutionary behaviour. Right from the beginning, deformity is woven with wickedness, and from then on two major and closely intertwined processes develop side by side – the amplification of Richard's negative traits and the vilification of his image.

But, within the fictional world created by More and Shakespeare, whose guidelines seem to be these intertwined processes, as we shall see, another outstanding element may be simultaneously detected. Due to the power of the rhetorical devices, Richard III is great in his wickedness, impressive in his successful achievements, masterly in his active performance, either on the literal stage of the play or on the metaphorical stage of the narrative. He plans, and persuades, and executes always brilliantly, even if the results are catastrophic for almost everyone who surrounds him and eventually for himself.

In More's text, the introduction of the evil protagonist is carefully prepared. Richard's absence in the first seven pages is filled with the presence of his brother, Edward IV, "of visage louelye, of bodye mightie,

stronge, and cleane made” (4/17),¹ whose reign is referred to as a golden time. Here and there, however, subtle references to a future of misrule and sadness soon start haunting the state of prosperity. A sense of antithesis is thus inserted, which, together with metaphor and metonymy, will be used throughout the text. The first allusion, vague as it is, contains the entire disruption awaiting England: “after his [Edward IV’s] decease, by the crueltie, mischiefe, and trouble of the tempestious worlde that folowed” (4/1-3). The second, less vague, announces the most condemnable deed attributed to the future king: “withoute anye respecte of Godde or the worlde, vnnaturallye contrived to bereue them [Edward’s children], not onelye their dignitie, but also their liues” (6/6-7). A third allusion, which follows shortly after, but before Richard Duke of Gloucester makes his appearance in the narrative, refers directly to his deep iniquity: “what manner of manne this was, that coulde fynde in his hearte, so muche mischiefe to conceiue” (6/10-12).

The extraordinary circumstances of his birth function as a sort of prediction, or irrefutable signs, surrounding him with an aura of malevolence since his delivery:

... his mother had so muche a doe in her trauaile, that shee could not bee deliuered of hym vncutte ... hee came into the worlde with the feet forwarde, as menne bee borne outwarde ... also not vntoed ... (7/23-27)

On the other hand, when Gloucester finally appears as a character, the antithetical effect established between the two York brothers has already given consistency to the subtle allusions, and strengthened the sense of negativity associated with the protagonist. Edward’s “visage louelye, ... bodye mightie, stronge, and cleane made” may therefore be literally contrasted against the crippled Richard: “... little of stature, ill fetured of limmes, croke backed, his left shoulder much higher then his right, hard fauoured of visage ...” (7/19-21)

Whereas More develops a set of insinuations before Gloucester is introduced in the narrative, Shakespeare opens his play *King Richard III* by exhibiting him without a hint of subtleness. The deformity is bluntly underlined, supported by the impact of direct speech. It is Shakespeare’s Richard, himself, who draws his own portrait:

¹ Number 4 refers to the page, number 17 to the line on that page. The same proceeding is used for every quotation of More’s work.

I that am rudely stamped ...

...

I that am curtailed of this fair proportion,
Cheated of feature by dissembling nature,
Deformed, ...

...

... so lamely and unfashionable
That dogs bark at me as I halt by them
(I.1.16-23)

In another soliloquy of *King Henry VI*, another self-portrait is drawn, maybe even more blatantly, combining the elements hitherto seen and bringing together almost all the details fixed by tradition:

Why, Love forswore me in my mother's womb

...

She did corrupt frail Nature with some bribe
To shrink mine arm up like a withered shrub;
To make an envious mountain on my back
Where sits deformity to mock my body;
To shape my legs of an unequal size;
To disproportion me in every part,
Like to a chaos ...
(Part 3, III.2.153-161)

In every text under consideration here, the insistence on Richard's physical deformity seems to go beyond the mere intention of describing him. From the beginning, we sense a sort of violence in the speech that, in fact, develops in other directions soon after the character makes his appearance.

In More's narrative, the literal antithesis between the two York brothers is undoubtedly an important element, even because it will be present throughout the text, more or less explicitly. The most determinant factor in the protagonist's characterisation is, however, the direct correspondence established between his outer and inner features. The physical portrait finds its almost exact parallel when Gloucester is said to be

... malicious, wrathfull, enuious ... close and secrete, a deepe dissimuler,
lowlye of counteynaunce, arrogant of heart, ... dispitious and cruell ...
(7/22-23, 8/7-10)

The possibility of regeneration is totally rejected. The sense of inversion introduced with Richard's birth – "hee came into the worlde with the feet forward" – will be continuously explored, together with the

negative level where he is placed. This literal inversion will indeed assume many metaphorical angles which will result in the shaping of a monster.

In *King Henry VI*, the first reference to young Richard's features comes from Clifford, whose vituperative direct words already encapsulate the strong sense of disruption, inversion and iniquity, anticipating his later complex behaviour:

Hence, heap of wrath, foul indigested lump,
As crooked in thy manners as thy shape.
(Part 2, V.1.157-158)

The same process of parallelism is prolonged in Shakespeare's *King Richard III*. In the first soliloquy, Gloucester, vicious in body and in mind, continues to underline his deformity and to draw, in direct speech, the symbiosis between his outer and inner features found in More's narrative:

I am determinèd to prove a villain
And hate the idle pleasures of these days.
Plots have I laid, inductions dangerous,
...
... I am subtle, false, and treacherous
(I.1.30-37)

Here, the antithesis between the two brothers is also established, although the rhetorical process, when compared with the narrative one, is much more elaborate. The play opens with the same sense of a golden time associated with Edward IV's reign, in opposition to an age of misrule:

Now is the winter of our discontent
Made glorious summer by this son of York,
And all the clouds that loured upon our house
In the deep bosom of the ocean buried.
(I.1.1-4)

The opposition, now established with the recent past when a Lancaster ruled, is naturally projected into a negative future as well, due to Richard's acid words about himself in his self-portrait, which may be seen as anticipating his impending downfall.

On the other hand, the praise that Edward continuously receives throughout More's text, both in a literal and in a metaphorical sense, is almost immediately destroyed in the opening soliloquy by another sort of causticity. The glory, the victories, the prosperity and the sense of joy

achieved by Edward are destitute of all trace of positivity when Richard violently criticises, and even ridicules, the king:

And now, instead of mounting barbèd steeds
To fright the souls of fearful adversaries,
He capers nimbly in a lady's chamber
To the lascivious pleasing of a lute.
(I.1.10-15)

The literary speeches are full of violence whenever Richard is mentioned, and, in the case of the plays, literally shown. Every one of his decisions is said to have a double meaning and every one of his relationships a specific purpose, in an oriented crescendo leading to his complete destruction. Although the capital crimes he is accused of, namely the murders of Henry VI, Clarence and the young Princes in the Tower, are intrinsically condemnable, the amplification of his wickedness and the vilification of his image take place on another level. In fact, the paramount transgression is the way he is, or, better, the way More and Shakespeare tell he is – a dissembler, full of ambition and cruelty, permanently guided by premeditation. It is through a dissection process of his utmost inner characteristics that Richard III becomes a monster. Thus the importance of the parallelism between outer and inner features, and, probably, the authors' insistence on his physical portrait, enabling the visibility of his mind and soul.

Besides the capital crimes attributed to Richard, the assassination of his nephews being the most hideous, three of his actions may exemplify the cold premeditation and the deep ambition that characterise him. In a context of permanent cruelty, the annihilation of Hastings, the imprisonment of Jane Shore and the 'bastardisation' of some members of his family, implicitly accusing the Duchess of York, his own mother, of adultery, definitely deepen the sense of monstrosity because these characters, together with the young Princes, also become distressed victims, no matter the circumstances of their own contingent transgressions.

The emblematic Battle of Bosworth, vividly told by Shakespeare but omitted by More, may be seen as the providential instrument to cease chaos: in fact, the universe governed by the last Plantagenet king had indeed become an aberration, just like its ruling figure. The decisive event in the history of England closes the play and contains Richard III's final and expected punishment, although the king is ultimately allowed a dimension of brave warrior, despite the vituperative process which corrodes his image along the text. Something very different happens, however, in More's narrative. The omission is extraordinarily and paradoxically meaningful

because it is replaced by such a caustic brief allusion that its effect becomes devastating and coincides with the climax of vilification:

... Kinge Richarde ... slain in the felde, hacked and hewed of his enemies handes, haryed on horseback dead, his here in despite torn and togged lyke a cur dogge. (87/4-6)

In fact, the mutilation inflicted on the king's corpse, meaning total opprobrium, deprives him of every sense of decency or respect, as if the reposition of order were thus rendered more effective.

Beyond the factual elements, the historical circumstances and the way each author organises the sequence of events, Richard III's destruction appears therefore as the necessary and desirable epilogue of two works centred on a king masterfully made a masterful monster.

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The Second Coming: prophecy and utopian thought in John Milton (1608-74) and António Vieira (1608-97)

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ABSTRACT

Persuasive intentions and rhetoric strategies in Vieira's *discurso engenhoso* tend to corroborate the main options of the new political power born with the Restoration of Portuguese independence; but what seems obvious in many of his sermons is critically modulated in *História do Futuro, Esperanças de Portugal, Quinto Império do Mundo*, an heterodox document of his version of the providential destiny of Portugal. On the other hand, in *Paradise Lost* Milton represents large masses in movement, the vast cosmic space, the energy of revolt and conflict, and the eminence of religious devotion; but his grand design is, in the context of the English Restoration, a tormented lamentation for the defeat of "the rule of the saints" and a daring attack on the new regime. In *História do Futuro* and *Paradise Lost*, the texts that will be the focal point of this paper, prophecy and millennium do not go without political commitment, sense of community and prospective utopian representations. And if the great expectations of a temporal Fifth Empire and the pursuit of "a paradise within" may be regarded as corresponding to the same frame of mind, the messianic kingdom of the Portuguese Jesuit and the New Jerusalem of the English Puritan, however, testify to the divisive presence of the sword of the Gospels: the unwavering Christian faith splits once again in inimical heterodox visions of the Second Coming. This paper will attempt to compare these different visionary experiences and approaches to the justification of "the ways of God to men".

The seventeenth century corresponds, in English society and literature, to an arduous passage from a visionary and theocentric age to a time of profane and worldly references. A general statement as this cannot summarize the bewildering ways of Stuart England, but it suggests at least the tremendous range of the transformations that took place there and then at all levels: after the reign of Elizabeth I and its "autocracy by consent" came the uncertainties and anxieties of the rule of James I, to a great extent a legacy of religious, economic and political contradictions of the Tudor age. The explicit pursuit of

absolute power, answering the prevailing tendencies in Europe, the vital differences progressively opposing the divine rule of kings, stressed with dramatic evidence in the reign of Charles I (1625-1649), and the claims of a challenging Parliament representing economic interests and expressing political and religious options which clashed with the centralizing pressure of the crown, would lead to the civil war, the imprisonment, trial and execution of the king and to the brief experience of the Commonwealth. It was also the time of dissent and popular enthusiastic involvement in religion and politics, of Presbyterians, Independents, Levellers, Fifth Monarchists, Ranters and Seekers and all sorts of sectarian or radical groups, and newly inspired prophets proclaiming the Second Coming. The Millennium met the utopian vision and brought it down from the abstract domain of fictional construction to the immediate issues of political, constitutional and religious confrontation. The Restoration would come next, a period full of doubts and ambiguities but simultaneously open to the brave new world of pragmatism and materialism, the promising realm of democracy and capitalism which the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 or the foundation of the Bank of England in 1694 would strikingly validate.

Paradise Lost is a text of strong persuasive intention, explicitly proclaimed in the first invocation of the poem – "assert eternal providence/ And justify the ways of God to men" – suggesting here two prominent narrative fields: the rebellion of Satan and his defeat, with the manifestation of the invincible power of the Creator, and the disobedience of the first two human beings, who could not learn the lessons of the subversion and overthrow of the accursed angel and could not resist their inordinate desires and the most immediate pulsions of their nature. Book IX is a tragic microstructure, as the invocation itself insinuates in its most basic structural dramatic features – characters, action and place. And both the adventure of Satan (the subject matter of the framing narrative and of the admonishing voice of Raphael) and the story of Adam and Eve, the heart of the poem and the focal point of convergence of the several narrative lines, are not a distant mythical evocation. In the loss of Eden lies also the painful Republican memory and the daily experience of those who lost their revolution and the great expectations of the imminent Second Coming. Adam and Eve, "hand in hand with wand'ring steps and slow," leave Paradise and initiate history, that long procession of iniquity and dangers (the History of the Future, in the framed narrative of Michael) that finds in the Restoration its most recent episode. What is easily perceived is the disconnection between the optimistic vitality of the doctrinal texts and pamphlets and the melancholic intonations of an epic that seems to stress even in the syntactic inversion of its title the very idea of loss. In fact, ten years was the time of composition of *Paradise Lost*, a large period of fluctuations in promises and convictions that the text

forcibly inscribes. The context of the poem underlines a lonely and resolute voice, as the reading of the invocation of Book VII, the most personal of them all, clearly identifies: in the night of an unpropitious time, verses grope for an ideal reader, "...fit audience...though few." Cultivating that intimate and irreducible land about which Michael tells Adam almost at the end of the narrative - "...then wilt thou not be loath/ To leave this Paradise, but shalt possess/ A Paradise within thee, happier far" (XII. 585-587) is what is left to the defenders of the "good old cause and of the rule of the saints."

But this manifest devotional stance doesn't rule out different readings: the doomed Satan is splendid in his revolt and his sufferings (Milton "was of the devil's part without knowing it," in Blake's known formula) and the sumptuous and free beauty of Eden has much in common with the dishevelled hair of the gorgeous Eve; imagination, sense of independence and curiosity link the accursed rebel and the woman, and the human characters become more complex and fascinating in their rejection of innocence and their resolution for experience and disobedience.

Paradise Lost chronicles the erasure of an epoch and the emergence of another: it is baroque in the ambition of its grand design, in the representation of the energy of the universe, in its tensions, in the large and powerful masses in movement and conflict; it is neoclassic in the solid balance of its conception and in the circular structure of the action, and perhaps also in the plain style of the last two books (the History of the Future), in a deliberate contrast with the rhetorical excesses and the inflamed attitudes of the first two "Books of Satan."

The Portuguese historical framework is dissimilar and also deserves to be outlined here. The thrilling adventure of expansion and discovery would soon be followed by serious predicaments and threats. Indeed, the "apagada e vil tristeza," the sad and vile decline had been already denounced by the epic poet that in the late sixteenth century registered the meeting of the West and the East and celebrated the voyages and discoveries of a small nation of brave sailors and conquerors; but *Os Lusíadas* is also the chronicle of the indian summer of a powerful nation and of the erosion of ancient glories, later miserably substantiated in the loss of political independence. The supremacy of Castile had been supported by the convincing argument of the invading army of the Duke of Alba and the encouraging response of important sectors of the Portuguese nobility to the Iberian dual monarchy, perhaps the sole remedy for disaster at home and in the colonies. But such an option would imply new commitments: the episode of the Spanish Armada (1588) or the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) document the outstanding role of Spain on the stage of European rivalries and impose categorical loyalties on the new subjects of King Philip. Besides, the growing imperial crisis would demand the strengthening of efforts towards integration and the

notorious reinforcement of authority, which generates the dangerous collapse of great expectations and the winter of discontent among the Portuguese. Small wonder, then, that in the cultural context of the baroque, pervaded by fervent attitudes and exuberant and intense emotions, prophetic voices and Messianic dreams claim their powerful rights to revive the old myths of the providential role of a kingdom to be regenerated by the mysterious “encoberto”, the long expected ruler fallen in the disastrous battle of Alcácer-Quibir.

This is the cultural and political background of António Vieira. He was born, like Milton, in 1608, in a middle-class family of humble condition. Still a little boy, he follows his father to Brazil where later, in São Salvador da Baía, he enters the religious order founded by Ignatius de Loyola. The Dutch occupation of the town forces the departure of a significant part of the inhabitants, and that will give the novice the opportunity to live for twelve months in an Indian village, an event of decisive importance in the ideas and options of the young Jesuit. In fact, his evangelical calling and his dedication to the dignity of the natives, added to the traditional vows of obedience, chastity and poverty, will contribute to the prospect of a Christian utopia of heterodox features. Native communities bring to mind the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel – an ominous hint that later contacts with Jewish thought and the exiled *gentes da nação* would dangerously authenticate – as these long-established people, ignorant of the Gospels and beyond good and evil, are the living argument for the exciting vision of an utopia to be built by the redeeming proselitism of the children of Loyola in the jungle of the New World.

At the same time, the young jesuit preacher, in the “Sermão pelo Bom Sucesso das Armas de Portugal contra as de Holanda” (Sermon urging the Victorious Outcome of the Portuguese against Holland) (1640), did not hesitate to confront the equivocal divine will that seemed to favour the “perfid calvinist” and desert His followers, the Portuguese and Spanish loyal fighters. Later he would translate providencialism into the lusocentric messianic promise of the *Quinto Império*, the Fifth Monarchy intended to rule till the final apocalyptic conflagration. This will occur after the recovery of Portuguese independence and the taking over of new responsibilities by the devoted councillor of John IV, his royal agent in the courts of Europe, and defender of *marranos* and recent converts to the faith, the *cristãos novos*, those industrious and frequently affluent people, now repressed or exiled, but certainly the invaluable potential allies of the kingdom. The unacknowledged but recognizable version of the visionary shoemaker of Trancoso, Gonçalo Anes Bandarra (1500-c.1555), was already manifest in the “Sermão dos Bons Anos”, in 1642, but circumstances demanded now a very pragmatic election: the redeeming ruler was no more to be found in the

unhappy Sebastian, since he would never return in a cold foggy morning, as stated in the popular belief. He was close at hand, he was John IV himself. During captivity (Babylon was a somewhat extravagant but always operative analogy) Bandarra had been among the Portuguese a kind of Jeremiah, but afterwards he came to be seen as an heretic and his *trovas* (ballads) a serious offense of Jewish extraction against sound doctrine. The jesuit who advocates tolerance towards the forced converts (*cristãos novos*) and the diplomat who meets the famous and dangerous Menasseh-ben-Israel in Holland will be in fact very naïf and improvident: he places at the disposal of the dominican friars – and therefore of the Inquisition – the trump card of persecution and revenge. This trump card would be a letter sent in 1659 from the Amazonian jungle to the priest André Fernandes, bishop of Japan and confessor of Queen Luísa de Gusmão, widow of John IV (who had died in 1656). In it the jesuit missionary restores Bandarra's cryptic teachings and proclaims the Hopes of Portugal, the Coming of the Fifth Empire of the World and the imminent resurrection of John IV. The letter was seized and the Inquisition opened the prosecution in an adverse political context (the *coup d'état* of Vieira's enemy, the Count of Castelo Melhor, would oust the queen from power, and replace her regency by the rule of the feeble-minded Alfonso VI).

The legal suit lasted three years (from 1663 to 1667), and this was the time for the culprit to prepare his defense, which he did, by submitting to the inquisitorial court two long texts – *Representação Primeira* and *Representação Segunda*. Most probably this was also the time for the old priest to persevere in an old project began perhaps in 1649.

História do Futuro, Esperanças de Portugal e Quinto Império do Mundo (History of the Future, Hopes of Portugal and Fifth Monarchy of the World) is an unfinished work: the author had seven books in mind but only two, of which the second remains unfinished, survived. The *Livro Antepimeiro*, which introduces the work and which should be considered as part of the treaty, intends to justify in some detail its crucial lines of argument: the historical, biblical and national foundations of the prophetic vision, with the enunciation of its canonical and non-canonical sources, and the reiteration of the original calling of the Kingdom of Portugal. The oxymoron given in the title was certainly not to be read as an extravagant proposition: prophecy had been repeatedly confirmed by events, and the nexus between precedent and prophetic belief had therefore a strong rational and religious basis. The treaty is explicitly addressed to Portugal and to the Christian reader, and the awareness of divine authorship of human history, in the specific frame of reference of the Restoration and the glory promised to the chosen nation, is made of obvious relevance even to the deceived and obstinate enemies of Portugal, who should not fight against the ways of God

with men. The idea of the Fifth Monarchy of the World, an age of bliss that should follow the Assirian, the Persian, the Greek and the Roman Empire (the latter founding its contemporary expression in the Empire of the Habsburgs), was not the product of vagaries and unsubstantial dreams. Events had shown the truth of the visions of Daniel, Isaiah, Jeremiah and David. The unique achievement of the Portuguese in modern times was clearly inscribed in the sacred texts, and Vieira now recapitulates the teachings of the biblical prophets. No wonder that Isaiah is seen as a chronicler of the kingdom. A profuse biblical illustration validates the providential role of Portugal in these glorious prospects. The Fifth Empire, which would be simultaneously spiritual (and ruled by the Pope) and secular (and so also ruled by the Portuguese king), would destroy the power of the Turks and introduce a time of happiness and peace, of conversion of heretics, gentiles and Jews, preparing the coming of the Anti-Christ and the final apocalyptic conflagration: "Think not that I came to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword" (Matthew 10:34).

The great expectations of the Fifth Empire and the pursuit of a "paradise within" may be regarded as the product of the same frame of mind; however, the messianic kingdom of the Portuguese Jesuit and the New Jerusalem of the English Puritan testify to the divisive presence of the sword of the Gospels. The unwavering Christian faith splits once again in inimical heterodox visions of the Second Coming.

One can perhaps say that the return to the inexorable ways of the world hit the poet harder than it did the preacher. Poetry had to be the field of resistance when the poet, back in the land of Egypt, had to meditate upon the reasons why God had forsaken His elected nation.

The Book of Genesis and the Revelation had been the main biblical sources of *Paradise Lost*; it is Luke and the Book of Job which become the sources of *Paradise Regained*, the short epic in four Books published in 1671. The issue here is the pursuit of identity and the hero is Christ himself. The narrative action doesn't take place in Eden, it is in the wilderness that Christ responds to the Fall of Adam and Eve and of the English nation. The text resumes the thematic reference of "... the better fortitude / Of Patience and Heroic Martyrdom" of verses 31 and 32, Book IX, of *Paradise Lost*, or the "model of Christian hero" of *The Reason of Church Government*, and the climax of the action is the epiphanic moment when Christ, on the pinnacle of the temple and in a gesture that prefigures the Crucifixion (that is how we can picture him, at least) raises his arms and seals the fall of Satan into the abyss. *Samson Agonistes*, also published in 1671, is a tragedy based on the familiar narrative of the Book of Judges. It is designed according to the classical tradition and it reenacts the quest for self-knowledge and the revelation of a providential calling. The protagonist, precariously placed

between the Adam of *Paradise Lost* and the Christ of *Paradise Regained*, demolishes the pagan temple and buries his enemies under the ruins. The blind hero and Israel, Milton, the blind bard, and the English: does the text insinuate that political victory is still possible?

Vieira had to compromise, since the ways of the Lord were for him the ways of His triumphant Church. But his faith in messianic dreams was strong as a rock. If John IV dies without accomplishing his promised mission, he is bound to resurrect; if realities dismiss this heretical possibility, election moves to the inept Alfonso VI (to whom Vieira dedicates his *História do Futuro*), then to the sons of Don Pedro, the regent of the kingdom, and finally to the usurper himself, when he ascends the throne in 1683. It is perhaps noteworthy that António Vieira faces the inquisitorial court without abjuring his beliefs and propositions, and it goes without saying how convenient recantation would have been for him; rather let the venerable divines clarify the errors and misjudgement of the humbler culprit. And in *História do Futuro* the Jesuit priest assumes the orthodoxy and sound doctrine of his arguments: the invocation of names and precedents liable to support his authorized vision is really obsessive and breathtaking. Finally, in his *Clavis Prophetarum, De Regno Christi in terris consummato*, a long treaty left unfinished, he moderates the enthusiasm of his former views. Now he writes in Latin, the universal language of the Church and of Christendom, and, in spite of the survival of heretical tinges in this cry from afar (from Brazil, where he would die in 1694), such as the role given to Jews and their rites in the Second Coming, the fact is that the immediacy of change dissolves into the abstraction and dilation of a long spiritual growth as prerequisite for an utopia made insubstantial when compared to its former pragmatic dimension.

What is left of him has above all to do with the artist, not with the visionary theologian or philosopher. One can certainly grant that faith could move hills and mountains, but the truth is that it can no more rule the ways of our profane world. Neither can old institutional loyalties. The erosion of the Jesuit legacy and of one of the most notable children of Loyola would later be documented in the devastating action taken by the enlightened minister of King John V against the Companhia de Jesus and in the celebrations that systematically have been acclaiming the memory of the “divine marquis” of Pombal and ignoring or vilifying the old Jesuit. Positivism, liberalism, individualism and democracy have put an end to a visionary and tormented age.

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'This truest glass': Ben Jonson's verse epistles and the construction of the ideal patron

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ABSTRACT

Scholarly work done on the Renaissance verse epistle has usually considered the recipient a stable subject that is not significantly affected by the letters addressed to them. Erasmus's notion that a letter is "a conversation between two absent persons" epitomizes antique to early modern epistolary theories. This article argues, however, that verse letters make possible the active creation of the ideal patron. Among the many Renaissance poets who penned verse letters to actual and potential patrons, Ben Jonson was the most spectacularly successful; this success is directly related to his epistolary-poetic bids for patronage. In this essay, I use the *Epistle to Elizabeth, Countess of Rutland* and the *Epistle to Katherine, Lady Aubigny* to explore the way Ben Jonson actively constructs and insistently pushes his addressees into what he sees as their ideal selves, as patrons of literature.

John Donne's famous line "Sir, more than kisses, letters mingle souls;/For, thus friends absent speak" (Smith ed. 1996:214) epitomizes antique to early modern theories that a letter is "a conversation between two absent persons," as Erasmus explained in *A Formula* (Sowards ed. 1985:258). This, and Erasmus' other argument that a letter "will vary according to the person addressed" (*On the Writing of Letters*, Sowards ed. 1985:19), have served to a large degree to define the work done both on the verse epistle in general and on specific writers' particular uses of the genre. Theories of the verse epistle thus far have also tended to consider the recipient a stable subject that is in no significant way affected by the letters addressed to them. I will show, on the other hand, that verse letters addressed to patrons make possible the active creation of the ideal patron. Poetic epistles addressed to the Countess of Rutland and to Lady Aubigny are the testing ground for my exploration of the way Ben Jonson actively constructs and insistently pushes his addressees into what he sees as their ideal selves, as patrons of literature. Stanley Fish (1984:34) claims that Jonson presents "the objects of [his]

praise to themselves [which] say in effect, 'Sir or Madame So and So, meet Sir or Madam So and So, whom, of course, you already know'", and rhetorically inquires, "Isn't its reader, its author-reader, directed to look at something he [or she] already is?" (p.32) – my answer is a definitive "No". If the ideal relationship, and therefore the ideal patron, existed already then the verse epistles arguably would not need to exist either – at least not in the rhetorically intricate form that they do now. Because Fish does not acknowledge this complexity, he can, with little difficulty, also assert that Ben Jonson was "a poet whose every title would seem to mark him as a man dependent not only for his sustenance but for his very identity on the favour and notice of his social superiors" (p.27), or, as is more commonly thought, that Jonson's verse letters to patrons were simple "begging poems" (Evans 1989:386). Robert C. Evans explains why this might be the case: "A play might fail in the theatre because it did not please, but a poet might fail at court if his personality were unpleasant [b]ecause the patronage system during this period was tied so intimately to the predilections of individual patrons" (p.385). While it is certainly true that Jonson relied on his patrons' favour, it is also true that, at least in the case of the epistles to the Countess of Rutland and Lady Aubigny, they are, because of Jonson's rhetorical machinations, equally dependent on him for their identities (as patrons). Epistles to Elizabeth, Countess of Rutland and Katherine, Lady Aubigny are not the only examples of Jonson's rhetorical construction of the ideal patron, but I limit my focus to them.

I am not the only critic to question Fish's stance on Jonson's verse epistles. Evans also directly contradicts Fish's notion that in his patronage poems Jonson addresses stable subjects who are in no way effected by these poetic-epistolary exchanges. I differ from Evans on two fronts, however. First, he asserts that first, all of the patronage poems are destructive and manipulative. Secondly, Evans argues that Jonson, in spite of such manipulation, remains the most vulnerable party in these exchanges. I argue, rather, that Jonson's whole project relies on his attempts to change the rules of the game. Rather than subscribing to the negative view of patronage relations that Evans perceives as epitomizing Jonson's verse epistles to patrons, Jonson is subjecting patronage games based on fear and manipulation to criticism and attempting to present and enact a more positive alternative. Thus, I use "construction" advisedly to convey a positive sense of building up and creating rather than the negative and destructive connotations discussed by Evans. When negative moments occur in the poetry, I would suggest that Jonson strategically includes them to remind his patrons of the ugly alternatives to *his* way of playing the patronage game. Nonetheless, the presence of such negativity creates a tension in the *Epistle to Rutland* not seen in epistles to other patrons.

Jonson's *Epistle to Elizabeth, Countess of Rutland* was presented to its addressee as a New Year's gift for 1600 and presumably circulated amongst Elizabeth's friends and family before being published in 1616. As the daughter of Philip Sidney, the patriarch of Renaissance England's "most important aristocratic circle of literary patrons" (Van den Berg 2000:3), Elizabeth was financially well-off and laden with Pierre Bourdieu's notion of "symbolic capital." Evans (1989:39-40) sees the *Epistle to Elizabeth* as "an exceptionally representative example of Jonson's patronage poetry" in that it plays on "his superiors' insecurities" and "threaten[s] their reputation and credit." In this verse epistle, Jonson's primary rhetorical moves include contrasting financial gain with virtue and discussing Elizabeth's literal and literary lineage. While Evans reads these moves as manipulative, I assert that rather than trying to reduce his patron to fear and paranoia, he is trying to build her identity as patron on a stable ground of mutual beneficence in sharp contrast to those who *would* threaten and bribe their patrons.

In the poem's complex introductory lines, Jonson highlights the differences in his and Elizabeth's positions in life and also suggests that the exchange of money is essentially corrupt:

Madam,
Whilst that, for which, all virtue now is sold,
And almost every vice, almighty gold,
That which, to boot with hell, is thought worth heaven,
And, for it, life, conscience, yea, souls are given,
Toils, by grave custom, up and down the court,
To every squire, or groom, that will report,
Well, or ill, only, all the following year,
Just to the weight their this day's presents bear;
While it makes hushiers serviceable men,
And some one apteth to be trusted, then,
Though never after; while it gains the voice
Of some grand peer, whose air doth make rejoice
The fool that gave it; who will want, and weep,
When his proud patron's favours are asleep;
While thus it buys great grace, and hunts poor fame;
Runs between man, and man; 'tween dame, and dame;
Solders cracked friendship; makes love last a day;
Or perhaps less: whilst gold bears all this sway,
I, that have none (to send you) send you verse.
(*Rutland* ll.1-19)

Jonson here distances himself from "that for which all virtue is sold" by refusing to participate in such economic exchanges – he sends Elizabeth a poem, which is "A present, which (if elder writs rehearse / The truth of

times), was once of more esteem" (*Rutland* ll.20) than "almighty gold." While Jonson cannot, as much as he claims he would not, participate in a purely financial relationship with Rutland, he sets them both apart from such viciousness anyway. Rather than simply the exchange of money then, it is a particular kind of relationship that Jonson is criticizing. As bad as the hushiers, squires, and grooms that relay gossip to their courtly superiors in exchange for social and economic favour are the "proud patrons whose favours [go to] sleep." Jonson sets himself, and therefore Elizabeth, apart from this merely capitalist exchange between hack poets and fickle patrons by asserting the worth of his gift. His gift, unlike the gossipy poetry of his contemporaries, is not part of an exchange where "gold [is] made [a] weapon to cut throats" (*Rutland* ll.23). Rather, it rewards one's poetic genius and allows it to continue to thrive. While his competitors write "dross" (*Rutland* ll.27) for "noble ignorants" (*Rutland* ll.28), Jonson's gift of true poetry, he writes, "With you, I know ... will find grace" (*Rutland* ll.30).

Elizabeth will, of course, return grace, that is, virtuous gold, for the poem because Jonson is a great poet. He never asserts that his efforts are humble or inferior to her own, which was a common trope in poems to literary patrons – for example, Donne's somewhat cringing verse letters to Lucy, Countess of Bedford. The very fact that he writes to her, Jonson's confidence suggests, is because she is worthy of his poetic attention and can separate the wheat from the chaff of poetic endeavour. Barbara Smith (1995:102) writes, "[Rutland] already, as a poet herself, understands and values what she is supposed to. He need not convince her of anything." Yet, if Jonson's relationship to her were that uncomplicated, the epistle would not have needed to be so complex. Near the end of the poem, Jonson promises to "like a rich, and golden pyramid, / Borne up by statues, rear your head" (*Rutland* ll.83-4) – but this is conditional upon Elizabeth living up to the specific standards of patronage he creates for her in the poem.

Alongside this virtue-vice opposition, Jonson uses Elizabeth's lineage in his construction of her ideal patron identity. Having stated that he is sure she will show him favour, he reminds her that she is a Sidney: "For what a sin 'gainst your great father's spirit, / Were it to think, that you should not inherit / His love unto the muses" (*Rutland* ll.31-3). Jonson's sin would be to think Elizabeth did not inherit her father's love of literature; this implies, I would suggest, the corollary that if Elizabeth fails to act like a Sidney, it is *she* who commits a sin – against herself, her father, and her poet. Jonson continues,

Nature you a dowry gave,
Worth an estate, treble to that you have.
Beauty, I know, is good, and blood is more;

Riches thought most: but, madam, think what store
The world hath seen, which all these had in trust,
And now lie lost in their forgotten dust.
(*Rutland* ll.35-40)

This passage makes it clear that this relationship is as much about her reputation and identity as it is about Jonson's. As a Sidney, Elizabeth has a particular identity that should be independent of Jonson. However, his explicit invocation of that character makes it necessary that she fulfill it. Jonson makes the same move in his short epistle to Lady Mary Wroth. He points out that Wroth is "a Sidney, though unnamed" (*Wroth* ll.4) and asks her, "being named, how little doth that name / Need any muse's praise to give it fame?" (*Wroth* ll.5-6). This, of course, is ironic. Reminding Elizabeth of an already established set of behaviours she must adopt as a Sidney is integral to Jonson's construction of the identity Rutland must assume if she is what her name and station claim.

The logical conclusion to this argument is that if nobles "lie lost in their forgotten dust" it is because they have not earned the right to be immortalized by a great poet. Jonson's assertion that "It is the muse, alone, can raise to heaven" (*Rutland* ll.41) contains several layers of meaning. In one sense, Jonson is the muse and the line thus contains an implicit reminder that he holds her reputation both here and hereafter in his hands. While the poem that contains this reminder has been written, and therefore potentially immortalized her already, Jonson can always write a revisionist palinode so that she is remembered negatively. Or, he could simply choose not to publish it. On the other hand, she is the muse, granting him the means to continue writing poetry; it is in this second reading that we see how hard Jonson is working to alter the negative lines of patron/poet relations. How she behaves determines whether she will lie lost in forgotten dust or be remembered, and if remembered, whether for well or for ill. In other words, negative relations are at least partly the fault of unworthy patrons, which, of course, Jonson has been distinguishing Rutland so clearly from. This powerful line is followed by a list of famous figures who are remembered now only because poets chose to immortalize them:

There were brave men, before
Ajax, or Idomen, or all the store,
That Homer brought to Troy; yet none so live:
Because they lacked the sacred pen, could give
Like life unto them. Who heaved Hercules
Unto the stars? Or the Tyndarides?
Who placèd Jason's Argo in the sky?
Or set Ariadne's crown so high?

Who made a lamp of Berenice's hair?
Or lifted Cassiopea in her chair?
But only poets, rapt with rage divine?
And such, or my hopes fail, shall make you shine.
(*Rutland* ll.53-64)

While certainly reiterating Jonson's hope for Elizabeth's "grace", the final line of this passage also expresses Jonson's hope that she will be "heroic" enough to merit being immortalized by poets "rapt with rage divine," as Homer and Jonson clearly are.

Jonson's *Epistle. To Katherine, Lady Aubigny*, like the epistle to Elizabeth, engages in a lengthy rhetorical construction of the ideal literary patron. Jonson wrote the *Epistle. To Katherine*, whose husband was Jonson's patron as well, in late 1611 (Riggs 1989:180-81). When he wrote this poem, Jonson was in a much more financially and socially stable position than when he wrote the epistle to Elizabeth. By 1612, Jonson had arguably become the most spectacularly successful patronage poet in the English Court. His position as premier masque-maker for James I, after all, was attributable to "the Countess of Bedford who secured Jonson's commission to write the scripts" (Smith 1995:43). Hence, there is not the same level of tension suffusing this later poem as there is in the epistle to Elizabeth. Rather, we (and his patron) see a more confident Jonson who has had significant evidence of success in his positive attempts at patron construction. Evans claims that the epistle to Rutland is representative of Jonson's patronage poetics because of its betrayal of insecurities. As has already been discussed, the epistle to Rutland is meant to be more constructive than manipulative. Moreover, the *Epistle. To Katherine* and other self-assured poems such as *An Epistle to Sir Edward Sackville*, *To Lucy Countess of Bedford*, *To Esmé Lord Aubigny*, and *To Mary, Lady Wroth* as a group reveal a greater confidence than the solitary anxiousness distinguishing the epistle to Rutland.

Fish also sees the *Epistle. To Katherine* as a representative example in his discussion of Jonson's relationship to his patrons, but for different reasons than I do. The deceptively straightforward final lines of the poem, the central metaphor of which is the mirror, suggest a clear-cut reflection of Katherine: "Madam, be bold to use this truest glass: / Wherein, your form, you still the same shall find; / Because nor it can change, nor such a mind" (*Aubigny* ll.122-24). The "truest glass" Jonson refers to here is, of course, the poem itself. The rest of the poem, however, including its opening lines, complicate Fish's straightforward reading:

'Tis grown almost a danger to speak true
Of any good mind, now: there are so few.
The bad, by number, are so fortified,
As what they have lost to expect, they dare deride.
So both the praised, and praisers suffer: yet,
For others' ill, ought none their good forget.
I, therefore, profess myself in love
With every virtue, ...
(*Aubigny* ll.1-8)

Here Jonson makes a point of highlighting his own worth as he does in the epistle to Elizabeth. The result of this self-praising is that Jonson suggests that any patronage relationship with him is by nature set apart from the bad, "so fortified" in number. And by putting himself before Katherine as one defining aspect of a virtuous association, Jonson implies that he has at least as much power as she does in making the relationship honourable. Katherine is not addressed until Jonson has defined both what he is and what he is not. He is not vicious, he is virtuous, and in the face of others' "cap'tal crimes, t'indict my wit" (*Aubigny* ll.14), he has, he writes, "not altered yet my look" (*Aubigny* ll.16). The latter line is important because it hints at the image of the mirror that Jonson is about to invoke in his constructive praise of his patron. He continues with his descriptions of the viciousness of those around him in contrast to his own steadfast "look", and for the first time, salutes his addressee:

I, madam, am become your praiser. Where,
If it may stand with your soft blush to hear
Yourself but told unto yourself, and see
In my charácter, what your features be,
You will not from the paper slightly pass:
Look then, and see yourself.
(*Aubigny* ll.21-25; 29)

This is an extremely evocative passage and crucial to understanding precisely what Jonson is doing with the mirror metaphor. He claims to be presenting Katherine to herself, yet, it is only in his "character" that she can see this image – Jonson's use of "character" being a threefold pun meaning (i) the printed words of the poem, (ii) "strongly developed moral qualities" (Woods 1994:20), and (iii) his own face, which he claims earlier he has "not altered yet". Thus, she is defined both by and in relation to Jonson – which undermines Fish's suggestion that Jonson introduces his patrons to someone they already know (1984:34) and Smith's assertion that Lady Aubigny "need not 'strive' for anything, because she already embodies virtue, and requires no further guidance" (Smith 1995:102).

When discussing the *Epistle. To Katherine*, Fish (1984:33-34) asserts that the “poem is a mirror in the sense of being blank, empty of positive assertions, filled with lists of what Lady Aubigny is not.” This is true but the implications and results of these absences require further explanation. The image of the mask, in relation to the mirror particularly, is of vital importance. Having established that Katherine’s mirror comprises the poet himself, as well as the poem he writes, Jonson, in one of these long lists of what Katherine is not, presents a seemingly incongruous diatribe against the use of cosmetics: “Let them on powders, oils, and paintings, spend, / Till that no usurer, nor his bawds dare lend / Them, or their officers: and no man know, / Whether it be a face they wear, or no” (*Aubigny* ll.77-80). In fact, this is closely bound to Jonson’s image of the mirror which defines, as much as it reflects, the gazer. The suggestion seems to be that those who create themselves, apply their own outward face, as it were, are the epitome of vice which Jonson discusses earlier. As Smith (1995:102) notes, “Katherine is told to use this ‘truest glass’, but not to improve herself in any way.” However, it is not alteration itself that is problematic; rather, the difference between virtue and vice is in what materials are used and by whom (that is, the virtuous brush of someone like Jonson, or one of the “squires and grooms” he criticizes in the epistle to Rutland). He ultimately suggests that painting (a term meaning both to apply cosmetics and to describe something poetically) can be virtuous, but only when his addressee allows Jonson to do the bulk of the painting, that is, the making up of her (ideal) self for her.

Having never changed *his* look, Jonson asks why “I should faint; / Or fear to draw true lines, ‘cause others paint” (*Aubigny* ll.19-20)? Because he is true, his lines of poetry are as well – he cannot help but construct the best possible version of Katherine, which, it is suggested, would not exist without him. Jonson creates for her the “*truest* glass” in which to contemplate the best self he has made for her – and here “true” is to be understood as both authentic and good. The point is this: Jonson is using the mirror trope in the way the “mirror of princes” genre was used in the Middle Ages by poets such as Thomas Hoccleve. It is not meant to reflect the patroness and addressee as she is, as a real mirror would; rather, it shows her as she should be, according to Ben Jonson. This poetic mirror is designed specifically so that the addressee will see exactly what the poet/mirror-maker wants her to see – she does not look into this mirror in order to be able to create herself (to recall the cosmetics metaphor) – rather, her image is ready-made and it is expected that she will conform to what she finds there.

All of these machinations on Jonson’s part show that the poet’s role in the patronage relationship is both more complex and respectable than the designation “begging poem” suggests. Further, in the particular situation of verse letters written to patrons, acts of subject definition are necessarily

reciprocal and potentially positive, if both parties perform their parts. Nonetheless, it cannot be ignored that the very exchange that Jonson has in mind, even in ideal situations, is imbalanced insofar as what is exchanged is not equivalent in any pragmatic way: “the patron supplies the poet with food, shelter, wine, money, and influence, and in return, receives a poem which, in most cases, is described as a gateway to immortality” (Smith 1995:33). While Jonson’s constructions of his recipients’ identities suggest that it is his patrons who must earn the right to support him, his admission that his gifts both ask for and depend on their “grace” may seem to weaken the strong, or at least, dynamic part he insists on playing in the patronage game. I would suggest as an alternative to this debilitating view the idea that Jonson does not see anything wrong with the imbalance of power that is an integral aspect of the patron-poet relationship. Rather, he approves of it as long as his patrons are playing their part – and all of his rhetorical constructions of patrons’ identities are to make them do just that, not to make them bosom friends or social equals. When everyone is doing what they are supposed to be doing – and writing great poetry, Jonson makes clear, is his part and no one can criticize him for that – there is nothing degrading at all about being patronized.

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'Nothing but papers, my lord'

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Saturn's body: melancholy and method in the *Anatomy of Melancholy*

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ABSTRACT

The Method is possibly the most important question in the Renaissance arts, literature and philosophy. The 'way' of knowledge, 'how' something can be understood, written, painted or even drawn, appears side by side with a concept of subjectivity founded in mathematics and geometry (Cartesian subject and method), or, on the other hand, what it holds to be the reverse of that which was agreed to be called, since that time, the very science itself, the scope of the 'occult sciences,' that seems to be held up by the melancholic subjectivity which comes up in the Renaissance as a result of its decentralization, faced with the heliocentric hypothesis that can be interpreted as God's abandonment, leading to the assertion of the Self in Descartes' and Montaigne's philosophies. The question of melancholy is exhaustively considered by Robert Burton in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, by a 'melancholic method.' If it is possible in contemporary philosophies to understand the method as a deviation, instead of as a straight path achieved through a determinate and bounded reason – the 'modern reason' – we get, in Burton, the method as an attempt to show, to explain, to overcome or avoid that deviation. *Anatomy of Melancholy* is a dissection of what can be called Saturn's body, as the body can be considered the devoured moment of modern subjectivity in favor of Reasoning.

"However, in our body the most forgotten
of foreign countries is our own body..."
Walter Benjamin. Franz Kafka

Who is not brain sick?
Robert Burton

1. INTRODUCTION

The hypothesis here proposed for investigation is based on the idea that the history of subjectivity goes through the history of melancholy, which, we know from the history of philosophical ideas, begins with Democritus of Abdera and finds an important place in Aristoteles, in his famous Problem XXX,1; the primigenic notion of subjectivity which appeared for

philosophical thinking, clearly, only in Descartes and, before him, in Montaigne, could be, already in these thinkers of Antiquity, in the former as a true example or testimony of melancholic affection, and in the latter, outlined in the idea of a 'man of exception.' One could question the place of subjectivity in the history of philosophy from the soul/body binomial (a dualism which will from now on be present in the history of ideas), which appears initiated both from the history of metaphysics and the history of science and its division. The history of melancholy, from a viewpoint initiated by the history of traditional medicine that will flow into modern psychiatry and psychoanalysis, is also present as the history of subjectivity, and must be investigated in its relationship with the hidden side of science: the question would be to understand who would be the subject of this non-Cartesian world, with very unclear and indistinct ideas. Melancholy and the subjectivity that is characteristic of it, appear in the negative, in the conditions of this division of sciences, and are essential to philosophy and to the condition of the subject of knowledge and will go through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The back seam of a tracing of philosophical history in relation to melancholy could be understood from the idea of Saturnal time, the time of devouring; Chronos swallowing his children, would be the legitimate god of the twentieth century. He would also be the god of philosophers devouring their children, or, more precisely, the bodies of their children; to speak based on a metaphorization: he swallows matter, sensuality, the somatic, empirical and bodily aspects. His time would be the time of death. In terms of history of philosophy, a growing death of the body, its disappearance from the scene, or the attempt to eliminate it from the picture of relevant themes. In other words, human history would itself be melancholy, as a scenery of loss, devouring, death, forgetting.

If, in the history of thought, there is a bias that conceives of knowledge as scientific, and a subjectivity that gives it sustenance, there is, however, the possibility of evaluating the shadows of such a conception, that could well configure what I will call "melancholic philosophies." If it is not possible to characterize the whole philosophical field as melancholic (under pains of committing an arbitrary totalization), it is, however, possible to perceive in Robert Burton the definition of the limits of this melancholic thought (as said previously, present in later thinkers), decisively influencing modernity and situating it in opposition to Cartesian influence. The question would be to render the melancholic influence visible in the modern tradition and discover why it is hidden, forgotten. Faced with the birth of modernity, a world of sadness and death, of misery and shadow, Burton offers his book. The Burtonian metaphor of the book/body will make it possible to present, under the sign of the book, a redemption for the world, the whole of life in its darkness and sadness, and under the register of the body it will also give

signs of a conception of what is human from its somatic instant. In fact, that the book be body, that is our question. In what sense may books (or written documents) be redeemers (of the body and the soul, of the subject as such), is the general background question that organizes these statements.

Considering the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, two possibilities of reading and interpretation become feasible: on the one hand the book could be read in a more mathematical way, its parts could be further dissected, in an act of dissection of the dissection of melancholy, in which we would arrive at its weights and measures, at tissues and their folds, at connections between the organs. We would treat the book as a cadaver. On the other hand, this book-body has a writer and a reader. Behind and before it a subject. Could we ask what it would be to know a body as a subject, however, and not as an object. Or, in other words, even in having it as an object, understanding it as an instant of opening, as a possibility, and not simply as something manipulable. One really should try to discover whether this book presents as a live body or as a cadaver. The road to be followed, the method, therefore, would well be to try to walk for a while in the steps of Burton, and continue to reconstitute the history of melancholy in the modernity that comes after it. In this case, it becomes mandatory to understand his melancholy method. But what inspires this method? What are its characteristics?

Therefore, it is a matter of dissecting Saturn's body, the body devoured in the history of modern subjectivity to ensure the place of rational subjectivity. The subject of the body is the subject of melancholy submitted to a shadow, just as the history of melancholy is the history of the soul lost from its body, from a body that has lost its Self. The place of emptiness, of a subjectivity in the dark. One should understand its reconstruction, and what it means, through a book.

Burton takes up the body/writing analogy present in the sixteenth century (*The Anatomy of Melancholy* is a book that was first published in 1621 (1624, 1628, 1632, 1638 and 1651, reprinted in 1660 and 1676, and then only in 1800), dedicated to George Berkeley and prefaced by the pseudonym of Democritus Junior who first wrote to his book and then to the Reader. Two questions open from this perspective. To think of this book as a body implies attention to the history of the problem that would represent its material instant. The many quotations, especially in the preface of Democritus Junior, testify to this attempt to show a corporeality that runs through time, as though an idea took on a body in the figures of its investigators. The fact that Burton collects them in a book takes us to the fact of the collection and withdrawal of the remnants of the past.

This body must not be arranged, organized without taking into account its natural chaos. If life as such is what he wants to describe in this book, it must be a dissection of the whole world, all of it melancholic, all of

it misfortune and pain, about which we can laugh and for which we can cry, which we can face directly or in face of which blindness may be preferable. If what one wants to know is the world, it is because this world could well be a book: the book is the world.¹ Instead of a library, what we have is a book-more-than-library, sufficient, paradigmatic, a book that intends to say the truth about the essential question which can elucidate the world: melancholy is already the name of the world and its anatomy is a lucid description. This means to say that it will be the measure of all things, the magnification glass and the filter, the weft and the warp. But in what sense or to what point is this metaphor valid? For this we have to understand what melancholy means, what its concept and meaning is in Burton's text.

2. MELANCHOLY, METHOD, LAUGHTER

A book as anatomy, as dissection of a body, but also as its construction. The process of its construction is both description and dissection, which defines its method. In Descartes, whose method we take here as opposite and comparative, this dissection appears to be much more hiding the body, whereas in Burton it would be its revelation. Event though in Descartes the body also is revealed by a negative, in Burton this revelation will be the sign of an established order. If Plato, Plotinus and the Renaissance Neoplatonism are able to speak of a soul of the world, Burton will place the question in the body, and this defines a specific outreach in relation to this materialist history denied in the history of thought. The place of each of the terms in the soul/body equation will provide the span of the division of sciences at the beginning of modernity. In science proper, the soul or the spirit are able to dissect the body, while taking it as an object, something dead, a cadaver. The so-called occult sciences – and this name is not given gratuitously – will continue to be the experience with the body from the standpoint of a difficult separation of the soul, even considering the immortality of the soul or of its crazy cosmic trip, or the vision of ghosts and doubles, even considering the possibility of the immortality of the soul and the mortality of the body, the magic conception of the occult sciences will treat the body as something that is not separated from the soul since it suffers its magic influence (to cure its wounds it is not necessary to tear them out but simply the touch them or pray over them, or apply potions made out of natural elements). What is at stake is a conception of nature rejected by science and by the official church, and

¹ As observed by Curtius (1996:399) the English epigrammatist, John Owen (1563-1622), elegantly inverted the topos of the book of the world, calling his book of the world according to the following enunciation: "this book is the world, in which men are the verses and, as in the Universe (as he said to Hoskino), "thou shalt find here few good ones."

that will remain as a leftover to the occult sciences, or to any opponent of the church which can be configured in the devil and the knowledge that he may symbolize.

From such a perspective, the idea of a writing as the configuration of a body (not only as exposure of the spirit) may bear a relationship to this conception of the magic of curing: that the writing which is metaphorically configured in a body can be a cure of the body in its wounds, in its historical ruins (when faced with a crazed reality. Laughing, in Burton, may be medicine, but writing about laughing appears to be the panacea for someone who is taken by the insatiable desire to write. To write can be to laugh. Laughter is the form of avoiding horror, of overcoming it, just as writing. And Burton's text is an exercise in humor, but also in melancholy. Different from satire and witticisms, humor would reach comicity, due to the sentiments of the sublime and the ridiculous that is suggested to him by the "excessively realistic painting of human nature whence he takes his strength" (Lambote 2000:115). Burton, who has to thematize himself, he himself the object of his laughter, but who finds repugnant the laugh that another ("malicious and lazy reader," Burton, *Anatomy*:105) could turn on him.

If Burton apologizes for his mania of making jokes, for his witticisms, it is not to eliminate them, but because they are inevitable. At this point he would be ironic in apologizing for something that he will continue to do, by choice or impotence. His choice of the laughter of Democritus is accompanied also by the choice of his blindness. Not seeing, however, could appear as not-being-seen, not being seen may be the denial of the extreme wish of being seen. Not seeing or not being seen, appears as a solution next to laughing. As heir and follower of Democritus, Burton, however, continues to see. In what sense does he imitate the gesture of Democritus, in this tragicomedy of his (Burton, *Anatomy*:973)?

Writing is giving a body to something, but it is also to recall the body, to give a place to the interference of what is somatic over the thoughts. Laughing is the sublimation of this humor that understands life from the original truth of emptying the self, which filled by rationality will sustain modern science and philosophy. The belief in reason, the belief in the superior condition of man over animal, is what can still be the object of laughter. The objective of method is one more reaction. The dissecatio of Democritus provokes laughter, but would not also provoke a comparison that would touch on human misery. As he tells it, Democritus dissects animals when he is visited by Hippocrates to learn how their organs function and, thus, try to understand the functioning of melancholy in human beings. Democritus Junior imitates him (Burton, *Anatomy*:15). The human and animal bodies lead to the same place. We humans and Abderites (every

reader is an Abderite who may not understand Democritus and treat him as a madman) are certainly animals.

It is also necessary to face the hypothesis that this is because the melancholic subject is constituted based on his humors, the functioning of his body and not his spirit.

The sadness of melancholy reverberates from the body, the command of his intellectual state depends on his spleen and his liver much more than on any other organ closer to the spirit. Descartes did not avoid the place of what is corporeal, but favored the maintenance of his repression and the appearance of the "I think," the fact that only thinking confirms the existence of the subject, that the Self can only count on the Self as a guarantee of existence, defines the position of Descartes in the countercurrent of melancholy: what could have been lost to the melancholy is all that is left for Descartes. He is saved.

3. THE WRITER, THE READER AND EMPTINESS

The construction of the Cartesian subject depends on the method, also the construction of the Burtonian subject. If the former flows into the scientific-mathematic subject, the other flows into the melancholic subject. If we can characterize a method as scientific and Cartesian from the exposure to the famous four rules, how can we characterize a method as melancholic? What would a melancholic method be? It is not simply a question of establishing a science of melancholy, or a scientific method that is able to dissect melancholy, but of knowing what is the difference between the scientific dissection proposed by Descartes and the melancholic dissection proposed by Burton. If the method is the subject in both, however, the question about the limits and definitions of this subjectivity remains unanswered. But, what is the Cartesian subject and what is the Burtonian subject, the mathematical and the melancholic one? What are their differences and similitudes? If Democritus dissects his animals to understand human melancholy, he is associating the human and animal bodies, and accepting that a disease of the soul has its seat in the body (and therefore we find here something different from the Aristotelian *zoon lógikon*, the separation between soul and body, is not taken over and taking over the body is to take up the animal instant of the human being). The difference between melancholic and scientific method must be in the relationship with the body. And, therefore in the way one understands the separation between soul and body. At the level of a text, this separation appears as a disjunction between content and form. In the history of philosophy as a denial of what the body of the text may represent,

rhetoric mainly, we could say, in its epideictic mode,² the one that would guard the expression and that appears to be Burton's style (*genus*).

The Burtonian achievement as a written achievement and of writing itself as such, cannot occur distant from an analysis of style, as is well developed by Angus Gowland, from an analysis, therefore, of the rhetoric, of which Burton's text is full.³

But the essential topic based on which the understanding of the book/body construction is presented in Burton is the appearance of the figure of emptiness, which, in an exemplary manner, represents melancholy. This appearance of emptiness occurs through the negative way of filling, such is the character of collected writings, the exhaustive and fatiguing and almost enervating gathering of information, of names and quotations that constitute the book from its preface to the end. At first sight it is a rather encyclopedic text, a list, a specialized index. It is as though Robert Burton had nothing to say. He does not hide, rather he opens this condition wide up, saying of himself that he is a thief (Burton, *Anatomy*:18), or a dwarf on the shoulders of a giant (Burton, *Anatomy*:20), like so many writers. That right in the modern period, he conceives knowledge as an acknowledgement of the authority of the ancients, reaffirming a medieval principle, places on the scene not only the backward vision of a scholastic thinker, lost in his time, but the situation of a subject that presents himself (and this characteristic makes him moder), as an empty subject, for which nothing is left except the

² The epideictic style, in Aristotle, provides the mode of the demonstrative discourse (*Rhetoric*, 1358 b.5. See bilingual critical edition of the Centro de Estudios Constitucionales, Madrid, 1990), oriented towards a common listener (See G. Reale. *História da Filosofia antiga*. Op.cit. Vol II:478). In Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1996:53-55), one speaks of a "lonely orator who, frequently, did not even appear to the public, but who contented himself with making his written composition circulate, presented a discourse which nobody opposed, about issues that did not seem doubtful and of which one saw no practical consequence." This style ends up taking over the function of a spectacle. After Aristotle, the style due to his specific character was treated as the study of grammar and abandoned by philosophy and by the Roman rectoros who did not consider it important for practical eloquence. The character of ornamentation was the protagonist of this abandonment. If in Aristotle, the deliberative style serves to advise what is useful and the judiciary claims what is fair, while the epideictic must occupy itself with what is beautiful and ugly, in order to praise or criticize, we are looking at the recognition of the values that each of these discourses must proclaim. Absent the judgment of value and the intensity of adhesion, the theoreticians of discourse mix the idea of what is beautiful and good, the object of the discourse, with the idea of the esthetic value of the discourse itself. It is thus that the epideictic style will attach itself more to literature than to argumentation. This style was misunderstood, and was removed from philosophy and considered minor in the art of persuading.

³ Adorno is one of the few twentieth century philosophers to mention the importance of rhetoric in philosophy and its repression. To him rhetoric will be the place for expression, certainly he refers to the epideictic style.

history that he himself did not constitute. His emptiness is eternally confirmed, he can only seek to fill it out in the books.

Burton is, thus, the reader, an exhaustive reader of all books available. He writes for a reader, however, certain that he will be read, in the hope of being recognized. But he is also the reader himself, the archetypal reader who gives himself the work of performing the compilation. Is he writing for another or also for himself? This sending, this addressing, is an important instant of all writing.

Burton is the writer, but the writer is Democritus Junior, a character through which he introduces himself and behind whom he hides. This condition of personae is important. Burton begins his preface to the book (Democritus Junior to the Reader) speaking about him and almost apologizing for introducing such an ancient personage, and in such an insolent manner in the scene of the vision of a world that he is to present (Burton, *Anatomy*:11). At no time in the preface does he say that he is Robert Burton, but he states that Democritus Junior is a mask. Despite this parentage, he says that he is a free subject and that he can choose what he wants to say. In the first edition the book had a conclusion (The Conclusion of the Author to the Reader), most of which was reproduced later in the Democritan preface, in which he himself questions the change that occurred in the preface written in the name of Democritus, as his disciple and follower, for an epilogue in his own name. The element of process and construction of a new perspective becomes evident: Burton understood that first he should hide himself, but for many reasons he changed his initial intention and decided, in that final moment, to introduce himself, to sign his writing with his own name. More incisively than Michel de Montaigne, he asks the reader to lay his eyes on him, the writer (Burton, *Anatomy*: 973). His appearance through the text seems inevitable to him, therefore he says that style makes the man. According to him, he knows that he had opened himself up in his Treatise, and that he will know how to hear the criticisms of good men. As in the preface, there is a slight one of retraction in this postface, which serves rather the intention of presenting him as a more real subject, than of making good errors or flaws in his writing. But if he is his own writing, then this retraction of his writing is the retraction of himself. If he begs forgiveness in this apologetic appendix (Burton, *Anatomy*: 974), it is because he acknowledges that he has erred at some point, but he still quotes himself and hides behind the quotations. In other words, the method of compilation and reference to authority are not errors in his eyes. There is no problem in that he knows very little about issues of medicine, that his errors are many, but he wants to shoulder them all (Burton, *Anatomy*: 976). Moral error, the lack of clarity about his intentions, is what weighs most.

The method is this compilation, dissection is the historical compilation. As though opening up the body of history is to pick up its shards. The method itself is to collect them, with the intention of filling out emptiness. From the “Partition” to the “Section”, to the “Member”, to the “Subsection”, the book is deployed in an endless, tireless number of references. The place of memory, its construction depends on this anguishing strategy. In the book there is no structure of a beginning, middle and end that one could guarantee, it is as though the book could continue. Burton prepares a constellation. Despite the clear division of the book into three parts (the first one focuses on the causes, the symptoms, the types of melancholy, the second deals with its causes, the third deals with the melancholy of love, delivering itself largely to a presentation of religious melancholy) the book may sound confused and anti-methodical, and reveals the form in which Burton himself understands his act of writing “like a river”⁴ – let us recall his “incurable itch to write” (Burton, *Anatomy*: 17) – which, according to him, “runs precipitously and fast, and, sometimes, monotonously and slowly, now straight, now sinuous, now deep, now shallow, now muddy, now clear, now broad, now narrow, my style flows, now more serious, now soft, now more elaborate, now more careless. Comical, satirical, as the present subject requires, or as I feel at that moment” (Burton, *Anatomy*: 975). The advice he will give the reader is to do the same, as a common traveler, who reads according to his possibilities and intentions, his taste.

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⁴ Gowland (1998:1-48) shows the origin of the metaphor of the river that appeared in Quintilian. The summary of the article says the following: “In writing *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, Robert Burton was working within the system of classical rhetoric as revived in the Renaissance, specifically the epideictic genus. A juxtaposition of the topics, arguments, and tripartite form employed by Burton with the treatment of epideictic in Aristotle’s *Rhetoric*, as well as with aspects of the Roman and Hellenistic rhetorical traditions, shows how Burton has playfully adapted Renaissance conceptions of epideictic rhetoric for encyclopedic, satirical and self-expressive purposes. The function of rhetoric in the *Anatomy* is both to ‘dissect’ the corpus of knowledge about melancholy and to ‘show forth’ the author’s own melancholic condition.”

'Nothing but papers, my lord'

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Melancholic sounds: singing madness in Restoration Drama

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ABSTRACT

The featuring of mad characters on the English stage can be traced as far back as the first dramatic performances in the Elizabethan Age, and more predominantly throughout the seventeenth century. Theatrical insanity reflects the Renaissance attraction and interest in melancholy and mental illnesses, and becomes an arena where tortured psyches interact and express themselves. Madness seems somehow related to music in the Elizabethan and Jacobean drama as part of this more generalised interest, but the reformed Restoration stage is to recall this tradition and develop it into a completely new musical achievement: the mad song. This paper analyses Restoration mad songs as a landmark in the evolution of the conception of madness, in terms of its relationship to music as an expressive means. On the basis of early-seventeenth century dramatic performances and contemporary treatises on melancholy (Burton), the analysis will focus on Restoration madness as a climatic receptor of this tradition and the ways it transforms it.

The attraction that Early Modern England held for melancholy and madness, at times synonymous terms, is now widely recognised. In particular, the period from 1580 to 1640 witnesses the heyday of this fascination. In those decades madness was all pervasive, and the interest in the topic can be traced in various cultural instances: medical treatises, like those of Burton or Bright; in the recurrent references to Bethlehem Hospital, Bedlam; or in the mad characters in the plays of Kyd, Shakespeare, Fletcher, Dekker, Middleton and Webster.

Among the latter, two Shakespearean characters function as the main exponents of acted madness, and they both respond to the two different, gendered stereotypes associated to it: a wild, more active, potentially aggressive, even intellectual male madness, and a passive, sexually provocative female one. Hamlet and Ophelia become the very names of human madness, but they are accompanied by a long train of disturbed minds: Lady Macbeth, King Lear or the Gaoler's daughter. In this way,

theatrical insanity reflects the Renaissance attraction and interest in melancholy and mental illnesses, and becomes an arena where tortured psyches interact and express themselves. As Carol Thomas Neely (1991:23) puts it “Shakespeare, prefiguring Foucault’s analysis, dramatises madness primarily through a peculiar language more often than through physiological symptoms, stereotyped behavior, or iconographic conventions.”

Madness, then, is mainly expressed through a determined textual discourse characterised by fragmentation, repetition and, most importantly, by quotation (Neely 1991:323). Quoting implies the use of a language which is not the verbalisation of a particular individual or psyche, but rather a common language, drawn from a universal stock which belongs to nobody. In this sense, the language of madness is highly conventional. Nevertheless, there exists a certain interconnection between actual speeches of mad people and their previous, pre-mad identity and history, their social context and psychological stresses (Neely 1991:323).

Quoting from others, or from lost moments of sanity, depicts the idiosyncratic nature of mad characters and becomes their mode of expression and identification. But, at least in the two Shakespearean characters who will constitute the subsequent models for eighteenth and nineteenth-century rewritings, Ophelia and Hamlet, quotation always involves spoken speeches. Only Ophelia discovers once her deranged mind singing fragments of popular songs.

Singing is, nevertheless, used elsewhere and stands out as an interesting phenomenon, since madness is somehow related to music in the Elizabethan and Jacobean period; Burton, for instance, prescribes it as one of its possible cures. But even if not used therapeutically, culturally and socially decontextualised songs, like those of Ophelia, or descriptive songs, like the one performed by madmen in *The Duchess of Malfi*, belong to the array of conventional modes of expressing madness through discourse. The reformed Restoration stage is to recall this tradition and develop it into a completely new musical achievement: the mad song. The aim of this paper is to analyse Restoration mad songs as a landmark in the evolution of the conception of madness, in terms of its relationship to music as an expressive means.

1. QUOTED SONGS

An outstanding occurrence of music as a symptom of madness is the interpolation of sung passages within a disordered conversation, or the use of singing in unexpected circumstances or unsuitable situations. As quoted above, Shakespeare’s Ophelia epitomises this mixed voice. Her speeches

involve fragmentary quoted discourse, as well as songs referring to love and its loss, but they are thematically coherent. Ophelia's attitude and language reflect accurately the type of mental pathology she is suffering and the causes that provoked it. At the onset of her illness most of the characters in the play think she is mad because of her father's death, as the Robin Good-fellow or true-love song seem to show. But Ophelia insists on dealing with love topics. Neely (1991:324) states that her songs "enact truncated rites of passage," and the Valentine's Song, dealing with the loss of virginity, becomes a pivotal issue in her discourse and madness. Regarding these quoted songs, this type of madness begins to be gender-specific.

Ophelia's symptoms coincide with those analysed in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*. In the third section of the First Partition, the author deals with the Symptoms of Maids', Nuns', and Widows' Melancholy, which "is a particular species of melancholy distinct from the rest, for it much differs from that which commonly befalls men and other women" (Burton 2001:414). As Hippocrates defends, the main cause are the vicious vapours which come from menstruation and that "offend the midriff, heart and brain" (p.414).

Burton provides a detailed account of the many ordinary symptoms, which are here quoted in full:

a beating about the back, which is almost perpetual; the skin is many times rough, squalid, especially ... about the arms, knees, and knuckles. The midriff and heart-strings do burn and beat very fearfully, and when this vapour or fume is stirred, flieth upward, he heart itself beats, is sore grieved, and faints, like fits of the mother. They complain many times, saith Mercatus, of a great pain in their heads, about their hearts and hypochondries, and so like wise in their breasts, which are often sore; sometimes ready to swoon, their faces are inflamed and red, they are dry, thirsty, suddenly hot, much troubled with wind, cannot sleep, etc. And from hence proceed, a brutish kind of dotage, troublesome sleep, terrible dreams in the night, a foolish kind of bashfulness to some, perverse conceits and opinions, dejection of mind, much discontent, preposterous judgement. (p.415)

Apart from all these physical or physiological symptoms, the author also investigates the melancholic discourse of mad women, and the likely aftermath of the disease, death:

Many of them cannot tell how to express themselves in words, or how it holds them, what ails them; you cannot understand them, or well tell what to make of their sayings; so far gone sometimes, so stupified and distracted, they think themselves bewitched ... some of them will attempt to make away themselves. (p.416)

Shakespeare focuses on the discursive negotiations of Ophelia's madness, and does not provide detailed accounts of her physical symptoms; however, some of them can be easily discerned. Besides, and more importantly, those instances where her madness is enacted onstage bear obvious similarities to the stereotyped conventions Burton analyses. She is distracted, as Shakespeare himself writes in a stage direction when Ophelia appears in the fifth scene of act four; her discourse is senseless and, she commits suicide.

The character of Ophelia is an interesting example of the way madness is negotiated by music, which functions on stage as a representative means to help the audience distinguish madness from sanity. However, music serves madness as one of its textual modes of expression, but it does not directly verbalise insane psyches. Quoted songs recall popular music the lyrics of which might suit the feelings of the mad, but they are not their own discourses, generated individually.

2. SINGING MADNESS

John Webster introduces in his play *The Duchess of Malfi* (1614) a different, more elaborate type, of sung madness. In the fourth act, a group of madmen enter to entertain the duchess, and one of them sings, to a dismal kind of music, this song:

O, let us howl some heavy note,
Some deadly dogged howl,
Sounding, as from the threatening throat
Of beasts and fatal fowl!
As ravens, screech-owls, bulls, and bears,
We'll bell, and bawl our parts,
Till irksome noise have cloy'd your ears,
And corrosiv'd your hearts.
At last, when as our quire wants breath,
Our bodies being blest,
We'll sing, like swans, to welcome death,
And die in love and rest.
(IV.2.61-72)

This declamatory song composed by Robert Johnson might as well be considered a mad song; it is sung by madmen, and the lyrics, rhetorically depicted by the melody, is self-descriptive of the actions and behaviour associated to madness. Here, the madmen's speech and attitude differs enormously from that of Ophelia. The madmen howl like threatening beasts,

they appear as aggressive and vehement, not passive and distracted as women. Unlike that of Ophelia, the song is not quoted, but original, and it fits the mad-scene, which, in the play, functions as a masque, or rather, because of its characters, an antimasque. Webster accommodates court festivities into his own play and imprints royalty, though theatrical, on stage for the sake of realism, but the antimasque allows him a new arena to develop other important issues in the play. It seems obvious that this song is composed after highly conventional and typically preposterous antimasque material. The howls and beastlike movements as well as the dismal music refer to the witches of Jonson's *Masque of Queens* (1609), and seem to be inscribed into the behaviour of devilish creatures. Even if madness is somehow related to evil, this song stands for an early, psychologically defining and defined, instance of the genre category of the mad song.

3. RESTORATION MAD SONG

In terms of the development of the genre, the Elizabethan and Jacobean theatre encompass the early stages of the interaction between music and madness. The previous examples are significant in so far as they constitute gendered renderings of the cultural reception of madness in the period. They become the genesis of a complex artistic evolution which will last more than three centuries, as the fashion for madness in eighteenth and nineteenth-century England attests.

When surveying madness, Elaine Showalter reads Romantic and Victorian female insanity through Ophelia, but she, as some other scholars, seems to overlook the transformation of Elizabethan madness into a new sentimental language during the Restoration, which stands for a climatic receptor of this tradition.

Since Restoration drama is characterised, among other important factors, by its extensive use of music, it is not unexpected that the genuine mad song took shape in the mouths of its raving and melancholic heroes and heroines. It was, as Helen Small (1998:11) puts it "the musical or dramatic show-piece of a play, and an actress could make her name with it." This might be the reason why Restoration mad scenes and insane characters outnumber those of all previous stages, with an increase in the array of stereotypes. But the richness of mad production does not preclude from defining the now generalised and pervasive mad song as the expression and representation of mad psyches.

The main cause of Restoration madness continues to be lovesickness, but the outward symptoms are exaggerated and made more perceptible. There are meaningful differences, though, in the mad song depending on the

dramatic genre where it appears, tragedy or comedy, and, more importantly, on the gender of the mad character.

Each of the three parts of Thomas Durfey's *The Comical History of Don Quixote* (1694), contains a mad song performed by one of the main characters. In the first part Cardenio, a gentleman who fell mad when he was deprived of his mistress, sings one of the most famous of Henry Purcell's compositions, "Let the dreadful engines of eternal will." This is one of the few Restoration songs sung by a mad man, and it contrasts with the other two mad songs of the play performed by women: Purcell's "From rosy bowers," and "I burn, my brain consumes to ashes" by Thomas Eccles.

As it seems customary in Restoration mad songs, their lyrics are never quoted and reflect and verbalise the character's tortured psyche. They function like anachronistic streams of consciousness, but in a much more organised arrangement. The songs seem also to emphasise the symptoms of madness, so that the references to heat, pain and burning are continuous. Nevertheless, as madness is also apparently gendered, different attitudes are associated to men and women.

When Cardenio enters the stage, he is described as being in ragged clothes, and in a wild posture. This depiction is characteristic of male insanity, and it was an established convention at the end of the sixteenth century. The frontispiece of Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* shows an illustration of the *maniacus*, of whom the author writes:

But see the Madman rage downright
With furious looks, a ghastly sight.
Naked in chains bound doth he lie,
And roars amain, he knows not why. (2001:8)

Male insanity is externalised by means of a spectacle of constant physical agitation. That is the way in which Cardenio begins his song, in a wild and threatening mood:

Let the dreadful Engines of eternal will,
The Thunder roar, and crooked Lightning kill;
My Rage is hot, as theirs, as fatal too,
And dares as horrid execution do.
Or let the Frozen North its rancour show,
Within my Breast far greater Tempests grow;
Despair's more cold than all the Winds can blow. (Durfey 1694, II:41)

The song then mixes lyrical stanzas, where he recalls the happy past moments with Lucinda, with present moments of complaint and suffering.

Finally he seems to recover his sanity and exposes more sensible, though extremely sexist, ideas:

I glow, I glow, but 'tis with hate,
Why must I burn for this ingrate?
Cool, cool it then, and rail,
Since nothing will prevail.
When a Woman Love pretends, 'tis but till she gains her ends,
And for better, and for worse, is for Marrow of the Purse,
Where she 'filts you o'er and o'er, proves a Slattern or a Whore.
This hour will teize and vex,
And will Cuckold ye the next:
They were all contriv'd in spight,
To torment us, not delight,
But to scold, and scratch and bite,
And not one of them proves right,
But all are Witches by this light:
And so I fairly bid 'em, and the World Good-night. (Durfey 1694, I:41)

As we learn from the play, Cardenio's madness is comical and momentary; the song itself is controlled by reason at the end, so that it offers an alternative to insanity. Aggressiveness and control might characterise male madness, but both factors are mostly absent in madwomen. Madness does provoke a certain agitation in women, but they are seldom described as threatening against the others, especially men. Whenever these violent fits appear, they are repressed by the sheer impossibility of attaining love.

In this sense, the second part of *Don Quixote* presents one of the most famous Restoration mad scenes and songs performed by Anne Bricegirdle acting the character of Marcella. Durfey depicts her as a "young beautiful Shepherdess of Cordoua, extremely coy, and Averse to men at first, but afterwards passionately in love with Ambrosio" (1694:vii). Her unrequited love for Ambrosio, who hates all women, and her especially, provokes her madness which, in the play, is never cured. Again this is an interesting document in madness. Written in the first person, it is an extreme psychological record of a woman's love-sickness. Burton's symptoms are present, especially the heat and the consumption of the brain, around which the whole composition spins. This insistence on burning, with its clear association to female madness, is explicitly sexual.

I burn, I burn, my Brain consumes to Ashes;
Each Eye-ball too, like Lightning flashes:
Within my Breast, there glows a solid Fire,
Which in a Thousand Ages can't expire.
Blow, blow, the Wind's great Ruler;

Bring the Po and the Ganges hither,
'Tis sultry, sultry Weather;
Pour 'em all on my Soul,
It will hiss like a Coal,
But never be the cooler. (Durfey 1694, II:60)

The song's tragic, almost sentimental, expressiveness is ambiguously mixed with lust, so that the limits between the fictitious character and Anne Bricegirdle, herself a Restoration sex symbol, blur. Finally, Marcella also asks for weapons to commit suicide, the most likely prospects for her mental and physical state, since her early scorn for men has now become desire.

Bring, bring me Daggers, Poyson, Fire,
For Scorn is turn'd into Desire;
All Hell feels not the Rage which I, poor I, endure.
(Durfey 1694, II:60)

Although Durfey's trilogy of *Don Quixote* present more mad characters, both male and female, they all bear similarities determined on a gender(ed) difference basis. Helen Small considers that these potentially wild Restoration women coexisted with the conventional passivity and sexualised madness of Ophelia. Both within the fictional reality of the play, as well as on stage interaction with the audience, female insanity is distinguished from its male counterpart and undoubtedly shaped from a male dominating perspective.

Female madness becomes a fantasy of man's sexism and strategies of control, as Ambrosio, the woman hater, puts it in Durfey's play: "when once a Woman's mad, she's in perfection." This questionable perfection, will in turn develop into new female stereotypes common throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Late seventeenth-century sentimentalism and Augustan rationality create a new arena where a revived Ophelia will coexist with two Romantic auxiliary images: the harmless Crazy Kate and the violent Lucy.

The traditional view of female love's madness as materialised in the age of reason and Romanticism after Elizabethan models, disregards Restoration drama. However, this period is an essential stage, ideologically and culturally exuberant, from where the eighteenth-century stems.

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Narrative levels in *The Inhumane Cardinal* (1696) by Mary Pix

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ABSTRACT

The Inhumane Cardinal is a work of transition written in the early years of the narrative tradition in England. Following the mastery of renown precedents like Aphra Behn, Pix explores the possibilities the new genre offered her, standing on the liminal space between an old-fashioned mode — romance and its aristocratic conventions — and the new literary and social space opened by the novel, which leaves the elevated topics and audience of romance writing behind. She does so by creating a work of great narrative complexity, characterized by a multiplicity of subplots inserted in the narrative as embedded stories. The main plot deals with Cardinal Antonio Barbarino's lustful plan to obtain young Melora's sexual favours, aided by Donna Olympia, an influential woman in the court of Rome. The seduction episode, which encircles the narrative, is interspersed with a number of romantic stories that are devised to induce Melora into accepting the Cardinal's proposal, whom she believed to be the destitute Duke of Ferrara. All the texts inserted are meant as examples for the too innocent Melora, who is taught by way of romantic love affairs and their happy results to act likewise. She realizes her folly too late, and her story works as a cautionary tale for prospective women readers. The value of Pix's project in this work resides, then, in her peculiar use of the concepts of fiction and truth, as she relates them to different narrative levels, associating the former with the conventions of romance, and the latter — the sad events of Melora's 'true' story — with those of the novel.

The Inhumane Cardinal (1696) is one of the rare prose fiction works authored by the Restoration writer Mary Pix. So far, it has achieved little public recognition, perhaps because Pix wrote mostly for the stage, and as a member of the so-called "Nineties Generation" she became above all a successful comedian. We find only slight mention of her narrative work in Spender's *Mothers of the Novel* (1986) and in Backscheider's (1987) article about women prose writers of the Restoration, and no attention is given to it in recent critical works about the early novel. For the purposes of this paper,

I will focus on this *novella*, *The Inhumane Cardinal*, and suggest that it is an interesting work to be rescued and taken into account, mainly for two reasons. First, it is the result of different subgenres in a time in which there was a common effort to configure the new narrative form of the novel; second, it marks a standpoint in this narrative evolution, as its very structure plays with the notions of 'truth' and 'virtue', the questions that Michael McKeon addresses in explaining the origins of the novel in his famous study of the same title.

The Inhumane Cardinal is characterized by its narrative complexity. The reader finds up to three narrative levels, the first of which corresponds to the main plot, and the other two are embedded stories, which actually become more prominent than the former. The main plot deals with Cardinal Antonio Barbarino's desire for young Melora, the Ambassador's daughter in Rome. To help him with his seduction, Barbarino counts on Donna Olympia, an influential Roman lady and Pope Innocent X's favourite, who makes friends with Melora and takes her to live with her most of the time. Olympia's trick on the girl consists in telling her stories, "the History of Alphonsus and Cordelia," and later on, "the History of Emilius and Lovisa," making them appear as true. The seduction episode, then, with which the narrative opens and concludes, is interspersed with a number of romantic stories, tinged with the shine and the status of historical truth, and devised merely to persuade Melora to fall into the Cardinal's snare. Out of the first story, she is deceived into believing that Barbarino is the destitute Alphonsus, the only heir to the Duke of Ferrara, lately deceased, nowadays in the hiding, and trying to recover his dukedom. The second story is but an example of true romantic love and marriage bliss between two people, Emilius and Lovisa, who had to fight against all odds — public duties and parental opposition — to be together. After listening to both tales, which include all the elements of romance, Melora accepts to marry Barbarino-Alphonsus, without her father's knowledge, and realizes her folly too late.

In terms of form and genre, as many other contemporary women fiction writers, Pix exploits in her *novella* a number of conventions taken from the traditions of romance and the new sentimental vein, and imitates as well some of the principles of the popular scandal chronicles of the time. The male protagonists of the two "histories", for example, belong to the ideal world of romance: they display and represent an aristocratic ideology, not only because they are noblemen in disguise and live at court, but most importantly because the relations among the sexes are also ideal. The situation these characters present differs a lot from that of the real protagonists of Pix's *novella*, Melora, Antonio Barbarino and Donna Olympia, who represent the main female and male prototypes of the scandal *novella*. In *Popular Fiction Before Richardson*, Richetti affirms that the

form of the scandal chronicle and its basic myth — the seduction of a virtuous heroine by an aristocratic male libertine — are at the heart of many eighteenth-century novels (1969:124).

Richetti also argues that these *novellas* display a strong moral antithesis, both social and sexual, that mirrors “the secular and the religious views of experience.” In this case, as it happens in Pix’s narrative, the libertine-seducer and the vicious woman behave as infidels, whereas the female heroine becomes the champion of religion (1969:148). Not only that, this state of political and religious corruption that *The Inhumane Cardinal* displays inevitably matches sexual corruption, that of the young and the innocent. In the play, the church authority of Pope Innocent X is contested by earthly powers, since he is said to be in strife with a different dukedom. Ros Ballaster relates this recurrent topic in the novels of Tory satirists like Pix to a very human frailty, the greed for power, which is the consequence of a system lacking a strong symbolic head (2000:203). According to Spencer, late Restoration and early eighteenth-century narratives such as this also reproduce the basic elements of the novel of seduction. In those lines, Pix’s *novella* presents “the myth of female innocence and male guilt” (Spencer 1986:112), which implies the identification of female purity and innocence with weakness, with the result that “the heroine was seduced precisely *because* she was pure and innocent, and therefore unguarded; it was virtue that made her likely to fall” (1986:112-13). Ultimately, as Spencer points out, the myth that these early novelists reinforce has conservative connotations, since it demonstrates that woman’s fate is to play the victim.

Most generally, Pix’s project in this work seems to follow the pattern that McKeon assigns to late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century prose fictions. He neglects the use of an old-fashioned typology which explains the origins of the novel merely in terms of borders and limits between genres, and re-elaborates instead on Ian Watt’s theory about the rise of the novel, and explains the beginnings and development of this genre as the result of a correspondence between what he calls “questions of truth” and “questions of virtue.” By that correspondence he means that epistemological choices in narrative of the kind “history/romance”, or “honour/virtue” always have an ideological counterpart:

Questions of truth and questions of virtue share a single concern with problems of cultural signification, and the various narrative responses to them follow the fundamental, dialectical pattern of reversal. The pattern is present, first of all, in the dynamic and ongoing progression of secularisation and reform. Within these perpetual movements, moreover, two recurrent patterns of “double reversal” can be discerned. Naïve empiricism negates the idealist epistemology of romance, and is in turn negated by a more extreme scepticism and a more circumspect approach to truth. Progressive ideology

subverts aristocratic ideology, and is in turn subverted by conservative ideology. It is in these double reversals, and in their conflation, that the novel is constituted as a dialectical unity of opposed parts, an achievement that is tacitly acknowledged by the gradual stabilization of "the novel" as a terminological and conceptual category in eighteenth-century usage. (McKeon 1987:267)

Following McKeon's categories, Pix's *novella* could be considered as exploiting naïve empiricism, and adopting a progressive ideology, since *The Inhumane Cardinal* rejects the dangerous examples that are set by romance; histories, or true stories, differ from romances in their relation to truth. This is also the difference between Melora's story and those she hears from Olympia and Francisco. They come to represent two incompatible plots, that of the individual progress and that of the aristocratic ideal. In fact, they symbolize two stages in the evolution of the novel, as McKeon delineates above.

In the dedicatory epistle to Princess Ann of Denmark, Pix opposes the true values of the aristocratic ideology, represented by the princess and her ancestors, to the present state of corruption, and in so doing she anticipates the purpose of her *novella*:

You are a Princess whose presence creates an universal joy and veneration in all your pleased beholders. We view in your majestic lineaments, the august air of your royal ancestors; whilst with this becoming majesty, something so agreeably affable is joined, that your humble creatures find their access both easy and delightful. (Pix 1696:3)

With these words, Pix makes use of a commonplace in romance writing by highlighting that Ann of Denmark is the true heir of a true ancestry, and that her mien mirrors her nobility. However, Pix seems to imply that this traditional, and true-to-nature correspondence between external appearance and morals does not work any more in the society of the 1690s.

Precisely, the belief in the ethics of aristocratic ideology is at the heart of Melora's deception, since she relies on Olympia and on the correlation between royal origin and goodness. When she is first told that a mysterious prince is in love with her, she exclaims:

'Now, Madam,' cried Melora eagerly, 'you must forgive my curiosity, and permit me, like my sex, to be wondrous inquisitive, for the title of prince, which you have given this unknown, and the brightness of these jewels, strike me into amazement. *I cannot believe your goodness would abuse my credulity with fictitious stories*; nor can I have pride enough to imagine a prince my lover.' (1696:22; my emphasis)

The verisimilitude of the prince's love at first sight is reinforced in the *novella* by means of the two above-mentioned examples: the embedded stories of two young members of the nobility – Alphonsus, Duke of Ferrara, and Emilius, the son of the Duke of Parma – who fall in love with plebeian but beautiful and virtuous women, and who have to fight against parental opposition or state duties to marry them. Both tales, inserted in the process of her enticement, become the perfect antidote to Melora's reservations, in spite of the fact that she often relates the stories to the ideal world of romance. Alphonsus in the first case is said to be dying for the love of Cordelia, to what Melora says that "the greatest miracle she found in the story was the gallant dying for love, that being, in these ages, altogether unpractised and out of fashion" (Pix 1696:98-99). Ironically, she will be tricked into marrying Barbarino, who will feign a fatal melancholy fit with the purpose of moving her. Other references to the fantasy world of romance people both the main plot and the embedded stories. When Cordelia and her mother arrive at Ferrara, they do not know about Alphonsus' true identity yet, and cannot help relating the splendour of the court to the world of romance: "At length, said Sulpitia, either we are in one of those enchanted castles we read of in romances, where all seen is illusion, or that person in the Duke's chair is really my son-in-law Don Pedro" (1696:82). Not only that: these characters also wonder about the love discourse that romances promote. In a conversation with her cousin and the friar that helps Alphonsus, Cordelia opts for the romantic principles, particularly because they are uttered by a religious authority:

'I aver,' answers her cousin, 'that nowhere but in romances, persons fall in love at the first sight; and only conversation and a long acquaintance can produce a violent affection.'
'I grant you,' replies the friar, 'that love increases, and grows to a height by continual conversation but still I say, a beautiful idea seen once, may make an impression either in man or woman, sufficient to take away their repose.'
(Pix 1696:53)

This claim also contributes to gradually change Melora's mind in favour of Barbarino.

The destitute son (preferably when he is the younger son of noble parents) is a typical figure commonly found in both progressive and conservative narratives, according to McKeon (1987:218). In romances, this circumstance is solved by means of the convention of discovered parentage, thus following aristocratic ideology once more, and usually living up to aristocratic expectations, but in seventeenth-century progressive fictions authors looked for other means of reinstating these characters. In *The*

Inhumane Cardinal, however, the case is different. Olympia tells Melora the story of young Alphonsus, the heir of the Duke of Ferrara. After the Duke and the Duchess died, and since Cordelia had not been aware of the Duke's identity when marrying him, Don Ferado, his father's opponent, starts a question about the son's legitimacy. All the witnesses were dead except for Aminda, Cordelia's friend and lady-in-waiting, but as the narrator affirms: "one woman's word would never convince a world, that is generally fonder of lies than truth" (Pix 1696:85). This circumstance, together with the fact that Barbarino stands for young Alphonsus and that Olympia affirms that she heard the story of his origins from him, makes the tale only a piece of mystification of the young heir and of the Cardinal himself. Its effect on Melora is simply foreseeable:

A scene of greatness strait appeared to Melora, and she with the eye of fancy, beheld herself seated in a palace, attended by persons born above her. Women are generally ambitious, and opinionated of their own merit, and though Melora might justly boast she had one of the largest portions of wit and discretion, yet she was a woman pertook of the frailty of her sex: was willing to believe this fine story, and let these glorious thoughts appear pleasing. (1696:88)

The gendered reading of Pix's use of romance conventions may also be of interest for our purposes. The female protagonists of both embedded and romantic stories, Cordelia and Lovisa, and especially the latter, conform to the ideal of femininity, and Pix stresses precisely the gendered ideological content in romances. In *Emilius and Lovisa's* story, the Duchess' attempts at changing Lovisa's resolution about marrying her son are expressed in the following terms:

'The heart of Emilius is heroic,' said the Duchess, 'and force is lost upon him: 'tis you only have power to charm him into obedience. Take then your choice, be greater than a sovereign princess; rule your passions, let your looks deny what's acting in your heart, and tell Emilius that your altered soul abhors his love; else unite with my unhappy son and meet destructive ruin both.' (Pix 1696:167)

At times like these, the moral height of non-aristocratic women, again in consonance with the progressive ideology of the early novels, corresponds to their self-sacrifice for the sake of others. When thus prompted by the Duchess, Lovisa neglects her own passion and Emilius', a gesture that confers her a new dignity in everyone else's esteem: "Lovisa's eyes were full of majesty and resolution" (1696:170). Her act of abnegation, together with a twist of fate, by which Emilius' father dies and permits his son to

marry the woman of his choice, are set as examples of femininity for Melora, who from then onwards will act against her will, but following romance precepts for women, thus finally consenting to marry Alphonsus-Barbarino. Her acceptance means her death: to avoid detection her husband and Donna Olympia will poison her.

By setting Melora's case as a warning to ladies, Mary Pix advises other women to beware, and to protect themselves not only from the lies of men but also from those of women like Olympia. In a very traditional epilogue, from a gendered point of view, she sets female reputation as "that inestimable and never to be recovered jewel" (Pix 1696:243), and blames Melora for marrying without her father's consent, although admitting that this is her only fault. As Doody contends, the novel in the seventeenth century becomes a political affair (1996:263), and so it happens in *The Inhumane Cardinal*. Pix's politics extend to the private domain, and sexual corruption mirrors political corruption, both of them brought about by a degenerate state of things. The author's conclusion about "fiction" is also very conservative: fantasy is dangerous for women, who must follow the guidance of fathers or lawful husbands. According to Mary Pix, they must be virtuous and follow the example of their princes and princesses (like Ann of Denmark), in a time which she sees as "polluted", and in which the dreams that romances propounded do not find a counterpart in everyday life.

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'Nothing but papers, my lord'

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